

VIL AND JUNIUS: AND JUNIUS PAMPHLET.

VIL's piece was published July 1916 and reprinted in Vol. 2 of CW. After greeting it as the first anti-war pamphlet to come out without censorship, -- ^{was written} and it came out in the Spring of 1915 --

and while he says it is a "splendid" Marxist work, he nevertheless wants to criticize its defects, the first being ^{the Social Chauvinism & Peace} silence regarding the connection between social chauvinism (the author uses neither this nor the precise term of social patriotism) and opportunism.", though the author correctly uses "capitulation" and "collapse" and "treachery" of "official leaders". He also praises it for criticizing the "center". But because it says nothing about Kautskyism, it "is wrong from the standpoint of theory".

Junius does oppose Kautsky's schemes of "disarmament", "abolition of secret diplomacy".

The first erroneous proposition VIL quotes "national wars are no longer possible in the epoch (era) of this unbridled imperialism.". What is wrong about it is that it ignores "the national movements against imperialism". You see dialectics at work everywhere, the use of the phrase that "every phenomenon... might be transformed into its opposite," is of course a basic proposition of Marxist dialectics."

It's very interesting to see how VIL defends the right to criticise even in such times: "It would certainly be very lamentable if the 'left' were to reveal a light-hearted attitude to Marx's theory at a time when the establishment of the Third International is possible only on the basis of unvulgarized Marxism."

VIL: "It would be unfair however to accuse Junius of indifference to national movements", and he then points to the fact that a sharp critique of the Social Democracy on the question of the Cameroons, after which he quotes Junius: "socialism recognized the right of every nation to ~~independence~~ independence and freedom, to independent mastery of its destinies." But then goes on to say that they can get that only under socialism.

And then he mentions another "fallacious" argument on the question of defense of the fatherland. "Junius, however, while brilliantly exposing the imperialist character of the present war, as distinct from ^a national war, makes the very strange mistake of trying to drag a national program into the present non-national war. It sounds almost incredible but there it is."

WIB continues in saying that the class struggle is the best means of defense against invasion. Junius applies Marxist dialectics only half-way. Marxist dialectics call for a concrete analysis of each specific historical situation. Civil war against the bourgeoisie is also a form of class struggle, and only this form of class struggle would have saved Europe (the whole of Europe, not only one country). . . . and proceeds further to insist that "socialism is impossible in time of war without civil war against the arch-reactionary, criminal bourgeoisie."

In the end he praises again Junius' bravery but opposes fallacious reasoning, saying

As usual, this pamphlet is more about roots and causes than about the immediate situation, though she leaves no doubt she opposes this war and the SD's capitulation. She stresses that ever since the summer of 1911 when the German imperialists nearly precipitated a war with ~~Spain~~ the gunboat Panther sailing into Morocco. She concretizes Engels' expression "reversion to barbarism" as "this world war means a reversion to barbarism". She also refers back to "the Reichstag election of 1907, the so-called 'Hottentot Elections found the whole of Germany in a paroxysm of imperialistic enthusias.'" She then quotes both the 1907 and 1912 resolutions which said that should war break out it would "strive with every means in its power to utilize the industrial and political crisis to accomplish the awakening of the people, thus hastening the overthrow of the capitalist class rule," and then shows that the SD betrayed.

VV

1907
1911
1912 vs 1912

And as she attacks the voting for war credits she does say "if it makes the issue 'war against war', the guiding line of its practical policy"... only then does it show its courage, because: "The war has smashed the Second International ... In view of the betrayal by the official representatives of the Socialist Parties in the principal countries..." the guiding spirit must be "the class struggle against the ruling classes within the boundaries of the bourgeois states and international solidarity of the workers of all countries are the two rules of life."

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