

Resolution on the Declaration of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer.

Introduced in the Name of the CCRCP. by the Russian Delegation and adopted by the Enlarged Executive at the XXI Session on April 4, 1925.

Having read the declaration of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer of March 25, 1925, the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI. considers it necessary to note the following:

Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer bear the greatest responsibility for the Social-Democratic distortions of the tactics of the Communist Party of Germany which caused such damage to the German revolutionary movement in 1923. The tendency headed by Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer tried to convert the revolutionary tactics of the united front into tactics of coalition with the Social Democracy. By means of the "Saxony" policy (the conditions upon which Brandler joined the Government of Saxony, his "work" in it, etc.) this "tendency" converted the tactics of the Communists into a banal parliamentary farce, which revealed the utter political bankruptcy of these three comrades.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Party unanimously declared that the policy of Comrade Radek, who at that time tried to speak in the name of the Russian Communist Party, had nothing in common with the real policy of the Russian Communist Party. The Frankfurt Congress of the Communist Party of Germany, with equal determination, condemned the line of policy of Brandler and Thalheimer. Finally, the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, in the name of the Communist Parties of all countries severely condemned the Menshevik deviations of these three comrades.

Instead of conscientiously admitting their political error, by their declaration of the 25th of March 1925, they still further aggravate it. They declare that they "associate themselves" with the theses of the present session of the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI. But they regard their differences with the Comintern over the question of Workers' Government as "historically closed", merely because "the period of the acute collapse of the capitalist system has come to an end". They continue to believe that when the revolutionary struggle will again become acute, it will be necessary to return to the old tactics of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer, which they themselves, in their declaration of the 25th of March 1925, defined as a striving "by means of a coalition

with the Left Social Democratic elements... to win temporary positions for the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat". The authors of the declaration, by this show that they continue to stand as before, with both feet on the ground of the tactics of coalition with the Social Democracy; in other words, they continue in their departure from Bolshevism to Menshevism.

At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer continued persistently to advocate their anti-communist position. In the articles of Comrades Thalheimer and Kreibich, written immediately after the Fifth Congress, their anti-communist position was still more sharply defined. The whole of the activity of these comrades in the period between the Fifth Congress and the present Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI. has been directed against the policy of the Fifth Congress. Therefore, the statement contained in the declaration of Comrades Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer of March 25th, 1925, to the effect that for them the most important thing last year, was to "endeavour to preserve the mass character of the Communist Party", cannot be taken seriously. The Communist International, established under the direct guidance of Comrade Lenin and always remaining true to Leninism, from the first day of its existence to the present day has worked entirely in the direction of creating and preserving mass proletarian parties. The difference between the Comintern and the "tendency" represented by Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer, consists in that the Comintern strives to form and preserve mass communist, bolshevik parties, whereas Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer are conducting a policy of semi-menshevik "mass" parties. On the lips of these three comrades the phrase "revolutionary sects" sounds like the declarations of Paul Levi.

Equally insincere politically, was the conduct of this group in connection with the question of the Trotsky species of Menshevism. While the whole of the Comintern sharply condemned Trotskyism, Radek in Russia directly supported it, and Brandler and Thalheimer wrote ambiguous declarations, striving by half-hearted repudiation of Trotskyism, to secure the opportunity of

attacking the brother Communist Party of Germany. The attempts to sow discord between the R. C. P. and the C. P. G. is deserving of condemnation and will always be strenuously resisted by the Comintern.

A particularly brilliant light is thrown on the declaration of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer of the 25th of March, 1925, by the fact that the declaration was made at the moment when the Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party, in conjunction with representatives of the International Control Commission, after investigating the question of the factional — but — not — schismatic “work” of these three comrades in the German Communist Party, came to the conclusion that Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer deserved to be expelled from the ranks

of the Russian Communist Party, and consequently from the Comintern.

If generally, in view of the above, serious importance cannot be attached to the Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer declaration of “solidarity” with the tactics of the Comintern, still less does this declaration deserve the confidence of the Communist International when it is made after the Central Control Commission has passed the above-mentioned decision.

The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. sees in this politically insincere declaration of Brandler, Radek and Thalheimer, nothing else than a tactical manoeuvre, borrowed from the tactics of the Social Democratic leaders, directed against the line of policy of the Fifth Congress and therefore refuses to take cognisance of it.