

made from the Germans (their colonies) and take away from the Germans all conquests made by those robbers.

C. *We shall*, since we have not yet relinquished all the unfounded hopes which the petite bourgeoisie attaches to the capitalists.

D. No, for the class-conscious worker cherishes no hopes whatever from the capitalist class, and it is our function to enlighten the masses as to the baselessness of such hopes.

19. Must all monarchies be abolished?

A and B. No, certainly not the English, Italian and Allied monarchies, only the German, Austrian, Turkish and Bulgarian, for victory over them will increase our profits tenfold.

C. A certain "order" must be followed and a beginning made with Wilhelm; the Allied monarchies may wait.

D. Revolutions do not proceed in a fixed order. Only *actual* revolutionaries may be trusted, and in all countries without exception, *all* monarchs must be dethroned.

20. Shall the peasants at once take all the land of the landholders?

A and B. By no means. We must wait for the Constituent Assembly. Shingarev already pointed out that when the capitalists take away the power from the Czar, that is a great and glorious revolution, but when the peasants take away the land from the landholders, that is arbitrary tyranny. A Commission of Adjustment must be appointed, with equal representation of landholders and peasants, and the chairman must be of the official (*chinovnik*) class, that is, from among those same capitalists and landholders.

C. It would be better for the peasants to wait for the Constituent Assembly.

D. All the land must be taken at once. Order must be strictly maintained by the Councils of Peasants' Delegates. The production of bread and meat must be in-

creased, the soldiers better fed. Destruction of cattle and of tools, etc., is not permissible.

21. Shall we limit ourselves to the Councils of Peasants' Delegates only for the management of lands and for all village questions in general?

A and B. The landholders and capitalists are entirely opposed to the sole authority of the Councils of Peasants' Delegates in agrarian matters. But if these Councils are unavoidable, we must adapt ourselves to them, for the rich peasant is a capitalist, after all.

C. We might for the present accept the councils, for "in principle" we do not deny the necessity of a separate organization of the agrarian wage workers.

D. It will be impossible to limit ourselves only to general Councils of Peasants' Delegates, for the wealthy peasants are of the same capitalist class that is always inclined to injure or deceive the farmhands, day laborers and the poorer peasants. We must at once form special organizations of these latter classes of the village populations both within the Councils of Peasants' Delegates and in the form of special Councils of Delegates of the Farmers' Workers.

22. Shall the people take into their hands the largest and most powerful monopolistic organizations of capitalism, the banks, manufacturing syndicates, etc.?

A and B. Not by any means, since that might injure the landholders and capitalists.

C. Generally speaking, we are in favor of handing over such organizations to the entire people, but to think of or prepare for this condition now is very untimely.

D. We must at once *prepare* the Councils of Workers' Delegates, the Councils of Delegates of Banking Employes and others for the taking of all such steps as are feasible and completely realizable toward the union of all banks into one single national bank and then toward a control of the Councils of Workers' Delegates over the banks and syndicates, and then toward their nationaliza-