

Makale Gönderim Tarihi: 22.01.2025 - Makale Kabul Tarihi: 18.03.2025
DOI: 10.29329/tegad.2025.1301.1

A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO THE ROLES OF HAGANAH, IRGUN, AND LEHI IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations in the establishment of Israel from 1920 to 1948 by applying constructivist theory. The contribution of these terrorist organizations to the formation process of the State of Israel is multifaceted. They undertook important tasks in weakening the British mandate, taking precautions and retaliation against Arab attacks, protecting Jewish settlements, and creating a suitable environment for immigration. In particular, radical terrorist activities organized by the Irgun and Lehi terrorist organizations furthered and deepened the process of establishing Israel. The results of the actions carried out by Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations weakened the British mandate, created a military infrastructure for the war of independence, and provided material and nonmaterial support for the establishment of the State of Israel. The security policies and types of violence implemented by the terrorist organizations during the construction of the State of Israel are closely related to security and terrorism activities. This study hypothesizes that the roles played by the Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations in the establishment of Israel were one of the main driving forces that shaped the fundamental elements, such as military infrastructure, ideological orientation, and political transformation, and significantly accelerated the establishment process of the State of Israel.

Keywords: *The Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi Terrorist Organizations, Establishment of Israel, Zionism, Terrorism, Constructivism.*

İsrail'in Kuruluşunda Haganah, Irgun ve Lehi'nin Rollerine Yapısalcı Bir Yaklaşım

Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı, 1920-1948 yılları arasında Haganah, Irgun ve Lehi terör örgütlerinin İsrail'in kuruluşundaki rolünü yapılandırmacı teoriyi uygulayarak incelemektir. Bu örgütlerin İsrail Devleti'nin kuruluş sürecine katkısı çok yönlüdür. İngiliz mandasını zayıflatma, Arap saldırılarına karşı önlem alma ve misilleme yapma, Yahudi yerleşim yerlerini koruma ve göç için uygun bir ortam yaratma konusunda önemli görevler üstlenmişlerdir. Özellikle Irgun ve Lehi örgütlerinin gerçekleştirdiği radikal terörist faaliyetler İsrail'in kuruluş sürecini daha da ilerletmiş ve derinleştirmiştir. Haganah, Irgun ve Lehi örgütlerinin gerçekleştirdiği

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eylemlerin sonuçları İngiliz mandasını zayıflatmış, İsrail bağımsızlık savaşı için askeri bir altyapı oluşturmuş ve İsrail Devleti'nin kurulması için maddi ve manevi destek sağlamıştır. Örgütlerin İsrail Devleti'nin kuruluşu sırasında uyguladıkları güvenlik politikaları ve şiddet türleri, güvenlik ve terör faaliyetleriyle yakından ilişkilidir. Bu çalışma, Haganah, Irgun ve Lehi terör örgütlerinin İsrail'in kuruluş sürecinde oynadıkları rollerin, askeri altyapı, ideolojik yönelim ve siyasal dönüşüm gibi temel unsurları şekillendiren ana itici güçlerden biri olduğunu ve İsrail devletinin kurulma sürecini önemli ölçüde hızlandığını varsaymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Haganah, Irgun ve Lehi Terör Örgütleri, İsrail'in Kuruluşu, Siyonizm, Terörizm, İnşacılık.*

Introduction

Several Jewish terrorist organizations were established in Palestine from 1920 to 1948, and these terrorist organizations were influential in weakening the British mandate and the establishment of the State of Israel. These terrorist organizations played critical roles in defending or attacking Arab attacks and committing terrorism, undermining the British mandate authority, developing and spreading Zionist ideology, and supporting the migration of Jews to Palestine. Although the different ideologies and tactics adopted by each group in this process created complexity, the common identity that formed the terrorist organizations was the establishment of an Independent State of Israel.

This paper asks the main research question: "What impact did Haganah, Lehi, and Irgun have on establishing the state of Israel from 1920 to 1948?". To answer this question, it further asks two sub-questions, which are 1- factors and 2- ideologies and tactics. Overall, the paper argues that Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi created a collaborative organization that helped the establishment of Israel. This study hypothesizes that the roles played by the Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations in the establishment of Israel were one of the main driving forces that shaped the fundamental elements, such as military infrastructure, ideological orientation, and political transformation, and significantly accelerated the process of gaining Israel's independence.

In the following section, the paper tries to explain the roles and tactics of groups through Constructivist Theory and puts forward a detailed chart that shows the ideologies and tactics of the terrorist organizations. Later on, it analyses the impacts that shape the identities of these groups. Furthermore, it ends with a deep analysis of the impacts of terrorist organizations to answer the main question, supported by the first and second sections. Lastly, a conclusion section is provided.

Constructivist theory provides an important framework for understanding the support of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations in the process of establishing Israel. In particular, although the ideological differences of these groups sometimes cause disagreements among themselves, the foreign policy stance of their identities is towards the establishment of the state

of Israel. The ideological identities that shaped the tactical structure of each organization formed the foundations of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) that would emerge during the War of Independence in 1948. The influence of these identities in shaping the domestic and foreign policy of Israel cannot be ignored. The period between 1920 and 1948 constitutes the basis of the ideological and tactical framework acquired by the terrorist organizations. The terrorist activities carried out by the terrorist organizations during this period increased the conflicts in the region. In particular, Arab and Jewish conflicts, Jewish immigration, and the increase in Zionist movements are other factors that affect the motivations of terrorist organizations.

The paper presents its literature review under three titles: the distinctiveness, ideologies, and tactics of terrorist organizations, factors that triggered the formation of groups, and the impacts of terrorist organizations on the establishment of the state of Israel.

Wendt (1992, pp. 401-404; 1999, pp. 233-236) explains how identity is effective in shaping nations towards a constructivist approach. He also approaches the notion of identity by emphasizing the importance of interests and goals. In addition to this, Demirtaş (2014, p. 172) presents another aspect that has crucial effects on constructivist ideas. He puts forward the importance of non-material factors affecting the identity of the actors. In this context, Erlich & Baer (2016, pp. 41-55) provide a solid understanding of the common idea of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi that mainly shapes their identity and show that their common identity understanding was to aim for the establishment of Israel.

To be able to deepen the analysis process, it is required to discover the ideologies and tactics of the Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations. In line with this idea, Alkhader (2015, pp. 54-69), Bauer (1966, pp. 182-184), Sağlam (2023, p. 1672), Heller (1995, p. 305), Asal (2018, p. 55), Creveld (2002), Balpınar (2016, pp. 583-584), Shpiro (2013, pp. 613-616) and Coutre (2013, pp. 25-28) provide detailed analysis in terms of ideology and tactical approaches. For example, Bauer (1966, pp. 182-184) emphasizes the role of Haganah, which was designed to protect the settlements and assets of the Jews, and its tendency to follow political paths to resolve disputes or crises through negotiations. Heller (1995, p. 306) explains Lehi's organization in terms of its establishment purpose and understanding. On the other hand, Asal (2018, p. 55) sheds light on Irgun and explains the reason for its establishment. Furthermore, Creveld (2002, chapters 2-4) and Balpınar (2016, pp. 583-584) stress the roles of Haganah, while Shpiro (2013, pp. 613-616), Alkhader (2015, p. 69), and (Coutre, 2013, pp. 25-28) provide the role of Irgun and Lehi.

Moreover, the rise of Zionist movements, Arab-Jews conflicts in the Palestine region, and Jewish migration shaped the structure of the terrorist organizations. Halperin (2015, pp. 1-5) explains the main reasons for the rise of Zionism. While Çevik (2021, pp. 27-28) and Duran (2021, pp. 59-67) stress the migration role on how it affects the identity of terrorist organizations, Hassan (2001, pp. 867-869), Duran (2021, p. 66), Husan (2014, pp. 972-973) and Anderson (2021, pp. 629-642) emphasize the Arab-Jews conflicts by providing specific events like second Arab uprising in 1929, Another Arab uprising between 1936-1939, Wailing Wall incident, etc. Asal (2018, pp. 8-13) highlights the basis of political Zionist movements that will shape the fate of Palestine.

These events, which shaped the identities and ideologies of the terrorist organizations, led to the withdrawal of the British mandate from the region and the establishment of the military infrastructure for the 1948 War. Cohen (1973, pp. 571-583) explains that in anticipation of the outbreak of World War II, the British implemented a balance of power through the White Paper between the Arabs and the Jews in the region. He also states that this balance of power puts pressure on Jews and Arabs. Sheffer (2006, pp. 44-52) puts forward that the White Paper restrictions triggered the Jewish lobby activities in America against the British and put pressure on them. In this regard, Alkhader (2015, pp. 66-78), Hoffman (2020, pp. 596-606), and Heller (1995, pp. 122-147) present examples regarding the initiatives of Irgun and Lehi against the British mandate. The most important ones are the bombing of the King Hotel and the assassination of Lord Moyne. The terrorist organizations helped to build a military infrastructure for the 1948 War. While Bar-or (1996, pp. 98-105) and Tal (2004, pp. 887-897) reveal initiatives of Hagana in terms of creating military infrastructure, Shpiro (2013, pp. 607-612), Shavit (1988, pp. 95-99), and Zadka (1996, pp. 100-116) reveal the military infrastructure initiatives of Irgun and Lehi.

A Constructivist Approach to the Ideologies and Tactics of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi

In this section, the paper answers the sub-research question 2, “What are the ideologies and tactics that form the structure of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi?” and integrates constructivist theory to clarify it.

According to constructivism, the relationship between identity, interests, and foreign policy is shaped according to the interests of states and nations. Therefore, constructivism emphasizes that there is no fixed national interest. First of all, states form their identities by being affected by time, space, and other factors. Furthermore, actors create their interests and goals following their identities. These two processes emerge as the main driving forces in the formation of the foreign policy of states. In addition, the direct impact of states’ identities on foreign policies affects the relations between actors in international relations, and these relationships can be both friendly and hostile (Wendt, 1992, pp. 401-404; Wendt, 1999, pp. 233-236). In addition, Constructivism advocates examining the effects of social elements as well as material elements. The effect of these nonmaterial elements on identities is important. These identities form the basis of the policies that will emerge (Demirtaş, 2014, p. 172). Therefore, in order to understand the ideologies, tactics, and foreign policy motivations of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi, their identities must be analyzed.

In line with this idea, despite their tactical and ideological differences, the basis of their identity was to aim for the establishment of Israel. In this context, they undertook different tasks for the same purpose. Their common identity understanding played a leading role in achieving domestic and international interests and became the driving force of the Zionist movements (Erllich & Baer, 2016, pp. 41-55).

The table below summarizes the ideological and tactical positions of the terrorist organizations.

Organization	Ideology	Tactics	Use of Force
Haganah	National Judaism	Defense of settlers, arms smuggling, weapons production and supply, military training.	Generally, defense-oriented with rare armed actions, broad public support, and secret structure.
Irgun (Etsel)	Radical Zionism	Armed actions, sabotages, bomb attacks, targeted assassinations, propaganda.	Highly aggressive and radical, direct attacks against the British, tendency to target civilians.
The Stern Gang (Lehi)	Radical Zionism	Armed actions, sabotages, bomb attacks, selective targeting, propaganda.	Extremely radical and maintaining harsh attacks, targeting the British, tendency to target civilians.

Haganah, the most effective terrorist organization in the establishment of the State of Israel, was the largest organization among the Zionist terrorist organizations. The four factors were effective in the establishment of this organization: Jewish immigration that occurred after the end of the First World War, the Balfour Declaration, the British mandate, and the Jewish troops who served in the British army during the First World War (Alkhader, 2015, pp. 54-55). Haganah (Hebrew Defense Organization in Palestine) was established on June 12, 1920. Haganah was designed only to protect the settlements and assets of Jews from attacks. Haganah initially followed a political path, emphasized that political disputes should be resolved through negotiation, and did not aim for Haganah to be a military force affiliated with a political structure. However, some of its members were considering turning Haganah into a real military force in the future (Bauer, 1966, pp. 182-184).

The Stern (Lehi) organization was founded by Avraham Stern in 1940. The reason Avraham Stern left the Irgun and founded the Lehi organization was that there were disagreements within the Irgun organization about whether to fight against the British or not. While the majority of the Irgun organization advocated stopping fighting against the British and supporting them, the minority led by Avraham Stern opposed the idea of supporting the British. Another reason that triggered the establishment of Lehi was the Struma Tragedy. After Avraham Stern's death in 1942, the organization began to focus more on terrorist activities in Palestine (Sağlam, 2023, p. 1672). Lehi was strongly influenced by the revisionist Zionist ideology because Lehi members believed that Palestinian Arabs were a minority and that Jews were a superior race and would not have equal rights with Arabs (Heller, 1995, p. 306).

Jabotinsky, who opposed the Haganah's view that Zionism could not be achieved by force of arms, which was one of the main debates that emerged in 1921, thought that the British could not impose the idea of an Israeli state on the Arabs. Therefore, people who did not agree with this view and left the Haganah organization founded the organization called Irgun Z'vai Leumi in 1931. The main purpose of establishing the organization was the inadequacy of the Haganah organization in the conflicts carried out by the Arabs in 1929 (Asal, 2018, p. 55).

In this context, Haganah's main purpose was defense planning. Haganah had a commander for each settlement, and each commander was responsible for preparing a defense plan. The Defense plans consisted of three stages: having weapons and other types of equipment, determining the position of each individual who would take part in the defense, and the defensive positions would be used in case of emergency. In order to ensure communication with other Jewish settlements, it was provided by non-modern methods such as whistles, flags, etc. The destroyed settlements were rebuilt and strengthened by Haganah. Furthermore, Haganah was not only a defense organization but also an organization that organized social life. It represented workers before employers and provided employment opportunities to workers. In addition, this organization was in charge of a wide variety of cultural structures, such as schools, clinics, and support clubs. Besides contributing to social life, Haganah also provided military training to Jewish citizens. Experienced Jewish soldiers who served during the First World War undertook this responsibility. The training was usually done in secret places and consisted of military exercises, familiarization with weapons, and mental exercises (Creveld, 2002, chapter 2). Additionally, Haganah placed great emphasis on youth programs like Gadna. The foundations of Gadna were laid by David Ben-Gurion before 1949. Haganah, which tried to raise awareness among young people about the importance of military preparation and self-defense training from a young age, did this by establishing youth movements such as the Gadna Program in order to strengthen national identity and support paramilitary training (Balpınar, 2016, pp. 583-584).

Moreover, Haganah and Irgun played important roles in producing and supplying weapons. Haganah was procuring weapons from individual Arabs and British soldiers and conducting secret operations to produce its weapons without relying on external sources (Bauer, 1966, pp. 201-202). TAAS, which was Haganah's military industry, produced various hand grenades, explosives, and other weapons. Additionally, Haganah increased its production significantly by six times, strengthened its position by 1948, and regularly supplied weapons to Jewish terrorist organizations such as Irgun and Lehi until the War of Independence. Between 1930 and 1933, Haganah took steps to supply additional weapons, sending agents to countries such as Belgium, France, and Italy. Weapons were smuggled into the country by hiding them in immigrant luggage or products such as cement. The period leading up to the Second World War and the psychological atmosphere in the international environment had partially positive effects on this arms supply. This led to Haganah's expansion of its military industries and weapons production before the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. The Leci group organized assassinations of certain people who were against the Jewish nationalists, especially those who cooperated with the British or who prevented the struggle for independence of the Jews in the process of establishing a state. Their method was to form small special teams and gather intelligence to avoid detection and be successful during the assassination. It was also in cooperation with Irgun. Even though there were ideological differences and rivalries between them, they carried out joint operations against the British. Irgun attempted to prove its existence by carrying out bomb attacks on Arab civilians and sabotaging government targets such as telephone cables and railways. These actions were violent, including civilian targets, and resulted in the death of innocent people. Although Irgun perceived the policies of the British as a threat to its interests,

Irgun would suspend its fight against the British and cooperate with the British against the Nazis during World War II. On the contrary, with the end of the Second World War, Irgun continued to follow anti-British and anti-Arab policies. Lehi, Irgun, and Haganah started a rebellion against the British under the name of the United Front of Revolt. Lehi and Irgun's collaborations were so harmonious that they were almost indistinguishable. Joint actions were directed against government offices, police stations, and military installations. During these operations, they cooperated in the fields of intelligence, manpower, and logistics. The assassination of Lord Moyne, who was the British resident minister in Cairo, by Lehi, revealed the seriousness of Lehi's struggle against the British. Overall, the assassination of Lord Moyne underlined how far they were willing to go in the struggle to establish a Jewish homeland on the Palestinian issue (Creveld, 2002, chapter 4).

The Lehi organization aimed to assassinate anyone who prevented the establishment of the State of Israel and also executed members of its organization. In particular, members such as Binyamin Zeroni, Avraham Vilenchik, and Eliyahu Giladi were executed due to internal discipline violations and disagreements regarding the leadership of the organization. However, these executions brought into question the legitimacy of the organization among the Jewish people (Shpiro, 2013, pp. 613-616).

Moreover, since the Irgun organization was a far-right group, its actions and thoughts took a radical form. Irgun put forward articles such as that the Jewish state would be established only by force of arms, that all Jews could claim rights in Palestine, that the violence that would be used has to deter the Palestinians, and that people who would agree to resort to violence and help establish the Jewish state would be considered allies of this organization (Alkhader, 2015, p. 69). Menachem Begin stood out as a prominent figure in the formation process of the state of Israel. As a leader who witnessed the horror of the Holocaust during the Soviet period, he prioritized the Jewish people's right to exist above all else. The decisions and leadership style he took while managing Irgun were entirely aimed at defending the interests of the Jewish people. However, the leadership style and methods used by Begin created controversy in society (Couture, 2013, pp. 25-28). Participating in Jewish uprisings against the British authorities, Begin ordered several attacks, including the escape from Akko prison and the burning of central British administrative offices at the King David Hotel (jewishvirtuallibrary.org, Menachem Begin).

Factors that Triggered the Emergence of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi

Having explained the ideologies and tactics of the terrorist organizations towards their identities, this section deals with sub-question 1, "What are the factors that trigger the emergence of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi?" to be able to deepen the analysis process.

The rise of political Zionist movements, Arab-Jews conflicts in the Palestine region, and Jewish immigration deeply affected the ideology and tactics of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi. Firstly, the rise of political Zionist movements began with the discourses of Theodor Herzl. The waves of Jewish immigration to the Palestinian region and the Jewish settlement policies were among the factors that strengthened the sense of national identity. In addition, events in Western and

Eastern Europe, such as the programs in Russia and the nationalist understanding initiated by the French Revolution, were other factors in strengthening the Zionist identity. Factors such as the Balfour Declaration and the Arab reaction caused the Zionist identity to deepen even more among the Jews (Halperin, 2015, pp. 1-5). Political awareness among Jewish settlers in Palestine began to rise gradually. In order to prepare the necessary ground for the establishment of Israel, the Jewish people formed the first Jewish Colonization Village in 1898, which would be the basis of the formation of the new state. The Jewish Agency, established in 1929, took over the political management of the Jewish community (Asal, 2018, pp. 8-13).

The Balfour Declaration, which emerged after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, was an important step that promised Jews a homeland in Palestine. Between 1916 and 1917, the British mandate in the region was seen as an enemy by the Arabs, which led to Arab uprisings including Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. In the face of Arab attacks, the Haganah organization undertook the responsibility for the protection of the Jews in the region. The defense of Tel-Chai was a symbol for the Haganah and formed one of the foundations of the Haganah's defensive approach. The second Arab uprising in 1929 started between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem. The 1929 Arab revolt was a turning point for Haganah because Haganah undertook the responsibility of ensuring the safety of the Jewish people once again (Creveld, 2002, chapter 2). The Wailing Wall (1929 Arab revolt) caused the conflict between Arabs and Jews to escalate even further until 1939. Especially, the waves of immigration to Palestine deepened, and the Arabs' attitude towards the Jews became harsher due to Hitler's rule in Europe. This attitude formed the basis of the rebellion that would break out in 1937 (Husan, 2014, pp. 972-973).

Arab-Jews conflicts in the Palestine region tensed up tensions between Jewish settlers and Arab settlers over political and land demands. These tensions often resulted in violence. The Jewish community's need to defend itself became even more evident as these conflicts increased. While the Arab-Jewish crises continued in a limited area between 1920 and 1933, these conflicts had an impact on all of Palestine after 1933 (Duran, 2021, p. 66).

Another Arab revolt, which is known as the Nablus incident, took place between 1936 and 1939. The reason for the incident was the rebellion of Palestinian resistance fighters against British colonial rule. The land losses and violation of political rights due to colonial oppression formed the basis of this rebellion. The decision made by the Peel Commission in 1937 for the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state further escalated the crisis between Jews and Arabs (Anderson, 2021, pp. 629-642). The White Paper regulations implemented by the British administration in 1939 increased Zionist terrorism against the British in the Palestine region. Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations began to intensify their efforts and stole weapons from the British. Additionally, Haganah cooperated with Irgun and Lehi since the British mandate needed to be expelled from Palestine to establish the State of Israel (Hassan, 2001, pp. 867- 869).

The Jewish migration is another critical point that became decisive in shaping the identity of the groups. The period 1929-1939 was the period with the highest Jewish immigration to Palestine. In 1933, Hitler came to power and serious anti-Semitism began in Germany. In the

Second World War, this opposition turned into genocide. Especially, the Holocaust during World War II destroyed most of the Jewish population in Europe and accelerated Jewish immigration to Palestine. This led to the strengthening of the Zionist movement and an increased need for more organized motivation (Duran, 2021, pp. 59-67). However, the immigration restrictions implemented by the British based on the White Paper caused Jews to enter Palestine illegally. This strict immigration policy pursued by the British caused the death of many Jews and increased polarization against the British. Many immigrant Jews died as a result of the fire opened by the British patrol boat on the ship named *Tigerhill*. Additionally, the ship named *Patrica* exploded for an unknown reason, causing the deaths of Jews. However, the *Struma* case caused the British to change its policy on Jewish immigration (Çevik, 2021, pp. 27-28).

The influence of Haganah, Lehi, and Irgun on the Establishment of the State of Israel from 1920 to 1948

The final section, supported by the first and second sections, sets out to answer the main question “What impact did Haganah, Lehi, and Irgun have on the establishment of the state of Israel between 1920 and 1948?” from the perspective of weakening the British mandate and creating military infrastructure by Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi terrorist organizations.

In 1939, when it became clear that the Second World War would occur, the British tried to maintain its control in the Palestine region and ensure the balance of power between the Israeli and Arab populations. In this context, the White Paper restricted Jewish immigration to the region, the British promised the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within ten years, formulated the conditions of the White Paper in consultation with the Arab states in the region, and also tried to prevent anti-British Arab nationalism, which was seen as a potential threat for the stabilization of the region, in order to appease Arab nationalism. The restriction against Jews increased the tensions and violence (Cohen, 1973, pp. 571-583). This situation deepened the protests and lobbying activities of Jews, especially in the United States. Moreover, the Jews put pressure on the British through the White Paper. This situation led to great tensions and conflicts in the following periods (Sheffer, 2006, pp. 44-52). Jewish groups, who wanted to undermine the British government’s plan to divide Palestine between Arabs and Jews, stole maps of these areas under the instructions of Haganah and ensured that strategic areas such as Tel Aviv remained under Jewish control. In addition, Haganah obtained important documents by seizing the British trucks, thus gaining an advantage over the Arabs. These documents included strategic maps of Arab villages (Gavish, 2005, p. 225). In 1946, the British radar center and surrounding outposts on the British sea coast were destroyed by the Haganah organization. They also targeted and destroyed the British outposts known as Gefat Olga and Sidna Ali in November 1945. In 1944, the Irgun organization opened fire on the British bus company. Although there was no loss of life in this action, after this terrorist activity, the British government’s immigration offices in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and the British intelligence centers were also targeted with bombs (Alkhader, 2015, pp. 66-78). The King David Hotel attack in 1946 was intended by the Irgun to attract international attention and sympathy through sensational acts of violence. The aim of this strategy was to weaken the British authority in Palestine and

to support the establishment of the Jewish state. The media used it as a tool of manipulation to shape public perception and for political gains. The violence perpetrated by Irgun aimed not only to cause harm but also to legitimize itself. In addition, Irgun tried to gain international legitimacy by trying to attract the attention of influential political formations in the United States. The bombing of the King David Hotel resulted in significant casualties, including British officials, Jews, and Arabs (Hoffman, 2020, pp. 596-606). Throughout 1940, Lehi carried out lots of attacks against the British mandate including bombings, assassinations, and sabotage operations. The Lehi group saw the British mandate as an obstacle to the establishment of a Jewish state (jewishvirtuallibrary.org, Jewish defense organization). Despite the difficulties that arose in the Palestinian region, the Lehi organization took a radical stance and resisted negotiations against the British mandate. Additionally, Lehi encountered internal and external difficulties in this process. Ideological tensions, member losses in conflicts, and a lack of international support were the most obvious ones. Moreover, the assassination of Lord Moyne was an important event in the Palestine region under the British mandate. This assassination, carried out by Lehi in November 1944, affected the public perception, the British policies, and Jewish nationalist movements during the statehood in Palestine. After the assassination, the inadequacy of British security methods and British control in the region became apparent. After this assassination, the British authorities increased their pressure on opposition groups such as Lehi and began to see them as significant threats to British interests and stability in Palestine (Heller, 1995, pp. 122-147).

The Haganah organization was a structure that operated secretly, focusing mostly on defense, self-defense, and limited military capabilities due to the British restrictions and hostility towards Arabs. The White Paper emerged during the British mandate and led to conflicts regarding Jewish immigration and land acquisition. All of these caused the terrorist organizations to arm themselves, develop their tactics, and become more organized and adapt over time. Haganah made great contributions to the statehood process of the Jewish people in many areas by making strategic planning, training, and operational preparations for potential conflicts. However, although the actions decided under “Plan D”, such as defending Jewish settlements, repelling attacks, and securing strategic positions, were primarily defensive, these activities also included offensive activities aimed at neutralizing enemy threats and seizing strategic positions (Bar-Or, 1996, pp. 98-105). Under Ben-Gurion’s leadership, Haganah transformed itself from an organization into a professional army against potential Arab attacks and the British mandate. Between 1936 and 1939, it changed its defensive doctrine to an offensive doctrine against Arab rebels. In addition, Haganah created an elite unit, PALMACH, in 1941. This group was trained to operate independently and conduct guerrilla attacks. Other contributions of Haganah to the 1948 war included securing supply routes and defending strategic points (Tal, 2004, pp. 887-897).

The Lehi organization supported armed struggle to accelerate the independence and national liberation of the Jewish people. Lehi leader Avraham Stern’s view emphasized that armed struggle was a necessity for independence and supported that the Jewish people had to protect their security and interests. Another factor contributing to Lehi’s long-term resistance was religious influence because Stern saw independence as a national religious duty. Lehi tried to spread

its ideology and goals through publications such as *He-Hazit* and used it not only as a propaganda tool but also to gain new members. They also aimed to legitimize their actions by trying to reach influential figures such as educators and civic leaders. With the increase in financial resources, they started to publish many newspapers such as *Lehi Ba-machteret* and *Ha-mivrak*. These publications played important roles in controlling activities, disseminating tactical information, and encouraging recruits. Avraham Stren used poetry and religion as weapons of War. Furthermore, Lehi's experiences and ideologies supported the religious and national values that Lehi attributed to the armed struggle with education, propaganda, and ideology. Lehi contributed to the formation of the military infrastructure of the future state by ideologically supporting the Jewish people (Shapiro, 2013, pp. 607-612).

Anti-Arab and British sentiment in Palestine created a radical change in the political and operational strategies of the Irgun organization. In particular, the uprisings in 1929 further exposed the Arab danger and caused Jabotinsky to question the defensive strategy adopted by Haganah. Jabotinsky was advocating the necessity of a regular army for Israel's independence and the necessity of fighting the enemy. He also believed that only a regular army could obtain these goals and interests. Irgun used its potential power to carry out counter-terror initiatives against the British and Arabs (Shavit, 1988, pp. 95-99). Irgun began to bomb, attack, and capture the targets. For example, bombing the immigration department building and income tax offices, attacking the central radio broadcasting station and British police, and targeting the British explosives truck (Tonder, 2019, timeline section). Moreover, Irgun's terrorist and propaganda activities, the pressure it exerted on the international community and the British in the field of immigration, managed to gain the support of the Jewish people. In particular, the armed actions it carried out both weakened the British mandate in the region and accelerated the establishment of the State of Israel by increasing militarization (Zadka, 1996, pp. 100-116). By the end of 1943, the Irgun had become a regular army. While some members of the organization were active in Poland, many members of the organization were serving in the British army (Shavit, 1988, p. 239).

As a result of all these efforts, Britain was unable to be effective in the region. The British victory in World War II paved the way for the establishment of the State of Israel, ending the mandate in 1948 (Kasalak, 2016, pp. 74-75).

Conclusion

From 1920 to 1948, the efforts of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi played crucial roles in the establishment of the State of Israel. Despite their ideological differences, these terrorist organizations played critical roles in weakening the British mandate and Arab attacks until the establishment of the State of Israel. They also supported the establishment of military and social infrastructure and fueled Jewish nationalism.

From a constructivist perspective, Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi not only fought in the process of establishing the state of Israel but also took part in the creation of Jewish identity and Zionist ideology. The weakening of the British mandate and its withdrawal from the region, the pre-

vention of Arab attacks, and the establishment of the State of Israel were achieved thanks to domestic and foreign policy actions created by the common identity.

The withdrawal of the British mandate from Palestinian lands was critical importance for an independent Jewish state. The publication of the 1939 White Paper, which limited Jewish immigration and promised an independent Palestinian state, led to the targeting of the British by Jewish terrorist organizations and triggered resistance. Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi responded with a range of activities, including armed resistance, sabotage, and assassinations. In particular, the Irgun bombing of the King David Hotel in 1946 and the Lehi organization's murder of Lord Moyne in 1944 were among the most effective attacks carried out to break the influence of the British mandate in the region.

Another key role of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi was their contribution to the construction process of the military infrastructure. Haganah's adoption of a defensive strategy, Lehi's focus on armed struggle, assassinations, and propaganda, and Irgun's weakening of the British and Arab forces by turning to offensive tactics under the leadership of Menachem Begin laid the foundations of the strategic and military infrastructure of the future state of Israel. Although these terrorist organizations differed ideologically and tactically, their common goals were the same. Haganah created the defense infrastructure and helped organize society. Irgun was trying to prove the existence of the Jews in the region by trying to break the influence of the British and Arabs, and Lehi, on the other hand, was following almost parallel tactics with Irgun. In 1945, they founded the United Front of Revolt against the British and acted together.

As a result, the efforts of Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi were instrumental in establishing the State of Israel. These terrorist organizations shaped the fundamental elements such as military infrastructure, ideological orientation, and political transformation, and significantly accelerated the establishment process of the State of Israel. All efforts of terrorist organizations provided critical leverage for the War of Independence in 1948 and formed the basis of the IDF.

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Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış Bağımsız

Yazar Katkısı: Enes Çelebi %100

Destek ve Teşekkür Beyanı: Çalışma için destek alınmamıştır.

Etik Onay: Bu çalışma etik onay gerektiren herhangi bir insan veya hayvan araştırması içermemektedir.

Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı: Çalışma ile ilgili herhangi bir kurum veya kişi ile çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

Peer Review: Independent double-blind

Author Contributions: Enes Çelebi 100%

Funding and Acknowledgement: No support was received for the study.

Ethics Approval: This study does not contain any human or animal research that requires ethical approval.

Conflict of Interest: There is no conflict of interest with any institution or person related to the study.