

Resolution of the Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party in the Case of Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and Others.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany requested the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to take action against Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek Edda Baum, Felix Wolf, Walcher and Moeller. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party charges these comrades with taking part in and guiding systematic factional work in the German Communist Party against the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and against their carrying out the policy of the Party which was based on the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. On the 11th of February 1925, the Central Committee of the German Communist Party resolved to ask the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party forthwith to expel Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer from the RCP. On March 2nd, the Politbureau handed the statement of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party for investigation to the Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party to which representatives of the International Control Commission of the Comintern were to be co-opted.

After examining the documents submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, and hearing the evidence of the comrades against whom the charges have been made, the Central Control Commission arrived at the following conclusion:

Within the German Communist Party there are Right factional groups (composed of the former Right Wing of the Party) which are working against the Central Committee and its policy. The line of policy of these groups and their views, in the main, coincide with the views expressed in an article written by Comrade Thalheimer for the "International", but which he later withdrew. Comrade Thalheimer's article contains factional, anti-Bolshevik, semi-Trotskyist, criticism of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and defends the position of Brandler-Radek, which was rejected by the Congress (especially on the question of the estimation of the German October). Comrade Thalheimer describes the resolution of the Congress, on combatting opportunist tendencies inside the Communist International, as an exhibition of "fear of spooks", and declares that the Congress "ignored the questions" of future prospects and failed "to give a definite reply to this definite question". Furthermore, Comrade Thalheimer's article contains a number of severe attacks against the German Central Committee and the ECCI, as well as against the Russian Old Bolshevik Guard (the attacks upon the latter being entirely in the spirit of Trotsky's "Lessons of October").

This factionalist article by Comrade Thalheimer, which was not published in a single communist publication, was distributed in the ranks of the German Communist Party over the head of the German Central Committee and without the permission of the Central Committee of the ECCI, and was utilised for factional purposes.

The factional activity of the groups referred to above, became particularly marked after the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and took the form of convening factional meetings, in factional speeches at Party and trade union meetings aimed at securing the passage of their own, previously drawn up factional resolution (against the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany) and the widespread circulation of anonymous circulars, containing sharp criticism of the line of policy of the Central Committee and also a detailed plan of fractional work.

The purpose of the factional work of the groups mentioned is firstly, to change the line of policy of the Central Committee, and to change the composition of the Central Committee, in order to secure the reinstatement to leading positions of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer. The group of Brandler, Radek and Thalheimer, with whose views are associated Comrades Felix Wolf, Walcher, Edda Baum and Moeller — after the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, convened conferences to discuss questions affecting the German Communist Party, closely questioned comrades arriving from Germany concerning the state of affairs within the Party, collected material

against the German Central Committee, discredited the Central Committee by factional criticism of the policy conducted, made absolutely intolerable personal attacks on its members, and maintained communication and gave support to the factional groups above-mentioned. Communication was also maintained with the expelled Right Wing, headed by Jannack, to which assistance was also rendered.

Members of the Brandler, Radek, Thalheimer group confirmed the fact that two conferences or "talks" were arranged in the rooms of Brandler and Radek on the question of German Party work (although they denied that these conferences bore a factional character). Comrade Brandler stated that he "squeezed" information out of comrades arriving in Moscow concerning the internal state of the German Party. Comrade Moeller made a report at one of these conferences on German affairs. The said Comrade Moeller, working in one of the Soviet Delegations, in Germany, sent reports through his institution, which, on the admission of the Chief of this institution, bore a "pessimistic" character i. e. they contained a pessimistic estimation of the internal state of the Party from the point of view of the Right Wing Brandler orientation. These served as material for the Brandler group. Comrade Radek handed Moeller £ 100 for the purpose of giving financial assistance to the Right Wing group expelled from the German Communist Party (although he denied that this money was intended for factional work). Through the agency of Anna Kolditz, an employee of Brandler's living in his rooms in Berlin, letters were sent from Germany addressed to Brandler in Moscow containing cleverly disguised plans for future factional work. In a letter addressed to Comrade Eisenberg, Comrade Brandler wrote: „In Germany an opposition has been formed which is not content with phrases about Bolshevizing the Party, but desires to fight for concrete aims. In Gotha and Remscheid, the local trade unions, which are in our hands, have put forward concrete demands including the demand for the transference of the burden of taxation as a concrete method for fighting against the Dawes Plan. The Central Committee rejected this. The Gotha Central Committee submitted, and abandoned the demand for transferring the burden of taxation. In Remscheid, however, the Central Committee did not submit. For this, Jannack, Pütz and others, were expelled. In Hamburg, Westermann and Faber have been expelled. The expulsion of Faber has been endorsed by the Central Committee. On the Central Committee, Remmele no doubt, declared that "prior to October 23, the Party was merely a radical Socialist Party, but now it is a Bolshevik Party." At the meeting of the Central Control Commission, Brandler tried to prove that his letter was not factional and the phrase: "Gotha and Remscheid are in our hands", meant to imply that Gotha and Remscheid were in the hands of the Party. This explanation, however, contradicts the rest of the text of the letter, which is obviously factional, as well as the fact that the Gotha and Remscheid factionalists put up their own resolution against the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

At the meeting of the Central Control Commission, Comrades Brandler, Radek and Thalheimer made speeches containing exceptionally sharp and absolutely intolerable statements against the German Central Committee. Comrade Brandler particularly declared that "he will still be in the camp of the revolution when several of the comrades of the present Central Committee will be in the camp of the counter-revolution". Not less sharp and factionally hostile, although not so politically bitter, were the speeches made against the Central Committee by Comrades Radek, Thalheimer, Felix Wolf, and Edda Baum. Behind all these factional declarations was the totally unconcealed striving to discredit the Central Committee, and to secure a change in its composition.

In addition to detailed attacks, these comrades (particularly Thalheimer, Radek, Brandler and Wolf) at the meeting of the Central Control Commission, declared that the German Central Committee was not carrying out the resolutions of the Fifth Congress, with which they, the supporters of the Brandler-Radek group, were now prepared to associate themselves. In this

connection, Comrades Thalheimer and Walcher attempted also to prove that Zinoviev and Stalin had now adopted the views of Thalheimer-Brandler, the whole of Walcher's speech was directed to proving that the German Central Committee was not carrying out the resolutions of the Fifth Congress, particularly on the question of the trade unions. Thalheimer said the same thing, and he declared that he was not in agreement with the German Central Committee on a single question, but that he was in agreement with Stalin and Zinoviev; that now Stalin and Zinoviev had come over to his, Thalheimer's side, and were supporting the views expressed by him in the above-mentioned article. These efforts, directed towards substituting Brandlerism for Bolshevism and by distorting the line of policy of the Fifth Congress while pretending to associate themselves with those decisions, to introduce the policy of liquidation and by this means place the German Central Committee in opposition to the Comintern, bring about the dismissal of the Central Committee and the substitution of its policy of Brandlerism. This method of substitution, is recommended in individual cases and in the factional circulars mentioned above.

On the basis of what has been stated above, the Central Control Commission considers it proved, that within the Communist Party of Germany, there are organised fractions, containing several internal Party groups and a group of members of the Russian Communist Party (Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and others) which are conducting factional work on the basis of a political platform which finds its expression in a number of articles and documents (Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and the anonymous authors of the circulars). The Central Control Commission is of the opinion that on the grounds of the facts quoted above, in the complex difficult conditions in which the German Communist Party has now to work and in the face of a widespread, sharply hostile tendency against Brandler-Thalheimer within the Party, the German Control Committee

was right in demanding the expulsion of Brandler and Thalheimer from the Russian Communist Party, which they fully deserved, also in demanding that Comrades Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf, Heinz Moeller and Walcher be made to answer before the Party, in order to deprive these comrades of the possibility of conducting further factional work in the Communist Party of Germany.

Basing itself, however, on the desire to achieve as painless a liquidation of the factional groups inside the Communist Party of Germany as possible and to give Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and the others an opportunity of proving the truth of the declaration they made at the meeting of the Central Control Committee that they will refrain from carrying on factional work, the Central Control Commission considers it possible to limit itself to the following measures:

1. To censure severely and warn Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf, and Heinz Moeller for their systematic factional work and their serious violation of Party discipline.

2. To prohibit Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf and Heinz Moeller from interfering in any form in the work of the Communist Party of Germany.

3. The Central Control Commission warns the comrades, that in the event of their continuing factional work or interfering in the affairs of the Communist Party of Germany, they will certainly be placed outside of the Russian Communist Party.

4. To regard it as impossible to allow Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek to take part in Comintern work.

5. The Central Control Commission considers it necessary that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany shall conduct extensive, internal Party work for the purpose of explaining to the members of the Party the political significance of this resolution.