# Irgun: Threat to Israel Democracy

By AL and ED FINDLEY

Menachem Beigin's recent visit to the U.S., heralded by full page ads, attracted attention and aroused considerable controversy. There were an open letter signed by Rabbi Lazaron, a Protestant minister and a Catholic priest, and a statement issued to the welcoming committee signed by Prof. Einstein, Sidney Hook and other personalities (including Seymour Melman of the Council for Jewish-Arab Cooperation), both of which attacked Beigin. In addition, there was the picket line of the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League. Who is Beigin? What is his Freedom Party (Irgun) and why all the furor?

The answer to the last question is that the Freedom Party, headed by Beigin, is making a bid for power in Israel. Their success or failure in Israel depends to a considerable extent on the amount of moral and financial support they can muster in the U.S.A. in general and among the Jews in particular. The Irgun commander, Beigin, has to some extent become a legendary figure, whose anti-British struggle has attracted many Americans - liberals and exradicals. They admire this struggle, but are not familiar with the political history of the Irgun leaders and unknowingly aid a party that is a threat to the democratic character of Israel and a barrier to Arab-Jewish cooperation and to peace in the Near

The Freedom Party poses as a new political formation, which sprang into existence full-blown through the transformation of the Irgun into a political party. The fact is that it itself acknowledges a political tradition and an organized body of thought. Any attempt to deal with the Freedom Party on the basis of its platitudinous program would be sheer nonsense. Only one thing can be gathered from its program—the Freedom Party considers itself an irredentist movement above classes.

To really understand the Freedom Party and the Irgun a study of its leaders and their political origin and past politics is necessary. Not the Irgun, the Freedom Party, nor any of its leaders have ever repudiated their political ideology. We must look at the political tradition of the organization, see whose disciples they claim to be and whose books they

We have received several challenges to justify the accusations we recently made against the Irgun movement, now called the Freedom Party (Heiruth) in Palestine. The article which appears below, the most extensive account of the Irgun movement yet published so far as we know, presents that justification. To questioners we have said, and repeat it here, that we are prepared to withdraw any part, or the whole, of our indictment if it can be disproved.

As the article sets forth, we recognize a difficulty. Until recently when it officially became a political party, that is to say, during its years of underground existence, the Irgun published few written documents except for broadsides. The nature of Irgun must therefore be traced to its originators, to the elements which compose it, to the people who constitute its leadership.

Some Irgun sympathizers have claimed that the Heiruth cannot be held responsible for the views that individuals who are now in its leadership, once held; that, for example, one could not accuse an anti-Stalinist organization of Stalinism because former Stalinists have joined it. The difference is that in the case of, let us say, a Stalinist joining a social-democratic party in the U.S., it is done as a clear break with Stalinism, and everybody knows it. But where is this true of the Irgun party, or its leaders whom we discuss below? Where are the programmatic disclaimers of Jabotinskyism? Where are the written repudiations?

Admittedly, much of our evidence is "old," going back to the 30s or before. We have, however, seen no evidence to discount the validity of this evidence today. We have heard the argument that much of the evidence against Irgun comes from anti-Irgun sources, like the labor Zionists. That is more or less in the nature of things. However, the accusations made by these sources link logically with the views of those who can be proved to be the ideological creators of Irgun, as set forth

So too, Irgunist sympathizers have pointed to the heroic behavior of young Irgun fighters in the fight against Britain. Yes, this heroism, this militancy is to be commended, and we have done so in LABOR ACTION. These young men and women may themselves have been motivated by the noblest purposes. Unfortunately, it is irrelevant to the matter, as irrelevant as the heroism of a Chinese peasant fighter would be in discussing the political objectives of Chinese Stalinism.

We are prepared to return to this question as occasion demands, either to add to the evidence here presented, or to withdraw whatever in our charges can be proved false. We would like to hear in writing from an official spokesman for Irgun or the Freedom Party.—Editor.

continue to circulate as official dog-

In addition, we must take into account the character of its supporters and the movements with which they are fusing. (Beigin is reported to have promulgated a slogan, "No Link—No Bridge" to the Revisionists when he assumed command of Irgun in 1943. We cannot, however, view this as anything more than a political convenience.)

The job of nailing down the Irgun and Freedom Party is a little difficult. For one thing, they were an underground organization and there is little material except for broadsides, radio statements and only occasional written proclamations. In ad-

dition, in the past few years, since the Irgunists began to pretend to be an "all class and all party" national movement, they have deliberately withheld their ideas.

However, an impartial examination of the evidence can come to only one conclusion. The Freedom Party, with the reactionary ideological background of its leadership, its social composition, its chauvinism, its hostility to the trade union movement today — coupled with the fact that it has never seriously repudiated the anti-labor ideology of its theoretical founders—suggests a definite fascist threat. A threat that at present, after the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini and in the present

democratic atmosphere of Palestine, assumes a different form but that can nevertheless drive to fascism given the proper historical turn of events.

# ORIGIN OF IRGUN-

The Irgun's early history is shrouded in some mystery. One thing is clear, however. The Irgun was founded in the thirties by dissident groupings within the Revisionist movement. Who are the Revisionists and what is their ideology?

The Revisionists were (and are) an ultra-nationalist organization within the Zionist movement, originally led by Vladimir Jabotinsky. This movement developed an anti-labor orientation and practice. It was also anti-Arab. In addition to its chauvinist and reactionary character, the Revisionists had groupings that openly proclaimed fascist ideas. Of these, the best known are the "Revolutionary Zionists," the "Brith Baryonim" and the group around Wolfgang Von Weisal.

The Revolutionary Zionist program called for "a national dictatorship, creation of a Jewish state through blood and fire." Their programmatic statement went on to say "Mussolini is the man who saved humanity from communism. We are the pioneers in the struggle against Socialism, Marxism and Communism... For ten years we have been seeking a Jewish Mussolini." (Alazaroff trial evidence, Aug. 1933)

Abba Achimeyer was one of the most anti-labor and pro-fascist thinkers of the Revisionist movement. He was the theoretician of the Brith Baryonim.

ABBA ACHIMEYER's political philosophy is clearly indicated in the speech he made to an assembly of Haifa students. "You are not students, you are so much molasses. There is not one of you capable of committing murder after the fashion of those German students who murdered Rathenau. [German liberal leader—F.] You lack the national spirit that dominated the Germans. There is not a single one among you who could kill like the German students who murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg."

Abba Achimeyer is now one of the (Continued on page 3) A Documentation of the Accusations Against Beigin's Party

# Irgun: Threat to Israel Democracy and Arab-Jewish Cooperation—

(Continued from page 1) chief editors of the Freedom Party daily.

VLADIMIR JABOTINSKY, leader of the Revisionists, supported and protected these fascist elements from the criticism of nationalist non-fascist elements in the Revisionists, led by Meir Grossman, Jabotinsky wrote: "I take my hat off to my friend and teacher, Abba Achimeyer." (Jewish Morning Journal, 1930.)

WOLFGANG VON WEISAL (Vienna, 1935) called on the Revisionist movement to adopt the "Fuehrer" principle.

Wolfgang now is a leader of the Freedom Party.

It was from among these groups that Irgun was formed.

For the first few years the Irgun was a part of the New Zionist Organization organized by the Revisionists. A. Abrahams, head of the political department of the NZO, said in 1944

-"The Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern groups were, until 1940, a military body, united in a single organization and closely associated with the New

The fascist Italian government hailed the Revisionist World Conference in Vienna, in September, 1935. The official Italian news agency, Orienta Moderna, made the reason for Mussolini's enthusiasm very clear: "The Revisionists take a sympathetic attitude toward Italy. Their paper. Havardein, stands on the side of Italy in the conflict in Ethiopia, because the Revisionists are extreme nationalists and outspoken opponents of the official labor movement."

Zionist Organization." The Irgun never really broke with the Revisionists. The Irgunists considered themselves a separate group that had more important work - military organization. There was a de facto division of labor—the Revisionists combatted the Zionist and labor Zionist politicians, while the Irgun built up its military power. They grew apart organizationally, with the Irgun leaders refusing to obey the orders of the "politicos" of the Revisionist movement

What ideology did the Irgun claim? Borisov, pro-Irgun author of "Palestine Underground" (1947), says: "The Irgun has always considered itself disciples and spiritual heirs to Vladimir Jahotinsky, the founder and leader of the Revisionist movement in Zionism."

On the eighth anniversary of Jabotinsky's death, the Irgun issued an "ORDER OF THE DAY" which said, in its eulogy of Jabotinsky:"For the eighth time we turn to the grave of the first commander of the Irgun, Zeev Jabotinsky."

The Freedom Party still considers Jabotinsky its leader and ideologist. "Basaar," paper of the Youth Section of the Freedom Party, dedicates a current issue to "Jabotinsky - our commander." The works of Jabotinsky are still circulated and held up as the theoretical foundation of the Freedom Party.

IRGUN RECRUITMENT AND BETAR

The backbone and core of the Irgun is recruited from Betar. Menachem Beigin himself was head of the Polish Betar. His quick transition (just about overnight) from head of the largest Betar organization in Europe to commander of the Irgun in Palestine was a duplication of the careers of many of the lower echelon leaders of the Irgun.

"Answer," organ of the American League for a Free Palestine (American sympathizers of Irgun), gives great publicity to Betar and comments: "This is the seed which Jabotinsky planted and from which come the Beigins and Gruners." Thus even the "Answer" indicates that the majority, or a significant section, of the Irgunists come from the Betar and maintain its ideology.

Menachem Beigin paid tribute to this fact on his recent visit to the U. S. While in New York he "reviewed the troops" of the Betar. (Explanation is offered that it was only an unavoidable courtesy to young people, that they are only tolerated. But facts remain facts. Why review them at all, if "unwillingly"?)

What kind of organization is the Betar from which Beigin came and whom he genially "reviews"? The Betar is a semi-military youth organization of the Revisionists that has usually tended away from the moderate Revisionists to the more extreme Baryonim and Irgunists.

Abba Achimeyer wrote: "My last lecture in Betar occasioned me some pleasure. I asked: 'What is the correct vardstick by which to evaluate events?' Someone answered: 'By the amount of bloodshed that accompanies them.' To which I replied: 'This the correct answer according to Betar! It is by the amount of bloodshed that we can evaluate a revolution, and not by the beautiful ideas for which the blood is shed.'

Betar was the only Jewish organization given permission to parade in Hitler Germany. The Berlin movement of Hashomer Hatzair was betrayed by Betar to Nazi hangmen. [Youth and Nation (Hashomer Hatzair periodical) March, 1947]

The Polish Betar supported the "Colonel's" dictatorial government in Poland. In return, Polish government officials urged Jewish youth to join Betar and gave it facilities to train as a military group. Despite the government's support, the Polish Betar never reached the size of other Jewish youth movements, such as the Bundist Youth and the Socialist Zionist Youth.

Jabotinsky formulated the ideology of Betar. In "The Ideology of Betar," he wrote: "A 'Cherem' (taboo) against the two national crimesstrikes and lockouts. . . . Since the

strongest of the labor organizations in Palestine does not recognize these principles, but insists upon the classstruggle viewpoint, the Betarim workers do not join the Histadruth."

It was for this reason and this reason alone that the Revisionists organized a dual union, the "Histadruth Ovdim Leumit," to smash strikes, supply strikebreakers and in general do the work in Palestine done by the Nazi Labor Front before the Nazis came to power in Germany. The slogan created to launch this organization was, significantly, "Yes - Destroy!" (the Histadruth)

The anti-labor attitude of Jabotinsky is further exemplified in the following quotations:

"Every labor strike is treason!" (Speech in Tel-Aviv, 1928)

"With the authority of an honest man and honest writer, I remove the stigma attached to the expression 'strike-breaking' in Palestine." (Ras-

viet, No. 43, 1932)

"We accordingly hold that the 'class war' theory, be it good or bad when applied to other countries, should not be applied to Palestine. Conflicts of interests between employers and labor should be settled by obligatory national arbitration.... Both strike and lockout, as well as the boycott of Jewish labor, should be declared treasonable to the interests of Zionism and REPRESSED by every legal and moral means at the (Jabotinsky, nation's disposal."

"State Zionism," p. 10) This pamphlet on State Zionism continues to be one of the basic political tracts of the Freedom Party's educational work

The Freedom Party continues this anti-labor attitude of their leader, Jabotinsky. They now use these ridiculous arguments:

1. Mapai (Palestinian Labor Party) has a monopoly, and like Mussolini, the Freedom Party piously wants only "to break the Mapai monopoly on trade unions." This despite the fact that the Histadruth has within it the Mapai, Mapam (socialist) and Oved Hatzioni (liberal capitalist) Parties and shares the trade union field with the Hapoel Hamisrachi and Paole Agudath Israel.

2. They also charge (a charge learned from the propaganda of Hitler) that the bona fide trade unions are "capitalist." By this they mean the funds of the cooperatives organized by the Histadruth. What they forget to mention is these, are run on a non-profit basis.

The viciously anti-labor attitude of the Irgun's theoreticians has not been the usual reactionary one, but of a really fascist kind. An essay written by Abba Achimeyer, "Megiloth Sikarim." says: "We must create groups for action to EXTERMI-NATE THE HISTADRUTH PHYSI-CALLY: they are worse than the Arabs. 'P' into their meetings." ("P" was interpreted to stand for the Hebrew word Petzatzoth-bombs.)

That the "Megiloth" were genuine

who wrote in Chazit Haam (1934): (Revisionist periodical edited by leaders of the Brith Baryonim)

"The Baryonim ought to serve as symbols of true Jewish fighters for liberty. The documents discovered in their possession are the True Gospel." Thus wrote Uri Zvi Greenberg, not only acknowledging the facts but also approving the fascist ideology.

Uri Zvi Greenberg is now reported to be a leader of the Freedom Party and in any case, a contributor to their newspaper.

### ENDORSE TERROR AGAINST JEWISH OPPONENTS

A Pamphlet entitled "The Third Destruction," circulated by a similar grouping of Revisionists, says: "The calamity comes from within, not from abroad. Therefore we must direct our struggle first of all against the internal enemy."

It was this attitude that led to physical attacks and terrorism against the political enemies of these totalitarians. Workers' clubs were attacked and burned. Specially singled out for attack was Hashomer Hatzair.

The anti-Histadruth policy of the Revisionists and the Irgun Zvei Leumi erupted in typically fascist hooligan violence as recently as December 16, 1946. Eighty people were hurt, eighteen of them hospitalized, as a result of an Irgun-led assault on pickets in Petach Tikvah.

The news agency Palcor, December

15. 16 and 18. 1946, reported as follows: "The strikers comprise workers of the General Labor Exchange. which included ALL national labor organizations, except the Revisionist national labor organization." . . . "ALL labor organizations represented in the General Labor Exchange-Histadruth, Poel Hamizrachi, General Zionist Workers and Poali Agudat Yisrael-issued a united appeal to the workers in Petah Tikvah to support the General Exchange."

"The fighting started at 5:00 a.m. Friday, when eighty men, reportedly UNDER THE COMMAND OF MEM-BERS OF IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI, surrounded 'Sib' factory, from which Revisionist workers had been forcibly removed on Thursday by pickets. . . . The new arrivals reportedly attacked the pickets with stones and knives, and one girl among them threw a scare bomb.'

This clash gives the lie to Revisionist and pro-Irgun apologetics in which the existence of a Revisionist-Irgun, anti-strike, dual union is justified on the grounds of a trade union 'monopoly" by the "Marxist" Mapai (Palestinian Labor Party.)

This hatred of the labor movement. even of the mild reformist variety of the Mapai, led to the political assassination of Chaim Arlazaroff, a Palestinian labor leader by Abraham Stavsky, an activist of the Brith Bary-

Abraham Stavsky was convicted and sentenced to death by the Court of Criminal Assize for the murder of

was admitted by Uri Zvi Greenberg, Dr. Alazaroff. His appeal was upheld, but only on technical grounds. The technical grounds were that Palestine law required more than identification by one witness, it required more corroborative evidence. "In England," the Chief Justice said, "the conviction would have had to stand." (Palestine Post, July 22, 1934)

Abraham Stavsky was one of the deputies of Beigin, commander of the Irgun. He was killed in 1948 in an attempt to land the Altelana's arms cargo (killed near the same spot that Alazaroff was assassinated).

### OVERLAPPING LEADERSHIP OF THE GROUPINGS

The overlapping of membership between the Irgun, the Betar and Freedom Party is matched by the overlapping of leadership between the pro-fascist Brith Baryonim, Revolutionary Zionists and the Freedom Party. We have cited Wolfgang Von Weisal, Stavsky, Abba Achimeyer, Uri Zvi Greenberg. A word about Greenberg. He not only endorsed the fascist ideology of the Brith Baryonim and was an editor of "Chazit Haam," but was also a proponent of the propaganda of the "big lie" as propounded in "Mein Kampf." He wrote, "The periodical (Chazit Haam) must make itself beloved both for its truth and its holy falsehood." Any reading of Irgun and American League propaganda shows they have learned very well the insidious technique of "The Big Lie." Many other Revisionist leaders are now in the leadership of the Freedom Party and its foreign affiliates including Uri Jabotinsky, son of Vladimir Jabotinsky, William Ziff, etc. Noah Ben Tuvim, recent representative of Irgun in the U. S., was editor of "Chazit Haam." This list can be extended almost indefinitely.

In addition, there is now a strong tendency of the Freedom Party to re-unite with the Revisionists all over the world. This tendency only underscores the fact that their original separation was more formal and personal than real.

The "Answer" of October 15, 1948, reports that the National Conference of Zionist - Revisionists in Palestine, decided by a majority of 63 to 32, to merge with the Freedom movement. The United Zionist-Revisionists Party of Great Britain and Ireland hailed the Freedom Party as "the principal effective expression of the political ideals formulated and taught by Vladimir Jabotinsky."

The U.S. Betar, in national convention, September, 1948, called upon Beigin to become commander of the World Betar. That Beigin will do his best to achieve this is evidenced by his "review" of the U.S. Betar troops.

The moderates, under the leadership of Meir Grossman, head of the World Executive of Revisionists, are fighting against this tendency, but will probably not succeed. Grossman's main argument is characteristically that the time now is no longer ripe for military men, but for political men. There is never any indicationnow or before on either side-of any disagreement with or revision of Jabotinsky's principles. In many a discussion with rank and file Irgunists and Revisionists no one has ever been able to point to any principled disagreement between the Irgun's official policy and the official policy of the Revisionists.

### ATTITUDE TOWARD ARABS AND IRREDENTIST POLICY

Irredentism occupies a central position in the Freedom Movement's program of action. It demands the continuation of the Palestine war until the Arab-held areas of Palestine and Transjordan are incorporated into Israel.

While not 100 per cent predetermined, this irredentism entails the development of a political practice hostile to Palestinian Arabs. The ideological baggage and traditions of the Irgun-Jabotinsky movement virtually guarantee this.

Jabotinsky, the first commander of the Irgun and acknowledged ideologue of the Freedom Party, established the line long ago in his frequent polemics against those Zionists who entertained "vain" hopes of Arab-Jewish reconciliation. Here is a typical instance:

"Zionist colonization must be either terminated or carried out against the wishes of the native population. This colonization can therefore be confinued and make progress under the protection of a power independent of the native population-an iron wall, which will be in position to resist the pressure of the native population. This is, in toto, our policy toward the Arabs-a voluntary reconciliation with the Arabs is out of the question either now or in the near future." (The Iron Wall, in Rassviet, 1925, German Edition.)

The Irgun carried into action the anti-Arab doctrine of its teacher-Jabotinsky. The Irgun first came into public notice during the riots of 1936-39. While the Mufti-Arabs attacked Jews indiscriminately, the Jewish community under the leadership of the socialist parties adopted a defensive attitude known as Havlagah. This policy consisted of attacking only known Arab bands and retaliating only against Arabs guilty of attacking Jews.

The Irgun, then closely associated with the Revisionist NZO, adopted the attitude that all Arabs are guilty and began to engage in indiscriminate retaliatory terror against Arabs by bombing cafes, market places and ambushing Arabs wherever they could. Irgunists falsely claimed that only by adopting the Mufti's pogromistic tactics and turning them against the Arabs, but doing a better job, could the Jews stop the riots and pogroms. In practice their tactics only strengthened the Mufti.

In the fall of 1943, the Irgunists, in

a political advertisement in the N. Y. Times, under the name of one of their early American fronts-"The American Resettlement Committee for Uprooted European Jewry" - proposed that the Palestinian Arabs be transferred to Iraq. They took some care to describe the project as "voluntary" and "organized," but in the light of Dir Yassin, one can hardly be blamed for interpreting such a transfer plan as a proposal for forced deportation. That these front committees, including the American League for a Free Palestine, were directed by the "Palestine Delegation" of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, was admitted by Pierre Van Paassen, who for a long time was an active participant in most of them but who later broke with them. Here is the way Van Paassen put it: "sponsored by the same Palestinian body. through its delegation here in America; the fascist, terrorist Irgun." (April. 1945.)

In the 1948 struggle between the Jews and Arabs, the Irgun repeated its actions of 1936-39. The most glaring example of this is the pogrom organized jointly by the Irgun and Stern groups against the Arabs-men, women and children-of Dir Yassin.

Irgunists, when they are not stressing the fundamental incompatibility of Jew and Arab, sometimes pretend to be the "best friends" of the Arabs. Some have even recently claimed that their opposition to Histadruth is partly based on Histadruth's exclusionist policies.. But Dir Yassin speaks more on Irgun policy towards Arabs than a thousand friendly gestures or statements, which are invariably contradicted! (There, Jabotinsky could, in a 1942 book, allege that an Arab could be vice-president, or president, of the Hebrew state-and then speak calmly some pages later of moving the entire Arab population, voluntarily, of

### THE MASSACRE AT DIR YASSIN

Dir Yassin was a village on the strategic highway between Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv. It was the only village in the Jerusalem area that had not appealed to any Arab authority as being in danger from the Jews. The villagers lived under an agreement of non-aggression with Jewish settlements surrounding it. In the winter of 1947 (long before the Dir Yassin massacre in April, 1948) Abba Hushi. Jewish labor leader, cited a number ers had fought off Arab bands attempting to infiltrate and occupy them as positions against the Jews. Dir Yassin was prominently noted. Its villagers had successfully repelled an armed Arab band which attempted to entrench itself in the village mill. These Arab villagers, who faithfully carried out their obligation to exclude strangers and to maintain peaceful relations, despite the partition fighting, were the victims of the only Jewish pogrom, carried out by Irgun and

Sternist squadristi. An Irgun broadcast of April 11, 1948, reported: "We have counted 240 Arab dead. Our casualties are four dead, four wounded and twenty-eight slightly injured."

The majority of those killed were women and children. The village was not occupied by

any foreign or Kaliwkzi troops when the Irgun and Stern groups attacked. A letter from the Haganah District Commander, April 7, 1948, printed in "Answer" (organ of the American League for a Free Palestine) on May 7, 1948, to justify the strategic importance of the village, establishes that at that time, Dir Yassin was not occupied by foreign Arabs. The Haganah commander cautioned against blowing up the village "since it will bring in its wake the desertion of the village by its inhabitants and its occupation by foreign forces." This nails as a lie the Irgun communiques, which justified their assault on the village by claiming that "Iraqui and

The recent Irgun version of the murder of the women and children of Dir Yassin is that the Irgunists, at great danger to themselves. FIRST warned the women and children to leave the village and then attacked. This is clearly contradicted by the Irgun Communique of April 9, 1948. It speaks of storming and capturing most of the enemy strongholds without warning. The Irgun communique goes on to say "While the attack was

in progress, a loudspeaker warned

the women and children to seek shel-

ter in the mountain slopes. Many

saved their lives that way." As to how

many, the communique is diplomati-

cally silent, since few villagers sur-

Syrian troops arrived in the village."

The real reason for the massacre of Dir Yassin was first the need of the Irgun and Stern groups for a "victory" to enhance their prestige vis-avis the Haganah, which had scored a series of gains. In addition, they wanted to transform the war into a war of all Arabs against all Jews. The tawdry propaganda nature of the Dir Yassin massacre is clearly brought out by the April 12, 1948 issue of the "Palestine Post," an impartial Palestinian newspaper: "They scored a cheap victory, 'capturing' a village that was peaceable and constituted no menace." "How desperate for applause the dissidents were, is to be seen in their squalid parade of their

That Dir Yassin was a pogrom and not a battle, is further evidenced by the Chief Rabbis of Palestine, Dr. I. H. Herzog and Rabbi B. Z. Uziel, who issued a statement "vigorously condemning the murder by an IZL and Stern unit of the Arab villagers of Dir

helpless prisoners who had to be

taken from them by the Haganah and

handed over to the government secur-

ity forces for safety."

These Rabbis cannot be accused by the Irgunists of being agents of the Jewish Agency and therefore agents of Britain. They have more than once engaged in friendly acts towards the Irgun and interceded in their behalf. As a matter of fact, they are considered to be "sympathetic" to the Irgun.

The record convicts the Irgun of organizing a useless massacre and pogrom at Dir Yassin. A massacre that served as the only victory of the Mufti, who used it as the basis for cruel retaliation. How many Jews and Arabs lost their lives as a consequence of this brutality will never be known, but their number is sufficient to condemn the Irgun for irresponsible bar-

#### A SUMMARY OF THE CHARGES

The documentation we have here presented establishes in our opinion the following:

1. The anti-labor, pro-fascist character of the Revisionist wings from which emerged much of the Freedom Movement's leadership.

2. The great overlapping between the leadership of the old Mussoliniworshipping Brith Baryonim, Revolutionary Zionist League, with that of the newly formed Freedom Movement. Ideologues of the former remain theoreticians of the later.

3. That the Irgun and Freedom Movement leaders and ranks consider themselves to be the principal spokesman of the Jabotinsky movement and circulate Jabotinsky's programmatic documents without repudiation or revision of any of the many reactionary ideas that abound in them.

4. That the temporary organizational separation of the Irgun from the Revisionist political movement, was essentially formal, reflecting no organic ideological break and expressing, in part, competition between cliques of Revisionist politicians. Now that the period of illegality is over, the formal division of the Jabotinsky movement in Palestine into a legal party and an illegal military underground is being ended by their reunion in the Freedom Movement.

5. That the Revisionist-Irgun Freedom Movement is the executor of a virulently anti-Arab tradition and a key obstacle on the road toward Arab-Jewish unity and cooperation.

The conclusion that Beigin's Freedom Movement is a threat to the democratic character of Israel and a force hostile to Arab-Jewish cooperation is inescapable. It is a totalitarian enemy

that must be exposed and combatted. American liberals and socialists have an important role to play in

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# The Nationalist Movement in Indonesia

Already before World War I, imperialism had raised against itself movements for colonial freedom everywhere. In Indonesia the earliest movements were semi-religious Islamic, which by 1917 had 800,000 members and had reached the consciousness of organizing a national congress which demanded independence. Spiritually Indies' nationalism looked to India for guidance.

After 1918, as everywhere in Asia, the nationalist movement began to divide along class lines. A new generation of leadership arose which no longer accepted Serekat Islam's limited goal of autonomy with the empire.

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In 1920 the Communist Party of Indonesia was formed. One of its founders was Tanmalaka. By 1924 the entire nationalist movement had launched a great struggle. Trade unions had grown into large mass organizations, peasant unions covered the islands. In 1926 the CP launched a rebellion under its own leadership which failed, was bloodily suppressed and the party outlawed. By the next year, however, the indefatigable Tanmalaka had reorganized the party from exile.

The CP leadership, however, was dispersed. Some under Muso went to Moscow to become the Stalinist machine men in the present CP. One of the present CP leaders, Alimin, has a record as a Stalinist agent in Europe and the Middle East from 1933 to 1941. It was he who helped organize the pogromist riots in Palestine in 1926.

While little is known about the development of the CP, it appears that two distinct tendencies

# LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interest of Socialism Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Co. 114 W. 14th St., New York City 11, N. Y. General Offices: 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117

Vol. 12, No. 52 Dec. 27, 1948 Emanuel Garrett Geltman, Editor Editorial Board: Jack Brad, Ha

Draper, Henry Judd. Business Manager: Thompson Conley Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a year; 50¢ for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada and Foreign)
Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874

developed. One under Alimin is strictly a Stalinist creature, following the line in every detail. A second group under Tanmalaka holds to a policy which has been obscurely labeled "Trotskyist" in the press. Since there are no details available, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the truth. Some of the few facts about Tanmalaka seem to indicate a lack of that absolute servility which is the mark of Stalinism.

Almost a legendary figure in the independence movement, he first conceived and organized an All Southeast Asiatic Revolutionary Party looking toward an "International Workers Republic of Asia." In 1945 he returned from exile and joined with Alimin to reconstruct the CP. The CP leadership joined in the national front under the policy of Stalinism everywhere in the colonies, which is to participate regardless of class lines, so long as CP power is enhanced. In opposition, Tanmalaka raised the slogan, "one-stage revolution" (which was denounced by Mao Tze-tung), that is the kernel of the idea of permanent revolution. He launched a coup which failed and his arrest followed. There are indications that since his abortive coup in 1946 Tanmalaka has split with the CP and gone into openly declared opposition, but here too there is no certainty.

## RISE OF THE REPUBLIC

The present leadership of the Republic of Indonesia, which rose out of the Japanese defeat, is jointly social-democratic, native bourgeois and Islamic. In international politics it has drifted between a pro-Russian and a pro-American orientation. For a long time the CP had a peculiar position of strength through its control of a section of the SP under Sjarifoeddin, who revealed in February 1948 that he had been a secret member of the CP for 10 years. At that time the SP split, the majority going with Sjahrir, who advocates a pro-India orientation with close relations to Pandit Nehru. Another factor aiding the CP was that only Russia and her satellites recognized the Republic and denounced the resumption of war by the Dutch in February 1947.

Incidentally, throughout Southeast Asia, political groups are developing around the program of a Southeast Asian Union independent of both imperialist camps. This movement finds its inspiration in the Indian Republic.

In August of this year Muso, a Russian agent, managed to get into Java, where he became almost immediately the leader of the CP. The line of government cooperation was changed overnight to one of opposition. Muso united the Stalinist wing of the SP, the CP and the Labor Party into a

"Workers Front." On September 2 a reorganization of the CP leadership was announced with Tanmalaka out and Muso, Alimin and Sjarifoedain in. Muso became chairman of the party.

public on the grounds that it had capitulated to the Dutch by signing the Renville agreement. There are indications that this revolt, like those in Burma and Malaya, were planned at a Southeast Asian conference of CPs in February and March, 1948, in Calcutta, as part of the Russian program for disruption of the Marshall Plan.

## THE RENVILLE TRUCE

On January 17, 1948, the Dutch agreed to a truce, while a UN committee negotiated peace. "Renville truce" was scheduled to last one year. But the terms of the truce were so unfavorable to the Republic that its survival has been increasingly difficult. The Dutch retained the areas they captured in 1947. This restricted Republican territory to less than half of Java. The armies remained at the truce lines so that in effect the Dutch established a military blockade of the Republic.

U.S. fears that the Dutch war will redound to in spite of its current policy.

On Sept. 20 the CP declared war on the Re-

Since Republican Java was poor in food, what with over a million refugees pouring in, a terrible inflation ravaged the land and the price of rice rose 2000 per cent in one year. Absolutely no textiles could be brought in so that the predominant dress became gunny sacks. As a result of the Dutch blockade, no medicines could be brought in and many illnesses simply cannot be treated. As a result of the blockade also, acquiesced in by the Western imperialists, the Republic could receive no arms so that it had to demobilize % of its soldiers because they had no guns. These were the conditions which permitted the Stalinists to plan their revolt and the Dutch to renew their war of conquest.

The Republic is thus threatened by the Dutch and the Stalinists The internal politics, likewise, are extremely complex. The Dutch have taken advantage of all these difficulties to set up a series. of puppet governments in the islands against the

the CP's benefit and any "middle groups" will be eliminated. At a time when the CP is on the march in China and a CP army is holed up in the islands' interiors, the U.S. feels the Dutch are wrong to launch their offensive at this time. Yet the Dutch troops march with U.S. guns and U.S. planes bomb the Republican armies, so American policy is not highly regarded in Java