

# World Socialism

## THE RESIGNATION OF CABALLERO

By HERBERT ZAM

As this column is being written, the news comes in that Largo Caballero, chairman of the Socialist Party of Spain, has resigned from the Party. No details of this event are given except that Caballero declared his resignation was not based on any principled differences but solely on inner-Party organizational questions.

This news is a veritable bomb-shell in the international Socialist movement. Caballero became famous throughout the labor world as the leader of the heroic struggle of the Spanish workers against reaction and monarchism. He was but recently freed after spending a long period in prison for his activities during the uprising.

Those who know anything of the Spanish situation will realize that more than organizational questions must be involved in this resignation, which may lead to a split in the Spanish movement. A struggle has been going on in the Spanish Party ever since the defeat of the uprising. Caballero was looked upon as the leader of the left-wing, which, supported by the youth organization and by a large (probably majority) section of the Party, wanted the Party to adopt a more revolutionary policy as a result of the experiences of the uprising and the growth of reaction. Other comrades, under the leadership of Besteiro, wanted the Party to move further to the right, advocating in fact the adoption of an almost pure democratic republican position, with the fight for Socialism shoved into the background.

Only further information will disclose whether the resignation of Caballero is a result of this struggle, whether it inaugurates a split in the Party or whether it is a purely personal act. Socialists throughout the world can only hope that nothing will happen to destroy the unity and fighting capacity of the Spanish Socialists, and that the inner struggle will crystallize a policy without the need for a split.

A split has taken place in the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland, resulting in the formation of the Revolutionary

### Splits And Sects

Socialist Workers League. This Party was formed something less than a year ago through the unification of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Trotskyite) and the Independent Socialist Party (Left Socialist). While the former was by far the smaller of the two organizations, it easily obtained hegemony in the new organization, largely because it had a definite point of view and an international outlook, while the latter was still floundering after having broken organizationally with the extremely reformist Dutch Socialist Workers Party but not having developed toward a complete revolutionary position. As a result, the RSVP became one of the banner bearers of the Fourth International, and was held up as a model of success in other countries. In reality, this Party was not a party at all, but only a somewhat large sect and influenced only a small section of the Dutch workers.

A similar development had taken place in the United States, where almost at the same time there had been formed the Workers Party out of the fusion of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite). The American and Dutch developments were considered, even very lately, as indicative of one of the main roads to the Fourth International, that is, through the formation of brand new parties. The road is now completely blocked. For almost at the same time in Holland a split also took place in the Dutch Party. The Dutch Party have

the United States. While in the United States the split was to the left, however, under the leadership of "pre-turn" Trotskyists who objected to the pro-Socialist Party orientation, in Holland it was to the right, under the leadership of former members of the ISP who objected to being swallowed by the Trotskyites.

The fact of these splits, that they took place under different circumstances and for different reasons only serves to emphasize the instability of groups and sects under present conditions in the labor movement. Sectism breeds intolerance and intolerance breeds splits. And this is true even of the so-called "non-sectarian" sects, that is of those sects which profess to be against sectarianism as a policy, and advocate unity in principle. The history of all the modern sects is a history of continual splits.

In his struggle against sectarianism, Karl Marx gave characterization of the sects of his day which holds for the sects of today. He said:

### Marx On Sects

"The sect views its *raison d'être* (reason for existence) and its point d'honneur (point of honor) not in that which it has in COMMON with the class movement, but in a special shibboleth that DISTINGUISHES it from this movement."

How true of the present day sects which always defend their existence by the "special" point of view which distinguishes them from everybody else. Marx was by no means opposed to taking the sects into the mass movement. But he insisted that the sect be absorbed into the movement, and that its special point of view be introduced "as an element of enrichment" into the movement as a whole. But he fought bitterly against the demand that "the class movement subordinate itself to a special sectarian movement." This he considered as thoroughly reactionary and harmful. And so with our modern sects. Even when they begin moving toward the mass movement, they still express their sectarian aims, they still appear desirous of subordinating the mass movement to the sects and their fetishes.

The existence of the special sects was justified only so long as it was impossible to propagate revolutionary Socialist ideas inside the mass movement. The sects served the purpose of helping bring to the attention of the advanced workers the "forbidden" ideas, so to speak, so that they could be judged on their merits. But the continued existence of the sects once this was accomplished becomes not only useless but positively harmful. And this applies not only to the sects as special organizations, but also to the special ideas they developed during their existence as sects. Any effort to foist these ideas upon the mass movement, or to consider the mass movement as merely a vehicle for the advancement of these ideas must inevitably lead to the separation of the sects from the mass movement and their re-crystallization as sects.

This applies particularly to the Trotskyist organizations, which in a whole series of countries have been "welcomed" into the Socialist parties, and not only into left parties, as in France, but also into "right" parties as in Belgium and Holland. By taking them into the Socialist Parties have

### Unity And Division

A PEOPLE'S

WHEN WOULD YOU

ALWAYS

An overwhelming vote for peace marches, conducted by the Council, only 6% of the vote.

demonstrated their concern for the unity of the movement of the workers. The sects must now demonstrate theirs by working as part of the movement and not as sects. Such special ideas as the "Fourth International" obviously cannot be carried over into the mass movement because the very essence of this idea is not unity but division.

It is not enough that the sects should express their willingness to join the mass movement. They must also express their willingness to build it and not split it. And if they refuse, regardless of whether they base their position on Lenin's position of 1914 or on Trotsky's of 1933, they will either remain outside the mass movement, or their period of membership in it will be short indeed. This issue can no longer be straddled. The sects must decide one way or the other.

DON'T FORGET, SOCIALIST  
CALL FIRST ANNUAL DINNER  
ON MARCH 22.

## Repeat U. S. H

## Jobless A

By deWITT GILPIN  
TOPEKA, Kans. (FP) — "Bleeds anew as the specter of hunger state, casting an ominous shadow across balanced budgets of Gov. Landon, H. as America's No. 1 reactionary presidential hope.

The suffering of the state's jobless with the cessation of crop reduction the farm households of Kansas, response to the call for a People's March to take place Feb. 2.

Three leaders of unemployed and are now touring the state, conducting to mobilize farmers and workers march, sponsored by the United Action Organizations represented on the include the Kansas Allied Workers, Workers Union, the Farmer-Labor Union, the A. F. of L. shall County Labor Union. Other operating.

Those touring are President B. C. the Kansas Allied Workers, Vice Washington of the United Action Helen Hester, American Workers Union who twice led Kansas City, Kans., in siege to the relief commissioners in until relief grants were forthcoming. John Brown's passion for liberty, bered by the Kansas people. A the United Action Committee declaration of Kansas is one of struggle and economic bondage, and the People been keeping with this tradition."