



San Francisco Call, Volume 98, Number 166, 13 November 1905 — DECLARES STATE OF WAR EXISTS IN POLAND. [article]

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EXISTS IN POLAND.

Czar Issues Last
Warning to Rev-
olutionists.

De Witte Gets No
Aid in Work
of Reform.

Russian Government
Issues Warning
to People.

SUSPENDS ALL
THEIR RIGHTS

Force Will Be Used
to Put an End
to Revolt.

ST. PETERSBURG, Nov. 13.—Poland is not to be permitted to become a second Finland. The Russian Government in a strongly-worded communication published this morning serves notice on the Polish Nationalists that for

good or ill, the ancient Kingdom of Poland has now become an integral part of the Russian Empire and that, while the Government intends to fully observe the national rights of Poland, any attempt to wrest Polish autonomy from the Emperor would be considered an act of revolt and would lead the Poles into the sorrowful paths trodden by them in 1831 and 1863.

The Russian authorities recognize the gravity of the movement in which two antagonistic parties, the Nationalists and the Socialists, under the leadership of such Poles as Henrik Sienkiewicz, the novelist, have joined forces, and they declare that none of the benefits of the emancipation can be conferred on "a country in revolt."

The official communication issued this morning recalls the fact that the Imperial ukase of December 25 last established a basis for the gradual renovation of the civil life of Russian subjects and points out that the measures adopted in pursuance of that ukase affected equally the Polish people. The ukase says:

"In accordance with the ukase the exceptional laws hindering the free development of the nation were abrogated and the Poles were given the same rights as the Russians. Educational, municipal and judicial reforms were introduced, as stipulated by the decisions arrived at by the committee of Ministers on June 18 and by the ukase of April 30 regarding religious liberty. The general measures adopted by the Government were extended to Poland, which also was given the right of participation in the Douma and freedom of meeting. Finally, on October 30, the Poles were recognized as free citizens, thereby obtaining full opportunity to prove their capacity. By participating in a great creative work they would consequently have gradually attained the ulterior progress of the Polish nation, with the end of the electoral institutions, which naturally would have sympathized with their fate.

"Forgetting the painful lessons of the past the politicians who are directing the national movement in the Kingdom of Poland are making attempts as dangerous for the Polish population as they are insolent toward Russia to bring about the separation of the empire. Rejecting the idea of

working in common with the Russian people in the Douma, they are demanding in a series of revolutionary meetings the complete autonomy of Poland with a special constitutional Diet, thereby aiming at the restoration of the kingdom of Poland.

"Two political groups, one Socialist and one Nationalist, who are opposed to each other, are united in this aspiration, which is upheld by many writers, publicists and popular orators, who carry the people with them.

"In different districts of the Vistula there have been numerous processions, the participants in which carried Polish flags and sang revolutionary songs. At the same time there has been begun the arbitrary exclusion by the Poles of the state language, even in governmental institutions, where its employment is provided for by law. In certain localities bands of workmen and peasants are pillaging the schools, the state spirit shops and communal buildings, destroying all correspondence in the Russian language. Representatives of the local authorities, in defending order and public safety, have been watering the earth for a year past with their blood, by falling victims to political crimes, and the reasonable part of Polish society is impotent against the growing pressure of revolutionary organizations.

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"The Government will not tolerate attacks on the integrity of the empire, insurrectionary plots or acts of violence. It declares in a decisive manner that as long as the troubles in the Vistula districts continue and as long as that part of the population adhering to political agitators continues its present sway these districts shall receive none of the benefits resulting from the manifestos of August 18 and October 30, 1905.

"There could obviously be no question of realizing pacific principles in a country in revolt. Therefore for the restoration of order all the districts of the Vistula are temporarily declared to be in a state of war.

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"The future of the Polish people thus depends upon themselves. The Government, having a desire to continue safeguarding the integrity and national rights of the Polish people, extended by recent legislative acts, expects the people to recover from the political in-

toxication which has come over the kingdom of Poland, the population of which has become a prey to the agitators, while at the same time it is putting the people on guard against entering a dangerous path, which, unfortunately, they have not for the first time trod."

DE WITTE FIGHTS ON ALONE.

With each day's developments it becomes more apparent that Russian reformers have learned little of the lessons of history and that Russia is destined, like other countries before her, to travel a thorny path to freedom. She seems determined to pay the heaviest

price for her political education. This, perhaps, is not strange, considering that all the intelligent classes are engaged in a revolt against the old order of things, the moderates for the moment clasping hands with the ultra-revolutionists to accomplish the downfall of the autoeracy. The result is that all the reform elements are distrustful of the Government and take pride in holding aloof, as if everybody connected with the Government was contaminated, and there is no solid conservative element to act as a brake upon those who shrink from no political experiments, no matter how reckless.

The various groups into which the liberals are splitting and even those who advocate the very constitutionalism into which Count de Witte is seeking to conduct the Government seemingly would rather let the country drift into anarchy than lift a finger to aid him. The leaders display anything but disinterested patriotism, having political ambitions and being convinced that the present is only a stop-gap Government until the Douma meets. They prefer not to jeopardize their own future by taking office in a government marked for sacrifice, yet they appreciate, as does Count de Witte, that the old faction which ruled so long at court would like to renew the struggle for reaction, unhorse the new Premier and jettison the whole reform programme. They admit that Count de Witte is the only man in the present stage of transition capable of coping with the court camarilla; nevertheless they refuse to assist him to get a firm seat in the saddle.

CZAR CANNOT RETRACE STEPS.

The danger of reaction is hardly worth serious consideration, however. Even the discomfited advocates of the old regime realize that the Emperor's step is irrevocable, that he could not withdraw it if he would, and that any attempt simply to place him in the attitude of a usurper of the people's liberties would precipitate an immediate crash in which he would be sure to lose the throne. Nevertheless the failure of the reform elements to break with the Social Democrats and cooperate with Count de Witte may prove disastrous and encourage the extreme agitators, which would be apt to provoke a continuance of clashes and excesses and in the end force the Government to resort to extreme measures, which, being interpreted as a return to the policy of repression, might precipitate risings.

Fortunately, something like a realization of these dangers is coming home to a small but growing class of liberals. For instance, Prince Eugene Troubetskoy, who declined to accept the portfolio of Minister of Education, because the party with which he is affiliated is committed to a constituent assembly, in an open letter to the public advises the people to support the new Government in its efforts to restore tranquillity, and Dmitri Shipoff and M. Gutchkoff, who also declined portfolios, have returned to Moscow with the intention of organizing a distinct party of moderates to aid Count de Witte.

The influential Slovo has become the organ of "the party of order," and even the Russ, while indorsing the action of the Zemstvoists in refusing offices, thinks that they could, with propriety, select a committee to act in an advisory capacity with the Government.

The spread of agrarian disorders in Saratoff is a new and threatening phase of the situation, emphasizing the necessity of quieting the country. It is significant, in connection with the fear of mutiny among the troops, that the Council for National Defense has taken occasion to issue a public statement to the effect that army reforms for the betterment of the condition of the men, including the improvement of food and clothing and an increase of pay, are under consideration.

The retirement of Count Lamsdorff,

Minister of Foreign Affairs, when the Douma meets, is certain, but he may continue in office till then. He is fitted neither by temperament nor training to hold office in a ministry responsible to a parliament of which he would reply to interpellations. M. d'Iswoisky, Russian Minister at Copenhagen, enjoys great favor at court, and doubtless would be the Emperor's personal choice as successor to Count Lamsdorff, but the exigencies of the situation later might compel the selection of another.

The new policy of national education, which is one of the principal planks of Count de Witte's platform, will be inaugurated by the transfer to the Ministry of Education of all the imperial educational institutions, which now are mostly under the protection of the Dowager Empress. Their endowment will thus be added to the national educational fund.

Father Gayon has taken advantage of the amnesty and is now on his way to St. Petersburg.

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