

proletariat—is formed, enabling it to direct the exploited masses, to attract them to active participation in political life, to train them politically through their own experience. In this way a beginning is made for the first time to get actually the whole population to learn how to manage and to begin managing.

Such are the principal distinctive features of the democracy which is being tried in Russia, and which is a higher type of democracy, which breks away from bourgeois distortion, and which is a transition to Socialist Democracy, and to conditions which will mean the beginning of the end of the state.

Of course, the elemental petty bourgeois disorganization (which will inevitably manifest itself in one or another degree during every proletarian revolution, and which in our revolution, on account of the petty bourgeois character of the country, its backwardness, and the consequences of the reactionary war, manifests itself with special strength) cannot but leave its mark on the Soviets.

(We must aim unceasingly to attract every member of the poor classes to active participation in government, so that the Soviet members will not become professional politicians.)

We must work unceasingly to develop the organization of the Soviets and the Soviet rule. There is a petty bourgeois tendency to turn the members of the Soviets into "parliamentarians" or, on the other hand, into bureaucrats. This should be combated by attracting all members of the Soviet to practical participation in management. The departments of the Soviets are turning in many places into organs which gradually merge with the commissariats. Our aim is to attract every member of the poor classes to practical participation in the management, and the different steps leading toward this end, (the more diverse the better), should be carefully registered, studied, systematized, verified on broader experiences and legalized. It is our object to obtain the free performance of state obligations by every toiler after he is through with his eight-hour session of productive work. The transition toward this end is especially difficult but only this transition will secure the definite realization of Socialism. The novelty and the difficulty of the change naturally causes an abundance of steps which are made, so to speak, in the dark, an abundance of mistakes and hesitations. Without this, no sudden movement forward is possible. The originality of the present situation consists, from the standpoint of many who consider themselves Socialists, in this—that people have been used theoretically to contrast capitalism and Socialism, and between one and the other they profoundly put the word "leap" (some, recalling Engels, quote more profoundly this: "A leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.") That the word "leap" was used by the Socialist teachers to denote the crisis of an historical transformation and that leaps of this kind comprise periods of ten or more years—this cannot be understood by most of the so-called Socialists who study Socialism from books, and have never given serious thought to this matter. It is natural that the so-called "Intelligentsin" furnishes during such times an infinite number of cries after the dead; it bewails the Constituent Assembly, another the bourgeois discipline, a third the capitalist order, a fourth the cultured aristocrat, a fifth the imperialistic "greater Russia," and so on and so forth.

The real interest of an epoch of great leaps consists in this: That the abun-