

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Results of the Split in the C. P. of Sweden and the Swedish Elections.

By John Pepper (Moscow).

It is now possible to judge the final results of the Party split in Sweden. Taken as a whole we can say that these results mean a complete victory for the Communist International.

The Hoeglund Group, a Sect, — Our Section, The Party.

In its fight against Hoeglund the Communist International appealed to the Party membership by means of a referendum. Hoeglund did not recognise this referendum, he even went so far as to issue a proclamation to the members of the Party forbidding them to take part in it. Hoeglund had the whole official Party apparatus in his hand and controlled the Party press. In spite of this the Executive of the Comintern succeeded in having the referendum carried out among the whole Party. Out of 8000 party members, no less than 6064 took part in the referendum. The overwhelming majority, 5282 of the Party members, recorded an affirmative vote, that is, for the Communist International, 123 voted against it, 477 refrained from voting and 188 declared themselves "neutral". Out of the 283 local organisations of the Party, no less than 215 took part in the referendum.

Today the section of the Communist International in Sweden has over 6000 Party members, while the Hoeglund group has only about 1500.

A further indication of the relative strength of our Party compared with the seceded group is the press. In the split we have succeeded in capturing almost the whole Party press: The section of the C. I. has retained the following papers: two daily newspapers, one of them being "Politiken" the Central organ of the Party; two papers which appear three times a week; two papers appearing twice a week; the weekly paper of the Youth League and the monthly magazine of the women. The Hoeglund group was only able to deprive us of one paper, which appears three times a week. After the split Hoeglund founded a new daily in Stockholm.

The Results of the Elections.

The results of the parliamentary elections prove beyond doubt that we have been able in the split, not only to retain the overwhelming majority of Party members, but also the entire mass influence of the Party. In the elections held in September our Party polled 65,283 votes, while on the other hand the Hoeglund group polled only 24,619 votes. Our section obtained 4 seats, the Hoeglund group only one.

In judging this result one must bear in mind that the Party split took place immediately before the parliamentary elections, and was used against our Party by the whole bourgeois, social democratic and syndicalist press. In the split Hoeglund retained not only the official electioneering apparatus, but also the funds which had been collected for the elections. He enjoyed the full support of the entire bourgeoisie, as well as of social democracy, while our section was regarded as the enemy and was opposed in the most brutal fashion. A complete united front, from the extreme right to Hoeglund, was set up against our Party, which made use of the intervention of the Executive of the C. I. It was declared that our Swedish section was not a Swedish Party, that it was at the service of a foreign power, and that the representative of the Executive Committee is now behaving in Sweden in the same way as did formerly the "Russian provosts", the one-time instruments of foreign suppression over the Swedish people.

Our Party has lost two seats out of six, but not because there was a reduction in the vote recorded, but only because Hoeglund instructed his followers to vote for the social democrats. For the rest, the results of the elections have shown with brutal clearness the fraudulent character of Swedish democracy. The proportional representation system works entirely against us. Even a liberal newspaper, the "Dagens Nyheter" of 5th October, declared that the system of proportional representation works in the interest of the great parties, as the social democrats obtained a seat for every 7000 votes polled, the Peasants' Union for every 7900, the Democrats for every 8600, the Liberals for every 16,500 and the Communists for every 17,700.

The figures as to the Party membership, the party press and the election prove beyond dispute that the Hoeglund group is an impotent sect, and that the Swedish section of the Communist International is in reality the Communist Party of Sweden.

Hoeglund's Reversion to Social Democracy.

Hoeglund's political development since the split constitutes the most striking proof of the correctness of the decisions of the Enlarged Executive against him. Since the split Hoeglund has become, not only in words but also in acts, a social democrat of the first water. Before the split he declared that there only existed "organisatory", and in the worst case only "tactical" differences, between him and the Communist International. Even at the time of the split he declared that he was fighting, not against the Communist International, but against its Executive.

A few facts serve briefly to show Hoeglunds rapid reversion to social democracy after the split:

The election manifesto of the Hoeglund group differed from the election manifesto of the Party, which has been previously drawn up in agreement with the representative of the Executive, in that it contained no word regarding the following points: the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviets, the arming of the working class, and the criticism of bourgeois parliamentarism.

During the elections the Hoeglund group concluded an open alliance with the social democrats against the Communists, united their votes with the social democrats, and thereby made a present of two seats to the Branting Party which they robbed from the communists.

After the elections Hoeglund's newspaper welcomed the new social democratic Branting Ministry and declared that "the co-operation of the social democratic and of the bourgeois democratic Party is more advantageous to the working class than the present reactionary government". Fredrik Ström declared in the name of the Hoeglund sect that "they will criticise the mistakes of the new Labour government very sharply, but concretely; nevertheless they will support it against all attacks of the reaction and of the bourgeois Parties".

The only provincial paper of the Hoeglund group, "Nya Smoland", has openly reverted to social democratic pacifism. It announces that it is opposed to every form of militarism, and that it is not only an opponent of the arming of the bourgeoisie, but also of the proletariat.

For Hoeglund, any ally is good enough in his fight against the Communist International. He has not only allied himself with Tranmael, but also with the socialist Party of Italy, with the dirty renegades of the Avanti group. As can be seen from the articles in Hoeglund's paper "Nya Politiken" and in the "Avanti", Angelica Balabanoff has played the role of match-maker in this new love affair. Tranmael supported Hoeglund's election campaign in Stockholm, and Hoeglund is now supporting the election campaign of Tranmael in Christiania. The chief slogans of these two boon companions are: "For a new revolution in Soviet Russia!", "Against the Communist International!"

That is Hoeglund as he appears in his true colours, after having shaken off the "chains" of the Communist International. For years he was able to pose before the Swedish working class as the representative and upholder of communist principles. He is now very quickly unmasking himself.

THE WHITE TERROR

Imperialist Terror in India.

By special order of the Viceroy, 66 leading members of the Nationalist Party in the province of Bengal have been arrested. The police raided simultaneously hundreds of houses all over the province, which is as large as France. The arrest of the nationalist leader, Chittaranjan Das, is also expected.

This reign of terror is sudden and totally uncalled for because the men arrested and the party they belong to are frankly partisans of constitutional action, and do not stand for separation from the Empire. This brutal repression is inaugurated on the pretext of the existence of secret terrorist organisations supported by the Nationalist Party. But the very fact that this wholesale repression could not be carried on with the help of ordinary criminal law, proves the groundlessness of the pretext. Because, had there been any terrorist societies really in existence, and had the nationalists had any relation with them, ordinary criminal law would be enough to bring them both to trial and secure adequate punishment. Since the pretext is the invention of the police, the autocratic powers of the Viceroy have to be invoked.

In spite of their moderate programme, the Nationalists have during the last year, made much trouble for the government. At every step, they resisted the autocratic action of the government, and repeatedly inflicted on it parliamentary defeat. By means of the sham Reforms granted after the war, British Imperialism sought to buy off the Indian upper classes and square its domination with the much advertised doctrine of self-determination. From the very beginning, the majority of the people rejected these reforms as totally inadequate; and the movement of Non-cooperation with the government was launched in 1920. Subsequently a section of the National Congress gave up the negative programme, and participated in the elections of 1921. Their plan was to capture the pseudo-parliamentary bodies with the view to exposing their sham and impotence. In less than a year they have accomplished this plan admirably. In two provinces, faced by a nationalist majority, the governors assumed dictatorial powers, and dismissed the legislature. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the government was defeated on a number of vital questions, including the budget, but calmly overrode the verdict of the elected representatives of the people. The whole country has been in a political and administrative deadlock for several months. All these unparliamentary, undemocratic and unconstitutional events took place while the Labour Government was in office. The latter did not do anything but to sanction the action of the colonial pro-consuls. On the eve of assuming office, Mr. MacDonald shook his mailed fist at the Indian Nationalists, and during his short life of glory repeated this inglorious feat several times. Nevertheless, the Government of India did not dare wreck its vengeance on the impertinent nationalist while the Labour Government was in office. It feared a possible intervention. Of course, there could be no apprehension that the Labour Government would intervene; but the British proletariat would not permit a government ruling in its name to connive at such an unwarranted reign of terror.

The last straw that broke the camel's back, was the motion carried in the teeth of official opposition, repealing the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1909 — a law which empowered the