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*Additional Protocol. Berlin, June 18, 1887**Additional and Very Secret Protocol*

In order to complete the stipulations of Articles 2 and 3 of the secret Treaty concluded on this same date, the two Courts have come to an agreement upon the following points:

1.

Germany, as in the past, will lend her assistance to Russia in order to reestablish a regular and legal government in Bulgaria. She promises in no case to give her consent to the restoration of the Prince of Battenberg.

2.

In case His Majesty the Emperor of Russia should find himself under the necessity of assuming the task of defending the entrance of the Black Sea in order to safeguard the interests of Russia, Germany engages to accord her benevolent neutrality and her moral and diplomatic support to the measures which His Majesty may deem it necessary to take to guard the key of His Empire.

3.

The present Protocol forms an integral part of the secret Treaty signed on this day at Berlin, and shall have the same force and validity.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Berlin, the eighteenth day of the month of June, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.

Bismarck
Schouvaloff

✻ 47 ✻

Turgenev's "Definition" of Nihilism

The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 coincided with the emergence in Russia of a movement known as nihilism. Attracting young Russian radicals who thought of themselves as socialists and democrats, and accordingly were sworn enemies of the bourgeoisie, political liberalism, and aristocracy, the movement was hostile to all forms of authority and sought to destroy superstition. In their efforts to change Russia the nihilists renounced the Russian state and its Orthodox Church. At the same time they maintained a peculiar, almost sacred love for Russia and its people. They idealized education in general and the study of natural science in particular, and through such study they desired earnestly to create a "new man." Because the older generation disapproved of the aims, attitudes, and behavior of the materialistic young radicals, a conflict developed between "fathers and sons." Russia's great novelist Ivan S. Turgenev (1818-1883) depicted this conflict in his novel *Fathers and Sons*, published in 1862. Turgenev's portrayal of the new generation as having blind faith in science at first offended many of them. Later, however, they accepted the name of nihilist for themselves and hailed Bazarov, the hero of the novel, as their ideal of the new man.

"Where's that new friend of yours?" he asked Arkady.

"He's gone out; he's usually up and about early. The main thing is not to pay any attention to him; he doesn't like ceremony."

"Yes, that's obvious," and Pavel Petrovich began leisurely to butter his bread. "Will he be staying here long?"

"It all depends. He's stopping over on his way to his father's."

"And where does his father live?"

"In our *gubernia*, about eighty *versts* from here. He has a little estate there. He used to be an army surgeon."

"Tut, tut, tut! And I've been wondering all the time where I'd heard that name—Bazarov! Nikolai, if I am not mistaken, there was a medical chap in our father's division by the name of Bazarov, wasn't there?"

"I think there was."

"Why, of course. So that medical fellow is his father, Hm!" Pavel Petrovich twitched his moustache. "Well, and what about Mr. Bazarov himself, what is he?" he said slowly.

"What is Bazarov?" Arkady looked amused. "Shall I tell you what he really is, Uncle?"

"Please do, nephew."

"He is a nihilist."

"A what?" Nikolai Petrovich asked, while Pavel Petrovich stopped dead, his knife with a dab of butter on the tip arrested in mid-air.

"He is a nihilist," Arkady repeated.

"A nihilist," Nikolai Petrovich said. "That's from the Latin *nihil*—nothing, as far as I can judge; does that mean a person who . . . who believes in nothing?"

"Say, 'who respects nothing,' " put in Pavel Petrovich, applying himself to the butter again.

"Who regards everything critically," Arkady observed.

"Isn't that the same thing?" asked Pavel Petrovich.

"No, it isn't. A nihilist is a person who does not look up to any authorities, who does not accept a single principle on faith, no matter how highly that principle may be esteemed."

"Well, and is that a good thing?" Pavel Petrovich broke in.

"It all depends, Uncle. It may be good for some people and very bad for others."

"I see. Well, this, I see, is not in our line. We are men of the old school—we believe that without principles," (he pronounced the word softly, in the French manner, whereas Arkady clipped the word and accentuated the first syllable) "principles taken on faith, as you put it, one cannot stir a step or draw a breath. *Vous avez changé tout cela*, God grant you good health and a generalship, but we'll be content to look on and admire, *Messieurs les* . . . what do you call them?"

"Nihilists," Arkady said distinctly.

"Yes. We used to have *Hegelists*, now we have nihilists. We shall see how you manage to live in a void, in a vacuum; and now please ring the bell, brother Nikolai Petrovich—it's time for my cocoa."

Nikolai Petrovich rang the bell and called, "Dunyasha!" But instead of Dunyasha, Fenichka herself appeared on the terrace. She was a young woman of about twenty-three, all daintily soft and fair-skinned, with dark hair and eyes, childish full red lips, and delicate little hands. She wore a neat print dress; a new blue kerchief lay lightly upon her rounded shoulders. She carried a large cup of cocoa and having placed it before Pavel Petrovich, stood over-

come with bashfulness; the hot blood spread in a deep blush under the delicate skin of her pretty face. She dropped her eyes and stood there by the table, leaning lightly on her finger-tips. She seemed to be ashamed of having come, yet looked as though she felt she was within her rights in coming.

Pavel Petrovich knit his brows sternly, while Nikolai Petrovich felt embarrassed.

"Good morning, Fenichka," he mumbled.

"Good morning, sir," she answered in a clear yet quiet voice, and with a sidelong glance at Arkady, who gave her a friendly smile, she quietly withdrew. She walked with a slightly waddling gait, but even that was becoming to her.

Silence reigned a while on the terrace. Pavel Petrovich sipped his cocoa then suddenly looked up.

"Here comes Mr. Nihilist," he murmured.

Indeed, Bazarov was striding down the garden, stepping over the flower beds. His duck coat and trousers were muddy; a clinging marsh weed was twined round the crown of his old round hat; in his right hand he held a small bag with something alive squirming in it. He quickly approached the terrace and said with a nod, "Good morning, gentlemen; sorry I'm late for tea; I'll be back in a moment; must fix up a place for these captives."

"What have you got there, leeches?" asked Pavel Petrovich.

"No, frogs."

"Do you eat them or breed them?"

"I use them for experiments," Bazarov said indifferently and went into the house.

"He's going to dissect them," Pavel Petrovich said. "He doesn't believe in principles, but he believes in frogs."

Arkady glanced regretfully at his uncle, and Nikolai Petrovich furtively shrugged his shoulders. Pavel Petrovich perceived that his joke had fallen flat, and began talking about the farm and the new steward, who had recently come to him complaining that Foma, one of the hired labourers, was a "rowdy customer" and had completely got out of hand. "That's the kind of Aesop he is," he had said among other things; "he's earned himself a disgraceful reputation; he'll come to a bad end, he will, you mark my words."

Bazarov reappeared, sat down at the table and began hurriedly drinking his tea. The two brothers regarded him in silence, while Arkady's eyes travelled wearily from Uncle to Father and back again.

"Did you go far?" Nikolai Petrovich presently asked Bazarov.

"You've got a little swamp here, close to the aspen wood. I flushed five snipe; you can shoot them, Arkady."

"Don't you go in for shooting?"

"No."

"You're studying physics, I understand?" Pavel Petrovich asked in his turn.

"Yes, physics; the natural sciences generally."

"The Deutschländer are said to have made considerable progress in this field."

"Yes, the Germans are our teachers in that subject," Bazarov answered casually.

Pavel Petrovich had used the word *Deutschländer* instead of Germans for the sake of irony, but this had passed unnoticed.

"Do you have as high an opinion of the Germans as all that?" inquired Pavel Petrovich with studied suavity. He was beginning to feel a secret irritation. His aristocratic nature was up in arms at Bazarov's sheer insouciance. This son of an army sawbones, far from being different, answered bluntly and reluctantly, and there was something rude, almost insolent, in the tone of his voice:

"Their men of science are a practical lot."

"So they are. Well, I suppose you have no such flattering opinion about Russian scientists, have you?"

"I suppose so."

"That's very praiseworthy selflessness," retorted Pavel Petrovich, drawing himself up erect and throwing his head back. "But Arkady Nikolaich has just been telling us that you recognize no authorities. Don't you believe them?"

"Why should I recognize them? And what am I to believe in? When anyone talks sense, I agree—that's all."

"Do the Germans all talk sense?" Pavel Petrovich murmured, and his face assumed an expression so impassive and detached as though his thoughts had gone woolgathering.

"Not all of them," Bazarov said stifling a yawn. He was obviously unwilling to continue the word-play.

Pavel Petrovich glanced at Arkady as much as to say: "A polite fellow this friend of yours, I must say."

"For my part," he went on, not without some effort, "I must plead guilty to disliking the Germans. I say nothing of the Russian Germans: we know that type. But I can't even stomach the German Germans. Those of the old days, well—one could put up with in a pinch; they then had their—well, Schiller, Goethe, you know. . . . My brother, for instance, thinks a lot of them. Now they've all become chemists and materialists . . ."

"A decent chemist is twenty times more useful than any poet," broke in Bazarov.

"Is that so?" commented Pavel Petrovich with a slight lift of his eyebrows.

looking as if he were going to doze off. "You don't believe in art then, I suppose?"

"The Art of Making Money, or No More Piles!" Bazarov said with a sneer.

"So, so. You are having your joke, I see. You repudiate everything then, is that it? All right. Does that mean you believe only in science?"

"I've already told you that I believe in nothing; and what is science, science in general? There are sciences, as there are trades and callings; but science in general does not exist at all."

"Very good, sir. But what about the other conventions, those accepted in human society—do you maintain the same negative attitude here as well?"

"What's this, a cross-examination?" Bazarov said.

Pavel Petrovich paled slightly. Nikolai Petrovich deemed it necessary to intervene.

"We shall discuss this matter more fully with you some day, my dear Yevgeny Vasilich; we shall learn your views and let you know our own. For my part, I'm very glad to know you are studying natural science. I hear that Liebig has made some surprising discoveries in soil fertilization. You might help me in my agricultural pursuits; you might be able to give me some useful advice."

"I am at your service, Nikolai Petrovich; but it's a far cry to Liebig! A person has to learn his *abc* first before he can begin to read, whereas we haven't set eyes on our alphabet yet."

"Well, you certainly are a nihilist, I see," thought Nikolai Petrovich.

"Still, I hope you won't mind me bothering you in case of need," he added aloud. "And now, brother, I think it's time for us to be seeing the steward."

Pavel Petrovich stood up.

"Yes," he said, looking at nobody in particular. "It's a sad thing to live five years in the country as we do, enjoying no intercourse with the great minds of the age! You become a silly ass before you know it. Here you are, trying not to forget what you've been taught, when—*lo and behold!*—it turns out to be all tommyrot, and you're told that sensible people no longer waste time on such trifles and that you yourself are an old dunderhead, if you please. Ah, well! The young people are cleverer than us, it seems."

Pavel Petrovich turned slowly on his heel and slowly walked out; Nikolai Petrovich followed him.

"Is he always like that?" Bazarov asked coolly, as soon as the door had closed behind the two brothers.

"Look here, Yevgeny, you handled him rather roughly, you know," Arkady said. "You've insulted him."

"I'll be blown if I'm going to humor these rustic aristocrats! It's nothing but conceitedness, swell habits, floppery! Why didn't he carry on in St. Pe-

tersburg, if that's the way he's made? Well, enough of him! I've found a water beetle, a rather rare specimen—*Dytiscus marginatus*—do you know it? I'll show it to you."

"I promised to tell you his story—" began Arkady.

"The beetle's?"

"Come, come, Yevgeny. My uncle's story. You'll see he's not at all the man you think he is. He deserves sympathy rather than sneers."

"I'm not denying it, but what makes you harp on him?"

"One must be fair, Yevgeny."

"What's the implication?"

"No, just listen . . ."

And Arkady told him his uncle's story.

48

The Catechism of the Revolutionary, 1868

In its prime, Russian nihilism produced a number of devoted fanatics. In dedication, however, few surpassed the enthusiasm of Michael A. Bakunin (1814–1876) and Sergei G. Nechaev (1847–1882). The prominence of these two men stems largely from their compilation, during exile in Geneva, of practical advice for conspirators entitled *Katekhizis revoliutsionera* (The Catechism of the Revolutionary). In it they advocated total destruction of Russia's political, social and economic structure in order to lay the foundation for a new and better state. To attain that aim they felt it was necessary to turn every member-conspirator into a blind instrument of the leader, and accordingly they emphasized that everything which "promotes the success of the revolution is moral and everything which hinders it is immoral."

From A. Shilov, " 'Katekhizis revoliutsionera' [K istorii 'nechaevskogo' dela]" (The Catechism of the Revolutionary [The History of the Nechaev Affair]), *Borba Klassov* (Class struggle), no. 1–2 (1924), pp. 268–272. Translation mine.

Paragraph 1

The revolutionary is a doomed man. He has no interests, no affairs, no feelings, no habits, no property, not even a name. Everything in him is wholly absorbed by a single, exclusive interest, a single thought, a single passion—the revolution.

Paragraph 2

In the very depth of his being, not just in words but in deed, he has severed every tie with the civil order, with the educated world, and with all laws, conventions, his personal inclinations dictate, but what the general interests of the revolution demand.

Paragraph 8

For a revolutionary, that individual is dear and friendly who truly supports the revolutionary cause as he himself does. The degree of friendship, trust, and other obligations toward such a friend is determined exclusively by its usefulness to the cause of the all-destructive practical revolution.

Paragraph 9

There is no need to talk about solidarity among revolutionaries. In it centers the entire strength of the revolutionary cause. Revolutionary comrades who equally understand the revolutionary meaning and passion, should if possible discuss all major problems jointly and resolve them unanimously. In the execution of the jointly agreed upon plan, each member should act independently. In the execution of a number of destructive actions, each member must act alone, seeking advice and comradely help only when it is essential to the total success.

Paragraph 10

Every comrade must have under his control several revolutionaries of second and third ranks, those who are not entirely dedicated. He must consider them as a portion of a general revolutionary capital entrusted to his disposal. He must dispose of his part of the capital economically, striving always to get most advantage from it. He considers himself expendable capital designated to the success of the revolutionary cause. He cannot dispose of this capital alone without first consulting all the comrades who are totally dedicated.

Paragraph 11

When a comrade runs into trouble, the question of whether to rescue him or not must be decided by the revolutionary not because of any personal feeling but on the basis of whether such rescue would benefit the revolutionary cause. Therefore, on the one hand, he must weigh the usefulness which the

comrade contributes to the cause against, on the other, the losses of revolutionary forces needed for his rescue. Whichever side is weightier gets his decision.

Paragraph 12

The acceptance into the organization of a new member who declares his readiness not in words but in deeds must be resolved unanimously.

Paragraph 13

The revolutionary joins the state, society, and so-called civilized world and lives in it only for the purpose of its more total and speedier destruction. He is not a revolutionary if he feels compassion for something in this world. If he would pause before carrying out a decision affecting any individual of this world, he must always be aware of the fact that he hates everything equally. He would be in jeopardy if he should have family, friends, or love relations. He cannot be considered a revolutionary if such matters could stop his hand.

Paragraph 14

With the aim of merciless destruction, the revolutionary can, and in fact should, often live in society without revealing his true identity. Revolutionaries should infiltrate everywhere into all layers of society: higher, middle, business, church, and estate; the bureaucratic world, the military, the literary, the Third Section, and even the Winter Palace.

Paragraph 15

The whole vile society should be divided into several categories. The first category should consist of those condemned to death. A list of those condemned should be prepared by our organization on the basis of their relative harm to the success of the revolutionary cause and their numbers should come up in order of priority.

Paragraph 16

In preparing such a list as well as in establishing the above-mentioned priority of execution, one should be influenced neither by personal thievery committed by the condemned man nor even by the hatred which he arouses in our organization or among the people. This thievery and this hatred can sometimes even be useful in awakening popular uprising. One should be guided solely by the benefits which his death will bring to the revolutionary cause. Consequently, the first to be destroyed are people who are especially harmful to the revolutionary organization and those whose sudden and violent death will create the greatest fear in the government, since deprivation of its resourceful and energetic statesmen will weaken its power.

Paragraph 17

The second category should consist of those people who have been granted a partial reprieve on their life so that, by their bestial actions, they will provoke people into an inescapable uprising.

Paragraph 18

The third category should include the majority of high placed beasts, individuals who are distinguished neither by their wisdom nor energy, but who possess riches, influence, connections, and power. These should be exploited in every conceivable manner and way. They should be entangled, confused, seized by means of blackmail, and transformed into revolutionary slaves. Their authority, influence, connections, wealth, and power will thus become an inexhaustible source of and a strong support for various revolutionary undertakings.

Paragraph 19

The fourth category should consist of ambitious state bureaucrats and liberals of all shades. The revolutionary should conspire with their programs and pretend that he follows them. While doing this he should gain control of them, seize all of their secrets, compromise them to such an extent that their escape is impossible, and thus with their own hands cause chaos within the state.

Paragraph 20

The fifth category should consist of doctrinaires, conspirators, and revolutionaries of the empty-phrase and paper variety.

Paragraph 21

The sixth category, an extremely vital one, should consist of women, who should be divided into three basic groups.

The first group should be composed of dumb, stupid, and callous women who should be utilized in the same manner as the third and fourth categories of men.

The second group should consist of ardent women, dedicated and practical, but not our own, because they have failed to attain yet the real, phrase-free and factual revolutionary understanding. They should be utilized similarly as the men of the fifth category.

Finally, our own women—those who are completely dedicated and who have accepted our program. They are our comrades. We should consider them as our precious resource without whose aid we cannot succeed.

Paragraph 22

Our organization has no other aim than complete freedom and happiness of the people; that is, the toiling people. Aware that this freedom and the attainment of that happiness is possible only by means of a total popular revolution, our organization will strive with all forces and means at its disposal to publicize and single out those miseries and evils that in the end should lead the people out of sufferings and arouse them to a spontaneous uprising.

Paragraph 23

By popular revolution, our organization understands not a regulated movement in the classical Western pattern—a movement which always has been kept in check by respect for property, tradition, the social order, and the morality of the so-called civilization—a movement which hitherto has limited itself everywhere to the replacement of one political order by another in an effort to create the so-called revolutionary state. The only revolution that can save the people is that revolution which will destroy totally the entire state apparatus and will eliminate all state traditions, orders, and social classes in Russia.

Paragraph 24

Our organization, therefore, has not been destined to superimpose any system upon the people. The future order will emerge without doubt from the popular movement and from life itself. But this problem we leave to future generations. Our task is a passionate, total, universal, and merciless destruction.

Paragraph 25

To accomplish this we must draw closer to the people and above all we must ally ourselves with those elements in people's lives which, ever since the establishment of the power of the Moscovite state, have never stopped protesting, not just in words but in deeds, against everything that is either directly or indirectly associated with the state: against nobles, against officialdom, against priests, against the world of guilds, and against the *kulak*. We must ally ourselves with the evil world of brigands, who in Russia comprise the true and only revolutionaries.

Paragraph 26

To unite this world into a single, invincible, and omnidestructive force is the prime task of our organization, our conspiracy, and our purpose.

49

Demands of the Narodnaia Volia

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Russian revolutionary movement was stalked by the authorities and torn by the inability of its members to resolve the question of whether to use terror as a political instrument. Beginning with the Decembrists, the revolutionaries had been divided on this issue. Many of them favored the unrestrained application of terror, both as a means of self-defense and as a weapon to bring a basic transformation to Russia. The question acquired new dimensions after dismal failure of the populist movement to peacefully penetrate the Russian villages during the mid-1870's. In June 1879, such proponents of terror as Alexander Mikhailov, Michael Grachevskii, Andrei Zheliabov, and Sophia Perovskaia, founded an organization, *Narodnaia Volia* (People's Will). It advocated control of factories for Russian workers and peasant control of land; absolute freedom of thought, speech, press, and assembly; universal suffrage; and the replacement of standing armies by a popular militia. On March 13, 1881, members of the *Narodnaia Volia* assassinated Tsar Alexander II.

The regicide caused the arrest of many members of the terrorist organization, and inaugurated a period of blind and arrogant reaction. Before the reaction set in, members of the executive committee of the *Narodnaia Volia* sent a letter to the new tsar, Alexander III (1881-1894), in which they sought to explain candidly the causes that led to the tragedy.

Program of the Narodnaia Volia, 1879

By fundamental conviction we are socialists and democrats. We are satisfied that only through socialistic principles can the human race acquire liberty, equality, and fraternity; secure the full and harmonious development of the individual as well as the material prosperity of all; and thus make progress. We are convinced that all social forms must rest upon the sanction of the people themselves, and that popular development is permanent only when it proceeds freely and independently, and when every idea that is to be embodied

in the people's life has first passed through the people's consciousness and has been acted upon by the people's will. The welfare of the people and the will of the people are our two most sacred and most inseparable principles.

A

1. If we look at the environment in which the Russian people are forced to live and act, we see that they are, economically and politically, in a state of absolute slavery. As laborers, they work only to feed and support the parasitic classes; and as citizens, they are deprived of all rights. Not only does the actual state of things fail to answer to their will, but they dare not even express and formulate their will; they cannot even think what is good and what is bad for them; the very thought that they can have a will is regarded as a crime against the State. Enmeshed on all sides, they are being reduced to a state of physical degeneration, intellectual stolidity, and general inferiority.

2. Around the enchained people we see a class of exploiters whom the state creates and protects. The state itself is the greatest capitalistic power in the land; it constitutes the sole political oppressor of the people, and only through its aid and support can the lesser robbers exist. This bourgeois ex-crescence in the form of a government sustains itself by mere brute force—by means of its military, police, and bureaucratic organization—in precisely the same way that the Mongols of Genghis Khan sustained themselves in Russia. It is not sanctioned by the people; it rules by arbitrary violence, and it adopts and enforces governmental and economic forms and principles that have nothing whatever in common with the people's wishes and ideals.

3. In the nation we can see, crushed but still living, its old traditional principles, such as the right of the people to the land, communal and local self-government, freedom of speech and of conscience, and the rudiments of federal organization. These principles would develop broadly, and would give an entirely different and more popular direction to our whole history, if the nation could live and organize itself in accordance with its own wishes and its own tendencies.

B

1. We are of opinion, therefore, that it is our first duty, as socialists and democrats, to free the people from the oppression of the present government, and bring about a political revolution, in order to transfer the supreme power to the nation. By means of this revolution we shall afford the people an opportunity to develop, henceforth, independently, and shall cause to be recognized and supported, in Russian life, many purely socialistic principles that are common to us and to the Russian people.

2. We think that the will of the people would be sufficiently well expressed

and executed by a national Organizing Assembly, elected freely by a general vote, and acting under the instructions of the voters. This, of course, would fall far short of an ideal manifestation of the people's will; but it is the only one that is practicable at present, and we therefore think best to adopt it. Our plan is to take away the power from the existing Government, and give it to an Organizing Assembly, elected in the manner above described, whose duty it will be to make an examination of all our social and governmental institutions, and remodel them in accordance with instructions from the electors.

C

Although we are ready to submit wholly to the popular will, we regard it as none the less our duty, as a party, to appear before the people with our program. This program we shall use as a means of propaganda until the revolution comes, we shall advocate it during the election campaign, and we shall support it before the Organizing Assembly. It is as follows:

1. Perpetual popular representation, constituted as above described and having full power to act in all national questions.
2. General local self-government, secured by the election of all officers, and the economic independence of the people.
3. The self-controlled village commune as the economic and administrative unit.
4. Ownership of the land by the people.
5. A system of measures having for their object the turning over to the laborers of all mining works and factories.
6. Complete freedom of conscience, speech, association, public meeting, and electioneering activity.
7. Universal right of franchise, without any class or property limitation.
8. The substitution of a territorial militia for the army.

We shall follow this program, and we believe that all of its parts are so interdependent as to be impracticable one without the other, and that only as a whole will the program insure political and economic freedom and the harmonious development of the people.

D

In view of the stated aim of the party its operations may be classified as follows:

1. *Propaganda and agitation.* Our propaganda has for its object the popularization, in all social classes, of the idea of a political and democratic revolution as a means of social reform, as well as popularization of the party's own program. Its essential features are criticism of the existing order of things,

and a statement and explanation of revolutionary methods. The aim of agitation should be to incite the people to protest, as generally as possible, against the present state of affairs; to demand such reforms as are in harmony with the party's purposes; and, especially, to demand the summoning of an Organizing Assembly. The popular protest may take the form of meetings, demonstrations, petitions, leading addresses, refusals to pay taxes, and so forth.

2. *Destructive and terroristic activity.* Terroristic activity consists in the destruction of the most harmful persons in the Government, the protection of the party from spies, and the punishment of official lawlessness and violence in all the more prominent and important cases in which such lawlessness and violence are manifested. The aim of such activity is to break down the prestige of Governmental power, to furnish continuous proof of the possibility of carrying on a contest with the Government, to raise in that way the revolutionary spirit of the people and inspire belief in the practicability of revolution, and, finally, to form a body suited and accustomed to warfare.

3. *The organization of secret societies and arrangement of them in connected groups around a single center.* The organization of small secret societies with all sorts of revolutionary aims is indispensable, both as a means of executing the numerous functions of the party and of finishing the political training of its members. In order, however, that the work may be carried on harmoniously, it is necessary that these small bodies should be grouped about one common center, upon the principle either of complete identification or of federal union.

4. *The acquirement of ties, and an influential position in the administration, in the army, in society, and among the people.* The administration and the army are particularly important in connection with a revolution, and serious attention should also be devoted to the people. The principal object of the party, so far as the people are concerned, is to prepare them to cooperate with the revolution, and to carry on a successful electioneering contest after the revolution—a contest that shall have for its object the election of purely democratic delegates to the Organizing Assembly. The party should enlist acknowledged partisans among the more prominent classes of the peasantry, and should prearrange for the active cooperation of the masses at the more important points and among the more sympathetic portions of the population. In view of this, every member of the party who is in contact with the people must strive to take a position that will enable him to defend the interests of the peasants, give them and when they need it, and acquire celebrity among them as an honest man and a man who wishes them well. In this way he must keep up the reputation of the party and support its ideas and aims.

5. *The organization and consummation of the revolution.* In view of the oppressed and cowed condition of the people, and of the fact that the Government, by means of partial concessions and pacifications, may retard for a

long time a general revolutionary movement, the party should take the initiative, and not wait until the people are able to do the work without its aid.

6. *The electioneering canvass before the summoning of the Organizing Assembly.* However the revolution may be brought about—as the result of an open revolution, or with the aid of a conspiracy—the duty of the party will be to aid in the immediate summoning of an Organizing Assembly, to which shall be transferred the powers of the Provisional Government created by the revolution or the conspiracy. During the election canvass the party should oppose, in every way, the candidacy of *kuláks* of all sorts, and strive to promote the candidacy of purely communal people.

A Letter from The Revolutionary Executive Committee of the Narodnaia Volia to Alexander III, March 22, 1881

Your Majesty:

Although the Executive Committee understands fully the grievous oppression that you must experience at this moment, it believes that it has no right to yield to the feeling of natural delicacy which would perhaps dictate the postponement of the following explanation to another time. There is something higher than the most legitimate human feeling, and that is duty to one's country—the duty for which a citizen must sacrifice himself and his own feelings, and even the feelings of others. In obedience to this all-powerful duty we have decided to address you at once, waiting for nothing, as will wait for nothing the historical process that threatens us with rivers of blood and the most terrible convulsions.

The tragedy enacted on the Ekaterínski canal was not a mere casualty, nor was it unexpected. After all that had happened in the course of the previous decade it was absolutely inevitable; and in that fact consists its deep significance for a man who has been placed by fate at the head of governmental authority. Such occurrences can be explained as the results of individual malignity, or even of the evil disposition of "gangs," only by one who is wholly incapable of analyzing the life of a nation. For ten whole years—notwithstanding the strictest prosecution; notwithstanding the sacrifice by the late Emperor's Government of liberty, the interests of all classes, the interests of industry and commerce, and even its own dignity; notwithstanding the absolute sacrifice of everything in the attempt to suppress the revolutionary movement—that movement has obstinately extended, attracting to itself the best elements of the country—the most energetic and self-sacrificing people of Russia—and the revolutionists have carried on, for three years, a desperate partisan warfare with the administration.