What is Collaboration of Classes?

By Earl R. Browder

"It is a fact to be noted with pleasure, that Dr. Scott Nearing has been writing and speaking publicly in opposition to the present well-defined movement for class collaboration of the official labor movement. Comrade Nearing has accepted the Communist criticism of the "b. & O. Plan," of labor banking (so-called), and of the collaborationist "workers' estabishments," and of the co-operators. He has given clear expression to this in recent articles in the labor press, in his speeches before the Workers' Education Bureau conference in Philadelphia, and in a recent debate with J. R. Hardman (Shabtisky) in "Advance," organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Every egg stuck to the struggle against the poisonous philosophy of class collaboration is welcome in the ranks of the left wing. Particularly is this true of such an influential figure as Comrade Nearing. Millions of workers who listen with respect to what he says, Nearing's words will help in the gigantic task of mobilizing the workers for the class struggle, and against their enemies.

It is necessary, however, in the interests of clarity, that note also be taken of the incompleteness of Nearing's thought upon the subject, because he leaves a loophole for the reactionaries which they eagerly seize upon and of which they make much capital.

Where Nearing Gets Off the Track.

To the degree that Nearing has followed the Communist criticism of the modern scheme of class collaboration his statements are correct. For example, the following paragraph from his article on "Labor Banking," is correct, and says a foundation which could be built up under the old industrial order:

"Point 3. If there is one thing that we cannot do, it is to abandon the field of practical everyday needs of the workers to advocates of class collaboration. Class collaborators are wrong not only because it compromises the final aims of the working class, but also because it betrays the workers in their daily activities which they carry on..."

A Handservant of Hillman Speaks.

J. B. R. Hardman (Shabtisky) takes advantage of the gap in the logic of Nearing to build up a case for his superior officers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who are among the most enthusiastic advocates and practitioners of class collaboration. In the "Advance," official organ of the A. C. W., for May 8th, a discussion between the two is printed.

It would probably be no hazardous guess that Nearing's article would not have been printed but for the opportunity it gave Hardman to affirm a few dogmas of the Hillman philosophy. Hardman mentions that the fact that Hillman, collaborating with the clothing manufacturers of Chicago, in 1924, put across a general reduction in wages in an attempt to build a fighting organization, and of which he speaks so highly, is a concrete example of it is good.

It is the guiding principle behind every labor bank, and the main slogan: "All power to the producers." Short of such classconscious understanding, battles on both the economic and political fields will be lost by the working class, and the revolution will be stillborn, just as it was in the days of the old dualism and class collaboration.

Another year of losses for the American workers..."

To the degree that Nearing has followed the Communist criticism of the modern scheme of class collaboration his statements are correct. For example, the following paragraph from his article on "Labor Banking," is correct, and says a foundation which could be built up under the old industrial order:

"Point 3. If there is one thing that we cannot do, it is to abandon the field of practical everyday needs of the workers to advocates of class collaboration. Class collaborators are wrong not only because it compromises the final aims of the working class, but also because it betrays the workers in their daily activities which they carry on..."

A Handservant of Hillman Speaks.

J. B. R. Hardman (Shabtisky) takes advantage of the gap in the logic of Nearing to build up a case for his superior officers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who are among the most enthusiastic advocates and practitioners of class collaboration. In the "Advance," official organ of the A. C. W., for May 8th, a discussion between the two is printed.

It would probably be no hazardous guess that Nearing's article would not have been printed but for the opportunity it gave Hardman to affirm a few dogmas of the Hillman philosophy. Hardman mentions that the fact that Hillman, collaborating with the clothing manufacturers of Chicago, in 1924, put across a general reduction in wages in an attempt to build a fighting organization, and of which he speaks so highly, is a concrete example of it is good.

It is the guiding principle behind every labor bank, and the main slogan: "All power to the producers." Short of such classconscious understanding, battles on both the economic and political fields will be lost by the working class, and the revolution will be stillborn, just as it was in the days of the old dualism and class collaboration.

Another year of losses for the American workers..."
to be practical, we must have labor banks, Hillman policies, etc.

Collaboration of classes is the practice that arises from the theory that the working class and the capitalist class have some common interests that enable them to work peacefully together to the benefit of both. This practice turns out to be, in reality, the surrender of the working class to the capitalist class, and its delverence to the tender mercies of its enemy. It finds its institutional expression in the R. O. Plan, labor banks in the present form, the Civic Federation, etc.

Hardman is a former Communist who is turning his talents toward helping confuse the workers as to what is the theory and practice of class collaboration, one who has become the handmaiden of reaction.

Nearing is a former liberal who is painfully fighting his way toward the position of Communism, of the relentless struggle for the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, but who has not worked out as yet all the implications of his position.

Class-conscious workers will know how to refute the attempts to corrupt their thinking and to bring them back into the fold of their former masters, and help to correct his errors, and continue to rally ever larger masses of the American working class for revolutionary struggle and against the vicious practices of class collaboration in the trade unions of this country.

---

Poems by Jim Waters

"CANNED"

To hell with you!
You ain't the whole earth,
Not by a damn sight!
You prostitute, you drunk, you beggar;
You ain't the whole earth,
Not by a damn sight!
To hell with you!
What a nice employer you are.
To hell with you!
You can't bulldoze me!
Riding in limousines, showing off on the golf links, you can't bulldoze me!
And talking open shop at the Union Club.
"I'm losing money . . . hurry-up pull-out . . ."
On Monday you go blue in the face cursing your men.
"You can't bulldoze me!"
What a nice employer you are.
To hell with you!
What a nice employer you are.
To hell with you!
You can't bulldoze me!

---

SPRING POEM

SPRING (Cleveland, Ohio)

Through the ducts of palatial churches;
At Fifth and Canal street,
The Rt. Reverend Percy Larder Livewell
Moves his hungry worshippers to tears
By pronouncing benedictions on the worthy.
And distorting his fat face in a caricature
Of the Suffering and the living Christ.
O, spring is here
And the annual show of streets and alleys
Fills the nostrils with nauseous odors.

PUBLIC SQUARE

Begin my lap, and welcome,
You ragged sons of toil, you vagrant,
You prostitute, you drunk, you beggar;
I see more in you than objects for scorn:
You are red prayers, symbols of a new Dawn.

Come mount this rostrum, you radical;
Come, gather here in welcome, my children,
I see more in you than objects for scorn:
You are red prayers, symbols of a new Dawn.

Come gather here in welcome, my children,
For I am the Mother-heart of this city
Whose breast is aching with expection.

---

Max Eastman, a member of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, has just written a book nominally defending Trotsky, but actually attacking the majority of the Russian Communist Party and the leaders of the Communist International. It has chosen to publish it in the midst of a wave of world reaction, which began several months ago with Trotsky's arrest in the moment when the capitalist press in every country is doing its level best with slanders and forgeries, in order to shake the stubborn faith of the workers that the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia is their own government. Max Eastman has done little bit to assist in this barrage which is intended to preface a military attack on the Soviets.

It is little difficult to make out what Max Eastman thinks is the real trouble between Trotsky and the rest of the Russian Communists. Eastman does not make it easier for us by a very confused style, cross-references, repetitions, etc. But by dint of patience, we are able to find out, at any rate, what Max Eastman thinks (a) of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party; (b) of the most active members—officials, delegates, etc.—of that Party; (c) of the Party as a whole.

Max Eastman on the Communist Leaders.

On the national leaders—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Rykov, Bukharin, etc. "The machine" (p. 55). "The heads of the bureaucracy" (p. 55). "Their speeches and articles..." would be thrown out of a prize essay contest in a school for defective children. (p. 55). "The bureaucratic methods employed in the Party...pressed over by Stalin, were the source of his power." (p. 59). "The performance at this convention (the XIIIth) was a continuation of the deliberately unscrupulous campaign carried on during the winter." (p. 59). "Nobody can tell how much Trotsky's sickness played into the hands of his enemies. It is certain that..."