

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

A New Two and a Half International.

By John Pepper.

A new Viking expedition is about to set out from Norway and Sweden to conquer the world. Tranmael and Höglund are planning the formation of a "Scandinavian International", which they wish to extend as soon as possible into a real "International". Tranmael proudly declares that this new International will neither acknowledge allegiance to Moscow nor Amsterdam. The hole-and-a-corner congress of the Höglund group which was held at Stockholm declared, however, that the new International shall unite all "communist and other revolutionary parties which stand outside of the Communist International". It is therefore a question of the appearance of a new edition of the Two and a half International. The first appearance of the Two and a half International in the labour movement might possibly have been called a tragedy; the second appearance, however, is an indubitable farce.

The initiative for the formation of this new Two and a half International has come from the Norwegian Labour Party. On the 28th August there was published in its Christiana organ, "Arbeiderbladet", an article entitled: "The International". In this Tranmael rang the death-knell of the Communist International. He wrote: "It is now clear that the communist movement cannot be saved by the III. International. It must remain outside this International. The independent communist parties have now a great task." The Communist International must inevitably become bankrupt because "organisatory practice, centralism, jesuitism, the fault-finding attitude, occupy too big a place in this International and have killed its vitalising and rallying idea". Even the Soviet system in Russia has perished: "It has become an empty institution". Capitalism is again raising its head in Russia. "There is every indication that a new revolution is necessary even in Russia." The Executive of the Comintern has pushed the best comrades, as Trotzky and Radek, in to the background, it proceeds by means of "putches", splitting of parties, it "pulverises" all the mass parties of the Comintern and converts them into insignificant sects. Only the "independent" Communist Parties standing outside of the Comintern can save the situation: "They must get into connection with each other, and create an international collaboration and the prerequisites for rallying all the workers of the world upon a broad communist foundation".

The Norwegian Labour Party has already seized the initiative for the establishment of the new International: "Our Party will now enter into connection with the Communist Party of Sweden. There also exists the possibility for establishing connections with comrades in Denmark and Finland. It is certain that in the course of this autumn an International Conference will take place. Many big parties and groups will take part in this. And their number is continually growing. These parties and groups must establish organisatory connections and set up an international bureau."

Co-operation between Tranmael and Höglund is already an therefore been conceived at the petty-bourgeois congress of the Höglund group in Stockholm as the representative of the Norwegian Labour Party. He even had the good fortune to be prevented by the Stockholm police from delivering a speech in public. The embryo of the Two and a half International has therefore been conceived at the petty-bourgeois congress of the Höglund group. But from conception to birth is a long road; and for the new Vikings of Stockholm and Christiania it is a long march to the big cities of the international proletariat, to Berlin, Paris, London etc. One does not need to be a great prophet in order to be able to predict that when this feeble offspring of a new $2\frac{1}{2}$ International sees the light of this wicked world it will, like its inglorious predecessor the first $2\frac{1}{2}$ International, return as quickly as possible into the womb of Social Democracy.

Upon what are the makers of the new $2\frac{1}{2}$ International actually basing their calculations? In the first place upon the waste products of the Communist movement in all countries. Those who have split off from, as well those who have been expelled from the Communist International, are to serve as the centre of crystallization for the new International.

Who do the heroes of this International of the "throw-outs" prove to be on closer inspection? Really they form a fine collection of "has-beens":

Tranmael, the labour leader, who in the name of the trade-union tradition of Norway betrayed the Comintern, and who, however, after breaking from the Comintern felt free to leave the striking metal-workers of Norway shamefully in the lurch in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. Tranmael who still calls himself a communist, but who, on the day of his breach with the Third International, abandoned the fundamental slogan of the arming of the proletariat and reverted to the stale pacifism of refusal of military service. Falk, who for a long time hovered between communism and fascism. Haakon Meyer who can unite his consistent Marxism, anti-semitism and communism into a complete synthesis. The dozen or so "clear heads" of Danish students, who sympathise with the fascist Falk, but at the same time approve of Höglund's expulsion from the Communist International. Edward Huttunen, who could not tolerate the discipline of the parliamentary fraction of the Socialist Labour Party of Finland, as it was too narrow for his broad-minded social democratic policy and as it would pledge him, as chairman of the trade union federation to real revolutionary action. Federick Stroem, the Swedish Tacitus of the Russian Revolution who, as a Bolshevik and as party secretary of the Communist Party of Sweden could not exactly detect the difference between the Russian Mensheviks and the Russian Bolsheviks, and who, in the name of the peculiar Scandinavian psychology of the workers opposed the centralism of the Communist International. Ledebour, the most confused of all the muddle-heads of Europe. Steinberg, the Social-Revolutionary, the former S. R. member of the Russian Soviet Government and later the organiser of the attempts upon the lives of leaders of the Russian Revolution, and who is now the Berlin secretary of the Committee for establishing a new International. Höglund, who once joined the Communist International as a pacifist and who now ends as a pacifist in the camp of the counter-revolution. Höglund, who, as recently as May last agreed to all the decisions of the V. World Congress of the C. I. for bolshevising the communist parties, and who has now become the most prominent Bolshevik-slayer in Sweden. Höglund, who at one time opposed Branting in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat and who has now shamelessly struck out of his election programme the idea of the soviets, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the arming of the working class and the criticism of parliamentarism.

These are the leaders and heroes of the future $2\frac{1}{2}$ International. A hotch-potch company, who have nothing in common but their various deviations from the idea of communism. A group whose only claim to found the new International is their equal clinging to all their respective national prejudices and traditions. Tranmael broke with the Comintern, because he

was "Norwegian". Höglund broke with the Comintern because the Executive was not "Swedish" enough for him. They now therefore wish to form a common International for the one and only purpose — not to be "too international". This sentence sums up the whole history of this new International. The first $2\frac{1}{2}$ International was at any rate a mass organisation comprising large sections of the proletariat which shrank back from civil war. This second $2\frac{1}{2}$ International, however, is, at the very best, a sect of petty bourgeois, who not only shrink back from civil war, but from the elementary duties of the class struggle.