

GERMAN RIGHT WING LEADER MAKES REPORT

Admits October Errors in Speech to Comintern

Editors Note: Heinrich Brandler, leader of the right wing of the German Communist Party appears before the Comintern in today's report from our Moscow correspondent. Brandler, admits some mistakes in connection with the German party's tactics in the revolutionary crisis last October, but defends himself against accusations from the left that he is using methods of the petty bourgeois.

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(Special to The Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, June 23 (By Mail) —After the opening of the seventh session today Heinrich Brandler stated that he was not appearing, as a delinquent and a convict, to make a speech defending himself, but simply to make an answering report. This report ought to clear up the questions of whether he betrayed the German revolution, of whether he was responsible for the October debacle, of whether he allied himself with petty-bourgeois, social-democratic groups, of whether he strove for a revision of Lenin's theory of the state.

The speaker says that he believes that he was only carrying out the political policy of the Third and Fourth Congress and that he considers this policy correct now without any revision at all.

The speaker recognizes that he made serious mistakes, but he had to fight the October legend in order to quicken the healing process. The chief reasons for the October retreat were, that we undertook the wrong task, that we used incorrect tactics, and that we estimated our proportionate strength incorrectly. The plan was laid out conjointly.

Wanted to Change Party.

The speaker sketches his activities in the Communist Party of Germany after the Rathenau affair. He wanted to make the party Communistic, for at that time the expression "Bolshevistication" was not yet current. The chief task was to change the party ideologically and structurally so that it might take over power, and for this he made the necessary preparations. The organization of shop councils, of control committees, of committees, the reorganization of the party on the basis of shop nuclei—all this proves that he is no petty bourgeois. After the severe defeats of the proletariat, he wanted to prepare the party thoroly, since to fight only in order to get a beating is anti-Communistic. There was very little discussion on the subjects of party organization and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was a mistake, but a great deal was actually done.

Admits Mistakes.

The speaker admits that he made a mistake when he did not try to span the gap between Berlin and the party as a whole thru the admittance of Masslow and Ruth Fischer into the Central Committee. At the time of the Cuno government it might have been possible to mobilize the masses successfully to organize shop councils and control committees in Thuringia,

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Brandler Defends His Position Before Comintern

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in Saxony and in the Ruhr district. But it would not have been successful in Berlin or in Hamburg, and this the speaker attributes to the unsuitness of the left wing.

The speaker was no buffoon of Radek's. Radek supported the leftists on many questions, and for this Radek is responsible. The speaker attempts to prove that he did not wish to revise Lenin's theory of the state and his theory concerning the role of the party; he defends the party policy during the May strike in the Ruhr district. Because the bourgeoisie wanted to incite a bloody battle, it was right to avoid fighting. He defends the party policy at the time of anti-Fascist day, on the ground that a defeat had already occurred as early as June. The German bourgeoisie is stronger and more mobile than was the Russian bourgeoisie, and the influence of social-democratic ideology is stronger than was that of the Russian mensheviks, and their organizational foundations are more deeply rooted. He holds to his interpretation of the role of the workers' aristocracy as the right one.

His Disastrous Mistake.

The speaker's most disastrous mistake was failure to make a further advance after the Cuno strike, whereby initiative passed to the bourgeoisie. It was a serious mistake to take no action against the state of siege, and not to have destroyed the mistaken idea that the siege was not directed against von Kahr's Bavarians.

The speaker goes on to review the events in Saxony and to explain that he takes full responsibility for having sounded the retreat of the fight in that particular situation. The speaker is of the opinion that it was not the October debacle, but the idea of

panic that was a disorganizing force, and he expressed the fear he felt that party influence would thereby be lessened. The idea that the party was obliged to fight in October is criminal idiocy. The speaker protests against the complaints that there are petty bourgeois groups in the party.

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Nouen Ai Quack (Indo-China) mentions the careful attention which the Congress gives to the colonial question. French imperialism is not only procuring raw materials, but it is also getting yellow and black soldiers for the purpose of suppressing the revolution.

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Criticism From Thalheimer.

Thalheimer (Communist Party of Germany) emphasizes the necessity of discipline, unity and centralization of control, and states that criticism is necessary during increasing difficulties. The speaker is of the opinion that the Executive Committee did not foresee the events in Bulgaria and in Germany to a sufficient extent, and at the right time, and did not afterward draw the lessons which these events taught clearly enough. Organizational attacks on the management of the party are necessary. Some of the attacks were wrong and led to severe crises. The continuity of the management cannot be broken except in case of extreme necessity. In the western countries, too, there is an old guard, which forms a connecting link between the Second and Third International. The Communist Party of Russia gave birth to the leaders of the Comintern, but other parties must now be developed to a position of leadership and independence.

Denies Right Wing Exists.

It is an open question whether the wave of democratic pacifism is being fought by proper means. The leftists

present no danger in the Communist Party of Russia, but the coalition of the leftists with the left wing is dangerous. In the Comintern there is no right wing—the right wing is only a ghost. Radek performed great services to the Communist Party of Germany and for this reason the attacks on Radekism are unfair. The speaker is not convinced that the present political and organizational policy is correct, but he will nevertheless abide by the decisions and submit to discipline.

Indecision in Saxony.

Kleine states that Brandler is painting the situation incorrectly and that Radek is drawing incorrect conclusions from these false reports. The chief tasks are: First, the Bolshevization of the parties of the west; second, the creation of organizational union with the sympathetic masses; third, further opposition to the majority. A single political policy was lacking during the events in Saxony. The party did not push into battle, but held back. Retreat without battle was wrong. The chief error consisted of underestimating the role of the party. The danger of right wing tendencies exists and must be fought.

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THE EVENING SESSION OF JUNE 23.

Schueler (Young Communist International) takes the floor and declares that the chief task of the Congress is the battle against right wing groups. In the speeches of Radek, Brandler, Thalheimer, and in the explanation of Smeral, there is the spirit of Leipzig and of Prague. Radek has estimated social-democracy incorrectly, for social-democracy will remain to the very end an ally of the bourgeoisie and will finally develop into the Fascist left wing. Radek, in his speech, seems to look on the social-democrats as a

working class party, which is a deviation from Communism.

Radek's attempt again to broach the German question must be stopped. The speaker welcomes the appearance of the minority of the Czech party. The Swedish party must explain its point of view openly. Concerning the discussion on the question of the Communist Party of Russia, the entire Comintern must as a unit support the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia.

Italian Minority Agrees.

In the name of the minority of the Italian delegation, Rienzi expresses his unconditional agreement with the report of Zinoviev. Concerning the criticism of the October events and the formulation of the United Front policy the speaker is in complete accord with Trient and Severing. The interpretation of the majority of the Italian delegation of "workers' government" as a synonym for "dictatorship of the proletariat" is philological and not political. After the speeches of Brandler and Thalheimer it is clear why the Communist Party of Germany took its stand with the left. In the Russian Communist party question neutrality is inadmissible; the minority of the Italian delegation supported the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia and the Leninist guard.

The Italian minority is in favor of fusion with the Italian socialists, for the socialists have large masses behind them. The minority should be ready to liquidate the factional quarrel within the Communist Party of Italy and to build up a unified party. The majority is making a very serious mistake if it says that Lenin, in writing about the infantile sickness of leftism, did not also write about the Italian leftists. Right wing groups are just as incorrect as leftists.