

Appendix B. Zionist Movement Group Strength Data

Year	Hierarchy	Evidence for Movement Hierarchy
1920	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Histadrut HaSephardim C4. Hapoel Hatzair <u>14 Subordinates</u>	Ahdut HaAvoda won the largest percentage of votes 22% in the Yishuv's first National Assembly elections, followed by Histadrut HaSephardim with 17%, and Hapoel Hatzair 13% ¹ ; Haganah is founded with 200 fighters ² ; the last Zionist Congress—dominated by the General Zionists—had been held in 1913 due to World War I
1921	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Mizrahi C4. Histadrut HaSephardim C5. Hapoel Hatzair <u>14 Subordinates</u>	Although they were not a single cohesive party, General Zionists won 73% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the Mizrahi 19% and the Labor parties 8% combined ³ ; the Mizrahi had prominence in Eastern Europe, including 33% of the Zionist Congress delegates from Czechoslovakia, although they only received 3% of the vote in the National Assembly elections ⁴
1922	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Mizrahi C4. Histadrut HaSephardim C5. Hapoel Hatzair <u>14 Subordinates</u>	Although they were not a single cohesive party, General Zionists had won 73% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the Mizrahi 19% and the Labor parties 8% combined ⁵ ; the Mizrahi had prominence in Eastern Europe, including 33% of the Zionist Congress delegates from Czechoslovakia, although they only received 3% of the vote in the National Assembly elections ⁶
1923	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Mizrahi C4. Histadrut HaSephardim C5. Hapoel Hatzair <u>15 Subordinates</u>	The General Zionists won 50% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the Mirazhi 23%, Labor parties 21%, and the Radicals 6% ⁷ ; the National Assembly continued to be dominated by the Labor parties
1924	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Mizrahi C4. Histadrut HaSephardim C5. Hapoel Hatzair <u>15 Subordinates</u>	The General Zionists had won 50% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the Mirazhi 23%, Labor parties 21%, and the Radicals 6% ⁸ ; the National Assembly continued to be dominated by the Labor parties
1925	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Mizrahi C4. Hapoel Hatzair C5. Yemenites <u>25 Subordinates</u>	The General Zionists won 54% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the Mirazhi 19%, Labor parties 19%, the Radicals 6%, and the newly founded Revisionist Party 2% ⁹ ; Ahdut HaAvoda won 24% of the vote in the second National Assembly, followed by Hapoel Hatzair 14%, Yemenites 9%, HaSephardim 7%, Revisionists 7%, and Mizrahi 3% ¹⁰
1926	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Mizrahi	“The ranks of the Haganah thinned” ¹¹ ; The General Zionists had won 54% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the Mirazhi 19%, Labor parties 19%, the Radicals 6%, and the Revisionist Party 2% ¹² ; Ahdut HaAvoda had won 24% of the vote in the second National

¹ The Haredi Party received 16% of the vote, but they were not part of the Zionist movement and left the Assembly soon after the first election. B Eliav, ed., “Hayishuv Beyemei Habayit Haleumi [The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home]” (Jerusalem: Keter, 1976), 157.

² Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1999), 97.

³ N.M. Gelber, “Congress, Zionist,” *New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1994), 283–85.

⁴ Geoffrey Wigoder, *New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, vol. 1 (New York: Associated University Presses, 1994), 308.

⁵ Gelber, “Congress, Zionist,” 283–85.

⁶ Geoffrey Wigoder, *New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, 1994, 1:308.

⁷ Gelber, “Congress, Zionist,” 283–85.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Eliav, “The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home,” 170.

¹¹ Office of Strategic Services, “Illicit Arming by Arabs and Jews in Palestine” (U.S. Department of State, September 30, 1943), 9, 867N.01/1946-2199 May 1943-Feb. 1944. May 1943-Feb. 1944. Record Group 84, U.S. National Archives.

¹² Gelber, “Congress, Zionist,” 283–85.

	C4. Hapoel Hatzair C5: Yemenites 25 Subordinates	Assembly, followed by Hapoel Hatzair 14%, Yemenites 9%, HaSephardim 7%, Revisionists 7%, and Mizrahi 3% ¹³
1927	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Hapoel Hatzair C4. Mizrahi C5: Yemenites 25 Subordinates	The General Zionists won 54% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, Labor parties 22%, the Mizrahi 16%, the Radicals 4%, and the Revisionist Party 4% ¹⁴ ; Labor parties dominated the National Assembly
1928	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Hapoel Hatzair C4. Mizrahi C5: Yemenites 25 Subordinates	The General Zionists won 54% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, Labor parties 22%, the Mizrahi 16%, the Radicals 4%, and the Revisionist Party 4% ¹⁵ ; Labor parties dominated the National Assembly
1929	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Hapoel Hatzair C4. Mizrahi C5: Yemenites 25 Subordinates	The General Zionists won 47% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, Labor parties 26%, the Mizrahi 16%, the Revisionist Party 7%, and the Radicals 4% ¹⁶
1930	L1. General Zionists C2. Ahdut HaAvoda C3. Hapoel Hatzair C4. Mizrahi C5: Yemenites 25 Subordinates	Mapai was formed during 1930 from merger of Hapoel Hatzair and Ahdut Ha'avoda, had 6,000 members ¹⁷ ; the Haganah grew in size after the 1929 anti-Jewish riots
1931	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Alliance (GZ) C3. Revisionists/Irgun C4. Mizrahi C5: Unity (GZ) 14 Subordinates	Mapai won 30% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, followed by two General Zionist groups (Alliance with 23% and Unity with 10%), the Revisionists with 21%, the Mizrahi 14%, and the Radicals 3% ¹⁸ ; the Irgun formed in split from Haganah ¹⁹ ; Mapai controls the Haganah increasingly via the Jewish Agency; Mapai won 43% of the vote in the third National Assembly, the Revisionists 16%, the Mizrahi 8%, Unity General Zionists 6% ²⁰
1932	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Alliance (GZ) C3. Revisionists/Irgun C4. Mizrahi C5: Unity (GZ) 14 Subordinates	Mapai had won 30% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, followed by two General Zionist groups (Alliance with 23% and Unity with 10%), the Revisionists with 21%, the Mizrahi 14%, and the Radicals 3% ²¹ ; the Irgun formed in split from Haganah ²² ; Mapai controls the Haganah increasingly via the Jewish Agency; Mapai won 43% of the vote in the third National Assembly, the Revisionists 16%, the Mizrahi 8%, Unity General Zionists 6% ²³
1933	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. General Zionists C3. Revisionists/Irgun 18 Subordinates	Mapai won 44% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the General Zionists 23%, the Revisionists 14%, the Mizrahi 12%, the Radicals 5%, and the Jewish State Party 2% ²⁴ ; Mapai had won 43% of the vote in the third National Assembly, the Revisionists 16%, the Mizrahi 8%, Unity General Zionists 6% ²⁵ ; Mapai "gained tens of thousands of new members" since 1931 ²⁶

¹³ Eliav, "The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home," 170.

¹⁴ Gelber, "Congress, Zionist," 283–85.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Jonathan Adelman, *The Rise of Israel A History of a Revolutionary State* (Routledge, 2008), 167.

¹⁸ Gelber, "Congress, Zionist," 283–85.

¹⁹ Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 120.

²⁰ Eliav, "The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home," 184.

²¹ Gelber, "Congress, Zionist," 283–85.

²² Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 120.

²³ Eliav, "The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home," 184.

²⁴ Gelber, "Congress, Zionist," 283–85.

²⁵ Eliav, "The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home," 184.

²⁶ Zeev Tzohar, "The Struggle between the Revisionist Party and the Labor Movement: 1929-1933," *Modern Judaism* 8, no. 1 (February 1988): 23.

1934	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. General Zionists C3. Revisionists/Irgun 18 Subordinates	Mapai won 44% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, the General Zionists 23%, the Revisionists 14%, the Mizrahi 12%, the Radicals 5%, and the Jewish State Party 2% ²⁷ ; Mapai had won 43% of the vote in the third National Assembly, the Revisionists 16%, the Mizrahi 8%, Unity General Zionists 6% ²⁸ ; Mapai “gained tens of thousands of new members” since 1931 ²⁹ ; the Haganah had 100 paid officials and the Irgun 40 ³⁰
1935	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Unity (GZ) C3. Revisionists/Irgun 19 Subordinates	Mapai won 49% of the vote at the Zionist Congress, followed by two General Zionist groups (Unity with 21% and Alliance with 11%), the Mizrahi 16%, and the Jewish State Party 3% ³¹ ; the Revisionists left the Zionist Congress and formed their own New Zionist Organization (NZO), which had 750,000 voters for its first convention (450,000 of them Revisionists), as compared to 1.2 million voters at the Zionist Organization’s Congress the same year ³² ; British intelligence estimates Revisionist Party strength as 1/3 that of Mapai ³³ ; The 1935 Zionist Congress cemented the geographical shift in the movement’s center of gravity, recognizing the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem (The Jewish Agency) over that in London
1936	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Unity (GZ) C3. Revisionists/Irgun 19 Subordinates	Haganah had 20,000 members but only a few thousand active, Irgun had over 2,000 active members ³⁴
1937	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Unity (GZ) C3. Revisionists/Irgun 19 Subordinates	Haganah had 21,000 members but only a few thousand active, Irgun had 1,800-3,000 active members ³⁵ ; a number of Irgun members returned to Haganah but Irgun kept 1,500 members ³⁶
1938	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Unity (GZ) C3. Revisionists/Irgun 19 Subordinates	The Irgun had 1,500-2,000 active members, but built their organization around soon having 11,000 strong due to their expectation of continued high levels of immigration ³⁷ ; Haganah had far more members but was largely a reserve force, had 1,500 fighters in the commando units under British command ³⁸
1939	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Unity (GZ) C3. Revisionists/Irgun 19 Subordinates	The Irgun brought in 40% of the illegal immigrants to the Mandate in the late 1930s ³⁹ ; the Irgun believed that an equal alliance with Haganah would be unfair and that they might be closer to “swallowing” the Haganah than the other way around ⁴⁰ ; British went from having trained and equipped 4,850 Zionists by September 1937 to 18,600 by July 1939, the majority of whom were Haganah members ⁴¹ ; Irgun had 1,500 members ⁴² ; Haganah had only 200-300 full-time members ⁴³
1940	L1. Mapai/Haganah C2. Unity (GZ)	The Irgun split as over 100 of its members left to create the Lehi, taking many of the Irgun’s weapons with them to their new armed group ⁴⁴ ; Revisionists raised £135,000,

²⁷ Gelber, “Congress, Zionist,” 283–85.

²⁸ Eliav, “The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home,” 184.

²⁹ Tzohar, “The Struggle between the Revisionist Party and the Labor Movement: 1929-1933,” 23.

³⁰ “Palestine: The Jewish Self-Defence Organization (‘Haganah’),” August 15, 1934, KV 5-33, TNA.

³¹ Gelber, “Congress, Zionist,” 283–85.

³² Yaacov Shavit, *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement, 1925-1948* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), 37; “Le 21e Congres Sioniste (The 21st Zionist Congress)” (The Anglo-Palestinian Bank, 1939).

³³ Eldad Harouvi, *Palestine Investigated*, trans. Murray Rosovsky, 2011, Chapter 4, Page 6.

³⁴ Meir Pa’il and Yurman Pinhas, *The Test of the Zionist Movement 1931-1948: The Authority of the National Leadership Against the Dissidents [Hebrew]* (Tel Aviv: Cherikover, 2004), 24–26; Trevor Dupuy, *Elusive Victory: The Arab-Israeli Wars, 1947-1974* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1978), 8–10.

³⁵ Pa’il and Pinhas, *The Test of the Zionist Movement*, 29–30; J. Boywer Bell, *Terror Out of Zion : Irgun Zvai Leumi, Lehi, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1977), 35.

³⁶ David A. Charters, *The British Army and Jewish Insurgency in Palestine, 1945-1947*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1989), 46; Joseph B. Schechtman, *Fighter and Prophet: The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story The Last Years* (New York ; London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961), 444–48.

³⁷ “The New Zionist (Revisionist) National Army,” January 17, 1939, KV 5-34, TNA. Moshe Marks, “I.Z.L. and Lechi in Palestine: The Recruitment of Funds and Economic Means (1940–1948) [Hebrew]” (Ph.D., Bar Ilan University, 1994), 24.

³⁸ Boywer Bell, *Terror Out of Zion : Irgun Zvai Leumi, Lehi, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949*, 43–44. Yehuda Bauer, “From Cooperation to Resistance: The Haganah 1938-1946,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 2, no. 3 (1966): 185–87. Pa’il and Pinhas, *The Test of the Zionist Movement*, 37–38.

³⁹ “Illegal Immigration: Intelligence Reports,” May 17, 1939, CO 733/396/5, TNA; Shavit, *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement*, 376.

⁴⁰ “David Raziell’s Letter to Zeev Jabotinsky [Michtavo Shel David Raziell LeZeev Jabotinsky],” in *Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization): Collection of Archival Sources and Documents April 1937-April 1941*, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv: Jabotinsky Institute, 1990), 66.

⁴¹ Office of Strategic Services, “Illicit Arming by Arabs and Jews in Palestine,” 10.

⁴² “Cross Reference: Irgun Zvai Leumi,” March 18, 1942, KV 5-34, TNA; Secret Intelligence Service, “Palestine: The Jewish Defence Forces,” June 16, 1942, KV 5-33, TNA.

⁴³ Martin van Creveld, *The Sword and the Olive: A Critical History of the Israeli Defense Force* (New York: Public Affairs, 1998), 43.

⁴⁴ Moshe Ben Shahar, interview by Author, August 2012.

	<u>C3. Revisionists/Irgun</u> 20 Subordinates	which was almost the same as one of the Haganah's fundraising efforts, but far below the total financial support they received ⁴⁵ ; Haganah membership was "at its lowest ebb" from 1939-1941 as activities and active force declines ⁴⁶
1941	<u>L1. Mapai/Haganah</u> <u>C2. Unity (GZ)</u> <u>C3. Revisionists/Irgun</u> 20 Subordinates	The Haganah's strike force, the Palmach, was formed by the British with a few hundred fighters initially; the Irgun had a few thousand members, with (over) estimates up to 5000-8000 ⁴⁷ ; the Lehi had 30-120 members ⁴⁸ ; Mapai had 20,000 members ⁴⁹
1942	<u>H1. Mapai/Haganah</u> 22 Subordinates	Mapai won 57% of the vote in municipal elections in the Yishuv as compared to 18% for the United Labour Party ⁵⁰ ; By this time, "no more than 10 to 15 percent of the yishuv supported the right" ⁵¹ ; the British try unsuccessfully to disband the Palmach, which instead becomes the best-trained, mobilized force in the movement, quickly rising from 600 to 2,000 troops alongside 20,000-30,000 other Haganah, while the Irgun had 1,000-5,000 members ⁵² ; the Haganah had a budget of £281,470 while the Irgun collected £6,000 from its "Jewish Front Tax" and "hardly had money to eat" ⁵³
1943	<u>H1. Mapai/Haganah</u> 22 Subordinates	The Irgun had "less than 600 men and women of whom only 200 were combat fighters" ⁵⁴ ; U.S. intelligence claimed that the Irgun was 10% as large as the Haganah (4,000 vs. 40,000 members) while British intelligence claimed 20% (5,000 vs. 25,000) ⁵⁵
1944	<u>H1. Mapai/Haganah</u> 21 Subordinates	Mapai won 37% of the vote in the fourth National Assembly, followed by the Left Front 12%, New Aliyah Party 11%, Mizrahi 9%, Ahdut HaAvoda 9%, and Unity General Zionists 6% ⁵⁶ ; The Irgun and Revisionist Party formally split; the Haganah had 10,000 active members vs. 200-1000 for the Irgun and 200-250 for the Lehi ⁵⁷
1945	<u>H1. Mapai/Haganah</u> 21 Subordinates	Mapai and the Haganah collaborated with the British, leading to the arrests of hundreds of Revisionists and Irgun members, cutting the Irgun's active membership from over 1,000 to fewer than 400 ⁵⁸ ; the Lehi had 200-300 members ⁵⁹ ; the Haganah had 47,500 total members (including 5,000 Palmach) ⁶⁰
1946	<u>H1. Mapai/Haganah</u> 21 Subordinates	Haganah, Irgun, and Lehi united in the Hebrew Resistance Movement in October 1945 but split in August 1946 after Mapai and the Haganah faced unprecedented repression from the British; the Haganah controlled 11 of the 12 boats used for illegal Jewish immigration to the Yishuv ⁶¹ ; the Haganah had a budget of over £400,000 while the Irgun faced a "constant shortage of financial resources" despite a £35,000 train theft ⁶² ; Ben Gurion is elected President of the Zionist Organization as Mapai wins 61% of the Zionist Congress vote in the Yishuv ⁶³ ; the Haganah had 35,500-66,000 members, Irgun 1,200-8,000 ⁶⁴
1947	<u>H1. Mapai/Haganah</u> 21 Subordinates	The Irgun had 2,000 fighters, the Lehi 800, and the Haganah had 12,000 active duty troops plus 37,000 reservists ⁶⁵

⁴⁵ Office of Strategic Services, "Illicit Arming by Arabs and Jews in Palestine," 12-14.

⁴⁶ Amos Perlmutter, *Military and Politics in Israel* (London: Frank Cass, 1969), 34.

⁴⁷ Joseph Heller, *The Stern Gang: Ideology, Politics, and Terror, 1940-1949* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1995), 99.

⁴⁸ Pa'il and Pinhas, *The Test of the Zionist Movement*, 96; Ezra Yakhin, interview by Author, June 17, 2013.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Wigoder, ed., *New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, vol. 2 (New York: Associated University Presses, 1994), 912.

⁵⁰ Perlmutter, *Military and Politics in Israel*, 16.

⁵¹ Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 32.

⁵² "Palestine: Hagana," April 19, 1943, KV 5-34, TNA.

⁵³ Perlmutter, *Military and Politics in Israel*, 40; Office of Strategic Services, "Illicit Arming by Arabs and Jews in Palestine," 14; Yoske Nachmias, interview by Author, August 7, 2012.

⁵⁴ Saul Zadka, *Blood in Zion: How the Jewish Guerrillas Drove the British out of Palestine* (London: Brassey's, 1995), 28.

⁵⁵ Office of Strategic Services, "Illicit Arming by Arabs and Jews in Palestine," 13-14; "Palestine: Hagana."

⁵⁶ Eliav, "The Yishuv in the Days of the National Home," 192.

⁵⁷ Zadka, *Blood in Zion*, 47; Pa'il and Pinhas, *The Test of the Zionist Movement*, 117; Harouvi, *Palestine Investigated*.

⁵⁸ Pa'il and Pinhas, *The Test of the Zionist Movement*, 137-139, 146-148; High Commissioner for Palestine to Secretary of State for the Colonies,

"Telegram No. 197," March 1, 1945, CO 733-457-12, TNA; "Extract from Report on Palestine: Jewish Political Parties," December 27, 1945, KV 5-34, TNA.

⁵⁹ "PIC Paper No. 2 (Revised): Jewish Illegal Organizations in Palestine," November 8, 1944, FO 921-154, TNA; Elad Peled, interview by Author, June 23, 2013. Ezra Yakhin, interview.

⁶⁰ Harouvi, *Palestine Investigated*.

⁶¹ Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 176. Mark A. Raider, "'Irresponsible, Undisciplined Opposition': Ben Halpern on the Bergson Group and Jewish Terrorism in Pre-State Palestine," *American Jewish History* 92, no. 3 (2004): 337.

⁶² Perlmutter, *Military and Politics in Israel*, 49; Zadka, *Blood in Zion*, 67.

⁶³ Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 208.

⁶⁴ "Present Trends in Zionism," 1946, KV 3-41, TNA; Perlmutter, *Military and Politics in Israel*, 49-53; "Extract from DSO Pal Correspondence Re: IZL," January 28, 1946, KV 5-34, TNA.

⁶⁵ Dupuy, *Elusive Victory: The Arab-Israeli Wars, 1947-1974*, 8-10; Nehemia Ben Tur, "The Lehi Lexicon" (Ministry of Defense, Israel, 2007), Appendix 7. It helped the Haganah that the British held 10 Haganah prisoners as compared to 1,600 Irgun and 270 Lehi prisoners. Nonetheless, even with these individuals released the Haganah still would have remained far and away the only significant group. Uri Milstein, *History of the War of Independence: A Nation Girds for War*, 1st ed. (Lanham: University Press of America, 1996), 226.

1948	<u>H1. Mapai/Haganah</u> 21 Subordinates	The Haganah's strike force (Palmach) grew to 6,000 members and its total forces well over 40,000, while the Irgun was not larger than 5,000 even if its youth guards are included, the Lehi 600 ⁶⁶ ; the Irgun failed to secure the massive influx of weapons on the Altalena (and the subsequent massive increase of recruits it could have supported); the Irgun budget increased to \$10,000/month in foreign funding, while the Haganah gained \$100 million from two U.S. fundraising tours alone ⁶⁷ ; Haganah won the most votes in the first Knesset elections in 1949 (36%) and Ben Gurion became the first Prime Minister
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⁶⁶ Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 86–88; Geoffrey Wigoder, *New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, 1994, 1:669; Menachem Amir, interview by Author, August 2012.

⁶⁷ Boywer Bell, *Terror Out of Zion : Irgun Zvai Leumi, Lehi, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949*, 257; Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 193.