

C. For dual authority. The Councils of W. S. and P. Delegates to exercise "control" over the Provisional Government. But it would be pernicious to consider the possibility that this control might prove illusory.

D. For sole power in the hands of the Councils of W. S. and P. delegates, from top to bottom over the whole country.

**9. Shall a Constituent Assembly be called?**

A. Not necessary, for it might injure the landholders. Suppose the peasants at the Constituent Assembly should decide to take away the land of the landholders?

B. Yes, but without stipulation of time. Furthermore, the learned professors should be consulted, first, because Bebel has already pointed out that jurists are the most reactionary people in the world; and second, because the experience of all revolutions shows that the cause of the people is lost when it is entrusted to the hands of professors.

C. Yes, and as soon as possible. As to the time, we have already discussed it in the meetings of the "Advisory Commission" 200 times and shall definitely dispose of it in our 201st discussion to-morrow.

D. Yes, and as soon as possible. Yet, to be successful and to be really convoked, one condition is necessary: increase the number and strengthen the *power* of the Councils of W. S. and P. Delegates; organize and *arm* the masses. Only thus can the Assembly be assured.

**10. Does the state need a police of the conventional type and a standing army?**

A and B. Absolutely, for this is the only permanent guarantee of the rule of capital, and in case of necessity, as is taught by the experience of all countries, the return from Republic to Monarchy is thus greatly facilitated.

C. On the one hand, it may not be necessary. On the other hand, is not so radical a change premature? Moreover, we can discuss it in the Advisory Commission.

D. Absolutely unnecessary. Immediately and unconditionally universal arming of the people shall be introduced so that they and the militia and the army shall be an integral whole. Capitalists must pay the workers for their days of service in the militia.

**11. Does the state need an officialdom (chinovniks) of the conventional type?**

A and B. Unquestionably. Nine-tenths of them are the sons and brothers of the landholders and capitalists. They should continue to constitute a privileged, in fact, an irremovable body of persons.

C. Hardly the proper time to put a question which has already been put practically by the Paris Commune.

D. It does not. All officials must not only be elected by the people, but also be subject to recall by them; also each and every delegate. Their pay shall not exceed that of a good worker. They are gradually to be replaced by the national militia and its various divisions.

**12. Must officers be elected by the soldiers?**

A and B. No, it would be bad for the landholders and capitalists. If the soldiers cannot be otherwise contented, we must promise them this reform and afterwards take it away from them.

C. Yes.

D. Not only elected, but every step of every officer and general must be subject to control by special soldiers' committees.

**13. Are arbitrary removals of their superiors by the soldiers desirable?**

A and B. They are very bad. Guchkov already forbade them, even threatening the use of force. We must support Guchkov.