

All these days the Duma Committee was irresolute, for the members of the committee realized that the council was the real power, that the council and not the committee had the masses behind it. True, the committee did appoint commissions to look after the various government departments, but no attempt to govern was made. When, therefore, on the evening of the thirteenth of March the Duma Committee invited the representatives of the council to its meeting "for co-operation and advice," the council representatives "advised" the formation of a government. This was done in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the council at a meeting of the same day. That night the Miljukoff cabinet was formed.

This, in short, is the story of the first phase of the second Russian Revolution.

It must be borne in mind that in advising the formation of a government and in promising to support it the council did not give carte blanche to the bourgeois leaders of the "progressive bloc." On the contrary, the council advised the formation of a government only after the Duma Committee agreed to accept as its program almost all the "immediate political demands" of the socialist parties. And only insofar as the carrying out of this program necessitated their assistance had the council promised its support.

The council declined to send its representatives into the cabinet. As Socialists they refused to join the bourgeois government, notwithstanding the urgent demands of the social patriots that they do so. Just as decidedly they refused to form a government of their own as was demanded by a group of the Bolsheviki, for the socialist government can mean but one thing—a government that establishes Socialism—a thing that was manifestly out of the question. This struggle of opinions within the council and the struggle between the council and the Provisional Government formed the second phase of the revolution. It culminated in the now famous formula, "No annexations, no contributions," and was a splendid victory for that current of socialist thought which has of late been known as Zimmerwaldism.

But the immediate problems of the revolution remained un-

solved, for the bourgeois government was unable to carry out the democratic program to which it had agreed, and it could not be entrusted with the realization of the "no annexations and no indemnities" demand of the proletariat. The famous Miljukoff note to the allied governments, which led to the overthrow of the first cabinet, once more showed the treacherous nature of the bourgeoisie,

But the indignation of the council of workmen and sailors found such forcible expression that the Milyukoff cabinet was forced to resign, for the leaders of the bourgeoisie refused "to submit to the dictates of the council."

This brought the council face to face with a most momentous decision. On every hand the demand for a socialist ministry became more and more insistent, even from the reactionary bourgeoisie.

But for a number of reasons, the most important of which has just been mentioned, the council declined to assume this responsibility. There was, moreover, another consideration of extreme importance.

It has already been suggested above that the reason why the council refused to form a socialist government was that a socialist government is a government that establishes socialism. There was, however, another reason.

It must be remembered that the proletariat of Russia found itself forced to sanction the prosecution of an imperialistic war. This was no victory for social patriotism, for the council, the socialist parties, had never been mistaken about the imperialistic character of this "war for democracy." On the contrary, the council had never missed the opportunity to declare itself against this crime of all crimes, but, as Comrade Tseretelli openly stated, "The revolutionary proletariat of Russia must choose between the two evils: continue the war against Germany or be ready for a new war on the side of Germany." The council chose the lesser of the two evils, it sanctioned the continuation of the war against Germany and a coalition cabinet was formed.

The social-patriots of Russia considered the creation of the