

C. Small entrepreneurs, small and middle-class proprietors, small and more or less well-to-do peasants, petite bourgeoisie, as well as those workers who have submitted to a bourgeois point of view.

D. Class-conscious workers, day laborers and the poorer classes of the peasantry, who are classed with them (semi-proletariat).

3. What is their relation to Socialism?

A and B. Unconditionally hostile, since it threatens the profits of capitalists and landholders.

C. *For* Socialism, but it is too early as yet to think of it or to take any practical steps for its realization.

D. *For* Socialism. The Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates must at once take every practical and feasible step for its realization.\*

4. What form of government do they want now?

A. Constitutional Monarchy, absolute authority of the official class and the police.

B. A bourgeois parliamentary republic, *i. e.*, a perpetuation of the rule of the capitalists, with the retention of the official (*chinovnik*) class and the police.

C. A bourgeois parliamentary republic, with reforms for the workers and peasants.

D. A republic of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. Abolition of the standing army and the police; substituting for them an armed people; officials to be not only elected, but also subject to recall; their pay not to exceed that of a good worker.

5. What is their attitude on the restoration of the Romanoff Monarchy?

A. In favor, but it must be done with caution and secrecy, for they are afraid of the people.

B. When the Guchkovs seemed to be in power the Cadets were in favor of putting on the throne a brother or

\* For the nature of these steps, see Questions 20 and 22.

son of Nicholas, but when the people loomed up the Cadets became anti-monarchial.

C and D. Unconditionally opposed to any kind of monarchic restoration.

6. What do they think of seizures of power? What do they term "Order," and what "Anarchy"?

A. If a czar or a brave general seizes control, his authority comes from God; that is *order*. Anything else is *Anarchy*.

B. If the capitalists hold power, even by force, that is order; to assume power against the capitalist will would be anarchy.

C. If the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates alone are in power, anarchy threatens. For the present let the capitalists retain control, while the Councils have an "Advisory Commission."

D. Sole authority must be in the hands of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. The entire propaganda, agitation and organization of millions upon millions of people must at once be *directed* toward this end.\*

7. Shall we support the Provisional Government?

A and B. Unquestionably, since it is the only means at this moment of guarding the interests of the capitalists.

C. Yes, but with the condition that it should carry out its agreement with the Councils of W. S. and P. Delegates and should consult with the "Advisory Commission."

D. No; let the capitalists support it. We must *prepare* the whole people for the complete and sole authority of the Councils of W. S. and P. Delegates.

8. Are we for a single authority or for a dual authority?

A and B. For sole power in the hands of the Capitalists and landholders.

\* *Anarchy* is a complete negation of all government authority, but the Councils of W. S. and P. Delegates are *also* a government authority.