

Atlas of  
Palestine  
1917 - 1966

SALMAN H. ABU-SITTA

PALESTINE LAND SOCIETY  
LONDON

# Chapter 3

## The Nakba

### 3.1 The Conquest

The UN recommendation to divide Palestine into two states heralded a new period of conflict and suffering in Palestine which continues with no end in sight. The Zionist movement and its supporters reacted to the announcement of the 1947 Partition Plan with joy and dancing. It marked another step towards the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Palestinians declared a three-day general strike on December 2, 1947 in opposition to the plan, which they viewed as illegal and a further attempt to advance western interests in the region regardless of the cost to the native population.

The day after the United Nations adopted Resolution 181 recommending the division of the country, the Zionist leadership called upon all Jews in Palestine aged 17-25 to register for military service.<sup>240</sup> David Ben Gurion, then Chairman of the Jewish Agency, immediately put 'Plan C' (Gimmel)<sup>241</sup>, finalized in May 1946, into action. It was the third such plan developed by the *Haganah* General Staff.<sup>242</sup> Plan C, which was designed for implementation while British Mandate forces were still in Palestine, aimed to put pressure on the local Palestinian population and to solidify the position of Jewish colonies.<sup>243</sup>

Since the beginning of the Mandate in 1920, the Zionist movement had steadily built up separate armed fighting units. At the same time, the British administration in Palestine progressively ground

down Palestinian resistance to British policy. The end of 1947 marked the greatest disparity between the strength of the Jewish immigrant community and the native inhabitants of Palestine. The former had 185,000 able-bodied Jewish males aged 16-50, mostly military-trained, and many were veterans of WWII.<sup>244</sup>

The majority of young Jewish immigrants, men and women, below the age of 29 (64 percent of population) were conscripts.<sup>245</sup> Three quarters of the front line troops, estimated at 32,000, were military volunteers who had recently landed in Palestine.<sup>246</sup> This fighting force was 20 percent of the Jewish immigrant community in Palestine.<sup>247</sup> Israel's rate of "direct military mobilization had surpassed any precedence of military history."<sup>248</sup> This was not the case of a normal army defending its nation. It was an immigrant militia that came to conquer and establish a new state in Palestine.

Jewish armaments were superior to those held by Palestinians.<sup>249</sup> More importantly, Jews had small arms and armoured vehicles factories and an unlimited amount of locally-produced ammunition. On the Arab side, Britain manipulated rations of ammunitions to the armies of Egypt and (particularly) Jordan.<sup>250</sup> The Palestinians had about 2,500 militia men dispersed among a dozen towns and several hundred villages. They had old rifles, few machine guns, no artillery and no tanks. They had no central command and no wireless communications.<sup>251</sup> At best they were only able to mount defensive operations, rushing to a village after hearing cries for help.

The immediate aim of Plan C was to disrupt Arab defensive operations, and occupy Arab lands situated between isolated Jewish colonies. This was accompanied by a psychological campaign to demoralize the Arab population. In December 1947, the *Haganah* attacked the Arab quarters in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa, killing 35 Arabs.<sup>252</sup> On December 18, 1947, the *Palмах*, a shock regiment established in 1941 with British help, committed the first reported massacre of the war in the village of al-Khisas in the upper Galilee.<sup>253</sup> In the first three months of 1948, Jewish terrorists carried out numerous operations, blowing up buses and Palestinian homes. Even at this stage, early signs of ethnic cleansing became apparent.<sup>254</sup>

By the end of March 1947, Zionist military operations carried out under Plan C resulted in the depopulation of 30 Palestinian villages with a population of about 22,000 people. See **Map 3.1**. To encourage their expulsion, Zionist forces committed further atrocities and massacres in the villages of Qisarya and Wadi 'Ara (Haifa district)<sup>255</sup> and in Mansurat al-Khayt (Safad district).<sup>256</sup> As the situation on the ground continued to worsen and with American support for partition wavering, the Zionist leadership realized that they had a golden opportunity to advance their agenda. British forces would be gone by 15 May, but in the meantime, the British were preventing Arab regular forces to enter Palestine. Irregular Arab volunteers who had already entered the country were not effective.

Plan D was brought forward.<sup>257</sup> The new Plan had wide-ranging objectives. They included:

240 *All That Remains, The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*. Walid Khalidi (ed.) Washington, DC: Institute of Palestine Studies, p. 575.

241 Plan C is reprinted as Appendix A in Walid Khalidi, "Plat Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine," 18 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 1 (Autumn 1988), pp. 20-23.

242 Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 342.

243 Khalidi, *supra* note 23, p. 102.

244 Table 1, Amitzur Ilan, *The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Arms Race: Arms, Embargo, Military Power and Decision in 1948 Palestine War*. Oxford: McMillan and St. Antony's College, 1996, p. 61. The table shows 66.7 percent of the population in the 15-44 year bracket. Estimate of 62 percent is in 16-50 bracket. Taking half for males and multiplying by the Jewish population reaches 185,000 able-bodied Jewish males. By January 1949 the Jewish fighting force numbered 120,000, including 32,000 front-line troops. The number of 120,000 is cited in David Ben

Gurion, *War Diary, 1947-49*. [Arabic]. Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993, pp. 778-782; Elias Sanbar, *Palestine 1948*. [Arabic]. Beirut: Arab Society for Studies and Publishing, 1987, p. 14.

245 Ilan, *supra* note 244, p. 61. Ilan discusses the age, number, training and armaments of fighting forces on both sides in detail.

246 Table 2, Ilan, *supra* note 244, pp. 61 and 67.

247 The estimate of 13% by Ilan is based on 104,000 conscripts and excludes 24,000 military volunteers, not members of the Yishuv. Ilan, *supra* note 244, p. 61. If those are taken into account, the result is 20 percent of the population. Typical figures of armed force to population are 1 percent (Egypt), 4 percent (Syria), but for Israel it is 12 percent (1995 figures). Anthony Cordesman, *Perilous Prospects: The Peace Process and the Arab Israeli Military Balance*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, pp. 30-31. Table 3.1, "The Arab Israeli Balance 1995-1996". In 1948, the percentage for Israel was much bigger due to a smaller population, indicating the army's mission.

248 Ilan, *supra* note 244, p. 61.

249 Ilan, *supra* note 244, p. 55.

250 *Ibid.*, p. 109ff.

251 Khalidi, *supra* note 13, pp. 858-860.

252 Khalidi, *supra* note 23, p. 103.

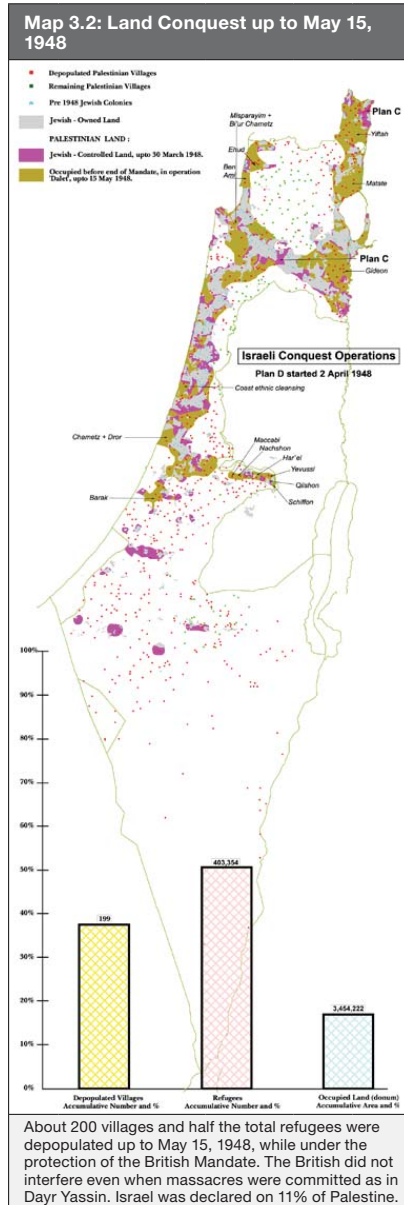
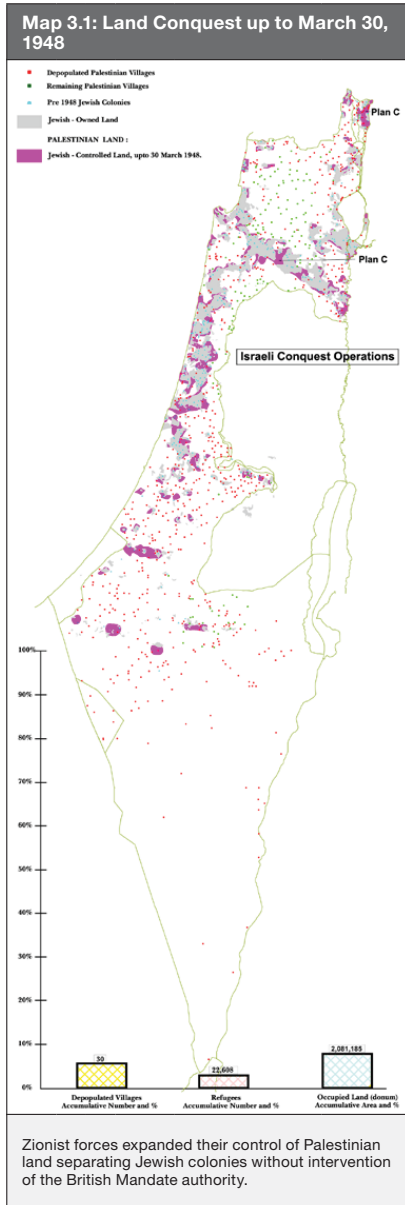
253 Israeli orders were 'kill adults'. There was indiscriminate firing. 12 were killed and houses demolished. See Table 3.2.

254 For a detailed list of sources on transfer and ethnic cleansing see, *supra* note 47. See also, Pappé, Ilan, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford: One World, 2006; Esber, Rosemarie M., *Under the Cover of War: The Zionist Expulsion of the Palestinians*. Alexandria, VA: Arabicus, 2009.

255 A bus was ambushed killing passengers. Houses were demolished. All those who did not flee were killed. See Table 3.2.

256 The orders that were followed: anyone who showed resistance was eliminated, animals killed and homes torched. See Table 3.2.

257 See, W. Khalidi, "Plan Dalet: The Zionist Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine 1948," 37 *Middle East Forum* 4 (November 1961), reprinted in the 18 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 1 (Autumn 1988), pp. 3-70. By contrast see, Morris, *supra* note 242.



blowing up and planting mines in the debris)"- to prevent the return of refugees.<sup>258</sup>

Plan D was put into action on or around April 2, 1948. By this time, the size of Zionist forces had reached 65,000<sup>259</sup>, several times greater than the number of Arab defenders, whether they were the villagers, the Muslim Brothers coming from Egypt or the motley assortment of Arab Liberation Army (ALA) led by Fawzi Qawqji.<sup>260</sup> The lack of serious action by the British to protect civilians encouraged Ben Gurion to ratchet up the scale of offensive operations. In a series of simultaneous offensives, all the spaces and strategic points separating Jewish colonies were occupied by Zionist forces. See **Map 3.2**. (See **Table 3.1** for a list of Israeli operations, description and dates.)

In the eastern Galilee, Operation *Yiftah* conquered and depopulated 42 villages in Safad district. Massacres took place in Husayniya and Ayn Zaytun.<sup>261</sup> The latter was instrumental in the fall of the ancient town of Safad. Operation *Matafe* (Broom) chased out the inhabitants of villages between Lake Tiberias and Lake Hulah. The towns of Tiberias and Baysan were conquered by advancing Zionist forces. Two horrendous massacres were committed in Khirbet Nasir ad-Din and al-Wa'ra al-Sawda.<sup>262</sup> In Marj ibn 'Amer and Baysan valley, Operation *Gideon* depopulated 11 villages. In the coastal strip from Jaffa in the south and Acre in the north, the Palestinian population was almost completely removed. Twenty-nine villages and towns were depopulated, including the cities of Jaffa and Haifa. Their inhabitants left their homes under Israeli mortar and machine gun fire, screaming, dazed, and frantically searching for lost relatives.

On the 9 April, 1948, Zionist forces committed one of the most infamous massacres of the war in the village of Dayr Yassin on the western outskirts of Jerusalem.<sup>263</sup> This was not the only massacre. There were less publicized massacres in the villages of Abu Shusha, al-Abbasiya (Yehudiyya) and other places.<sup>264</sup> In and around Jerusalem, Zionist forces carried out numerous operations. They attacked the city and nearby villages several times but failed to achieve their full objectives before finally conquering western Jerusalem and nine villages to its west, including Dayr Yassin. In the southern approaches to Tel Aviv, Zionist forces fortified their front facing the southern half of Palestine which was almost completely Arab. They conquered nine villages and committed at least two massacres, in Bayt Daras and Burayr.<sup>265</sup>

The well-armed and seasoned Israeli troops greatly outnumbered the defenders of the Palestinian civilian population who had a poor and scattered defense. Isolated Jewish colonies were thus connected in a belt stretching, in a large N shape, along the coastal strip, then along the Marj ibn 'Amer valley and along the western bank of the Jordan river, controlling the most important water sources of Palestine. This military conquest emptied about

1. Seizing and controlling all government services, including post, telephone, police stations, roads, railways, airports and ports, and denying such services to the enemy.
2. Launching pre-planned counter-attacks on enemy-bases in the heart of his territory wherever it is, including outside Palestine.
3. Occupying [Arab] important high-ground positions within the [Hebrew] state according to the Partition Plan or beyond.
4. Occupying [Arab] frontline positions within their territories.
5. Applying economic pressure on the enemy by besieging 'some' of his cities to force him to abandon his activities - i.e. to leave.

6. Occupying and controlling the enemy's bases in rural and urban areas.

Plan D outlined a strategy of total war. The Plan called for the "encirclement of the village and conducting a search inside it. In the event of resistance, the armed force must be wiped out and the population must be expelled outside the borders of the state". In cities, the plan called for "occupation and control of all isolated Arab neighbourhoods [and] encirclement of Arab municipal area[s] and termination of its vital services (water, electricity, fuel, etc.).... [I]n case of resistance, the population will be expelled." Plan D also called for the "[d]estruction of villages (setting fire to,

258 W. Khalidi, "Plan Dalet", *supra* note 257.  
 259 Khalidi, *supra* note 23, p. 61.  
 260 The so-called "Arab Liberation Army", led by Fawzi al Qawqji, constituted a force of 3,155 assorted volunteers from several Arab countries. See, *Palestine War, 1947-1949, the Official Israeli Story*, [Arabic] Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1986, pp. 220-221; and Falah Khaleel Ali, *Arab-Israeli War of 1948 and the Creation of Israel*, [Arabic] Beirut: Arab Society for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 1982, p. 82. Their number is misleading, as their dispersion made them ineffective. Their distribution was as follows: the largest concentration was in Jenin area and in Galilee (groups of 50-100), in Haifa (200), in Jerusalem (a few hundred) and in Jaffa (200). See, Haim Levenberg, *The Military Preparations of the Arab Community in Palestine 1945-1948*.

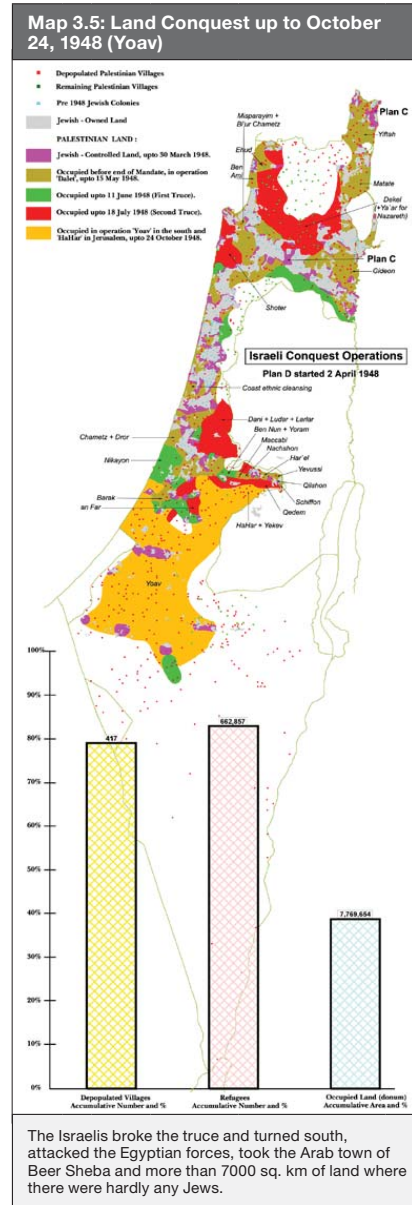
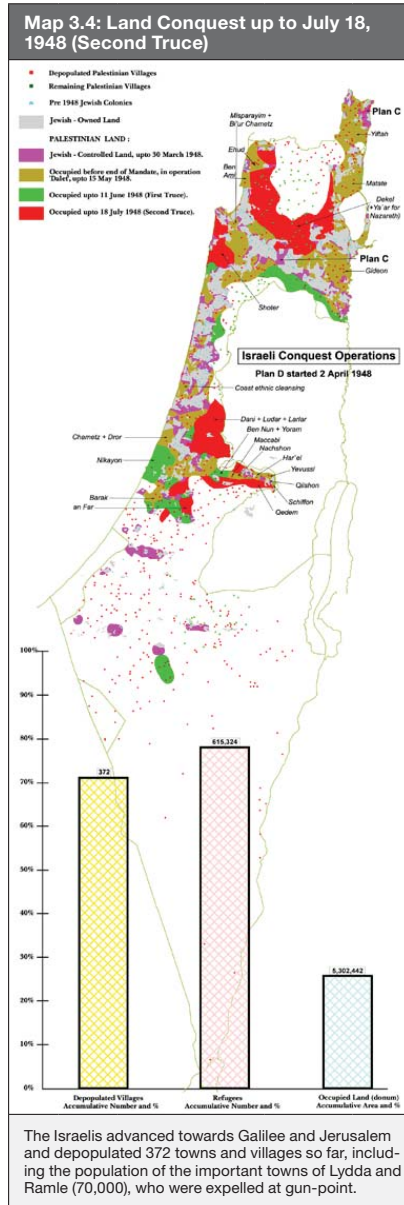
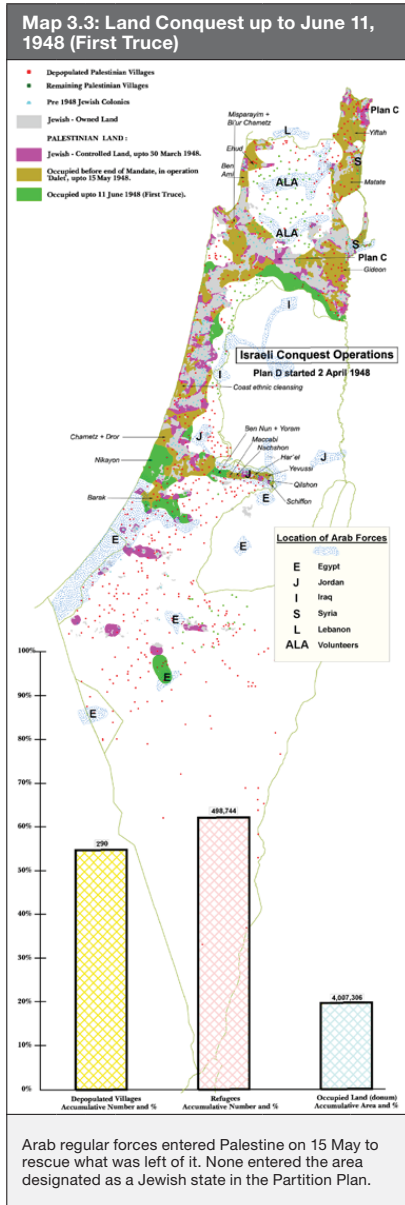
London: Frank Cass, 1993, p. 200. The majority were located in the part allocated for the "Arab State" in the Partition Plan, where few Jews existed. This was in conformity with the plans set up by Transjordan for the eventual control of that part. *Ibid.*, p. 205. There were very few of them where needed to repel the Jewish attacks. Moreover, the discipline and military performance of this force had been the subject of much criticism, even derision. The Muslim Brothers force were a group of highly motivated Egyptian and Palestinian volunteers. Some were well-trained but their number did not exceed 500 in total. They operated in the south, and lost many killed due to their daring and bravery.  
 261 Several houses blown up; 23 Arabs killed and more injured. Their property looted. Took 100 prisoners; executed 37 of them.

See Table 3.2.  
 262 The orders were 'to destroy the enemy concentration' in Khirbet Nasir ad Din; 22 Arabs including women and children were killed, others were injured.  
 263 Dayr Yassin: the most infamous massacre. Over 110 men, women and children were killed or butchered from house to house during a whole day and night. There was prisoner parade and execution, rape and looting. See Table 3.2.  
 264 In Abu Shusha, 70 civilians were killed by Giv'ati brigade. Report to ICRC said "the Jews have committed barbaric acts" including rape. See Table 3.2 and Morris, *supra* note 242, p. 257.  
 265 In Bayt Daras, about 100 civilians were killed and wounded, in accordance with order that the village be "destroyed...and scorched". See Table 3.2 and Morris, *supra* note 242, p. 256.

Table 3.1: Israeli Conquest Operations

S.No	Operation Name	Date	Description
1	Zarzir	January 1948	Assassination of political and militia leaders.
2	Nahshon	2-20 April 1948	Jerusalem Corridor was systematically conquered and emptied by the Haganah. It came in effect with the unopposed conquest of al Qastal, following which orders were called for the conquest of 3 Arab villages at the western entrance to the Jerusalem Corridor- Deir Muheisin, Khulda and Seidun, following which orders were issued to take control of villages from Jerusalem to Bab al Wad [Sha'ar Hagai] followed by conquering Qaluniya, followed by blowing up of Arab bases of 'al Qubeib, 'Aqir, Biddu, Beit Surik, Beit Iksa, Beit Mahsir, Suba', Ramle, Sajad and Saris.
3	Yiftah	15 April - 15 May 1948	Conquered Eastern Galilee- including Safad. The objective was defined as 'gaining control of the Jewish colony Tel-Hai area' and its consolidation in preparation for invasion from outside. Destroyed also village of Zawiya and burned Lake Hula villages.
4	Misparayim (Scissors)	21 April 1948	A multi-pronged assault on militia positions and neutralization of the irregulars' power; objective was damage and shock rather than conquer.
5	Yevussi	22-24 April 1948	Conquest and destruction of Sheikh Jarrah and Shu'fat, respectively, a north Jerusalem neighbourhood and a satellite village to its north. Order was expanded to take Nabi Samwil, destroy Shu'fat and village of Beit Iksa and possibly Beit Hanina.
6	Bi'ur Cametz (Passover Cleaning)	24-30 April 1948	Aimed at "breaking the enemy in Haifa" by simultaneous assault from several directions, to open communications to the Lower City [i.e. the downtown area and the port] and to gain control of Wadi Rushmiya in order to safeguard the link between Haifa and the north.
7	Chametz (Cleansing)	25-30 April 1948	Seizure of large Palestinian villages that lay on both sides of the railway line that linked Jaffa to its Arab hinterland. Captured Saqiya, Al Khayriyya, Salama, Kafr 'Ana and Al-Abbasiyya in the north and Yazur, Bayt Dajan and Al Safiriyya in the south.
8	Ehud	late April 1948	The objective was to attack the villages of Kabri, Nahr, Bassa and Zib; destruction of defenders and menfolk and destruction of property. This served as basis for operation order of Ben-'Ami.
9	Har'el	April-May 1948	Objective was to reassure and widen the small Jewish held corridor and wresting from Arab control further areas in and around Jerusalem.
10	Matate (Broom)	4 May 1948	The objective was: (1) destroy Arab bases, (2) destroy points of assembly for Arab regular forces (after 15 May) from the east and (3) to join the lower and upper Galilee with a relatively wide and safe strip of continuous Jewish territory. The villages of Zanghariya and Tabigha, and the 'Arab al Shamalina' were attacked.
11	Barak (Lightning)	9 May-12 May 1948	Attacked the villages of Bash-shit and Beit Daras, Batani al Sharqi, neighbouring Batani al Gharbi, Sawafir Shamaliya, Nabi Rubin, Barqa. Villagers were expelled from Ibdis, Julis and Beit Affa.
12	Gideon	10-15 May 1948	Clearing of Baysan Valley implemented by Haganah's Golani Brigade. Captured Farwana, Al-Ashrafiyya, Baysan, al-Sakhina, Khirbet al-Taqa, Khirbet Umm Sabuna.
13	Maccabi	13 May 1948	This is the second stage of Operation Barak. Conquered Abu Shusha, south east of Ramle, al Qubab, northwest of Latrun and Mughar, southwest of 'Aqir.
14	Dror	13 May 1948	Occupied Jaffa with IZL.
15	Ben-'Ami	13-22 May 1948	"Systematically conquered Western Galilee and Acre" in two stages: Stage 1: Conquest and Demolition of the main targeted villages, al Bassa, al Zib and al Sumeiriya. Stage 2: Conquest, killing of adult males, destruction and torching Kabri, Nahar and Umm al Faraj, al Tell and al Ghabisiya.
16	Qilshon (Pitchfork)	14 May 1948	Against Arab Western Jerusalem, outside Old City (successful).
17	Schiffon	14 May 48	Against Jerusalem, Old City (defeated)
18	Ben-Nun	16-30 May 48	Aimed at occupying al Latrun. Established an alternative supply line to Jerusalem that by-passed al Latrun. Captured Bayt Jiz and Bayt Susin
19	Yoram	8-9 June 48	Attacked Al-Latrun from the southeast by occupying 2 overlooking villages
20	Lar Lar	26 June 1948	Preparation for Dani
21	Ludar	26 June 1948	Preparation for Dani
22	An-Far (Anti Farouk)	7 July 1948	Liquidation of Arab villages within the [Ajjur-Tell as Safi-Majdal] area, attacking the Egyptian Army south of Rehovot
23	Dekel (Palm Tree)	8 July 1948	Advanced eastwards from the Acre-Nahariya area into the Western Galilee's hill-country, and captured 'Amqa, Kuweikat, Kafr Yasif, Abu Sinan, Julis and Al Makr and further to the south I'billin and Shafa 'Amr. The second stage, Mujeidil, Ma'lul, ar Ruweis and Damun were completely emptied and later Saffuriya also.
24	Dani	9-18 July 1948	The order was to fully open and secure the length of the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road and push back the Arab Legion from the vicinity of Tel Aviv by conquering the towns of Lydda & Ramle, and later, Latrun and Ramallah.
25	Berosh	8-18 July 1948	Attacked from Al Dirdara against Syrian bridgehead on the Syrian border.
26	Qedem	17 July 1948	Against Old City.
27	Shoter (Policeman)	24-26 July 1948	Conquering the 'Little Triangle'- gaining control of the coast road between Zikhron Ya'akov and Haifa and destroying all the enemy in the area.
28	Ya'ar (Forest)	July 1948	Conquered Nazareth and neighbouring villages.
29	Nikayon (Cleaning)	24-28 August 1948	Cleansed the area between Wadi Suqfir, Wadi Rubin, the Mediterranean Coast and the railway tracks between Ashdod (Isdud) and Yibna.
30	Shikmona	July 1948	After the Start of Second Truce: destruction of several buildings in Haifa to insure a convenient and safe route between Hadar Hacarmel and the industrial part of Haifa and northern suburbs to safeguard the route to the harbour and to reduce manpower needed to guard duty in the city.
31	Yoav (Ten Plagues)	15 Oct-9 Nov 1948	Conquered the coastal strip including small towns of Isdud, Hamama and al Majdal, Beersheba, Beit Jibrin in Hebron foothills, 'Ajjur and smaller villages like Beit Tima, Qauqaba, Barbara, Hirbiya, al Qubeiba and Dawayima.
32	Hahar	19-24 October 1948	Captured Deir Aban, Beit 'Itab, Sulfa, Beit Jimal, Beit Nattif, Zakariya and Bureij.
33	Yekev	19-22 October 1948	Captured Deir Aban, Beit 'Itab, Sulfa, Beit Jimal, Beit Nattif, Zakariya and Bureij.
34	Hiram	28 October - November 1948	The order was 'to destroy the enemy in the cenral Galilee, to occupy the whole of the Galilee and to establish he defence line on the country's northern border'. Upper Galilee was conquered, held by Qawqji, bounded by villages of Yanuh and Majd al Kurum in the West, 'Eiabun, Deir Hanna and Sakhrin in the south, Farradiya, Qaddita, Alma and al Malikiya in the east, and the Lebanese border to the north.
35	Assaf (part of Horev)	5-6 December 1948	Attempt to destroy the Egyptian Army in the Strip and to conquer the area but failed.
36	Magrefa (Rake)	21 December 1948	Scouring 25 'abandoned villages' along the Lebanese border (Iqrit, Tarbikha, Suruh, Nabi Rubin, Fassuta) and the rest in the interior of Western Galilee (Ghabisiya, Kuweikat, 'Amqa, Birwa, Shi'ab, Mi'ar, etc) for returning refugees ("infiltrators").
37	Horev	22 December 1948 - 6 January 1949	The Egyptian Army was driven out of Western Negev and surrounded most of it in the Gaza Strip. It involved a deep thrust into Sinai by IDF armoured columns but was only partially successful.
38	Uvda	March 1949	Occupied the central and southern Negev down to the Gulf of 'Aqaba at Umm Rashrash, expelled all bedouins.
	First Truce	11 June - 8 July 1948	
	Second Truce	18 July - 15 October 1948	
	Armistice Agreement with Egypt	24 February 1949	
	Armistice Agreement with Lebanon	23 March 1949	
	Armistice Agreement with Jordan	3 April 1949	
	Armistice Agreement with Syria	20 July 1949	

Sources: Walid Khalidi (ed.), "All that Remains, the Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948", Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington DC, 1992.; Benny Morris, "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949 Revisited", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, Sydney, 2004.



220 Palestinian towns and villages. This included key commercial, administrative and cultural centres of Palestinian life, such as Haifa, Jaffa, Safad, Tiberias, Baysan and western Jerusalem. The population of the depopulated Palestinian villages and towns exceeded 440,000 at this time, or 55 percent of all the refugees. More than half of the total number of refugees was thus made homeless while under the authority and protection of the British Mandate forces, contrary to British obligations under the Mandate, not to mention the terms of the 1907 Hague Convention. This means that British Mandate officials are responsible for occurrence of the war crimes committed by Zionist forces.

By the middle of May 1948, Zionist forces had not only expelled the Palestinian inhabitants of 220 villages, but they also conquered approximately 3,500 km<sup>2</sup> of territory, or 13 percent of Palestine, an increase of 2,000 km<sup>2</sup> over land previously-held. This area was the richest and most fertile part of

Palestine. It was naturally also the most densely populated. Pre-state institutions established by the Zionist movement during the first decade of the British Mandate now had an integral, continuous well-defended territory. David Ben Gurion, who would become Prime Minister of the new Jewish state, declared the State of Israel on May 14, 1948. The traditional Zionist narrative depicted Israel in this period as a small beleaguered community fighting in self-defense against the 'Arab invasion' of vastly superior armies. The historical record does not bear out these claims.<sup>266</sup>

News of mass displacement and expulsion, massacres and the capture of main cities across Palestine inflamed the Arab public. Demonstrations and protests were held in Arab capitals around the region. Arab governments were ill-prepared to deal with the situation. Some had only recently gained nominal freedom from the yoke of British-French domination, but they had to respond. British diplomatic correspondence in this period shows clearly

that the major powers were convinced that the Zionist forces could defeat any combination of Arab armies.<sup>267</sup> Even Arab military advisors to the Arab League, the supposed protector of the beleaguered Palestinians, acknowledged the same.

On May 15 a segment of the Egyptian army entered Palestine on two days notice. The tiny Lebanese forces hardly entered the country. Units from the Syrian army entered Palestine, south then north of Lake Tiberias. The Arab Legion (later the Jordanian Army) entered Palestine to carry out King Abdullah's scheme, with British acquiescence, to annex as much as possible of Palestine leaving the rest to the Jews in accordance with a secret agreement.<sup>268</sup> Units of the Iraqi 'Hashemite' army entered in support of the 'Hashemite' King Abdullah and then left. None of these Arab forces had the intention to exceed the limits of the Arab state in the Partition Plan. Their number and preparedness were far less than necessary to meet the task at hand. In the 27 days of fighting,

266 In the late 1980's a number of Israeli scholars started to acknowledge the fallacy in the Israeli official line. See, Morris, supra note 242; Pappé, supra note 254; Flapan, supra note 34, p. 189; and, Norman G. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality of the*

*Israel-Palestine Conflict*. London: Verso 1995.

267 Toye and Seay, Vols. 1-2, supra note 41.

268 On collusion between the Zionist movement and King Abdullah see, generally, Avi Shlaim, *Collusion across the Jordan: King*

*Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

from 15 May to 11 June, when the First Truce was declared, these Arab forces achieved little if any progress. See **Map 3.3**.

Arab regular forces were outnumbered during the initial and subsequent phases of the war. Lebanese forces, for example, which started at 700, and reached a maximum of 1,000, had no military impact. They even lost a dozen Lebanese villages to the Israeli forces. Syrian forces (about 2,000) tried and failed to capture two Israeli settlements south of Tiberias. The well-trained Iraqi forces, which started at 2,500 and expanded later, arrived without orders (*macko awamer*) to defend the villages. It was able to defend Jenin against Israeli attacks but lost the villages around Jenin. Iraqi forces were subsequently withdrawn at the request of Transjordan. The Arab Legion, with a maximum force of 4,500, well-trained and armed men, and led by British officers, maintained defensive positions in the Old City of Jerusalem. Together with Palestinian and other volunteers, the Arab Legion over-ran four Etzion Bloc settlements south of Jerusalem in the area allocated to the Arab state.

The brunt of the fighting after 15 May was taken up by Egyptian forces. In the beginning, they numbered 2,800, and grew immediately thereafter to 9,292. In October, the size of the force increased to 28,500, in addition to 1,109 Saudis, 1,675 Sudanese and 4,410 volunteers, mostly Palestinians.<sup>269</sup> As a force of 35,662 men under one command, it was by far the largest Arab force. Its task was to defend a large Arab area, over half of Palestine, with very few Jewish settlements in it. Like other Arab forces, at no point did it attempt to enter the designated Jewish state. Under the inept leadership of General Mawawi, however, Egyptian forces lost all of this territory, with the exception of the tiny Gaza Strip, defended by Mawawi's successor, General Ahmad Fouad Sadik.

Israeli forces succeeded in capturing the city of Acre in addition to 37 villages in the Galilee. They committed a massacre in al-Khisas, the second that year, and another in al-Kabri.<sup>270</sup> Another large massacre was committed at Tantura.<sup>271</sup> Twenty-one villages were depopulated in Marj ibn 'Amer. Neither this region nor the Galilee was defended by any credible force. The Arab Liberation Army made a poor showing in this and subsequent phases until it withdrew unnoticed some weeks later to Lebanon under the cover of darkness. On the coastal strip, south and east of Tel Aviv, Israeli forces conquered and emptied 14 villages. Operation *Nikayon* (Cleansing) emptied nine villages on the Palestinian coast south of Jaffa. Thus the area within a wide radius of Tel Aviv became clear of Arabs. East of this region lay the important twin-towns of Lydda and Ramleh which were located in the Arab state according to the UN Partition Plan.

Fierce resistance from villagers in three villages south of Haifa, Ijzim, Jaba' and Ein Ghazal, known as Ijzim Triangle, defeated Israeli attempts to occupy the villages and expel their inhabitants. This triangle was important to the Israelis as it sits just outside the highway from Haifa to Tel Aviv. The villagers paid dearly soon after for their refusal to surrender and leave their homes.

During this phase of 1948 war, 95,000 new refugees who lived in 91 villages joined the ranks of homeless Palestinians.

Israeli forces continued to expand as the war dragged on through the summer of 1948. By August, Israeli forces had grown to 74,450. By October, just before the start of Operation Yo'av, the number of Israeli forces had reached 99,122, and finally reaching 121,000 at the beginning of 1949.<sup>272</sup> It had by then a credible navy, a strong airforce and powerful armaments.

The First Truce was announced to start on June 11, 1948. Although Israeli forces were hard pressed in this phase, combat with Arab forces emboldened them and increased Ben Gurion's conviction that Israel could defeat any combination of Arab armies and that the Israeli military was capable of attacking and occupying Arab capitals. During the truce Israel received enormous supplies of armaments, and soon thereafter, their first fleet of aircrafts, including the "flying castles" some weeks later. These aircraft introduced a new element in the fighting and, through indiscriminate air raids on refugee concentrations killing hundreds each time, had a devastating physical and psychological impact on Palestinian refugees. Emboldened and strengthened, Ben Gurion was determined to go beyond the Partition Plan, and occupy a territory connecting Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and expand the Jewish-held Palestinian coast. Israel thus broke the First Truce.

During Operation *Dani*, Israeli forces occupied the Palestinian towns of Lydda and Ramleh and the villages around them. They expelled 60-70,000 inhabitants of the two towns and refugees from nearby villages by direct orders from Yitzhak Rabin with Ben Gurion's agreement.<sup>273</sup> Those who sought shelter in the Lydda mosque were massacred.<sup>274</sup> At gun point, the inhabitants were expelled in the July heat during the month of Ramadan. Old men and children fell by the wayside, dying of thirst. Money and women's jewelry were looted by Israeli soldiers. Some soldiers ripped off earrings and severed ring fingers. The two towns were looted at leisure: troops diverted their military trucks to load everything movable from Palestinian homes, ripping every fixed valuable item.<sup>275</sup> The refugees' 'death march' reached Ramallah and the villages around Jerusalem villages in a sorry state. Their rage, anger and curses were directed, not only at the Israeli perpetrators, but also at General Glubb,

the Commander-in-Chief of the Arab Legion, because he withdrew his troops from Lydda and Ramleh at night without notice and at King Abdullah because of his collusion with the Jews on dividing Palestine between them.<sup>276</sup> Thirty four towns and villages were depopulated in Jaffa and Ramleh districts in this phase.

The Israeli conquest also extended to villages west of Jerusalem widening the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv corridor, although Latrun area remained well-defended by the Arab Legion. Fifteen Jerusalem villages were over-run and their population expelled. Immediately to the south, 15 other villages were also depopulated. The whole coastal strip between Haifa and Tel Aviv fell solidly in Jewish hands. All of western Galilee and part of coast was also conquered. Nazareth was occupied but its inhabitants were spared expulsion due to the refusal of the Israeli Commander, Denkelman, a Canadian Jew, to obey Ben Gurion's orders of expulsion.

This phase, known as the ten days fighting (8-18 July) ended with the Second Truce. See **Map 3.4**. During this phase, Palestinians lost 82 towns and villages, and 116,580 people became homeless. Numerous massacres took place. Apart from the massacre at the Lydda mosque, there were massacres at at-Tira and Qazaza.<sup>277</sup> In at-Tira, old and infirm men and women were burnt alive by pouring gasoline over them. Israeli forces occupied a further 1,300 km<sup>2</sup>. With the exception of the Ijzim Triangle, all conquered land was located beyond the boundaries of the Jewish state as delineated in the Partition Plan. This would be the dominant feature of subsequent phases of the war.

As the Second Truce was announced, the UN Mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, began his earnest effort to bring peace to Palestine as instructed by the UN. Two issues occupied him: first, the enormous number of refugees and depopulated villages; and, second, the Partition Plan, which he found to be unworkable. A new mutually-accepted, not enforced, solution was needed. Bernadotte was adamant that the refugees should be able to return home, if they wished to do so. Bernadotte was a man with strong humanitarian principles, a former vice-chairman of the Swedish Red Cross and a nobleman who helped many Jews escape Nazi Germany.

"It would be an offence against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes," Bernadotte told the UN, "while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and, indeed, at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who had been rooted in the land for centuries."<sup>278</sup> His recommendations on the right of return of the refugees became the basis for the General Assembly Resolution 194(II), affirming the

269 Ibrahim Shakib, *Palestine War 1948, an Egyptian View*. [Arabic] Cairo: Al Zahra Arab Information Co., 1986, p. 335.

270 The orders to Carmeli brigade regarding Kabri, Nahar and Umm al Faraj, which were carried out, were "killing of adult males, destruction and torching" of the villages. See Table 3.2 and Morris, *supra* note 242, p. 253.

271 Over 200 villagers were killed in groups. See Table 3.2 and Morris, *supra* note 242, p. 247. See particularly, Pappé, Ilan, *The Tantura Case in Israel: The Katz Research and Trial*, Washington DC: Journal of Palestine Studies, XXX, no. 3, Spring 2001, pp. 19-39.

272 Ben Gurion, *supra* note 244, pp. 778-782; Sanbar, *supra* note 244, p. 147.

273 Shlaim, *supra* note 268, pp. 263 and 269. Rabin claimed in his memoirs that Ben Gurion signaled the order to expel the inhabitants of Lydda and Ramleh by a wave of his hand. In an earlier version, this paragraph was omitted and instead Rabin claimed that "there was no way to avoid the use of weapons

and warning shots to force the residents to march". He lied. In a new book: Weber, Shaul, *Rabin: The Growth of a Leader*, Maariv books, 2009, [Hebrew], the text of the 'express' expulsion order of July 12, 1948 stated: "The residents must be quickly removed from Lydda without taking time to classify them according to age. [This confirms the standard expulsion order: to take men to labour camps and expel women and children.] They should be sent in the direction of Beit Nabalah... To be implemented immediately. Yitzhak R." The same was applied to Ramleh. When Rabin knew that the Red Cross representative was about to visit Ramleh, he gave the instruction: "You must evacuate all refugees by then [before the visit]". Weber writes: "This explanation for mass killing is clearly unreasonable". These quotations and review of Weber book was reported by: Tom Segev, *The Makings of History/ With the Wave of a Hand, Haaretz*, November 27, 2009.

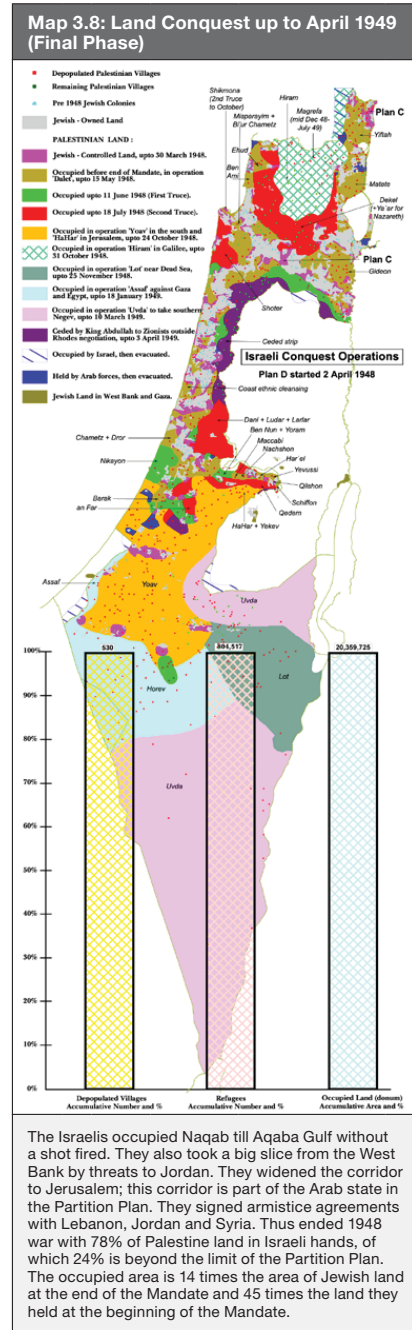
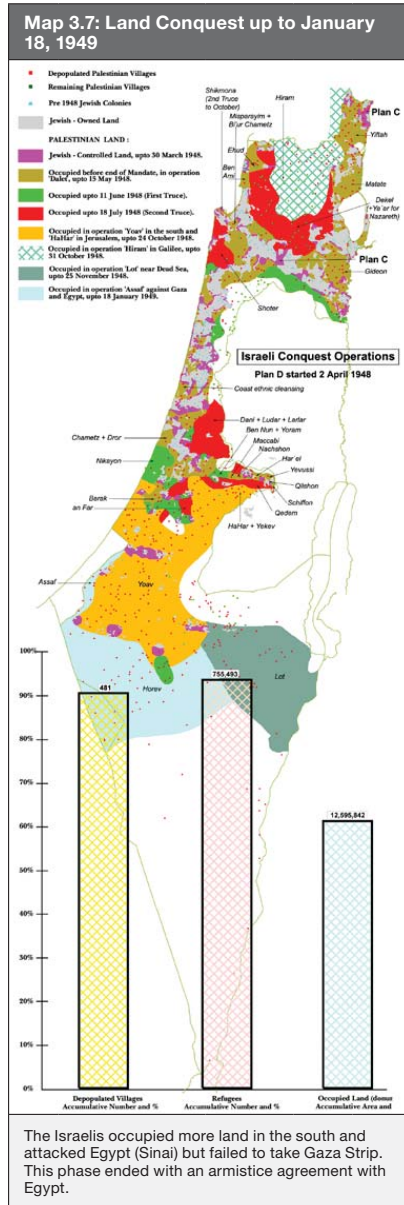
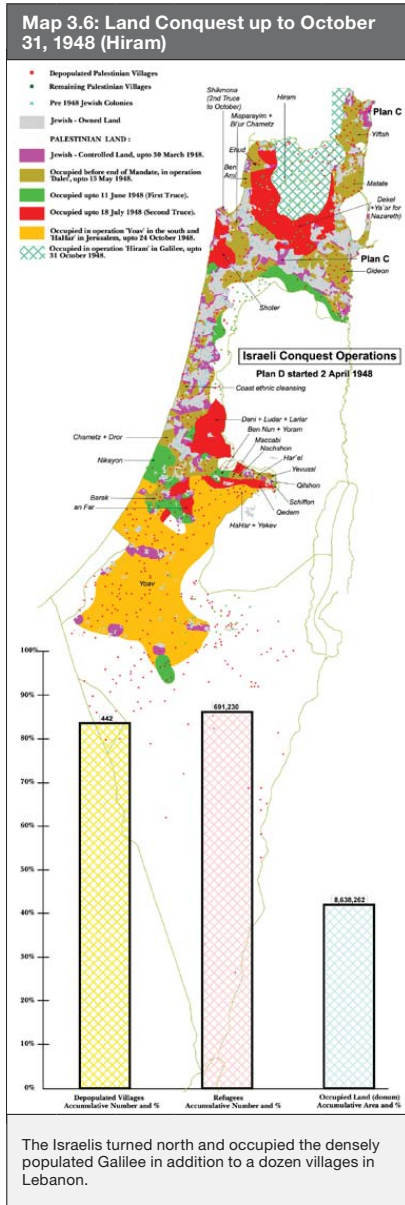
274 Civilians were shot in the streets. People who took refuge in

Dahmash mosque were massacred by machine guns, grenades and rockets. Over 250 were dead. See Table 3.2 and Morris, *supra* note 242, p. 428.

275 Ben Gurion, *supra* note 244, entries: 15, 20 July, 11 November 1948; Tom Segev, 1949: *The First Israelis*. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1998, pp. 68-74.

276 For details on Lydda and Ramleh see, Aref al-'Aref, *The Disaster: Disaster of Bayt al-Maqdis and of Paradise Lost, 1947-1952*. 6 Volumes. [Arabic] Sidon: al-Maktaba al-'Asriyya, 1956; Abdullah al-Tell, *The Palestine Disaster; Selections from Abdallah al-Tell, Commander in the Battle for Jerusalem*. [Arabic] Cairo: Dar al-Huda, 1990; Shlaim, *supra* note 268; Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; and, Khalidi, *supra* note 240.

277 In al Tira, about 30-50 old villagers were burnt alive. See Table 3.2.



right of the refugees to return to their homes and receive compensation. The United Nations has confirmed the resolution annually ever since.

For the resolution of the Palestine Question as a whole, Bernadotte recommended new boundaries for a Jewish state in the coastal plain and in the Galilee. The rest of the country would be a Palestinian Arab state. Bernadotte's final report, "The Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine"<sup>279</sup>, was submitted to the United Nations on September 16, 1948. Israeli officials were already aware of Bernadotte's views and recommendations. The next day, at about 5 p.m. in Jerusalem, while doing the rounds on his peaceful mission, Bernadotte was assassinated by Jewish (Stern Gang) terrorists.<sup>280</sup>

Aware that other Arab forces would not interfere, Israeli forces decided to attack Egyptian forces and occupy the southern half of Palestine. Under

the pretext that the Egyptians obstructed the passage of supplies to a few Negev Jewish colonies, Israeli forces crossed the vital Majdal- Bayt Jibrin road and occupied 2,500 km<sup>2</sup>, including the pivotal town of Beer Sheba, and threatened Gaza. Forty-five villages, mainly from the southern Jerusalem district, northern Beer Sheba and western Hebron districts, were depopulated. Operation Yoav was a great success in terms of occupied land. Militarily, it met little resistance. The Commander of the Egyptian forces, General Mawawi, was relieved of his duties and a tougher commander was appointed. Israeli forces thus achieved significant gains. See **Map 3.5**.

Having secured the southern front, Israeli forces redirected their attention to the unoccupied part of the Galilee which was designated as part of the Arab state. During Operation *Hiram*, which lasted for several days in late October and early November 1948, Israeli forces swept over the

Galilee, occupied around 1,650 km<sup>2</sup> of one of the most densely and fertile parts of Palestine. The largest number of massacres took place in the Galilee to induce the inhabitants to leave their homes. (See **Table 3.2 War Crimes**.)

Expulsion, as elsewhere, followed a similar pattern. Israeli forces would attack a village and circle it from three directions leaving the fourth open. When the village surrendered with or without resistance, with or without a previous peace agreement with Zionist forces, all men of the village were gathered in one place and all women and children in another. A select number of young men, anywhere from 20 to 200 in number, were killed in small groups; sometimes the last group

278 U.N. Doc. A/648, 1948.  
279 U.N. G.A.O.R., 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, Supplement No.11.  
280 For the statement of his chief of staff and his last report see, *Death of a Mediator*. Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 1968. For

the history and background of assassination see, Kati Marton, *A Death in Jerusalem*. New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996; and, Amizur Ilan, *Bernadotte in Palestine, 1948*. Oxford: MacMillan, 1989. For a background of the killers see, Joseph Heller, *The*

*Stern Gang: Ideology, Politics and Terror, 1940-1949*. London: Frank Cass, 1995.

buried the previous one. During Operation *Hiram* the remaining able-bodied men were taken to labour camps.<sup>261</sup> The women, children and old men were expelled, in this case to Lebanon. Israeli soldiers looted all money and valuables from the expelled inhabitants.

The Galilee was heavily studded with ancient villages and the villagers did not part with their homes easily. Many hid behind the rocks in the mountainous region, or returned after some days or months. The returnees were shot on the spot.<sup>262</sup> Israel viewed the returnees as 'infiltrators.' All across the country, refugees attempted to return to their homes following the end of hostilities, but this phenomenon, which is common when people are displaced, was particularly predominant in Galilee to the extent that Israeli forces initiated a special operation known as Operation *Magrefa* (Scoop) from December 1948 to July 1949 to hunt down and kill the returnees. Operation *Hiram* went further than Palestine and occupied a dozen Lebanese villages. See **Map 3.6**. This violated Lebanese sovereignty and the terms of the Partition Plan under which the Galilee was to be part of the Arab state.

With Egyptian forces defeated, other Arab fronts stagnant or ineffective, and the British-led Arab Legion having already agreed on a plan to divide Palestine between Transjordan and the Zionist movement, Israeli forces were able to move freely throughout Palestine. During Operation *Lot* they occupied a large region near the Dead Sea unopposed. Operation *Yoav* continued in the south of the country. During Operation *Assaf* Israeli forces attempted to dissect the Gaza Strip, where the population had swelled to nearly 300,000 with the influx of some 200,000 refugees from villages in southern Palestine. Refugees found shelter under trees, in tattered tents and in schools, mosques and hospitals. The attack on Gaza would likely result in the massacre of many thousands of innocent civilians. Ahmad Fouad Sadik, the new Egyptian commander refused orders from his HQ to withdraw and to surrender, saying, "My military honour does not allow me to leave behind 200,000 women, children and old men to be slaughtered like chicken". His forces put up a fierce resistance, assisted by Muslim Brothers volunteers, and defeated Israeli forces in a decisive battle at Sheikh Hamoudeh or Hill 86. The Gaza Strip, crammed with refugees, was thus saved.

During Operation *Horev*, Israeli forces conquered more of the Beer Sheba district up to Asluj and Auja, went deep into the Sinai (Egypt) and threatened the main town in the Sinai, al-Arish. Britain intervened to protect its interests in Egypt, and Israeli forces had to withdraw back into Palestine. See **Map 3.7**.

Soon after, the Armistice Agreement with Egypt was signed. Hardly had the ink dried, when Israel sent two columns, one along central *Negev* and another west of *Wadi Arabah*, the boundary with Jordan. The two columns reached Umm Rashrash, on the Gulf of Aqaba. They planted the Israeli flag and washed their feet in the waters of the Red Sea.

Israeli forces had occupied more than 7,000 km<sup>2</sup> without a single shot being fired. The Jordanian post alerted General Glubb about the advancing Israeli columns. Glubb ordered the evacuation of Ras al-Naqab and Umm Rashrash.<sup>263</sup> The Egyptians did not even know of the advance. When their sergeant at a post near Umm Rashrash tried to telephone al-Arish, he found that Israeli forces had cut the single wire.

King Abdullah meanwhile was responding to heavy Israeli pressure to cede a large strip in central Palestine. After protracted negotiations, he yielded, and an armistice agreement was signed with him. Lebanon readily signed an armistice agreement and Syria entered into tough negotiations under the UN Acting Mediator Dr. Ralph Bunche, which lasted for four months, but an agreement was signed in the end. (See **Armistice Agreements**, Section 3.2.)

Israel thus managed to win a largely uncontested battle and succeeded in emptying 530 towns and main villages (in addition to 145 smaller villages) of their inhabitants, thus making 805,000 people refugees. Their conquest extended Israeli control to an area of about 20,350 km<sup>2</sup> or 77 percent of Palestine, an increase of about 19,000 km<sup>2</sup> over the land they possessed under the British Mandate and with an additional 24 percent of Palestine conquered beyond the limit of the Partition Plan. See **Map 3.8**. Three hundred and fifty six of massacres, atrocities, destruction of property and houses, plunder and looting of possessions were recorded up to 1956. See **Table 3.2**. Between 1947 and 1956 alone, well over 100 massacres and atrocities were committed by Israeli forces. Of these, about half were committed in 51 Galilee villages. Two thirds were committed before 15 May, that is, during the British Mandate, before Israel was created and before Arab forces came to rescue the Palestinians.

With the emptying of so many towns and villages of its people and conquering vast areas of the country, Palestine came close to satisfying the erstwhile Zionist myth, "Palestine is a country without people".<sup>264</sup>

## 3.2 The Armistice Agreements

The Armistice Agreements delineated a ceasefire line separating the warring parties on the day each respective agreement was signed. In effect, the armistice lines were a measure of the Israeli advance into Arab Palestine and of the retreat of the Arab forces. Nevertheless, the armistice lines between Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Israel were legally temporary in nature. According to each agreement,

**It is emphasized that it is not the purpose of the Agreement to establish, to recognize, to strengthen or to weaken or nullify, in any way, any territorial, custodial or other rights, claims or interests which may be asserted by either Party**

**in the area of Palestine or any part or locality thereof covered by this Agreement whether asserted rights, claims or interests derive from Security Council resolutions, including the Security Council resolution of 4 November 1948 and the Memorandum of 13 November 1948 for its implementation, or from any other source. The provisions of this Agreement are dictated exclusively by military considerations and are valid only for the period of the Armistice.**<sup>265</sup>

In spite of the temporary nature of the armistice lines, the agreements had two devastating effects on the future of Palestine. First, the arbitrary and enforced nature of the line caused the dismemberment of the land and the life of 111 villages, in addition to the Beer Sheba district. Second, Israel only regarded the armistice lines as a *de facto* border when pressured to retreat to the lines established by the 1947 Partition Plan. Otherwise, Israeli forces crossed the border at will, and Israel itself freely expanded into the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and Lebanon.

The armistice line in the West Bank is often referred to as the 'Green Line' after the colour used to draw the armistice line on the Israeli official map in the 1950's. This term, however, blurs the legal and practical meaning of the armistice line. It should be referred to as "the Armistice Line of 1949."

### The Armistice with Egypt

Egypt was the first Arab state to sign an armistice agreement with Israel. By January 1949, the Egyptian front was in disarray. The Israeli occupation of vast areas in the southern half of Palestine left the villages of Faluja and Iraq al-Manshiya encircled. The Israeli attack was condemned by the Security Council Resolutions on 4 and 16 November 1948, ordering Israel to withdraw from lands it occupied in violation of the Second Truce. Israel did not comply and Egypt decided to negotiate.

Armistice negotiations between Egypt and Israel opened on the Greek island of Rhodes. Egypt tried to recover the town of Beer Sheba, which was to remain part of the Arab state in the Partition Plan, but failed, even though they offered to install a 'civilian' administrator in accordance with the Memorandum drafted by UN Acting-Mediator Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. The two sides agreed that the area around al-Auja area (256 km<sup>2</sup>) on the Egyptian border was to be demilitarized. It was also agreed that Israeli outposts at Deir Sneid, Tell-Jamma and al-Ma'in would not exceed a platoon's strength. No Israeli forces were allowed in the village of Bir Asluj. The Gaza Strip, which became the refuge for 200,000 Palestinian refugees who were expelled from the Gaza and Beer Sheba districts, remained in Egyptian hands.

Egypt's immediate concern was the evacuation of the Faluja garrison, complete with its arms and equipment. Through an exchange of letters, the garrison was allowed to leave. The fate of the Palestinian population of al-Faluja and Iraq

261 ICRC reports G59/I/GC-G3/82 dated November 12, 1948 and February 6, 1949.

262 For the Galilee depopulation see, Nafez Nazzal, *The Palestinian Exodus from Galilee, 1948*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978.

263 Shlaim, *supra* note 268, p. 402.

264 Nur Masalha, *The Politics of Denial: Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Problem*. London: Pluto Press, 2003, p. 9.

265 Paragraph 3, Article IV of the Egyptian-Israeli General Armistice Agreement, dated February 24, 1949. This clause had been reproduced in other armistice agreements but in a much shortened version. In Paragraph 2, Article II of the Lebanese-Israeli Armistice Agreement, dated March 23, 1949, (the word 'emphasised' replaced by the word 'recognized'). In Paragraph 2, Article II of the Jordanian-Israeli Armistice Agreement dated April 3, 1949 and in Paragraph 2, Article II

of the Syrian-Israeli Armistice Agreement dated July 20, 1949, the short version reads: "It is also recognised that no provision of this Agreement shall in any way prejudice the rights, claims and the position of either Party hereto in the ultimate peaceful settlement of the Palestine question, the provisions of this Agreement being dictated exclusively by military and not by political considerations."



Table 3.2: War Crimes (Atrocities, Massacres, Destruction, Plunder and Looting) 1947-1956

S No.	Village/ Place	Date of Event	Who: IDF/JNF/ Others	Comments	Combined Code	Reference
1	Jerusalem	22-Jul-46	Haganah & Palmah	Attackers dressed as milkmen blew up King David Hotel killing 92 people of which there were 16 Britons, 1 Arab and the rest Jews, and injuring 58.	2,4	UNITY p.2, PPR p.300
2	Fajja	20-May-47	Palmah	1 coffee house blew up.	4	M-BR p.342
3	Jaffa, Abu Laban orchard (outside Tel Aviv)	Aug-47	Haganah	1 house blew up suspected of being Arab headquarters.	4	M-BR p.342
4	Jerusalem	1-Dec-47	IZL	Looted Arab shops and Jewish mob set fire to Rex Cinema and adjoining houses.	3,4	M-BR p.119
5	Jaffa, Abu Kabir	2-Dec-47	Haganah's Kiryati Brigade	Blew up a house.	4	M-BR p.110
6	Jerusalem	4-Dec-47	Jewish mob	Torched Arab shops.	4	M-BR p.119
7	Jaffa, Abu Kabir	6-Dec-47	IZL	Torched several buildings killing 2 people.	2,4	M-BR p.110, Ben p.102
8	Karatiyya	9-Dec-47	Giv'ati Brigade	1 house blown up.	4	M-BR p.343
9	Qalqilya-Ras al 'Ein-al-Tira-Wilhelma-Yahudiya road	9-Dec-47	Haganah	Ambushed 2 vehicles. Arabs inside burnt alive.	2	M-BR p.72
10	Lydda	10-Dec-47	Haganah	15 vehicles, including 2 buses destroyed; 2 guards killed.	2,4	M-BR p.424
11	Haifa, Wadi Rushmiya neighbourhood	11-Dec-47	Haganah	1 house blown up.	4	M-BR p.343
12	Balad al Sheikh	12-Dec-47	Haganah	6 Arabs murdered.	2	M-BR p.100, also SAJ p. 105.
13	Haifa	12-Dec-47	Haganah	Attacked a bus.	9	M-BR p.75
14	Tira, Haifa	12-Dec-47	IZL	Killed 13 including children and elderly, 10 wounded, 1 house destroyed.	2,4	Khalidi p.196, also SAJ p. 105.
15	Abbasiya (Yehudiyah)	13-Dec-47		Killed 7 Arab civilians.	2	interx-me.com, Khalidi p.232. SAJ p 105.
16	Khisas in the Galilee Panhandle	18-Dec-47	Palmah	Killed 12 - 7 men, 1 woman & 4 children and wounded 5 Arabs mostly women and children. Demolition of 2 houses (one was the palace of Emir Faur).	2,4	Morris p.79, 343 & robinmiller.com, Ben p.103; SAJ p. 105.
17	Qazaza	19-Dec-47	Haganah	Partially destroyed the house of Mukhtar of Qazaza, 'Abdullah Abu Sabah'; 2 villagers killed & several injured.	2,4	M-BR p.126 & 343
18	Qazaza	19-Dec-47	Haganah	Partially destroyed the house of Mukhtar of Qazaza, 'Abdullah Abu Sabah'; 2 villagers killed & several injured.		M-BR p.126 & 343
19	Qazazeh (south of Ramleh)	19-Dec-47	Settlers	Atrocities	2	SAJ, p. 105.
20	Jerusalem, Romema	24-Dec-47	Haganah	Killed Atiya 'Adel, owner of petrol station in Romema for being an informant for the Arab irregulars.	2	
21	Silwan, suburb of East Jerusalem	26-Dec-47	Etzioni Brigade	Several houses blown up.	4	M-BR p.343
22	Jerusalem, Romema	27-Dec-47	IZL	Destroyed petrol station and coffee shop, killed at least 5 Arabs.	2,4	M-BR p.120
23	Yalu	27-Dec-47	Etzioni Brigade	3 houses blown up.	4	M-BR p.343
24	Lifta	28-Dec-47	Haganah	Attacked coffee shop killing 5-6 Arabs.	2	BADIL
25	Jerusalem, Bab Al Amoud	29-Dec-47	Irgun	Killed 14 civilians and wounded 27.	2	PNIC
26	Haifa	30-Dec-47	IZL	Bombed Consolidated Refineries Ltd: 6 died and 42 injured.	2,4	M-BR p.101, SAJ p. 105.
27	Jerusalem, Bab Al Amoud	30-Dec-47	Irgun	Threw bomb on speeding taxi killing 11 Arabs and 2 Britons.	2	robinmiller.com, PNIC
28	Safad	Dec 47-Jan 48	Palmah	Killed 3 Arabs; blew up house of Subhi al Khadra, the local Husseini leader.	2,4	M-BR p.221
29	Balad al Sheikh	31-Dec-47	Haganah	Fired and blew up houses, shot male adults, total: more than 60 killed including 2 women and 5 children, 41 injured.	2,4	M-BR p.101, also SAJ p. 105.
30	Hawassa el Fuqa (near Haifa)	31-Dec-47	settlers	Atrocities	2	SAJ p 105.
31	Bayt Dajan (east of Tel Aviv)	1-Jan-48	Palmah	Village houses destroyed.	4	Khalidi p.237-238
32	East Jerusalem, Sheikh Jarrah quarter	1-Jan-48	Haganah	12 houses torched.	4	M-BR p.123
33	Jerusalem, Sheikh Badr	Jan-48	Haganah, LHI	House of mukhtar Haj Sulayman Hamini blown up, destroyed several other houses.	4	M-BR p.121
34	Ein al Zeitun (Ayn az Zaytun)	2-3 Jan 1948	Haganah	Blew up several houses; killed 23 Arabs and took their watches.	2,3,4	M-BR p.222, Guy
35	Jaffa	4-Jan-48	Haganah	Demolition of town hall (saraya), which housed a militia headquarters, left dozens dead. Utilities and municipal services broke down. 15-30 people killed, 100 wounded.	2,4	M-BR p.112 & robinmiller.com
36	Jerusalem, Qatamon	5-6 January 48	Etzioni Brigade	Semiramis Hotel blown up; 10-25 killed, wounded 20	2,4	M-BR p.123 & 343, robinmiller.com, PPR, PNIC
37	East Jerusalem, Sheikh Jarrah quarter	14-Jan-48	LHI troops	3 houses blown up.	4	M-BR p.344
38	Haifa	16-Jan-48	Jewish mob	Shop in Salah ed-Din St blown up; 31 Arabs including women and children killed, 31 wounded by Jewish terrorists in British uniforms.	2,4	PPR
39	Mansurat al Kheit, north of the Sea of Galilee	18-Jan-48	Palmah	Tents and huts were torched and farm animals killed They were ordered to kill anyone who shows resistance.	2,4	M-BR p.132, also SAJ p. 105.
40	Tiberias	24-Jan-48	Palmah	Murdered an Arab taxi driver.	2	M-BR p. 80
41	Arab Suqfir	25-Jan-48	Haganah	Destroyed the whole village (Houses, 2 trucks and well).	4	M-BR p.77 & 343
42	Haifa	28-Jan-48	?	Abbas Street: Barrel stuffed with explosives killed 20 people and wounded 50.	2	Anis Sayigh, PNIC
43	Lifta	29-Jan-48	Haganah	Blew 3 houses.	4	M-BR p.120
44	Salama	Jan-Feb 1948	Palmah	Several houses blown up. The instructions were to attack the northern part of the village..to cause deaths, to blow up houses and to burn everything possible.	4	M-BR p.343
45	Yazur (East of Jaffa)	Jan-Feb 1948	Palmah	Several houses blown up.	4	M-BR
46	Qisarya (Caesarea)	31-Jan-48	LHI	Ambushed a bus killing 2 Arabs and injuring 8.	2	M-BR p.130
47	Abu al Fadl ('Arab al Satriyya) West of Ramle	Feb-48	IZL	Murdered 10 Arabs including 1 woman working in a grove.	2	M-BR p. 80
48	Baysan	Feb-48	Palmah	Several houses demolished.	4	M-BR p.224
49	Caesarea (Haifa District)	1-Feb-48	Settlers	Atrocities	2	SAJ, p. 105.
50	Haifa	Feb-48	Palmah	Dozens killed and injured with 300kg bomb.	2	M-BR p.106
51	Kfar Ureah (near)	Feb-48	Haganah	Murdered an Arab peasant and his wife without provocation.	2	M-BR p. 80

Table 3.2: War Crimes (Atrocities, Massacres, Destruction, Plunder and Looting) 1947-1956, Continued

S No.	Village/ Place	Date of Event	Who: IDF/JNF/ Others	Comments	Combined Code	Reference
52	Petah Tikva (near)	10-Feb-48	IZL or LHI	Stopped a truck carrying workers: killed 8 and wounded 11 after robbing them.	2,3	M-BR p. 80
53	Jaffa, Abu Kabir	12-13 Feb 48	Haganah	13 Arabs killed including mukhtar and 22 injured.	2	M-BR p.116, Ben p.102
54	Safad	12-Feb-48	?	Attacked a bus killing 5 Arabs and injured 5.	2	robincmiller.com
55	Beit Safafa	13-Feb-48	Haganah	Regional militia leader Mahmud al 'Umari killed and others.	2	M-BR p.123
56	Sa'sa	14-15 Feb 48	Palmah	16 houses were blown up, 60 Arabs killed mostly women and children.	2,4	Ben p.107, also SAJ p. 105.
57	Ramle	18-Feb-48	IDF	Killed 7 Arabs and injured dozens in Ramle Market bombing; cases of rape.	2,4,6	M-BR p.424, Segev p.72
58	Ramle	18-Feb-48	IDF	Killed 7 Arabs and injured dozens in Ramle Market bombing; cases of rape.		M-BR p.424, Segev p.72
59	Ramle	18-Feb-48	IDF	Killed 7 Arabs and injured dozens in Ramle Market bombing; cases of rape.		M-BR p.424, Segev p.72
60	Bayt Dajan	19-Feb-48	British forces	Killed 2 and injured 3.	2	Khalidi p.237-238
61	Qisarya (Caesarea)	19-20 Feb 1948	Palmah's 4th Battalion	Demolished houses; All of those villagers who did not escape were killed.	1, 2, 4	M-BR p.130, Ben p.134, Guy
62	Qisarya (Caesarea)	19-20 Feb 1948	Palmah's 4th Battalion	Demolished houses; All of those villagers who did not escape were killed.		M-BR p.130, Ben p.134, Guy
63	Haifa	20-Feb-48	Settlers	Killed 6 Arabs and injured 36.	2	robincmiller.com
64	Jerusalem	20-Feb-48	Shetron	Bombed Al Salam Building killing 14 Arabs and wounding 26.	2,4	PNIC
65	Bayt Dajan	26-Feb-48	Palmah	Killed 3 villagers and wounded 4, one house blown up.	2,4	Khalidi p.237-238
66	Kantara-Haifa Train	27-Feb-48	?	Train near Rehovoth attacked: killed 27 British soldiers and injured 36.	2	robincmiller.com
67	Wadi Ara, near Giv'at Ada	27-Feb-48	Guard Milices	Beheaded an Arab prisoner and scalped his head with a knife. Villagers say more people were killed.	2	kibbutz Be'eri member
68	Qa'un	Mar-48	Palmah	15 houses blown up.	4	M-BR p.344
69	Sandala (north of Jenin)	Mar-48	Palmah	Blew up or torched a number of houses.	4	M-BR p.344
70	Wadi Hawarith	Mar-48	Haganah	Ambushed a taxi killing 3 or 4 Arabs.	2	M-BR p.129
71	Haifa	3-Mar-48	Stern Gang	Destroyed Salameh building killing 11 and injuring 27.	2,4	robincmiller.com
72	Haifa, Wadi Nisnas	4-5 March 1948	Haganah	Ordered to kill adult males, killed 19 men.	2	M-BR p.106
73	Haifa, Wadi Nisnas	4-5 March 1948	Haganah	Ordered to kill adult males, killed 19 men. Penetrated houses and destroyed furniture with Molotov Cocktails.	2,4	M-BR p.106
74	Biyar Adas	5-Mar-48	Alexandroni	15 Arabs killed.	2	Khalidi p.239
75	Husseiniya	12-13 March 1948	Palmah	5 houses blown up and 15 Arabs, including members of a Iraqi volunteer contingent and women and children were killed and 20 others injured.	2,4	M-BR p.132 & 344, also SAJ p. 105.
76	Ein (Ayn) Ghazal, Little Triangle, south of Haifa	14-Mar-48	Haganah	4 houses razed, 1 Arab woman killed and 5 men wounded.	2,4	W. Khalidi p.148
77	Husseiniya	16-17 March 48	Palmah	Killed more than 30 people.	2	robincmiller.com., M-BR p.344, also SAJ p. 105.
78	Kiryat Motzkin (near)	17-Mar-48	Haganah	Blew 2 trucks, 12 Arabs, and 2 Britons killed, including Muhammad Bin Hamad al Huneiti, Jordanian commander of Haifa's militia.	2,4	M-BR p.106
79	Jaffa, Jibalya	24-Mar-48	Haganah	6 houses demolished and 2 dead.	2,4	M-BR p.116
80	Benjamina (near)	31-Mar-48	?	Blew up train, killing 24 Arabs and injuring 61; some sources say 40 Arabs killed.	2,4	robincmiller.com, Issa (Encyclopedia), PNIC
81	Al Manshiya, Tiberias district	7/04/1948	settlers	Atrocities	2	SAJ, p. 105.
82	Safad	Apr-48	Haganah	Lobbied a Davidka mortar bomb killing 13 Arabs, mostly children.	2	M-BR p.222
83	Tiberias	1-Apr-48	Haganah	Chopped off legs and hands of people and children using axe, also did awful things to women.	2,6	M-BR p.116
84	Mishmar Ha'emek (near)	4-15 April 1948	Haganah	Captured area; looting; unconfirmed cases of rape; adult males captured and killed.	2,3,6	M-BR p.241-243
85	al Sarafand	5-Apr-48	?	Mortared a house, killed 16 Arabs and injured 12.	2,4	robincmiller.com
86	al Sarafand	5-Apr-48	?	Mortared a house, killed 16 Arabs and injured 12.		robincmiller.com
87	Biyar Adas	5-Apr-48	Stern Gang	Blew up 30 houses.	4	Khalidi p.239
88	Abu Shusha, Haifa	09-11 Apr 48	Haganah	Village partially razed.	4	M- BR 242, also W. Khalidi p.142
89	Deir Yassin	9-Apr-48	IZL and LHI	Blew up several houses; shot down families and individuals including women and children; executed prisoners; raped a number of Arab girls and murdered them; looted everything; total 110-140 villagers killed (Ben: 254 people killed), 50-70 wounded.	2,3,4,6	M-BR p.237-238, UNITY p.4, Hogan, Khalidi, DYR, Ben p.115, also Milstein. SAJ p105.
90	Qastal	9-Apr-48	Palmah	Systematically levelled; blew up all houses.	4	M-BR p.235 & 345, Ben p.111
91	Qaluniya	11-Apr-48	Palmah	Systematically levelled; demolished 55 houses.	4	M-BR p.235 & 345, Ben p.111
92	Abu Zureiq, Haifa	12-Apr-48	Palmah	15 adult males, 200 women and children taken captive; killed 2 women and 4 children, 30 houses blown up, 5 of which were occupied. Quote from Eliezer Bauer: "Most villagers murdered who are defenceless, beaten peasants, cases of rape, all village houses and well blown up, looting".	2,3,4,5,6,9	M-BR p.346, also Khalidi, Quote: M-BR pp. 242-243, Ben pp.74-77.SAJ p 116.
93	Al Kafirin, Haifa	12-Apr-48	Palmah's 1st Battalion	Blew up 30 houses.	4	M-BR p.346, also Khalidi
94	Al Mansi, Haifa	12-Apr-48	Palmah	Village completely levelled	4	M-BR p.346,also W. Khalidi
95	Khirbet Nasir ad Din and Sheikh Qadumi Hill, Tiberias	12-Apr-48	Haganah's Golani Brigade	Captured the village; killed most of the villagers, only 40 survived, all houses raised to the ground.	2,4	M-BR p.183 & UNITY p.5, Al-Aref p. 205, Guy p.22, M-A p. 177 SAJ p106.
96	Lajjun	13-Apr-48	Haganah	Killed 13 Arabs. Completely demolished 15-16 April 1948.	2	Anis Sayigh,PNIC, M-BR p.346
97	Deir Tarif, Al Ramla	Apr-48	IDF	Air raided wounding 5 villagers including a 2 yr old child.	9	Khalidi p.379
98	Al Naghmaghiya, Haifa	15-Apr-48	Palmah	Village completely levelled	4	M-BR p.346,also W. Khalidi
99	Hawassa (near Haifa)	16-Apr-48	Carmeli Brigade	Killed 130 Druze tribesmen.	2	Khalidi p.162. Esber
100	Sariss (Jerusalem corridor)	16-17-Apr-1948	Haganah	Indiscriminate killings occur. The Haganah attacks the village at dawn. At that time, at least four elderly women remain in the village as other villagers flee in panic. Later in the same day, returnees discover the corpses of four women. The bodies are all in one spot and each is shot in the forehead.	1,2	Abu Khairy, SAJ p 106.
101	Tel Litvinsky (near)	16-Apr-48	?	Attacked former British camp, killed 90 Arabs.	2	robincmiller.com
102	Al Mazar, Haifa	19-Apr-48	Palmah	Completely demolished.	4	M-BR p.346
103	Beit Surik and Bidu (neighbouring villages in Jerusalem area)	19-20-Apr-1948	Palmah	Palmach troops, commanded from Jerusalem by Yitzak Rabin, occupy the two villages without confronting resistance. Sappers blow up occupied Arab houses. According to Ha'aretz, "the houses collapsed on dozens of Arabs," who are falsely presumed to be fighters (author's comment: according to Arab oral sources).	1,4	Milstein, p. 211, also Ben-Gurion p. 273 (AV) & p. 361 (HV); H-D. SAJ p106.
104	Tiberias	19-Apr-48	?	House blown up killing 14 Arabs.	2,4	robincmiller.com
105	Miska	20-21 Apr 48	Alexandroni	Expelled the inhabitants and destroyed the village.	1,4	M-BR p.350,also Khalidi p.558

Table 3.2: War Crimes (Atrocities, Massacres, Destruction, Plunder and Looting) 1947-1956, Continued

S No.	Village/ Place	Date of Event	Who: IDF/JNF/ Others	Comments	Combined Code	Reference
106	Haifa	21-22 April 1948	Haganah	Captured the city; 100-150 Arabs dead and many wounded. Mass indiscriminate killings occur. After the fall of Haifa, the Haganah continued to bombard civilian gatherings, especially near the port. They create panic. There was considerable looting. POWs were executed.	2,3	M-BR pp.190-192. Al-Aref, p. 222, also Palumbo pp.62-81; P-Khalidi, pp. 29-134; N-Masalha pp. 173-176 (AV); Childers; M-B pp. 76-77; Ben-Gurion p. 284 (AV) & p. 378 (HV); B-Farah p. 197.SAJ p107.More details in Esber.
107	Shu'fat	23-Apr-48	Palmah	Blew up 8 buildings.	4	M-BR p.346
108	East Jerusalem, Sheikh Jarrah quarter	24 Apr-May 1948	Palmah	Largely or partly destroyed.	4	M-BR p.345
109	Acre	25-26 Apr 1948	Haganah	Demolished 3 houses, mortar fell in Acre prison triggering mass prisoner escape.	4	M-BR p.209
110	Jaffa	25-Apr-48	Haganah	City attacked; postoffice, prison hit; coffee shop hit; tens of Arabs killed and injured; supply of food was completely stopped.	2,4	M-BR pp.213-214. Esber.
111	Haifa	27-Apr-48	Haganah	Extra-judicial executions occur. Seven of the oil refinery workers, who are suspected of having been present at the 30 December 1947 killings, are executed by the Haganah.	2	N-Masalha p. 176 (AV), quoting British document: "Section 257, and 317F.S, Weekly Report No. 3", for the week ending 28 April in PRO, WO, 275-79, 3. SAJ p 107.,
112	Jaffa (Al Manshieh neighbourhood)	28-Apr-48	IZL	Indiscriminate killings occur. Following heavy bombardment and a fierce battle, which lasts several days, IZL forces from Tel Aviv occupy al-Manshieh. They systematically massacre both combatants and remaining civilians. Casualties are estimated to be around 50.	2,4	Al-Aref pp. 258-260, also H-Hathut p.32; Abu Raya. SAJ p 107.,
113	Kafr Ana (Lydda District)	29-Apr-48	Israelis	Indiscriminate killings occur. The village is demoralised and occupied after a period of resistance. Ten civilians are killed on the day of the occupation. Those murdered are either elderly people, who remained in the village, or men, who attempted to flee.	2	Abu Sheikh
114	Samakiyya (near Tiberias)	29-Apr-48	Haganah	Indiscriminate killings occur. The Haganah fires on fleeing civilians and kill at least three individuals from Tabigha, who had taken refuge in As Samakiyya. Among the dead are Ahmad Muhammed, Ahmad Abu-Fadil, Hamdih Khadrah, and the sister of Ahmad Yousef Ali.	2	Nazzal. Saj p 108.
115	Jerusalem, Qatamon	30 Apr-2 May 48	Haganah	There are 150 casualties. Indiscriminate killings occur. After the fall of this western neighbourhood in Jerusalem, the Haganah forces kill a number of people estimated to be 150 casualties.	2	BADIL, Palumbo p. 100.
116	Al Sanbariya	May-48	?	Complete demolition of the houses even those without roofs.	4	M-BR p.357
117	Ayn az Zaytoun (Ein al Zeitoun)	1-May-48	Palmah	Took 30-100 Arabs as prisoners; massacred 37 of them; blew up and burned several houses.	2,4,5	M-BR p.223, Ben p.130, Al-Aref Vol. 3, p. 582, Hamoudeh, Abu Hakmeh, M-Abbasi, N-Nazzal p. 34-37, MH-Kelman p. 22, MI-Kelman, Palumbo p. 111-112, N-BY p. 243-248 (quoted in M-BR p. 289), Milstein (quoted in Guy p. 22), SAJ p108.
118	Baysan	May-48	Haganah	Captured the city; 100-150 Arabs dead and many wounded.	2	M-BR p.224
119	Shu'uth, south of Nuran	Apr-May 1948	Palmah	9 bedouin lay-byes and 1 mud hut destroyed.	4	M-BR p.347
120	Tabigha	May-48	Palmah, Alexandroni, Haganah	Blew up most houses; 15 Arabs killed.	2,4	M-BR p.250
121	Aqir, Al Ramla	May-48	Giv'ati	Blew up two houses; 4 villagers killed.	2,4	M-BR p.255
122	Zanghariya, Safad	May-48	Palmah, Alexandroni, Haganah	Operation Broom; 50 houses blown up.	4	M-BR p.250, also Khalidi
123	Sejera, Nazareth	6 or 9 May 1948	?	800 Jews entered the area and killed 8 Arabs and wounded 25, number of casualties among Jews not known.	2	Issa (Encyclopedia)
124	Akbara	9-May-48	Palmah's 1st Battalion	Destroyed few houses, part of mosque and took away livestock.	4,9	M-BR p.224, also Khalidi p.432
125	Qanir (Haifa Area)	9-May-48	Haganah	Indiscriminate killings occur. The village is attacked for the first time on 2 March, according to Masalha. Most of the houses in the village are destroyed. On 9 May, according to Haganah reports, Alexandroni troops raid the village and kill at least four Arabs. They blow up the remaining 55 houses.	2,4	Masalha p. 155 (AV), also M-BR p. 244., SAJ p.108.
126	Qannir, near Sabbarin	9-May-48	Alexandroni	Raided the village; killed 4 Arabs and blew up 55 houses.	2,3,4	M-BR p.244
127	Al Ashrafiya	10-11 May 1948	Golani	Blew up houses and destroyed the entire village.	4	M-BR p.227
128	Beit Daras (Gaza)	10-11 May 1948	Giv'ati	50 casualties; many houses were blown up and torched, wells and granaries sabotaged.	4,9	M-BR p.256
129	Safad	10-May-48	Palmah	Captured citadel and police fort.	9	M-BR p.224
130	Burayr, northeast of Gaza	12-13 May 48	Palmah (Jawad says Haganah)	Killed a large number of villagers; 20 combatants and 50 civilians are killed. Among the massacred, four are women, five are children and eight are over 60; raped and murdered teenage girl.	2,6	Hussein p. 142-147, also M-BR p. 258. SAJ p 109.
131	Haifa, Abbas	12-13 May 48	?	40 armed men entered Abbas area and stole 4 truck loads of flour.	3	Issa (Encyclopedia)
132	Khubbeiza (Haifa District)	12-May-48	IZL	Arab sources refer to a massacre. Israeli sources make no mention of a massacre, but acknowledge that Khubbeiza was one of four villages attacked by the IZL. In the same operation which attacked Khubbeiza, Sabbarin, Um Chouf and Bureika massacres did occur in two of these four.	2	AS-RV p. 10, also M-BR pp. 243-244, SAJ p109.
133	Sabbarin	12-14 May 1948	IZL	Indiscriminate killings occur. A section of the IZL attack four villages (see Khubbeiza above). Civilians who flee are massacred after a short battle. About 20 people die. Over 100 people remain. All or a part of the elderly, women and children are forced into a house, which is blown up by troops.	2,4	Eyewitnesses. SAJp 109.
134	Sumsum	12-13 May 1948	Palmah (Jawad says Egyptian forces)	Blew up 5 houses; killed 5 or 20 people; blew up granaries and well.	2,4	Birzeit RC, also M-BR p. 258. SAJ p 110.
135	Umm Shauf (Haifa District)	12-May-48	IZL	Massacre of prisoners after extra-judicial "court martial" occurs." An IZL officer: The troops detained seven young adult males. The IZL officer held 'a field court martial that sentenced the seven to death.' The seven were executed."	2	M-BR p. 244. SAJ p 109.
136	Abu Shusha (Ramleh District)	13-14 May 48	Giv'ati	Selective killings and forced expulsions occur. The Haganah bombard the village and several men are killed. Men are shot, bayoneted, and axed after the fall of the town. Women and children who take refuge in a cave are discovered three days later. Some of the women are injured by mines planted by the Haganah and at least one woman is raped. 50 people were killed, including ten from the neighbouring village of Sidon, who had taken refuge in Abu Shusha. Women and the elderly are forced to abandon the village.Houses blown up; 30 Arabs killed though Arab claim more than 70; two times attempted rape of a woman prisoner.	1,2,4,6	Y-S. M-BR p.257, also Khalidi p.358. Saj p 111.
137	Acre	13-18 May 1948	Haganah	Captured the city on 17-18 May; Town was ravaged; about 60 corpses; 50 cases of typhoid; rape murder of girl and murder of her father; 4 of them were forced to drink cyanide; 3 died; poisoning of wells by Typhus.	2,6,9	M-BR p.231 & robinmiller.com,ICRC;AS-BW; Al-Aref, Vol. 2, p. 424; Slotsky p.480 (AV) p. 1585 (HV); Titi. SAJ p 112.
138	Bassa	13-May-48	Haganah	Executed a number of youngsters (5-7 inside/outside Orthodox church) and molested or violated a number of women.	2,6	M-BR p.253; Ben p.140; B-Y; Nazzal, dissertation Vol. II, 386; Ben 140. SAJ p 111.
139	Tel Gezer	13-May-48	Kiryati Brigade	Caught 10 Arab men and 2 women (1 old and 1 young); young one was raped, murdered the 10 men and 1 old woman.	2,6	Guy, AS-R
140	al Ghabisiya	14-May-48	Haganah	Indiscriminate killing though village had good relations with Jewish neighbours. Killed 11 Arabs.	2	M-BR p.254, Ben p.140. SAJ p 111.

Table 3.2: War Crimes (Atrocities, Massacres, Destruction, Plunder and Looting) 1947-1956, Continued

S No.	Village/ Place	Date of Event	Who: IDF/JNF/Others	Comments	Combined Code	Reference
141	Jaffa	14-15 May 1948	Haganah	Indiscriminate killing, forced expulsion. Massive bombardment and looting after fall. Jabalya, 14 May: 12 year old girl raped; many attempted rapes. 25 May: 15 men found dead. Widespread institutional and private looting; robbery on roads for valuables; vandalisation of property.	6	SAJ p 110. M-BR p.220
142	Kafr Saba (Qalqilya area)	14-May-48	Haganah	Indiscriminate killings occur. According to eyewitnesses, 11-20 people are killed after the occupation of the village by the Haganah. After the capitulation of the village, a young man, who tries to help his elderly father leave the village, is shot.	2	S-B p. 59, O-T., SAJ p 112.
143	Sumeiriya, Acre	May-48	Carmeli	Operation Ben-Ami, killed several young men and injured, village completely destroyed.	2,4	M-BR p.347, also Khalidi p.30
144	Farwana, Beisan (Jordan Valley)	10-11 May 1948 (15 May 48)	Golani	Blew up houses and destroyed the entire village through aerial bombardment.	4	M-BR p.227-228, Goldenberg (quoted in Lehn pp. 245-246). SAJ p108.
145	Hunin	May-August 48	IDF	4 women raped and murdered; 20 others killed and 20 buildings demolished.	2,4,6	M-BR p.249 & 447
146	al Kabri	20-21 May 48	Haganah	Killed 7 youngsters by lining them up and firing at them; destroyed and torched the entire village. Chased an Arab man and girl and killed them.	2,4	M-BR p.253 & 347; Guy., Nazzal pp. 62-63.. SAJ p 112.
147	Al Nahr	20-21 May 48	Haganah	Conquered village, killed adult males, destroyed and torched the entire village.	2,4	M-BR p.347
148	Al Tell, Acre	20-21 May 48	Haganah	Completely demolished.	4	M-BR p.253
149	Umm al Faraj	20-21 May 48	Haganah	Conquered village, killed adult males, destroyed and torched the entire village.	2,4	M-BR p.347
150	Beit Daras (Gaza)	21-May-48	Haganah, Stern Gang, Palmah	Forced expulsions and indiscriminate killings occurred. Israelis opened fire on women and children while being evacuated from the village.	1,2	Anis Sayigh; PNIC; Al-Aref, Vol. 3, p. 536; M-BR 256; Najjar. SAJ p 113.
151	Tantura (Haifa area)	22-23 May 48	Alexandroni	At least 200 villagers killed; 1 rape.	2,6	robinmiller.com; Susan, Pappé, Al-Khatib pp. 204-205; Al-Aref, Vol. 6, p. 124. SAJ p 113.
152	Zarnuqa, Ramla	23-27/05/1948	Giv'ati	Indiscriminate killing. Multiple small massacres. Operation Barak; Demolished houses, killed an old man, old woman and child.	2,4	M-BR p.259; Khalidi; Al Madani; Ben p. 137; M-B p. 127. SAJ p 114.
153	Gaza City	24-May-48		Poisoned wells causing an epidemic.	9	AS-BW
154	Kaufakha (Gaza District)	25-May-48	IDF	Indiscriminate killings occur. Many civilians are killed for non-military reasons.	2	S-R p. 43; M-BR, map xx, p. 258., SAJ p. 114.
155	Zir'in, Jinin	28-May-48	Golani Brigade	[19 April 48] Ordered to destroy most village houses while some left intact for accommodation and defence. [28 May 48] Captured	4,5	M-BR p.346, also Khalidi p.339
156	Beit Tima	30-31 May 1948	Negev Brigade	20 Arabs killed; granary and well destroyed.	2,4	M-BR p.258
157	Jaffa, Abu Kabir	Jun-48	Haganah	Destroyed parts of the village.	4	M-BR p.359
158	Shu'uth, south of Nuran	Jun-48	IDF	Flourmill was destroyed.	4	M-BR p.133
159	Zarnuqa, Ramla	Jun-48	Giv'ati Brigade	Machinery was destroyed, farm animals were killed, houses and granaries were torched.	4,9	M-BR p.351
160	Indur, Nazareth	7-Jun-48	Golani	Blew up 2 houses.	4	M-BR p.260
161	Faqqu'a	10-11 June 1948	Golani	Blew up 30 houses.	4	M-BR p.262
162	Julis (Gaza District)	11-Jun-48	Israelis	Indiscriminate killings occur. The village of Julis is attacked by Israelis directly after the beginning of the first truce on 11 June. Women and children are slaughtered, as well as houses set on fire.	2,4	J-H; M-BR, p. 260.
163	Fajja	16-Jun-48	JNF	Completely destroyed.	4	M-BR p.349
164	Sabbarin	16-Jun-48	IZL	20 villagers died in fire fight, more than 100 old people, women and children were held behind barbed wire.	2,9	M-BR p.244
165	Umm al Shauf	16-Jun-48	IZL	Sentenced 7 to death for refusing to tell whose weapons they had found.	2	M-BR p.244
166	Qalqilya	29-Jun-48	IDF	Selective killings occur. Israelis execute four men in front of villagers and a Jordanian Army unit, which does not respond.	2	Al-Aref, Vol. 4, p. 903., SAJ p 115..
167	Kafr Manda	Jul-48	IDF	Executed 2 youngsters.	2	M-BR p.423
168	Qula, al Ramla	Jul-48	IDF	Many male villagers killed, many were shot or burnt to death in their homes; 50 Qula fighters died in battle to take British Tel Levitsky Camp; 1 woman raped and killed; 2 elderly women killed.	2,6	M-BR p.354; also Rantisi; Abu Ghanim; Ibrahim; Saleh; also Susan, SAJ p116.
169	al-Khayma, al Ramla	9-10 Jul 48	Giv'ati	Expelled the inhabitants; blown up and torched a number of houses.	1,4	M-BR p.437, also Khalidi p. 388
170	Beit 'Affa (Gaza District)	9-Jul-48	IDF	Selective killings occur. After the village is occupied, dozens of men are handcuffed, blindfolded, and held face down on the ground. When an Egyptian unit counter-attacked, the Israelis machine-gunned down dozens of blindfolded men.	2	SAJ, p. 115.
171	Idnibba, al Ramla	9-10 Jul 48	Giv'ati	Expelled the inhabitants; blown up and torched a number of houses.	1,4	M-BR p.437, also Khalidi p.382
172	Idnibba, al Ramla	9-10 Jul 48	Giv'ati	Expelled the inhabitants; blown up and torched a number of houses.	1,4	M-BR p.437, also Khalidi p.382
173	Jilya, al Ramla	9-10 Jul 48	Giv'ati	Expelled the inhabitants; blown up and torched a number of houses.	1,4	M-BR p.437, also Khalidi p 385
174	Mughallis	9-10 Jul 48	Giv'ati	Expelled the inhabitants; blown up and torched a number of houses.	1,4	M-BR p.437
175	Abbasiyeh (Ramleh District)	10-Jul-48	IDF	Massacre of prisoners occurs.	2	M-M; Al-Aref, Vol. 3, p. 582; Hamoudeh pp. 47-50, Abu Hakmeh. SAJ p 115.
176	Innaba, al Ramla	10-Jul-48	IDF	Blew up most houses leaving 9 intact to accommodate a small garrison.	4	M-BR p.355, also Khalidi p.384
177	Kharruba, al Ramla	10-Jul-48	IDF	Blew up houses and cleansed the village, occupied strongpoints overlooking the village.	2,4	M-BR p.355, also Khalidi p.388
178	Khirbet al Kuneisa (Al Kunaiyisa)	10-Jul-48	IDF	Blew up houses and cleansed the village, occupied strongpoints overlooking the village.	2,4	M-BR p.355, also Khalidi p.391
179	Lydda	10-Jul-48	Yiftah's Brigade	Killed and wounded dozens of Arabs perhaps as many as 200.	2	M-BR p.427
180	Tall as Safi (Hebron District)	10-Jul-48	Givati Brigade	Indiscriminate killings occur. According to Israeli testimony, Battalion 51 of the Givati Brigade (IDF) finds ten Palestinian peasants, including a very old man, and "liquidate[s] [them] in cold blood."	2	Menachem Attar (quoted in Ehrlich p. 25). SAJ p115.
181	Daniyal (Ramleh District)	12-Jul-48	IDF	Indiscriminate killings occur. IDF shelling induces most villagers to flee. All who remain are killed. Two Egyptians and three women were instantly killed. A couple: man was shot, woman injured. . Another three old women remained; were also subsequently killed.	2	Danyali; Bajjis; Rashid. SAJ p115.
182	Lydda	12-Jul-48	Yiftah's Brigade	Killed about 25 people and wounded many; 70,000 were expelled; many died from exhaustion, dehydration and disease Gunned down 80-100 men inside Dahmash mosque; Extensive looting; 1800 trucks loaded with looted property.	1,2,3,8	M-BR p.430- 433 & UNITY p.6, Segev p.69, Kurzman p.515, SAJ p115.
183	Saffuriya	15-Jul-48	IDF	Blew up 30 houses; killed some inhabitants.	2,4	M-BR p.417
184	Barqusiya	16-Jul-48	Giv'ati	Completely torched; Commando unit ran over tens of bodies.	2	M-BR p.437
185	Bi'llin	16-Jul-48	Giv'ati	Completely torched; Commando unit ran over tens of bodies.	2	M-BR p.437
186	Illut	16-Jul-48	IDF (SAJ says Golani Brigade)	25 inhabitants killed; few youngsters found dead; Arrested 46 young men and killed several of them on 3 Aug.	2,5	M-BR p.422-423 & robinmiller.com; Al-Aref, Vol. 3, p. 631; Al-Itihad p. 11. SAJ p 116.
187	Qazaza	16-Jul-48	Giv'ati Brigade	Expelled inhabitants; blown up and torched a no. of houses.	1,4	M-BR p.437
188	Tira, Haifa	16-Jul-48	IDF	Indiscriminate killing. 28 Al Tira villagers who sought refuge in 'Ayn Gazal burned alive there.	2	Khalidi p.198, UNTSO; Mudor p. 28-30; Ze-ev; M-BR p. 440&458. SAJ p 117.
189	Deir Rafat, Jerusalem	17-18 Jul 48	IDF	Operation Dani; Most of village and monastery blown up.	4	M-BR p.355, also Khalidi p.287

Table 3.2: War Crimes (Atrocities, Massacres, Destruction, Plunder and Looting) 1947-1956, Continued

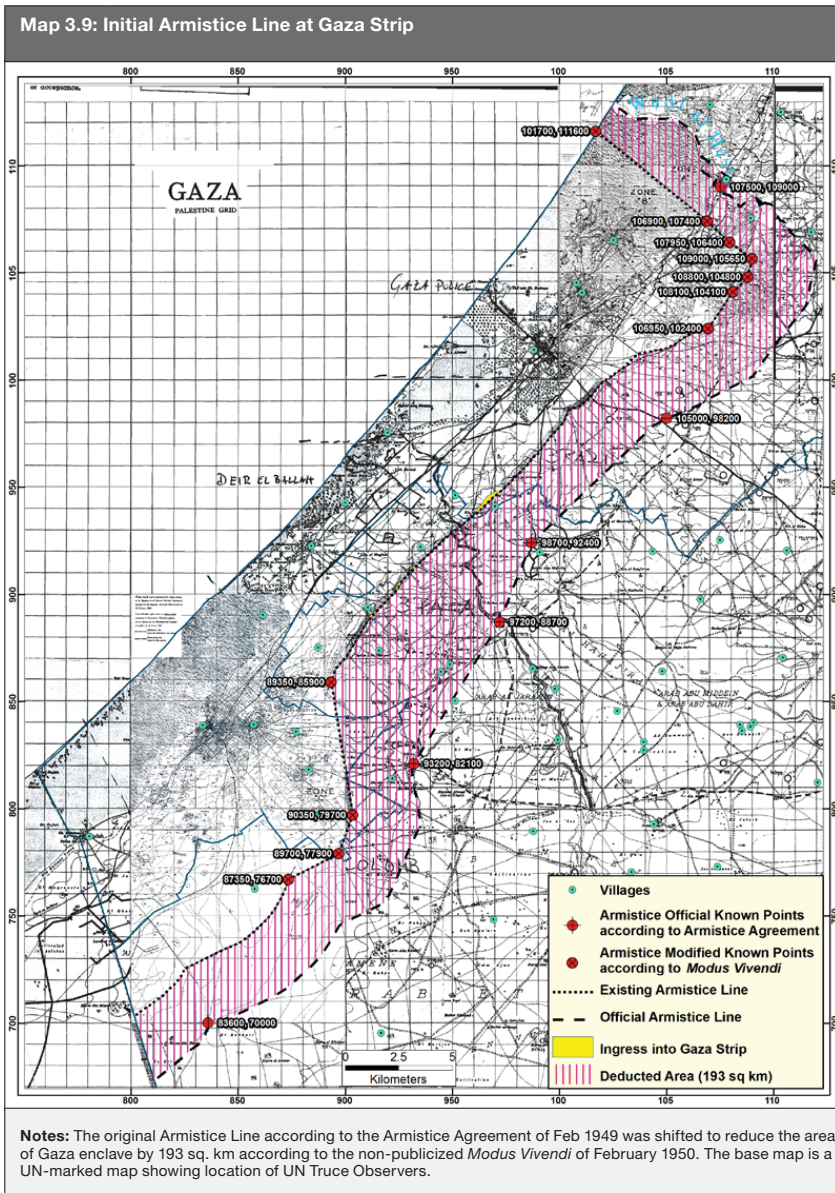
S No.	Village/ Place	Date of Event	Who: IDF/JNF/ Others	Comments	Combined Code	Reference
190	Ein (Ayn) Ghazal, Little Triangle, south of Haifa	24-26 July 1948	IDF	37 to 100 people killed in air-raids; burned alive 25-30 bodies; IDF claimed to have found 200 Arab bodies.	2	M-BR p.440
191	Ijzim	24-Jul-48	IDF	IDF found hundreds of women, children and old people. 100 militiamen taken prisoners and more than 100 Arabs killed. Quote: "This large number killed is more like execution than in battle". UN investigation put the number of killed at 130.	2,5	M-BR p.439, Khalidi p. 164
192	Isdud	Aug-48	Giv'ati	Ten fellahin were murdered.	2	Guy, AS-R
193	Umm al Zinat (Haifa District)	1-Aug-48	IDF	Selective killings occur. Most of them, mainly women and children. Later, the Israelis killed four people to force a final expulsion. Two of the four are killed on the street. Another victim killed outside of the house. A young man was slaughtered in a house two days after the expulsion.	1,2	Ben-Gurion p. 278 (AV), p. 369 (HV), SAJ p 117.
194	Zikrin	6-Aug-48	IDF	Torched 3 or 4 houses; killed 10 adult males, 2 children and 1 woman.	2,4	M-BR p.447
195	Yibna-Arab Suqir-Nabi Rubin areas	28-Aug-48	Giv'ati	Destroyed most of the stone houses and wooden shacks were torched; killed 10 Arabs; wounded 3 and captured 3; killed about 20 camels, cows and mules.	2,4,9	M-BR p.444
196	Sheikh al Rumi (al Quderiya) Just south of Safad	10-Sep-48	Giv'ati	Killed 32; took the village and blew it up.	2,4	M-BR p.445
197	Jaffa	mid-Sep 1949	Haganah	Occupied by Haganah in mid-May 1948. Ordered demolition of the whole city, carried out in piecemeal fashion. Army looted goods estimated at 30,000 pounds daily; houses fell to whoever grabbed them first.	3,4	M-BR p.359, Segev p.73, 75. Al-Aref, pp. 250-268, also Abu Raya and Shammout; Anonymous; Palumbo pp.87-94; W Khalidi pp. 134-138; see D.Kimchee in W Khalidi.
198	Jerusalem	17-Sep-48	Stern Gang	Assassinated Count Folke Bernadotte, UN Mediator.	2	robinmiller.com
199	Marus, north of Safad	17-18 Sep 1948	IDF	Village completely demolished; several Arabs killed and wounded.	2,4	M-BR p.448
200	Beer Sheba	21-Oct-48	Palmah	Indiscriminate killings and prisoner massacres occurred. Two massacres were committed during the occupation of the city. In one massacre, 19 civilians were killed. In the second at least 20 Egyptian soldiers were killed after they surrendered. No mercy for children or women, 9 killed including a mother, several injured. Looting of shops. Army had removed several tractors.	2,3	Al-Aref, Vol. 3, p. 736 & Vol. 6 pp. 29-30, 36-37, 39, 43, 51, 62-63, 72, 92, 94; Guy (citing Abraham Adan – IDF officer and eyewitness) p. 25. AS-R, Segev p.74, Kurzman p.601. SAJ p 118.
201	Al Qubeiba, Hebron	Oct-48	Giv'ati Brigade or Har'el Brigades	Machinery was destroyed, farm animals were killed, houses and granaries were torched.	4,9	M-BR p.351, also Khalidi p.220
202	Dawayima	29-Oct-48	Giv'ati	Villagers gunned down inside houses and mosque; massacred about 80-100 people, (Mukhtar gave a list of 500); including children by breaking their heads with sticks, killed old women, woman with her baby and committed rape.	2,6	M-BR p.469; Ben p.153; Palumbo p. xli; Hudeib; Atharbeh pp. 212-216; Al Huriya, p. 9. SAJ p 89.
203	Safsaf	29-Oct-48	IDF	Indiscriminate killing. Shot and dumped 50-70 villagers and POWs into a well; Another 30-40 men missing; 4 young women raped.	2,6	M-BR p.481; Ben p.153; N-Nazzal p. 43 & pp. 93-95; M-B p. 230; Al-Aref, Vol. 6, p. 125; M-K., SAJ p119.,
204	Tarshiha	29-30 Oct 48	IDF	Killed 24 and buried 60 more under rubble.	2,9	M-BR p.473
205	Arab al Jubarat (Beer Sheba District)	Late Oct 1948	IDF	Selective and indiscriminate killings occur.	2	Al Diqs. SAL p122.
206	Arab al Samniyya and other Galilee villages	30-Oct-48	Sheva', Carmeli, Golani, 'Oded	Operation Hiram; emptied the Galilee villages; extensive looting in and around the villages, several hundreds taken as prisoners and several hundred killed in Galilee.	1	Khalidi p.5-6
207	Bi'neh and Deir al-Asad (Acre District)	Oct-Nov 48	IDF	Selective killings occur. Typical: The IDF occupied both villages without encountering resistance and ordered villagers to assemble. Two young men were chosen at random from each village, were executed in an olive grove. The villagers, forced to leave, saw the bodies of the men. UN observers describe the killings as "wanton slaying without provocation."	2,4	N-Nazzal p.89; Titti; M-BR p. 477; Palumbo p. 168. SAJ p 120.
208	Dayr al Asad	Oct-Nov 48	IDF	Executed 2 people; blew up 3 houses.	2,4	M-BR p.477
209	Eilabun	30-Oct-48	IDF	Killed 12 young men, 1 old man, injured 3 women; robbed the inhabitants of money and women of jewelry, 42 of them sent to detention camp, desecrated church.	2,3,5,9	M-BR p.480; Ben p.154; UNTSO; Srou; Palumbo ch.10 note 225; Sunara p. 6; Srouji p. 74; Al-Ayyam. SAJ p 119.
210	Hule (Houle)	30 Oct-2 Nov 48	IDF	Shot 3 dozen people, captured Lebanese soldiers and peasants and demolished a house on top of them, killing them all. Another account of the same incident: Jews entered the village dressed in Arab costume and killed 83 people.	2,4	M-BR p.481, also Nakba Register; Al-Aref, Vol. 6, p. 125; Guy; UN Doc. SAJ p 120.
211	Jish	30-Oct-48	IDF	Killed 150-200 Arabs; murdered 10 Moroccan POWs, no. of civilians, including 4 Maronite Christians, a woman and her baby. Robbed several houses and stole 605 pounds, jewellery and other valuables, killed people who insisted on demand of their valuables, cut off the finger of one to remove a ring.	2,3	M-BR p.474 & 481 & 501; Segev p.72; G-B; G-C; S-B p. 28; Palumbo p. 171; M-B p. 230. SAJ p118
212	Kafr Anan (Acre District)	30-Oct-48	IDF	Selective and indiscriminate killings occur.	2	Al-Aref, Vol. 6, p. 145; M-BR p. xvii; UN-DOCS- SAJ p 121.
213	Majd al Kurum	30-Oct-48	IDF	Selective killing. Killed 10 people including 1 woman, confiscated 275 sheep and goats; blew up Mukhtar's house.	2,3,4	M-BR p.478; M-S., SAJ p 123.
214	Saliha	30Oct-2 Nov 48	IDF	Indiscriminate killing. Blew up a house, possibly village mosque, killing 60-94 people crowded inside.	2,4	M-BR p.481; Al-Aref, Vol. 6, p. 125; UN-DOCS. SAJ p 121.
215	Sa'sa	30-Oct-48	Haganah	Mass murder, whole village expelled. This is second massacre. First: 14-15 Feb 1948	1,2	robinmiller.com; M-BR p. 230&501; Ben-Gurion p. 844. SAJ p 121.
216	Nahaf	31-Oct-48	IDF	Selective killings occur.	2	S-Titti; UN Docs.. SAJ p122.
217	Farradiya (Safad District)	Early Nov 1948	IDF	Atrocities	5	SAJ p. 124. Interview of eyewitnesses by Wadi Awawada July 2004.
218	Khirbet Wa'ra as Sawda	2-Nov-48	IDF	Torched the village; 14 prisoners were liquidated (huslu) and 5 were transferred to POW camp.	2,4,5	M-BR p.481, SAJ p 123.
219	Sha'b	5-Nov-48	IDF	Forced expulsion/ death march in mud. Firing 'in the air to scare fleeing refugees', injured a small boy. Eyewitness saw many corpses.	2,8,9	M-BR p. 478 & Eyewitness; N-Nazzal, p. 87&90; UN-Docss. SAJ p 123.
220	Nabi Yosha' (Galilee panhandle)	12-Dec-48	Settlers	Atrocities	2	SAJ, p. 105.
221	Al Araqib (near Beer Sheba)	Jan-49		Shot dead 14 people.	2	AS-R; IDF
222	Azazma	Jan-49		People were shot by machine guns and from helicopters.	2	AS-R, M-BW p.155, M-A p.266
223	Sheikh Muwannis	12-Mar-49	LHI	Kidnapped 5 village notables.	9	M-BR p.127
224	Beit Jala	11-Jan-52	IDF	Killed 7 unarmed civilians, 1 man, 2 women and 4 children.	2	robinmiller.com
225	Jerusalem	22-Apr-53	IDF	Killed 10 people in front of Damascus Gate.	2	robinmiller.com
226	Bureij Refugee Camp	28-Aug-53	Unit 102 Sharon	Killed 20 refugees and injured 62.	2	robinmiller.com, M-BW p.242
227	Qibya, West Bank	14-15 Oct 53	IDF	Killed 70 civilians.	2	M-BW p. 236-255 robinmiller.com
228	Nahalin, West Bank	28-29 Mar 54	IDF	Killed 9 and injured 14.	2	robinmiller.com, M-BW p.300-304
229	Gaza City	28-Feb-55	IDF	Killed 56 and injured 193.	2	robinmiller.com, M-BW p.84-85
230	Kafr Qasem	29-Oct-56	Israel Frontier Guards	Massacred 49 people.	2	Nur Masalha
231	Khan Yunis	3-Nov-56	IDF	Murdered 275 civilians. List of names by Agha.	2	UNITY p.8, UNRWA, Agha
232	Rafah Refugee Camp	12-Nov-56	IDF	111 refugees killed.	2	robinmiller.com, UNRWA

Code	Explanation	# Listed				
1	Expulsion, Flight of Population	15	23.0	Agha Ihsan Khalil al Agha, "Khan Yunis Massacre" (in Arabic), <i>Fajr Centre</i> , Cairo, 1997.	58.0	Al-Khatib M.N. al-Khatib, "From the Events of the Disaster or the Palestinian Disaster," 1951, who presented a complete eyewitness account from a survivor, Marwan 'Iqab al-Yahya. Oral testimonies taken by Rashad al Madani, for Birzeit Research Center document the killing of the Egyptian workers and the killing in the Muslim sanctuary.
2	Killing People, Atrocities, Massacres	159	24.0	ICRC G59/1/GC.G3/82	59.0	Al Madani Birzeit Research Center document the killing of the Egyptian workers and the killing in the Muslim sanctuary.
3	Looting and Plunder	15	25.0	Bleier Ronald Bleier, "Terror", <i>The Link</i> , July-August 2003, Vol.36, No.3, <a href="http://desip.igc.org/InTheBeginning.html">http://desip.igc.org/InTheBeginning.html</a> .	60.0	S-R S. Kanaana/R. al-Madani, Kafukha, Birzeit Research Center, Palestinian Destroyed Villages, series #8, 1990.
4	Destruction of Villages, Houses etc	124	26.0	Guy Guy Ehrlich, "Not Only Deir Yassin", <i>Ha'aretz</i> , 6 May 1992. Reference is made in this article to: Aryeh Yitzhaki, Moshe Kalman, Uri Milstein, Daniel A. McGowan and Mathew C. Hogan, "The Saga of Deir Yassin: Massacre, Revisionism and Reality", <i>Deir Yassin Remembered</i> , New York, 1999.	61.0	J-H Jamal Hussein report, dated 13 July 1948, entitled "Memorandum to the Secretary General of the United Nations on the Violation of the Truce by Jews".
5	Detention and Forced Labour Camps	7	28.0	Aharoni Arie Aharoni, "A Candidate for Treason" (in Hebrew), Sifriat Poalim Publishing House, Tel Aviv, Israel, 2000. This officer admitted receiving an order to poison Gaza wells.	62.0	M-M Interview by Saleh Abdel Jawad with Mahmoud Mohammed Ghabish, el-Bireh, 29 October 1997 (in SAJ).
6	Maltreatment, Starvation, rape	18	29.0	Milstein U. Milstein, "The War of Independence Vol. IV: Out of Crisis Came Decision", 1991, 255-276.	63.0	Menachem Attar Menachem Attar (soldier's) letter to editor, 2 May 1972, Yedi'ot Achronot, quoted in Ehrlich.
8	Suffering after Expulsion as Refugees	2	30.0	Al-Aref A. al-Aref, "Nakbat Filastin wa al-Firdaws Ma'qud" (Palestinian Nakba and the Lost Paradise), 1956-1958, Vol. 1, 205	64.0	Khoure Elias Khoure, communication to Saleh Abdel Jawad, Berne Switzerland, August 1997 (in SAJ).
9	Other Wrongdoing	16	31.0	Abu Khairy Student interview with Hadj Mahmoud Jaber Mahmoud Abu Khairy, Beit Hanina, November 2000 (in SAJ).	65.0	Danyali Student interview with oral testimony of Amneh Ahmad Khalil Danyali, Bireh, 1999 (in SAJ).
Total	Note: These numbers are not exhaustive	356	32.0	Ben-Gurion D. Ben-Gurion, "Yumann Hamilhamah, 1947-1949 (Diaries of War, 1947-1949)", 1984, G. Rivlin/E.Orren (eds.), Samir Jabour (trans.), 1993.	66.0	Bajjiss Student interview with Abdel Jabir Bajjiss (Abu 'Iz'at), Rafat, near Ramallah, 20 October 1999 (in SAJ).

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1.0	M-B:	Benny Morris, "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, Sydney, 1987.
1.1	M-BR:	Benny Morris, "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949 Revisited", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, Sydney, 2004.
1.2	M-BW	Benny Morris, "Border Wars", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993.
1.3	M-A	Benny Morris, "1948 and After, Israel and the Palestinians", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.
1.4	M-S	B. Morris, "The Survival of the Fittest", Ha'aretz interview by A. Shavit, 9 January 2004, <a href="http://people.na.infn.it/~clarizia/palestina/giusti/Morris%20intervista%209-1-04.pdf">http://people.na.infn.it/~clarizia/palestina/giusti/Morris%20intervista%209-1-04.pdf</a>
5.0	P-Khalidi	W. Khalidi, "Fifty Years After the Partition Plan, 1947-1997", 1998.
5.1	D-Khalidi	W. Khalidi, "Deir Yassin", 1998, in Arabic. Khalidi drew extensively on the work of S.Kanaana/N. Zitawi, "Deir Yassin", Birzeit Research Center, Palestinian Destroyed Villages, series #4, 1987.
5.2	K-Khalidi	W. Khalidi, "KhamSun -aman- ala harb 1948, ula al-hurub al-sihuniyya al-arabiyya [Fifty years since the 1948 War, the First of the Arab-Zionist wars]", 1998.
5.3	F-Khalidi	W. Khalidi (ed.), "From Haven to Conquest", 1992.
5.4	Khalidi	W. Khalidi (ed.), "All that Remains, the Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948", Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington DC, 1992.
6.0	Segev	Tom Segev, "1949: The First Israelis", Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1998.
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9.0	Eyewitness	Village Memorial Series, Bir Zeit University.
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11.0	Ben	Meron Benvenisti, "Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948", University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2000.
12.0	DYR	see <a href="http://www.deiryassin.org">www.deiryassin.org</a>
13.0	SAJ	Saleh Abdel Jawad (2007), "Zionist Massacres: The Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem in the 1948 War," in E. Benvenisti & al, Israel and the Palestinian Refugees, Berlin, Heidelberg, New-York : Springer, pp. 59-127.
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13.3	AS-BW	Salman Abu-Sitta, "Traces of Poison", Al-Ahram Weekly, Issue No.627, 27 Feb-5 Mar 2003. See <a href="http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/62/focus.htm">http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/62/focus.htm</a> .
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15.1	N-Masalha	N. Masalha, "Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of Transfer in Zionist Political Thought 1882-1948", Arabic version hereafter AV, English version hereafter EV, 1992.
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20.0	robinmiller	<a href="http://www.robinmiller.com">www.robinmiller.com</a> ; References are from R. Dare Wilson, "Cordon & Search: With 6th Airborne Division in Palestine, 1945-1948", Gale & Polden, Aldershot, London, 1949, reprinted Battery Press, Nashville, 1984.
21.0	Badil	<a href="http://www.badil.org">www.badil.org</a> .
22.0	Pappe	Ilan Pappe, "The Tantura Massacre, 22-23 May 1948", <i>Journal of Palestine Studies</i> , 30/3, Spring 2001. Also, <i>Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine</i> , Oxford: One World, 2006.

Map 3.9: Initial Armistice Line at Gaza Strip



al-Manshiya, after the evacuation of the Egyptian forces, was also discussed and it was agreed that, "[t]hose of the civilian population who may wish to remain in al-Faluja and Iraq al-Manshiya are to be permitted to do so... All of these civilians shall be fully secure in their persons, abodes, property and personal effects."<sup>286</sup>

Israel did not respect the Armistice Agreement with the exception of the arrangements for the evacuation of Egyptian forces from the so-called Faluja pocket. Al-Auja (Nitzana) and Bir Asluj were not demilitarized, nor al-Ma'in and Tell-Jamma had only nominal Israeli troops. On the contrary, these areas became staging centres for attacks on the Gaza Strip and Egypt.<sup>287</sup> After signing the Armistice Agreement, the population of al-Faluja and Iraq al-Manshiya was placed

under Israeli military rule. They were harassed, shot at and killed, women raped and subjected to nightly curfews.<sup>288</sup> The 'guaranteed' safety in the two villages was shattered by the local Israeli garrison. Representatives of the AFSC (Quakers) called what happened, "Jewish psychological warfare".<sup>289</sup> Ralph Bunche, quoting UN observers on the spot, complained to Israel that "Arab civilians... at al-Faluja have been beaten and robbed by Israeli soldiers and ... there have been some case of attempted rape". The Israeli troops had been "firing promiscuously" and the 2,400 remaining Arab civilians, seeking protection, had "gathered around the UN observers".<sup>290</sup>

The two villages sat astride the strategically important al-Majdal-Hebron axis and on good agricultural land. A few months before, Weitz and

Ben-Gurion had agreed on the need to drive out by intimidation Arab communities along the Faluja-Majdal axis.<sup>291</sup> The intimidation to induce villagers to leave was an established policy. Moshe Shertok, (Sharett), Israel's foreign minister, stated on July 28, 1949, some four months after the expulsion of the population of the two villages: "It is not possible in every phase to arrange what some of our boys engineered in Faluja [where] they chased away the Arabs after we signed an... international commitment... There were warnings from the UN and the U.S. in this matter... [There were] at least 25-30,000... [in other places] whom we could not uproot".<sup>292</sup> Contrary to the terms of the Armistice Agreement, Israel expelled the population and confiscated their property after the end of the 1948 war, by means of "intimidation 'without end' (*bli sof*)" - "intimidation using ALL means".<sup>293</sup>

This was not the only violation of international agreements. Israel managed to take a further bite of the Gaza Strip, shrinking its area by some 200 sq. km.

After Israel's failure to decimate the Gaza Strip, it started a wave of land and air attacks on the Strip. UNTSO reports for the period of 26-31 December 1948<sup>294</sup> show that Israel bombed by air hospitals and civil sites. In particular, on January 2, 1949, 4 Israeli planes bombed the refugees' food distribution centre in Deir el Balah and killed 30 civilians and wounded seventy. The ICRC report<sup>295</sup> was more detailed; it gave the fatalities figure at 150 and described the attack as "a scene of horror". Eye witnesses gave the figure of 225 killed.

These terrible attacks were intended to deter the refugees from returning to their homes. Israel booby-trapped the houses and wells of the refugees. It complained to the Egypt-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission about forays of returning refugees, termed "infiltrators". At the same time, Israel carried out a hydro-geological survey at Wadi el Hesi, marking the northern side of the armistice line, within the Gaza Strip, and found considerable water resources. It planned to take it.

Under the pretext of curbing the refugees trips to their villages, Israeli truce officers negotiated with their Egyptian counterparts, Mahmoud Riyadh and Salah Johar, the possibility of shifting the armistice line 3 km inwards, reducing the area of Gaza Strip from 555 to 362 sq. km. Thus the underground water of Wadi el Hesi was severed from Gaza Strip and the armistice was shifted inwards. See Map 3.9 for details of original and shifted armistice line.

Thus, an agreement, known as *Modus Vivendi* agreement<sup>296</sup>, was signed secretly on February 22, 1950 in Al Auja (Nizana) and registered at the Security Council on March 17, 1950. The people in Gaza, and Egypt generally, were not aware of this agreement. But when demarcation of the line started, men and women of the affected villages came out to obstruct the path of the truce officers, shouting, wailing and protesting the dismemberment of their land.<sup>297</sup>

286 Exchange of Letters, signed by Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, UN Acting Mediator and Walter Eytan, Head of the Israeli Delegation, dated 24 February 1949, attached to the Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement.

287 Attacks on Gaza Strip in 1950-1956 were staged from military bases at these locations. See Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars 1949-56*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

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2001, Appendix 4, pp. 124-126.

289 *Ibid.*

290 Michael Palumbo, *The Palestinian Catastrophe: The 1948 Expulsion of a People from their Homeland*. London: Quartet books, 1987, pp. 175-178; and, Morris, *supra* note 242, p. 522.

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293 Benny Morris, *1948 and After, Israel and the Palestinians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p. 131.

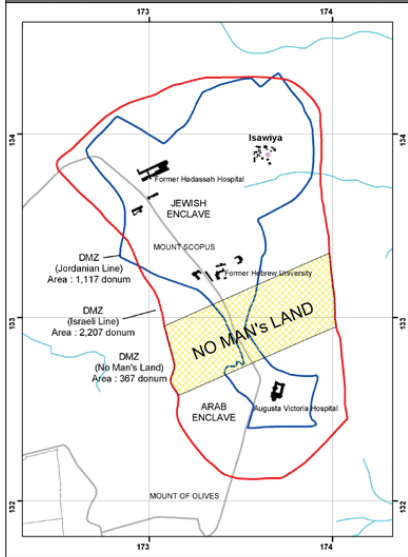
294 UNTSO, December 25, 1948 entry, UN file DAG - 13/3.3.1:10 (Atrocities).

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Map 3.10: The Demilitarized Zone in Jerusalem according to the Agreement of July 7, 1948



Art. III of the *Modus Vivendi* stated that it is of “a purely local character and will not affect in any way the provisions of the principal [Armistice] agreement”. However this article was never applied. Instead, the line was demarcated by barrels, then by a tractor-ploughed line, and finally, after the 1956 Suez war (The Tripartite Aggression), by fixed pillars and electrified barbed wire.

Several decades later, the Israelis admitted the ruse.<sup>298</sup> Contrary to the terms of the Armistice Agreement, Israel declared that the (shifted) armistice line enclosing Gaza Strip is “an international border” with Israel.<sup>299</sup>

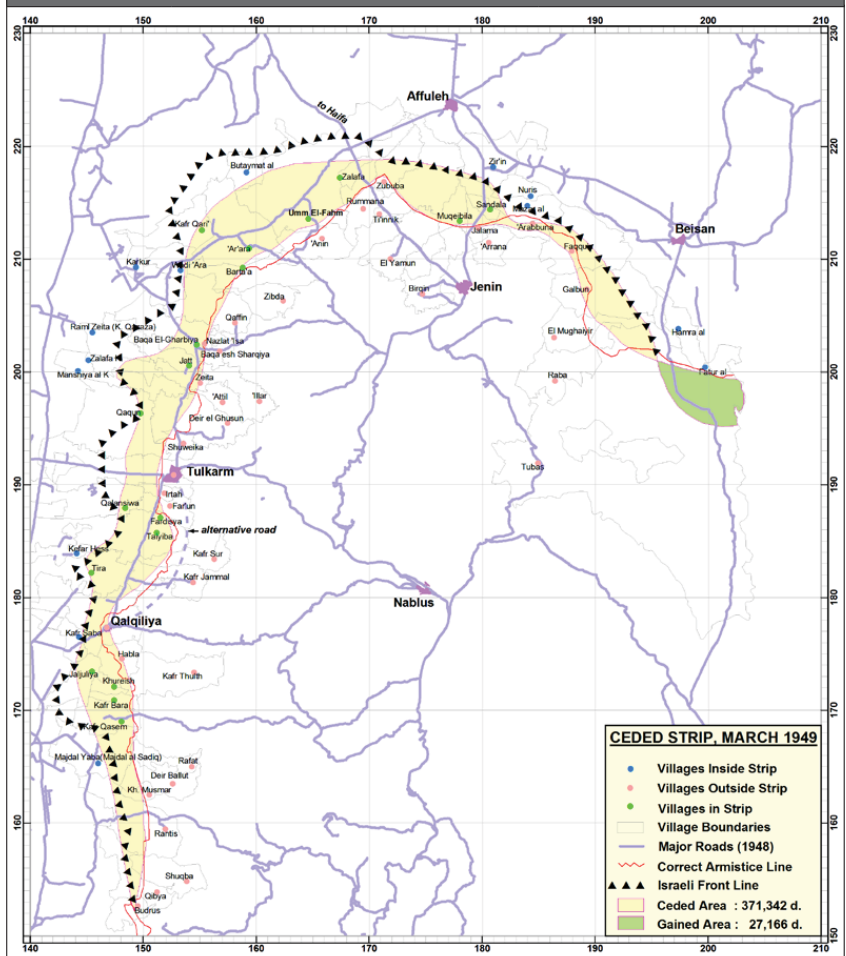
**The Armistice with Jordan**

On the Jordanian front, the situation was more complex: (1) the confrontation line with Israel was the longest, about 650 km, and contained heavily-populated areas; (2) the fight for the capture of the holy city of Jerusalem was the fiercest and agreement on Jerusalem was difficult; and, (3) the strong Iraqi army which held the northern section of the front along the Rantis-Qalqilya-Tulkarem-Rummana-Jordan river line with headquarters at Nablus, an area of about 4,000 km<sup>2</sup>, was about to leave Palestine.

The first problem was the defense of Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine and the subject of Arab (Muslim and Christian) and Jewish reverence. Propelled by waves of Palestinian protests and appeals, King Abdullah of Jordan was forced to order his British-led and supplied army (Arab Legion) to protect at least the Old City of Jerusalem. The reluctance of King Abdullah to enter Jerusalem was due, in part, to its designation as *Corpus Separatum* in the Partition Plan. His aim was not to ‘liberate’ Palestine but to annex Arab Palestine to his kingdom through an agreement with the Jews to divide Palestine between them.<sup>300</sup> Due to immense popular pressure, the Arab Legion entered Jerusalem just after 15 May and succeeded in holding the eastern part of Jerusalem against further Zionist/ Israeli attacks.

298 See, Akiva Eldar, *How we fooled the Egyptians*, Haaretz, Sept. 27, 2005.  
299 *Israel says it sets international border with the Gaza Strip*,

Map 3.11: Ceded Strip in Nocturnal Negotiations



Source of Ceded Strip: UN map H212-10-1947. The correct armistice line, Israeli frontline, village names, roads and areas are added.

An Israeli garrison and Jewish institutions such as the Hebrew University and Hadassah hospital on Mount Scopus in eastern Jerusalem were within the Arab-held region. The British government and President Truman pressured the Arab Legion to relieve Israelis encircled on Mount Scopus. No such effort was made to relieve the 60,000 Arab inhabitants in western Jerusalem who were besieged or allow the return of those who left.

During the First Truce, Brigadier Norman Lash signed the first demilitarization agreement between the ‘provisional government’ of Israel and Jordan in the presence of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) officers. Arab officers criticized Lash, who signed the agreement apparently on orders from Glubb and without the clear approval of Jordan government.<sup>301</sup> Abdullah al-Tell, the officer authorized by King Abdullah to sign such agreements described the Mount Scopus agreement as a disaster.<sup>302</sup> He pointed out that Mount Scopus was a major strategic asset overlooking Old City, Jerusalem-Amman and Jerusalem-Ramallah roads and the Arab quarters in western Jerusalem. He considered its surrender a crime. Lash ostensibly signed the agreement to protect manuscripts in the Hebrew University from possible

war damage. No similar consideration was given to the actual damage to Muslim and Christian sites and looting of thousands of Arab homes in western Jerusalem, nor of the tens of private libraries of Palestinian scholars who were living in western Jerusalem which were looted by the Haganah and ultimately deposited at the National Library of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus.

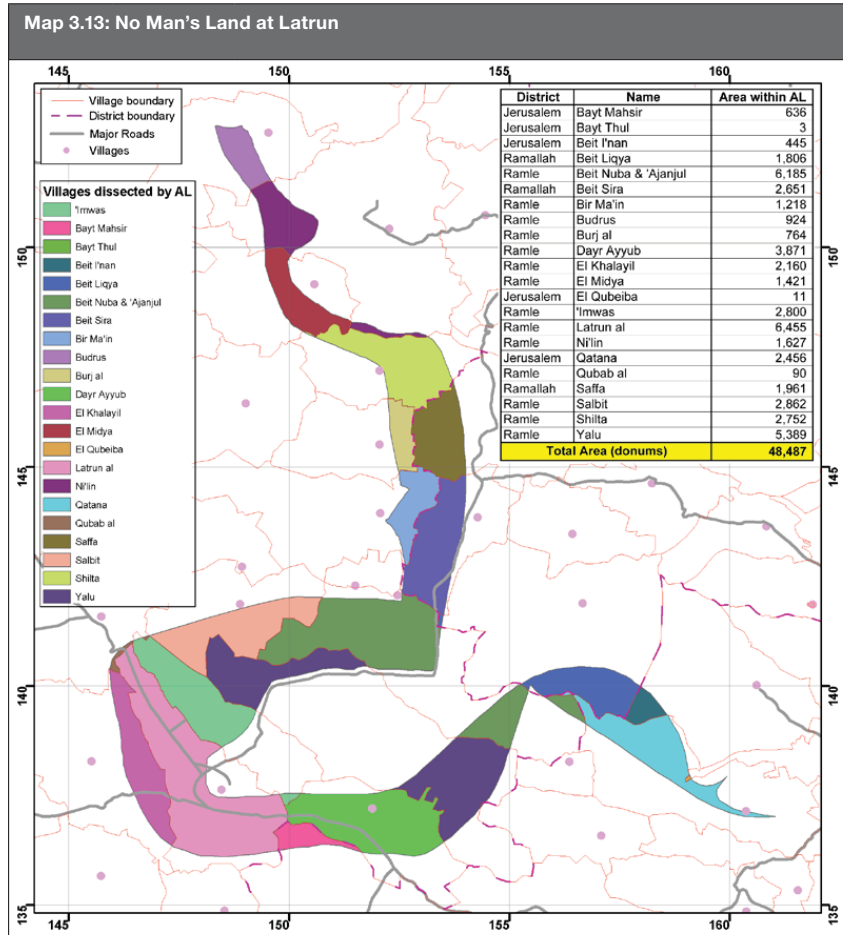
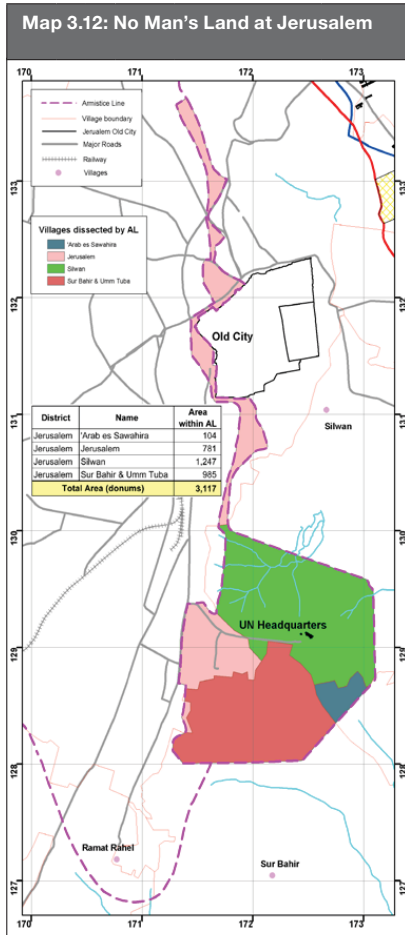
The first agreement was signed on July 7, 1948. The area covered by the agreement contained Hadassah hospital, Hebrew University, the Arab village of Isawiya and Augusta Victoria hospital (a German institution for the benefit of the Palestinians). See Map 3.10. The Arab and Jewish areas were to be separated by a 180 meter wide strip of no-man’s land. Arab and Jewish civilian police under UN Command would be located in no-man’s land. Supplies of food and water were to be provided to Israelis. No military personnel, equipment or operations were allowed.

In the following ten months, the British-led Arab Legion did not enter into any serious battles. Britain’s interest was to establish a Jewish state within reasonable boundaries and annex the remainder of Palestine to King Abdullah’s Transjordan, provided

Haaretz (and Reuters), Sept. 21, 2005.  
300 See, generally, Shlaim, *supra* note 268.  
301 See, Sadik al Shara’, *Our Wars with Israel, 1947-1973*. [Arabic]

Amman: al-Shorouk, 1997, p. 109. Also see, al-Tell, *supra* note 276, p. 234.  
302 *Ibid*, al-Tell, pp. 234-38.





continuity was maintained through Palestine between Transjordan and Egypt both under British influence. Neither Britain, nor any Arab government actively supported an independent Arab Palestine. The Arab Legion did not provide assistance to the Egyptian army in the southern front which came under Israeli attack from mid-October 1948 to mid-January 1949. Iraqi officers became agitated when the Arab Legion disobeyed orders from the joint command in Nablus. The strain between the two Hashemite armies of Iraq and Jordan reached its height in the spring of 1949. The Iraqi army decided to leave Palestine and hand over control of Tulkarm, Nablus and Jenin to Jordan. The Iraqis had held this front and repulsed the Israeli attacks on it for about ten months. While armistice negotiations were proceeding between the Jordanian and Israeli delegations in Rhodes under UN sponsorship, the Israelis sent a message to King Abdullah that they wanted to share the land evacuated by the Iraqi army. Israel threatened that it would occupy the whole of the West Bank, noting they outnumbered the Jordanians ten to one. Jordan did not agree to their demand. To prove the seriousness of their demand, the Israelis mobilized three brigades in broad daylight. During three nights of meetings at Shuneh in Jordan, senior Israelis met in utmost secrecy with King Abdullah and his senior ministers and officers to hammer out the best way to satisfy this Israeli demand. The King finally caved in leading to the secret agreements of March 23 and 30, 1949, which were incorporated in the official armistice agreement being discussed in Rhodes.

His negotiators in Rhodes were unaware of the mysterious secret dealings.<sup>303</sup>

The loss to Palestinians was unexpected and caused a great deal of grief. See **Map 3.11**. The nocturnal agreement affected the life of about 100,000 (98,545 in mid-1949) Palestinians living in 70 villages intersected or dissected by the new line. Of those, 18 Arab villages in the ceded strip found themselves suddenly under Israeli rule. Thirty-eight villages, which remained in the West Bank, lost much of their land. Fourteen additional villages on the Israeli side of the line lost some of their land. Palestinians lost one of the richest and most strategic areas of 371 sq.km. which is comparable to the area of Gaza Strip. Known as the Little Triangle, the area contained the villages of Umm al-Fahm, at-Tire, at-Taiyba, Kafr Qasem and Baqa al-Gharbiya. Many of these villages have now grown into towns. The larger towns of Tulkarm and Qalqilya barely escaped being divided by the line and remained in the West Bank.

The final Armistice Agreement, signed on April 3, 1949,<sup>304</sup> incorporated the terms of the secret negotiations between King Abdullah and Israel and added fictitious or unfulfilled clauses to make it appear more balanced. An area said to be gained by Jordan at al Fatour was never handed over. The cost of an alternative road between Tulkarm and Qalqilya to be paid by Israel (article VI, paragraph 5) was never paid. The modifications "in favour of the forces of the Hashemite Jordan

Kingdom...designed to offset the...lines in the Iraqi sector", (article VI, paragraph 4) are entirely fictitious. No modification whatsoever was made. In the Jerusalem sector, article V, paragraphs a, b, hides the fact that Jordan ceded to Israel the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway line running south of Jerusalem and eliminated the No Man's Land north of Jerusalem, limiting the No Man's Land to the Latrun area. See below. The "heavy-handed, devious and plainly unscrupulous methods employed by Dayan" apparently paid off.<sup>305</sup>

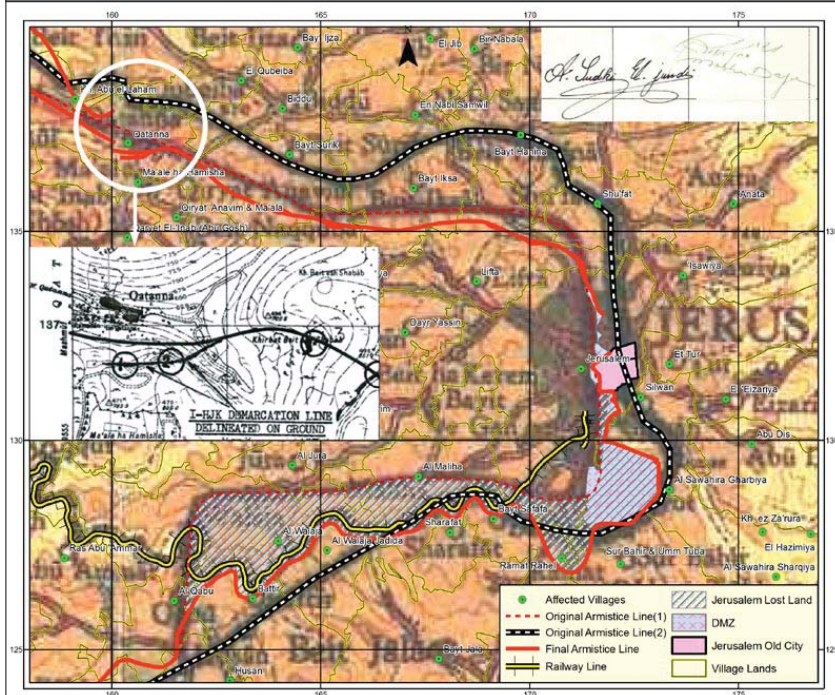
Dayan used the 1:20,000 maps he already signed with Abdullah al-Tell on November 30, 1948 in connection with the 'sincere and absolute cease-fire' agreement for Jerusalem to Israel's advantage. Dayan used soft wax pencils which translated into 40-60 metres of the ground, enough to cover houses and streets. Upon Dayan's request, King Abdullah agreed, to Ben Gurion's surprise, to move the cease-fire line 200 metres south to include the railway line on the Israeli side. The Jordanians were ready to split the Government House, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) headquarters, had it not been for international protest. The division of No Man's Land met with strong and violent resistance from the hapless inhabitants. The village of Bayt Safafa was doomed to be severed in the middle. The village of Sur Bahir with its dominant hillside in south Jerusalem also passed into Israel's hands.<sup>306</sup> (See **Map 3.12**.) Attempts to exchange places and villages at Latrun failed and the status quo remained.

303 This bizarre story is lucidly described by Avi Shlaim, *supra* note 268, pp. 406-33, or in an abridged edition, *The Politics of Partition, King Abdullah, the Zionists and Palestine, 1921-1951*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 290-316.  
304 General Armistice Agreement between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Israel, dated April 3, 1949.

305 Shlaim, *supra* note 268, pp. 326-28.  
306 *Ibid.*, p. 328.

Map 3.14: The Changing Armistice Line in Jerusalem and Latrun Areas



**Notes:** The background map is 1:250,000 Palestine map, on which the signatures of A. Sudki El-Jundi and Moshe Dayan are visible (top right hand inset). On this map, the double black and red dashed lines were reduced to one single red line ceding the railway line and many village lands south of Jerusalem to Israel. The single line around Qatanna in 1:20,000 maps deposited at the UN is shown (centre inset). Thus the final single line from Battir to Qatanna (shown in red continuous line) is adopted in most maps but with closing the gap at Qatanna. This line with a gap is shown in the Atlas. The hatched blue area is lost to Arab Jerusalem and gained by Israel. Present DMZ in Jerusalem, to which the double line is reduced, is shown with stars. The double line between Qatanna and Budrus remained as No Man's Land (the Latrun Salient). After 1967, its villages were destroyed, its inhabitants were expelled and Israeli settlements were built on it and beyond in the West Bank.

But two important installations became inaccessible to the Palestinians: the vital pumping station for Jerusalem Water Supply and a big military camp. Both were located in Latrun's No Man's Land and were taken over by Israel. The ancient Latrun convent and monastery were left in the West Bank side of the Armistice Line, so was the Biblical 'Imwas village and two other villages in this area (See Map 3.13.)

The background to these developments may be explained by further analysis. The question of Latrun Salient (No Man's Land) and the location of Qatanna village are discussed by Farsakh.<sup>307</sup> The story of the agreement on the location of the armistice line was given by a contemporary and a senior official of the Jordan government, the well-known historian, Aref al Aref.<sup>308</sup>

The Jordanian negotiators signed, with their Israeli counterparts, a 1:250,000 map showing No Man's Land extending from Budrus to Battir. Thus large parts of Jerusalem, its southern villages and Jerusalem-Jaffa railroad would be outside Israel's control. This map was signed by A. Sudki El-Jundi and Moshe Dayan. However, the Israelis convinced King Abdullah to agree to another map of 1:100,000 scale which was signed

by Jordanian officials on the King's orders.<sup>309</sup> The final map (1:20,000), deposited at the UN and marked: I-HJK DEMARCATION LINE (correctly: delineation line), shown in Map 3.14, shows the final line depicted since then on all maps. This final line cedes to Israel the villages of Al Walaja, al Qabu, Battir, al Jura, al Maliha, Sharafat, Bayt Safafa or large parts of their lands. (The underlined villages suffered most by the line shifting.) In addition, the final line annexed an important section of the Jerusalem-Jaffa railway line to Israel. The final armistice line was thus reduced to a single line in the south and east until Qatanna where it skirts the southern edge of the village leaving it in the West Bank. At this point there is a gap south of Qatanna, after which the double line of No Man's Land starts to enclose the Latrun salient until it reaches Budrus and continues thereafter as a single line. The gap at Qatanna remains in all maps till at least 1957 where Israeli maps showed the Armistice Line in green.<sup>310</sup> (Since then the line was dubbed: Green Line, instead of the proper Armistice Line). According to the Armistice Agreement, the Latrun salient is not under Israel's sovereignty. In the summer of 1967, Yitzhak Rabin ordered the destruction of villages there (Imwas, Yalu and Bayt Nuba) and the expulsion of their inhabitants. Jewish settlements were built on their

land and beyond, in the West Bank.

The obvious conclusion from this review is that the Israelis were pushing to annex more land and the Jordanians were unable to resist that, especially if ordered by King Abdullah. The secret negotiations with him were going on for at least 2 years earlier. The final position of both parties was more dictated by the balance of power, including crude arm twisting, rather than by the skill of negotiations.

Although the Armistice Agreement was signed in April 1949, the Israeli pressure to shift the line was applied several months earlier. The commander of the Egyptian forces in Bethlehem was approached in December 1948 by a UN Truce Observer suggesting withdrawal from the line in his front in the railway vicinity but he refused.<sup>311</sup> Weeks later, the Egyptian forces withdraw from the whole Bethlehem area and handed it over to the Jordanians due to repeated Jordanian demand and Israeli victory over the Egyptians in the southern front with no assistance or relief from other Arab forces.

Further, Article V paragraph d of the Armistice Agreement hid the fact that the Potash works on Dead Sea and a large swath of Arab land around it and leading to its western and southern approaches had been ceded to Israel. According to Article VIII, a Special Committee between Jordan and Israel, sidestepping the UN Mixed Armistice Commission, was to be formed with "exclusive competence" to settle matters between the two parties to the exclusion of the UN.

The Jordan-Israel Armistice Agreement was the most-convoluted and least understood agreement of the four armistice agreements. No wonder therefore it caused the most hardship. Scathing criticism and resentment were expressed by all when news of this agreement came out, especially by Palestinians who were uprooted, displaced or separated. "Lamentations, Biblical in colour and intensity, with women beating themselves and refugees starting to stream along the road from the Plain of Sharon" was how one eyewitness described the latest developments in Arab Palestine.<sup>312</sup>

But the anger and outrage of Palestinians reached its height when the Jordanian and Israeli officers in the West Bank and the Egyptian and Israeli officers in Gaza Strip started demarcating the armistice line on the ground. Drove of angry people, shouting, cursing, tried to chase these officials away from their land. The Israeli officers resorted sometimes to shooting angry protesters. A total of 111 villages (104 in the West Bank and 7 in Gaza Strip) in addition to the Beer Sheba district were dismembered by the armistice line. Village houses were frequently separated from the village land and the villagers lost their livelihood. The well, spring or other water sources of the village sometimes became inaccessible behind the barbed wire. The village school, cemetery, mosque or church disappeared behind the watch tower with its pointed machine-guns. A funeral

307 Farsakh, Nizar, *The Status of the Latrun's No Man's Land*, MA Thesis, Geography Dept, King's College, London, 2003.

308 Aref Aref, Aref, *Al Nakba, Nakbet Beit al Maqdis and the Lost Paradise, 1947-1955*, Saïda; Lebanon: Al Maktaba Al Asria, n.d., vol. 4, pp. 897-901 [Arabic].

309 Ibid, p. 898.

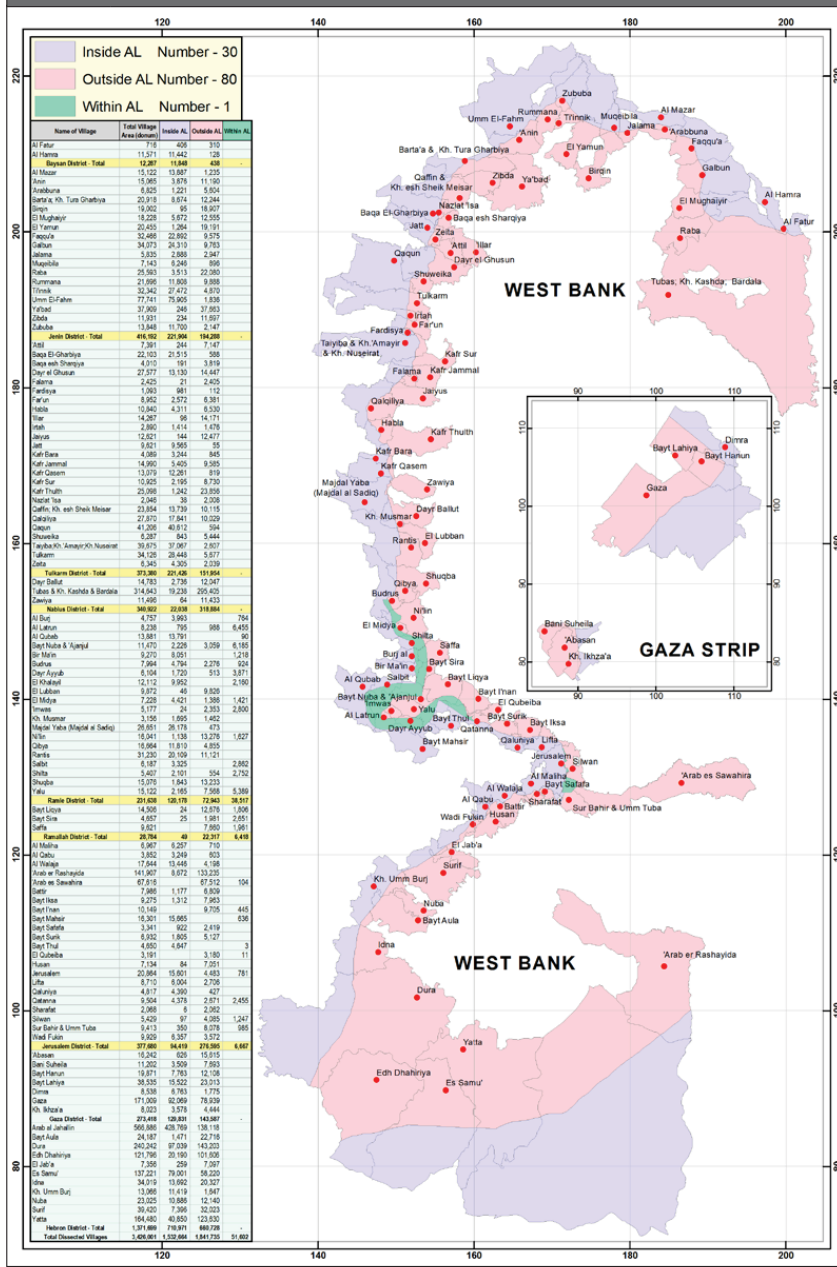
310 Survey of Israel, 1:100,000 (based on Survey of Palestine), Ramleh Sheet, 1952-1959, partly in Hebrew. See also Farsakh, *supra* note 307, p.21, no.

311 This is the text of Egyptian military telegram dated December 7, 1948. "From Bethlehem Command to HQ. A Truce officer came to [see] me to agree on modification of the line according to the agreement between the Arab Legion's [the Jordanian Army] representative and the Jews' representative. I understood that the Arab Legion representative was speaking on my behalf. I told the Truce officer that he [the Arab Legion officer] was not authorized by me [to speak on my behalf]. Modification requires withdrawal of some of my forces from [the position] in front of

the railway line at Beit Safafa to about 300 m behind. I refused. I do not recognize this modification. There are Arab houses in the area and this is the only place in my front where the railway passes...", quoted in Mohamed Hasanein Heikal, *Thrones and Armies: 1948 Palestine War Diary*, Cairo: Dar al Shurouk, 2000, Vol. 2, [Arabic] p. 430.

312 Shlaim, *supra* note 268, p. 432.

Map 3.15: The Dissected Villages by the Armistice Line in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and Their Land Areas on Either Side of the Line



procession proceeding along both sides of the barbed wire of a divided village, like Bayt Safafa, was often the scene of anger and rage. Doubts about the location were always interpreted against the villagers' interest. It did not help matters that the Arab officers, whether Egyptian or Jordanian, accompanying the Israelis, were ignorant of the territory. They did not appreciate the value of a hill, a valley or a road to the village life. Villagers' protestation rarely succeeded.<sup>313</sup> Definitions of various DMZ and No-Man's Land allowed controlled access to the area for the inhabitants in order to reach their homes and lands. In practice, they only met harassment and obstruction. After 1967, Israel annexed DMZ and No-Man's Land areas and destroyed the villages within it.

The extent of dismemberment can be seen by examining **Map 3.15** and the accompanying table. The table shows that out of 3,426,001 donums, the area of all dissected villages, 45 percent came under Israeli rule, 54 percent in the West Bank and 1 percent within the armistice line. The Israeli gain in land resulting from the dissection of villages can be seen by examining the summary table of measured areas on both sides. **Table 3.3** shows that 1,532,664 donums (45 percent of 3,426,001 donums) was added to Israel, which is equivalent to 24 percent of Israel's area without Beer Sheba district. The armistice lines, as they cut Palestine into three regions, Israel, West Bank and Gaza Strip, have therefore been the theatre of many clashes.

It is only natural to expect villagers to cross the imaginary armistice line, before it became electrified barbed wire with watch towers and armed patrols, in order to rescue an old relative who remained behind, to bring back animals left in the sheds, to water or harvest own crops, to fetch stored supplies or important papers left in a cupboard. There were, however, young men who went back to fight the occupiers of their homes and lands. Their limited arms and training were so poor as to produce little material effect. The operations, however, provided an excuse for Israel to carry out attacks on the villages near the armistice line. The massacres at Qibiyah, Nahalin, Samu' and other villages, committed by unit 101, led by Ariel Sharon, were an embodiment of this policy.<sup>314</sup>

**The Armistice with Lebanon**

The Armistice Agreement with Lebanon, signed on March 23, 1949<sup>315</sup>, presented no problems. The Lebanese Army never crossed the Lebanese border. The negotiations went smoothly. The Lebanese officers were very friendly and cooperated with the Israelis.<sup>316</sup> The short agreement defined the armistice line as the 1923 international border between Palestine and Lebanon. But this situation has changed dramatically after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. It is now one of the hottest borders.

**The Armistice with Syria**

The Armistice Agreement, signed July 20, 1949<sup>317</sup>, was the last and most difficult. The territory which Syria controlled at the eve of signing the Armistice

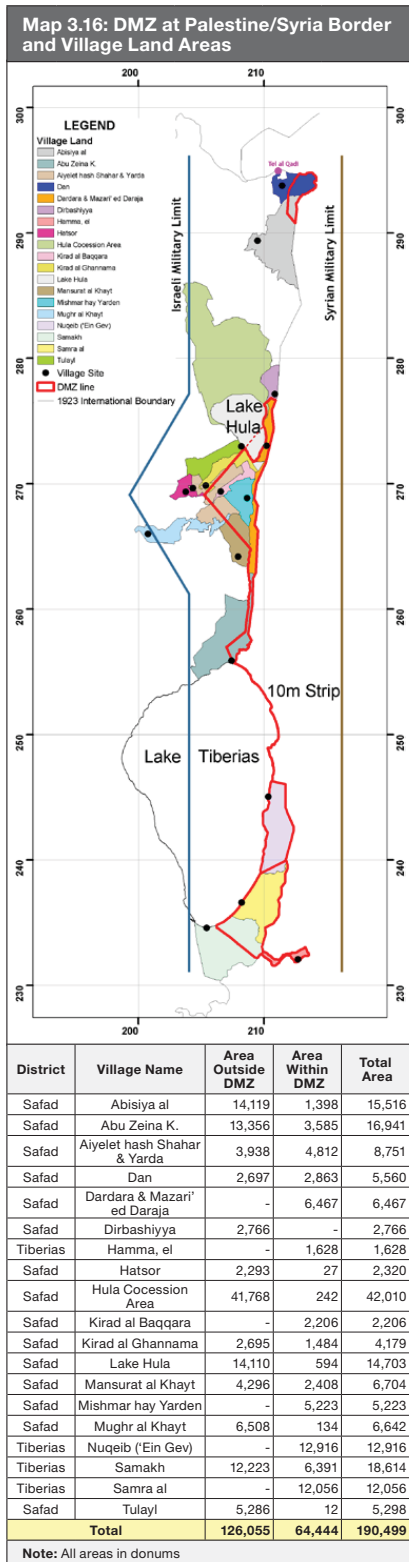
Table 3.3: Summary of Village Lands' Area inside, outside and within the Armistice Line (AL) with Palestine Total

Description	Total Area (donums)	Inside AL	Outside AL	Within AL
Villages totally inside AL	6,357,781	6,357,781		
Villages totally outside AL	4,016,915		4,016,915	
Villages Dissected by AL	3,426,001	1,532,664	1,841,735	51,602
BeerSheba District	12,523,751	12,444,107	79,644	
<b>Total Land Area</b>	<b>26,324,447</b>	<b>20,334,552</b>	<b>5,938,294</b>	<b>51,602</b>
Lake Tiberias	168,278			
½ Dead Sea	493,306			
<b>Palestine Total (Land and Water)</b>	<b>26,986,031</b>			

313 One exception was a slight deviation of the line in favour of the village. The land in question was not very strategic. Interview with Haj Mohammed Abu Daqqa, mukhtar of Abasan, Gaza Strip, October 1995.  
314 Arab sources describe many of these atrocities. See, e.g.,

Shara', *supra* note 301, p. 298; and, al-Aref, *supra* note 308. For study of released Israeli files see, Morris, *supra* note 293; and, Benny Morris, *supra* note 287.  
315 Lebanese-Israeli General Armistice Agreement, dated March 22, 1949.

316 Shlaim, *supra* note 268, p. 275.  
317 Israeli-Syrian General Armistice Agreement, date July 20, 1949.



Agreement included: the north sector, north of Azizat (4.2 sq. km); the central sector, south of Huleh and a strip along the Jordan (26.9 sq. km) and the south sector, east of Lake Tiberias (33.3 sq. km). This makes a total of 64,444 donums. If lake Hula is included (dotted line in Map 3.16)

(2,437 donums), the grand total will be 66,881 donums. This territory was Palestinian land. It had ten Palestinian villages (Khan ad-Duweir in the northern sector; Kirad Baqqara, Kirad Ghannameh, Mansurat al-Khayt, Yirda in the central sector; Samra, old and new Nuqeib, Khirbet Tawafiq and al-Hemma in the southern sector). There were only two Jewish settlements: Mishmar Hayarden and Ein Gev. (Map 3.16 and the accompanying table.)

The negotiations leading to the Armistice Agreement were strenuous, lasting from April to July 1949. The Israelis insisted on the withdrawal of Syrian forces from the area so that the area would be demilitarized. The Syrians rejected this demand while Israel was illegally occupying large parts of Palestine. Dr. R. Bunche, the UN Acting Mediator, finally arrived at a solution by issuing a letter which became known as the "authoritative statement". Three weeks before the signing, on June 26, 1949, Dr. Bunche sent a letter to both the Israeli and Syrian sides. In this letter, which was made part of the official record, he specifically excluded Israel's claims of sovereignty over the area to be included in the Armistice Agreement. "Questions of permanent boundaries, territorial sovereignty, customs, trade relations and the like must be dealt with in the ultimate peace agreement and not in the armistice agreement", he stated<sup>318</sup> (emphasis in the original). The listed topics of future negotiations, except sovereignty, reflected the same issues resolved in the 1926 Agreement.

Dr. Bunche went on to say, addressing Moshe Sharett (Shertok), Israel's Foreign Minister, "From the beginning of these negotiations, our greatest difficulty has been to meet Israel's unqualified demand that Syrian forces be withdrawn from Palestine. We have now, with very great effort, persuaded the Syrians to agree to this. I trust this will not be undone by legalistic demands about broad principles of sovereignty and administration which in any case would be worked out satisfactorily in the practical operation of the scheme"<sup>319</sup> (emphasis added). Dr. Bunche extended the exclusion of Israel's claims of sovereignty to other demilitarized areas, such as the Government House and Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem and al-Auja DMZ on the Palestine/Egypt border. Two years after Dr. Bunche's statement, the Security Council, in its resolution of May 18, 1951 about Israeli violations of the Armistice Agreement, affirmed his statement and called upon the parties to give effect to "the authoritative comment on article V of the Syrian-Israeli Agreement".<sup>320</sup>

It is somewhat surprising that, during this armistice negotiation, Ben Gurion did not jump at the offer made by Husni az-Zaim, the officer who just toppled, in a *coup d'etat*, the democratically elected government of Shukri al-Quwatli. Zaim had a record of embezzlement, poor military performance and a penchant for high living. Zaim offered Ben Gurion, not an armistice agreement, but a full-fledged peace treaty with Israel, unthinkable at the time. He also offered to settle in Syria 300,000 Palestinian refugees, the entire population of Galilee. His only condition was to

split Lake Tiberias between Israel and Syria, not an unreasonable demand, considering the Syrian riparian rights according to the 1923 *Border Agreement* and the 1926 *Good Neighbourly Agreement*. Ben Gurion refused the offer.<sup>321</sup> Just after signing the Armistice Agreement, Zaim himself was toppled by another officer.

Soon after the Armistice signing, Israel started to assert control over the DMZ in an effort to claim sovereignty. Twenty years later, Dayan admitted that Israel provoked clashes (80 percent according to Dayan) with Syrians as a justification for introducing Israeli military forces into the DMZ.<sup>322</sup> This was in direct violation of the Armistice Agreement. Israel then started to divert the Jordan River and drain Lake Huleh. The Security Council condemned this action and ordered Israel to stop all diversion work. US President Gen. Eisenhower stopped financial aid to Israel. Israel expelled most Palestinians from their villages to Syria (population 3,770). Those who remained (600) were relocated in Sha'ab near Acre. One of them, Abu Salim Khawalid, had this to say in his testimony, "The soldiers ordered us to leave the village that very night, and threatened that if we did not leave, they would do to us what was done to the inhabitants of al-Husseiniya village. We knew that the Jews had slaughtered dozens of them like sheep. We were absolutely panic-stricken".<sup>323</sup>

A statement by the Israeli Foreign Minister on April 15, 1951 claimed Israeli sovereignty over DMZ as of 14 May 1948, on the basis that, "it was always part and parcel of the British Mandated Territory".<sup>324</sup> The British immediately rejected the statement as "most menacing assertion" and noted that "Israel had on numerous occasions firmly refused to have themselves regarded as the successors of the former Palestine Government" and also noted that "firm UN action was necessary in order to combat Israeli pretensions".<sup>325</sup> Israel has denied repeatedly that it is a successor state to Palestine lest it should restore to the Palestinians their nationality, their property and other obligations of the state to its citizens. Israel claimed that it should annex this area because it fell in the Jewish part of the Partition Plan (UN Resolution 181). If the Partition Plan is Israel's legal reference, Israel should not then refuse, as it did, to hand back 24 percent of Palestine (6,320 sq. km or about 100 times the area of DMZ) which was occupied over and above its allocation in the Partition Plan, most of it in Galilee itself.

Syria insisted on the return of the expelled refugees and restitution of their land as affirmed by Security Council resolution of May 18, 1951. Syria did not accept Israeli sovereignty over DMZ. Ben Gurion was determined to seize the demilitarized zone with Syria, in Jerusalem with Jordan and in the south (al-Auja) with Egypt. Frequent attacks on Syria were designed to provoke Nasser into a war to defend Syria under the *Combined Defence Pact* of October 20, 1955. Nasser did not respond, neither did he respond when Egypt itself was attacked in Subha and Kuntilla. But another opportunity was sought and found. The collusion of Britain, France and Israel in the Suez Campaign of 1956 provided the required oppor-

318 Toye and Seay, *supra* note 41, Vol. 5, pp. 330-331.

319 *Ibid.*

320 *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 335.

321 Shlaim, *supra* note 268, p. 316.

322 Interview with Moshe Dayan by Haim Hanegbi, *Ma'ariv* [Hebrew],

July 1, 1999.

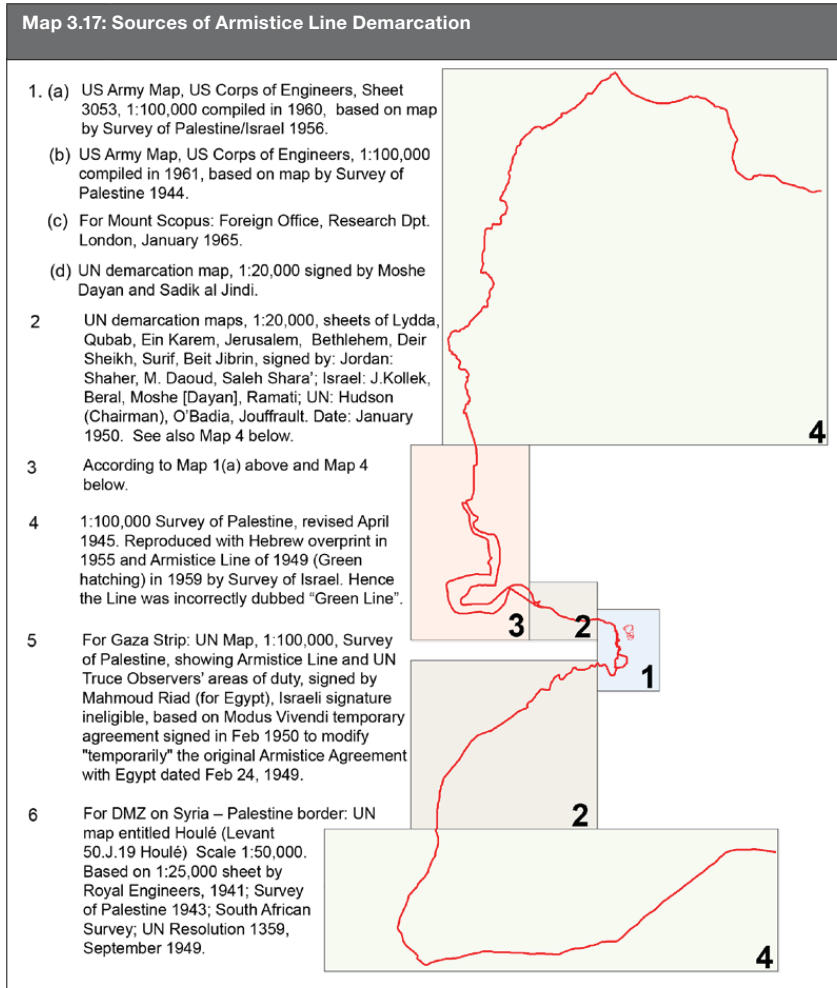
323 Minority Rights Bulletin – The Palestinians. Available at, www.minorityrights.org/profiles. Also see, Donal Neff, "Israel-Syria: Conflict at the Jordan River, 1949-67," 23 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 4 (Summer 1994), pp. 26-40; and, Morris, *supra* note

240, pp. 361-364.

324 Toye and Seay, *supra* note 41, Vol. 5, p. 342.

325 From the British Legation, Tel Aviv to F.O. London, April 16, 1951 in Toye and Seay, Vol. 5, *supra* note 41, p. 340. The whole subject is discussed in correspondence, pp. 335-374.

Map 3.17: Sources of Armistice Line Demarcation



3.4 gives the code for classification of villages with respect to their location in relation to the Armistice Line and their status regarding depopulation or repopulation and other data for old and new villages. **Table 3.5** gives the measured area of each district classified according to whether its villages were located fully inside, outside or within Armistice Line. The final measured area is compared with the official area in *Village Statistics* (1945). The comparison shows good correlation. The largest relative difference is in Beer Sheba and al-Khalil (Hebron) due to the uncertainty of the eastern boundary at the Dead Sea and Wadi Arabah. The same table shows at right the DMZ measured areas per district. Figures for Safad and Tiberias districts represent DMZ at the Syria border. Figures for Ramle, Ramallah and Jerusalem districts represent DMZ and No Man's Land at Latrun and Jerusalem. Figure for Beer Sheba represents the DMZ at al-Auja at the Egyptian border.

**Table 3.6** classifies all towns and villages in Palestine in 1948. There were 1,304 localities in Palestine in 1948. Of those, there were 185 Jewish colonies (including 2 outside Armistice Line), 4 mixed towns and 2 virtual locations. This leaves 1,113 Palestinian towns/villages in all of Palestine in 1948.

The Jewish state according to the Partition Plan was to have 646 localities, of which 174 were Jewish (10 Jewish localities were outside the Jewish state) and 467 Palestinian towns/villages to come under the Jewish state in addition to 3 mixed and 2 virtual points for statistical purposes. As stated before, half the population of the Jewish state was to be Arab Palestinians. The Palestinian villages to come under the Jewish rule were 2.5 times the number of Jewish colonies and much larger, which of course was one of the reasons for the Arab rejection of the Partition Plan. These villages are shown on **Maps 3.18 and 3.19**. Map 3.18 shows all Palestinian villages and Jewish colonies in 1948 with respect to their location to the Armistice Line. Map 3.19 shows the status of all Palestinian villages and Jewish colonies as in 1948 with the addition of new recognized and unrecognized Palestinian villages in the period 1948-1998 (i.e. status 6, 7). Until 1998 and to the best available information, the number of the new recognized villages (status 6) is 53 and the new unrecognized villages (status 7) is 59.

The Israeli conquest of 1948 went much further than the Partition Plan. The area of Israeli-occupied Palestine in 1948 (77 percent) had 956 localities, of which 183 were Jewish, as shown in **Table 3.7**. Table 3.7 also shows that 306 Palestinian villages were occupied by Israel in excess of the Partition Plan. The Palestinian villages which came under Israeli control (773) outnumbered the Jewish colonies by 4.3 times. This is one reason why Israel followed (in 1948 and thereafter) a consistent policy of ethnic cleansing which succeeded in depopulating most of these villages and towns. Of the 773 Palestinian towns/villages, 87 remained although their population were dislocated by adding or losing population from or to nearby villages. Another 12 had been depopulated but then repopulated by roughly the same population. (For more details about remaining villages see Section 4.6). That leaves a total number of 674 depopulated Palestinian villages. That is, 87 percent of all Palestinian localities in the part of Palestine that became Israel were depopulated.

Table 3.4: Code for Classification of Villages with respect to Armistice Line and their Depopulation Status

Armistice Line (AL) Code		Status Code	
1	Villages Inside Armistice Line (AL)	1	Depopulated villages (from the Register - 530 List) and extra depopulated villages
2	Villages Outside Armistice Line (AL)	2	Unidentified Palestinian names(not in the Register-530 list)
31	Villages On AL - Inside Armistice Line	3	Destroyed in 1967 within Armistice Line (AL code 32)
32	Villages On AL - Outside Armistice Line	4	Depopulated and repopulated:Towns and Villages like jish.
33	Villages On AL - Middle of Armistice Line	5	Existing since 1948
41	Villages On North DMZ - Inside AL	6	Existing new - recognised
43	Villages On North DMZ - Middle of AL	7	Existing new - unrecognised
See Map 3.17 for sources of information about Armistice Line delineation.		8	Depopulated multi-locations in Beersheba
		9	West Bank Villages
		10	Jewish Settlements inside Armistice Line
		11	Jewish Settlements outside Armistice Line
		12	Post 1948 West Bank Villages

tunity to seize both DMZ areas in the north and the south. By October 1956, Israeli troops under Sharon succeeded in expelling the population of al-Auja, all the remaining Palestinians in and around Huleh and in Samra and Nuqeb on Lake Tiberias. This left a continuous strip of land in DMZ, approximately 40 percent of the whole DMZ area, under Syrian control.

Israel's main objective was not DMZ territory *per se*, but to control Arab water resources. Syria's rights were clearly spelled out in the 1926 *Good Neighborly Agreement*. The Armistice Agreement did not invalidate these rights. Israel now uses 50 million cubic meters (mcm) annually from Syrian Golan occupied in 1967. It also uses 100 mcm from Yarmouk river compared to only 25, its share

from it according to Eric Johnston Plan of 1954. Israel also uses 550 mcm from upper Jordan compared to its share of 375 of Johnston Plan. Thus Israel illegally takes 300 mcm from the share of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine. All in all, almost two thirds of Israel's water consumption is taken illegally from Arab waters in upper River Jordan, Lebanon and the West Bank.

### Villages and the Armistice Line

The following tables and maps illustrate the tremendous impact of the Armistice Line on the separated villages of Palestine.

**Map 3.17** and the accompanying text lists the sources of Armistice Line demarcation discussed in this section and shown in the Atlas. **Table**

Table 3.5: Summary of Measured Areas of Village Lands Separated or Dissected by the Armistice Line by District

S. No.	District Name	Measured Land Area						Measured District Area	Official District Area	Difference	DMZ Area
		Inside AL (1)	Outside AL (2)	Inside (31)	Outside (32)	Within AL (33)	Total Online AL				
1	Safad	695,123	-				-	695,123	696,131	(1,008)	31,453
2	Acre	802,198	-				-	802,198	799,663	2,535	
3	Haifa	1,031,758	-				-	1,031,758	1,031,755	3	
4	Tiberias	440,435	-				-	440,435	440,969	(534)	32,991
5	Nazareth	499,623	-				-	499,623	497,533	2,090	
6	Baysan	349,075	-	11,848	438		12,287	361,362	367,087	(5,725)	
7	Jenin	39,672	385,919	221,904	194,288		416,192	841,783	835,214	6,569	
8	Tulkarm	286,584	176,802	221,426	151,954		373,380	836,767	835,336	1,431	
9	Nablus	-	1,254,944	22,038	318,884		340,922	1,595,866	1,591,718	4,148	
10	Jaffa	335,453	-				-	335,453	335,366	87	
11	Ramle	614,674	23,694	120,178	72,943	38,517	231,638	870,006	870,192	(186)	38,517
12	Ramallah	-	659,272	49	22,317	6,418	28,784	688,056	686,564	1,492	6,418
13	Jerusalem	211,163	971,709	94,419	276,595	6,667	377,680	1,560,553	1,570,785	(10,232)	6,667
14	Gaza	689,745	149,960	129,831	143,587		273,418	1,113,124	1,111,501	1,623	
15	Hebron	362,276	394,615	710,971	660,728		1,371,699	2,128,590	2,076,185	52,405	
	<b>Sub Total</b>	<b>6,357,781</b>	<b>4,016,915</b>	<b>1,532,664</b>	<b>1,841,735</b>	<b>51,602</b>	<b>3,426,001</b>	<b>13,800,697</b>	<b>13,745,999</b>	<b>54,698</b>	<b>116,046</b>
16	Beer Sheba	12,444,107	79,644					12,523,751	12,577,000	(53,249)	256,305
	<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>18,801,888</b>	<b>4,096,559</b>	<b>1,532,664</b>	<b>1,841,735</b>	<b>51,602</b>	<b>3,426,001</b>	<b>26,324,447</b>	<b>26,322,999</b>	<b>1,448</b>	<b>372,351</b>

Notes: All areas in donums. Safad District includes Lake Hula. Tiberias District excludes Lake Tiberias. Largest differences are in Hebron and Beer Sheba due to the uncertainty of the eastern boundary.

Table 3.6: Classification of All Palestinian Villages and Jewish Colonies in Palestine (1948) by Number

S. No.	District Name	Armistice Code (AL)								Register Count	Status Code										
		In 1	Out 2	ON 31	ON 32	Within 33	DMZ 41	Within 43	Total		1	2	3	4	5	8	9	10	11	Total	
1	Safad	83					17	6	106	79	89			2	3			12		106	
2	Acre	67							67	28	31			2	32			2		67	
3	Haifa	111							111	59	63			2	10			36		111	
4	Tiberias	46					1	4	51	27	28			2	2			19		51	
5	Nazareth	47							47	5	7				22			18		47	
6	Baysan	50		2					52	31	33				2			17		52	
7	Jenin	5	36	6	14				61	6	6			5			50		61		
8	Tulkarm	58	20	9	18				105	18	26			9			38	32	105		
9	Nablus		87		3				90								90		90		
10	Jaffa	48							48	25	25			1				22		48	
11	Ramle	70	4	9	12	1			96	63	62		3	2			12	17	96		
12	Ramallah		57		3				60								60		60		
13	Jerusalem	36	38	8	14				96	39	38			1	2		50	3	96		
14	Gaza	51	8	1	7				67	46	47						15	5	67		
15	Hebron	16	12	1	10				39	16	16					1	22		39		
16	Beer Sheba	203	5						208	88	88	20					100		208		
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>891</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1304</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>559</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>337</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1304</b>	

Table 3.7: Classification of All Palestinian Villages and Jewish Colonies (1948) inside Armistice Line and within it

S. No.	District Name	Armistice Code (AL)								Capital Code				P-J (Ethnic)					Register Count	Status Code											
		In 1	Out 2	ON 31	ON 32	Within 33	DMZ 41	Within 43	Total	1	2	3	4	Total	1	2	3	4		Total	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	10	11	Total	
1	Safad	83					17	6	106	84	18	2	2	106	91	12	1	2	106	79	89			2	3			12		106	
2	Acre	67							67	52	15			67	65	2			67	28	31			2	32			2		67	
3	Haifa	111							111	82	29			111	74	36	1		111	59	63			2	10			36		111	
4	Tiberias	46					1	4	51	44	7			51	31	19	1		51	27	28			2	2			19		51	
5	Nazareth	47							47	43	3	1		47	29	18			47	5	7				22			18		47	
6	Baysan	50		2					52	40	10	2		52	35	17			52	31	33				2			17		52	
7	Jenin	5	36	6	14				61	11	9	2		11	11				11	6	6				5					11	
8	Tulkarm	58	20	9	18				105	67	54	6	7	67	35	32			67	18	26				9			32		67	
9	Nablus		87		3				90	0				0					0												0
10	Jaffa	48							48	48				48	26	22			48	25	25			1				22		48	
11	Ramle	70	4	9	12	1			96	80	76	3	1	80	63	17			80	63	61			2				17		80	
12	Ramallah		57		3				60	0				0					0												0
13	Jerusalem	36	38	8	14				96	44	43	1		44	40	3	1		44	39	38			1	2			3		44	
14	Gaza	51	8	1	7				67	52	50	2		52	47	5			52	46	47							5		52	
15	Hebron	16	12	1	10				39	17	16	1		17	17				17	16	16					1				17	
16	Beer Sheba	203	5						208	203	86	117		203	203				203	88	86	20					97			203	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>891</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>727</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>767</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>556</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>956</b>	

Map 3.18: The Classification of all Palestinian Villages and Jewish Colonies in 1948 in relation to the Armistice Line

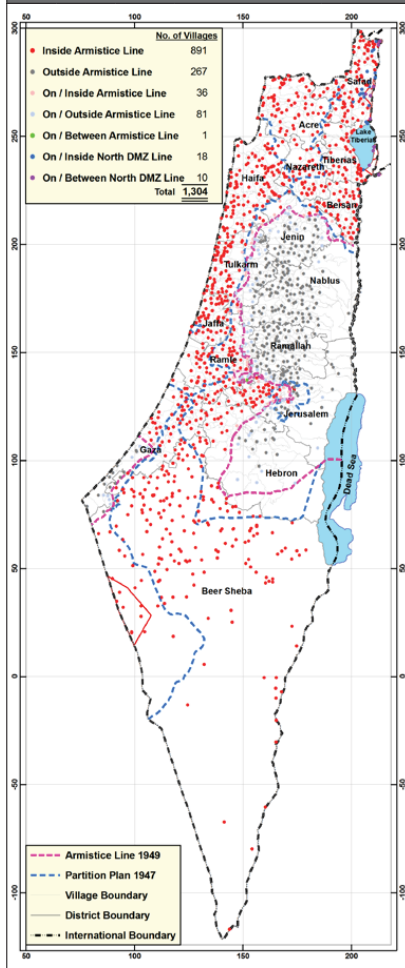
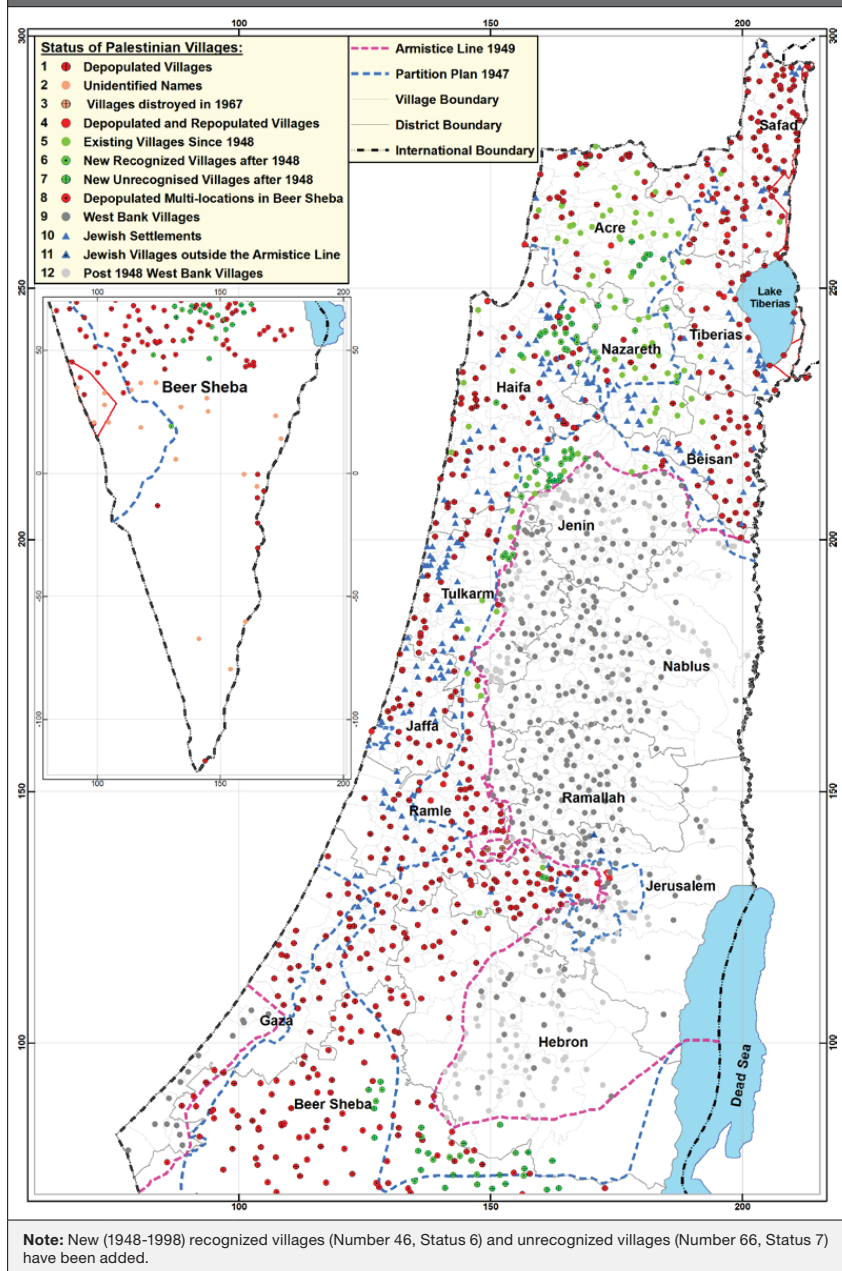


Table 3.8 shows the classification of the 773 Palestinian localities lost to Israel. It should be noted that, in all these tables, villages within Armistice Line (e.g. Latrun) are listed because they were depopulated or have suffered in some way by dissecting their land and separating them from their relatives. It is not to be assumed however that such lands and villages within AL (code 33) belong to Israel. They belong to the West Bank as shown on all official maps. In 1967, Israel occupied the remainder of Palestine and omitted the Armistice Line from its maps.

Two obvious conclusions emerge from the preceding maps and tables. The first is that Israel occupied by force in 1948 a much larger area than the area it acquired during the Mandate (14 times) entirely by force of arms. This occupied area is 45 times greater than the Jewish land acquired before the British came and the Mandate instated. If legality is accorded to Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and if further, the legality of the Partition Plan is accepted, those two big contested 'ifs' do not justify the fact that Israel exceeded the Partition Plan by conquering extra 310 Palestinian villages and extra 24 percent of the land of Palestine.

The second conclusion is derived from the fact that Israel, after this immense conquest, was left

Map 3.19: The Classification of all Palestinian Villages and Jewish Colonies in 1948 with respect to their Status



Note: New (1948-1998) recognized villages (Number 46, Status 6) and unrecognized villages (Number 66, Status 7) have been added.

with a vast area of land (20,359,000 donums as measured) and 773 Palestinian towns and villages. Since the Zionist ideology rests on the need to acquire a 'Palestine land without people', the obvious corollary is to remove the people of this land. Hence, only 99 Palestinian villages remained in Israel, albeit under military rule until 1966, and 674 villages had been totally depopulated. This was one of the largest acts of planned ethnic cleansing in modern history. It is also continuous and applied daily in the Occupied West Bank.

### 3.3 Al Nakba Register

The following table (Table 3.9, The Nakba Register) summarizes the data about 530 towns and villages which were depopulated during the Nakba.

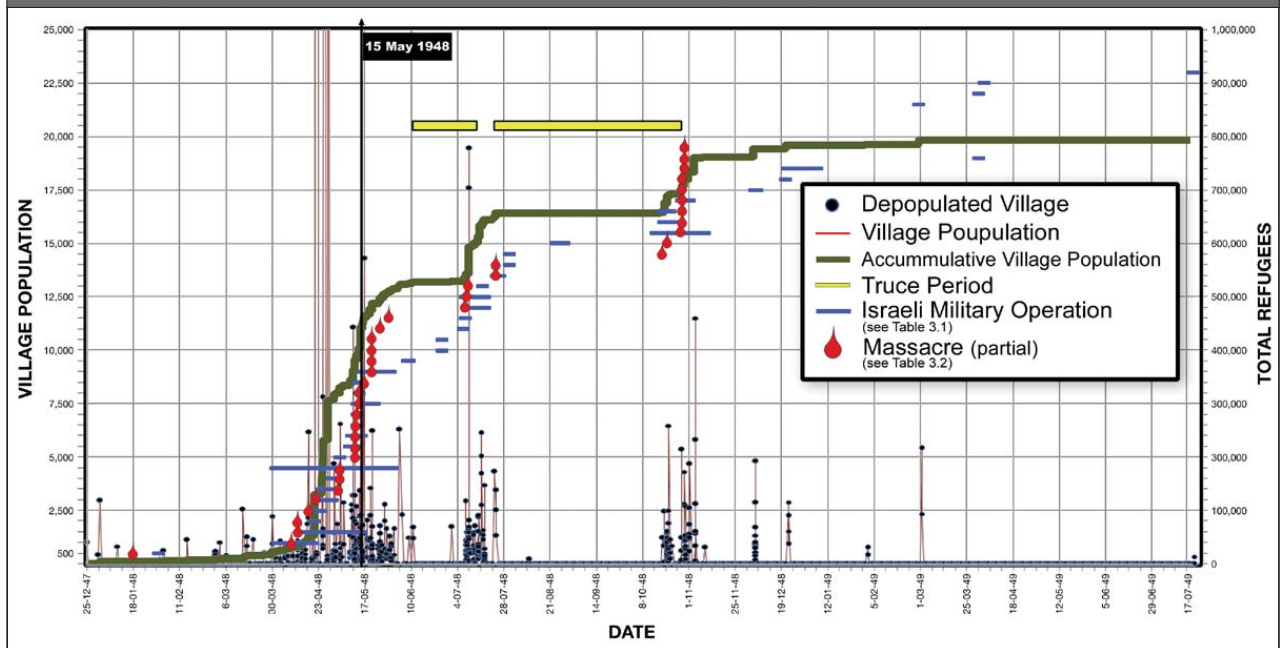
This figure (530) is higher than the figure given by Morris (369)<sup>326</sup> or by W. Khalidi (418).<sup>327</sup> Morris determined that only 369 towns and villages were depopulated. The Khalidi list was based on a specific definition: villages or hamlets listed in the *Palestine Index Gazetteer* of 1945 falling inside the 1949 Armistice Line, including No Man's Land, which had a core of permanent structures, had their own name, had Arabic-speaking Palestinians, had Arab land and were depopulated in the 1948 war. Thus, Khalidi excludes all cities and towns, tribes, villages which lost their land but not their homes, localities where villagers lived on or near Jewish or German colonies or who were expelled/left due to the war one or two years after 1948. An important addition to this Register, in addition to the depopulated cities and towns, is Beer Sheba district which had a population of over 100,000

326 Morris, *supra* note 242. 327 Khalidi, *supra* note 240.

Table 3.8: Palestinian Towns (including Mixed) and Villages that fell under Israel in 1948 (inside and within AL)

S. No.	District Name	Armistice Code (AL)							Capital Code					P-J (Ethnic)					Register Count	Status Code						
		In 1	Out 2	ON 31	ON 32	Within 33	DMZ 41	Within 43	Total	1	2	3	4	Total	1	2	3	4		Total	1	2	4	5	8	Total
1	Safad	75					14	5	94	73	17	2	2	94	91		1	2	94	79	89		2	3	94	
2	Acre	65							65	50	15			65	65				65	28	31		2	32	65	
3	Haifa	75							75	49	26			75	74		1		75	59	63		2	10	75	
4	Tiberias	28					1	3	32	26	6			32	31		1		32	27	28		2	2	32	
5	Nazareth	29							29	26	2	1		29	29				29	5	7			22	29	
6	Baysan	33		2					35	31	3	1		35	35				35	31	33			2	35	
7	Jenin	5		6					11	9	2			11	11				11	6	6			5	11	
8	Tulkarm	26		9					35	22	6	7		35	35				35	18	26			9	35	
9	Nablus								0					0					0						0	
10	Jaffa	26							26	26				26	26				26	25	25		1		26	
11	Ramle	53		9		1			63	60	2	1		63	63				63	63	61		2		63	
12	Ramallah								0					0					0						0	
13	Jerusalem	33		8					41	40	1			41	40		1		41	39	38		1	2	41	
14	Gaza	46		1					47	46	1			47	47				47	46	47				47	
15	Hebron	16		1					17	16	1			17	17				17	16	16			1	17	
16	Beer Sheba	203							203	86	117			203	203				203	88	86	20			97	203
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>773</b>	<b>560</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>773</b>	<b>767</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>773</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>556</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>773</b>

Figure 3.1: The Correlation between Israeli Operations, Massacres and Village Depopulation



listed under 77 clans. They owned and cultivated land more than half the registered land in Palestine. In terms of population they were equivalent to 125 average villages. The land of each clan was much bigger than a typical northern village.

The Register records 530 towns and primary villages which were the refugees' home. However there were other locations or hamlets which were depopulated. Their total number (674) is marked in the Atlas but the additional villages were not listed in the Register because their names were uncertain or because the village was a satellite, or part, of the same village but scattered in other multiple locations as in the Beer Sheba district. The UN Relief and Works Agency for the Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) has on its list refugees from another 662 (Palestinian and Jewish) locations, giving a total of depopulated localities of 1,192. These additional localities may be Jewish colonies, such as Bayt Alfa and Bayt Yousef; Palestinian villages beyond the Armistice Line but their

lands were occupied by Israel such as Qibya and Shuqba; intermediate localities such as Wadi Sarar and Wadi al-Bira or bedouin clans other than in Beer Sheba such as Arab al-Wuheidat and Arab Sawarka Daldum (ar-Ramleh district). Thus the number of depopulated localities is much larger than reported before.

The name of each town/village is given in English and Arabic according to W. Khalidi based on the official Gazetteer (when such names are available). The definitive article, al, is added in the end. So are the letters A (Arab) or K (Khirbet = old site of). Thus: Samniyya al K A = Khirbet Arab al Samniyya. The names are arranged alphabetically for each district.

The term 'district', was used instead of the longer but more accurate 'sub-district', or Arabic *qadha*, indicating one of the 16 districts according to the latest (1944) administrative boundaries of Palestine.

The Depopulation Date is by necessity approximate. It could be the date of the Israeli onslaught on the village or after that date by one to two days when Israeli troops completed the occupation of the village and started expelling the population. If the village was depopulated more than once, that is the population were expelled but some returned later, the first date is entered. There are listed dates on which the bulk of population, especially women, children and old men, have left, while a dozen young men remained fighting, protecting their property, watering their orchards or taking care of their cattle. Few dates are imprecise, such as early November. These were entered at a definite date such as 1 or 5 November. Nevertheless the majority of dates are reasonably accurate.

Plotting the population of the villages against the depopulation date and superimposing the dates of Israeli-operations and the occurrence of massacres reveal a remarkable result. **Figure 3.1** displays highly significant aspects of *al Nakba*. We explain



Table 3.9: Al Nakba Register

AS No.	Name	Name in Arabic	Palestine District	De-population Date	Exodus Causes	Arab Population 1948	Village Land Area (donums)	Israeli Operation	Defenders	Massacres	Destruction Ref	Registered Refugees 2008	Total Refugees est 2008
441	Abil al Qamh	أبل القمح	Safad	10-05-48	4	383	4,615	yh			2	2,247	3,178
462	Abisiya al	العابسية	Safad	25-05-48	5	1,415	15,429	yh			1	8,969	11,751
419	Madahil al	المداحل	Safad	30-04-48	4	0		mt/yh			1	0	0
433	Butayha al	التبطحة	Safad	4-05-48	1	754	16,690	mt/yh	ALA		3	83	6,261
436	Shamalina al A	عرب الشمالينة	Safad	4-05-48	1			yh			2	5,669	0
412	Yarda	يردا	Safad	1-04-48	2	23	1,368	yh			3	30	193
439	Akbara	عكبرة	Safad	9-05-48	2	302	3,224	yh			4	2,455	2,504
477	Alma	عَلْمَا	Safad	30-10-48	2	1,102	19,498	hm			3	7,327	9,150
459	Ammuqa	عموقة	Safad	24-05-48	2	162	2,574	yh			2	557	1,348
429	Ayn az Zaytun	عين الزيتون	Safad	2-05-48	2	951	1,100	yh		M,A	4	5,544	7,898
463	Baysamun	بيسمنون	Safad	25-05-48	3	23	2,102	yh			1	109	193
430	Biriyya	بيرتا	Safad	2-05-48	2	278	5,579	mt/yh			6	2,138	2,312
445	Buwayziyya	البُوَيْرِيَّة	Safad	11-05-48	5	592	14,620	yh			2	3,296	4,912
442	Dallata	دَلَّاتَة	Safad	10-05-48	2	418	9,074	yh			2	2,276	3,467
475	Khan al Duwayr	خان الدُوَيْر	Safad	30-05-48	2	302	2,163	yh			1	697	2,504
421	Dirdara al (Maz'et Daraja)	الدردارة	Safad	30-04-48	2	116	6,361	yh			1	416	963
464	Dawwara al	الدوَّارة	Safad	25-05-48	3	812	5,470	yh			1	7,545	6,742
478	Dayshum	دَيْشُوم	Safad	30-10-48	2	684	23,044	hm			2	3,870	5,683
414	Zubeid A	عرب الزُبَيْد	Safad	20-04-48	4	0		yh			2	1,860	0
443	Dhahiriyya Tahta al	الظاهرة التحتا	Safad	10-05-48	5	406	6,773	yh	ALA		2	788	3,371
422	Dirbashiyya	الديرباشية	Safad	1-05-48	2	360	2,883	yh			2	363	2,986
411	Urayfiyya al	العريفية	Safad	1-04-48	2	0		yh			1	0	0
468	Mansura al	المنصورة	Safad	25-05-48	3	418	1,544	yh			1	4,799	3,467
479	Fara	فارة	Safad	30-10-48	2	371	7,229	hm			4	2,617	3,082
486	Farradiyya al	الفرراضية	Safad	1-02-49	1	777	19,747	hm			2	4,345	6,453
469	Fir'im	فِرْعَم	Safad	26-05-48	2	858	2,191	yh			2	5,574	7,127
480	Ghabbatiyya	غباطية	Safad	30-10-48	2	70	2,933	hm	ALA		3	64	578
473	Ghuraba	غُرَابَة	Safad	28-05-48	4	255	3,453	yh			3	1,853	2,119
465	Harrawi	هرراوي	Safad	25-05-48	2	290	3,726	yh	ALA		1	185	2,408
432	Hunin	هُونِين	Safad	3-05-48	4	1,879	14,224	yh		M	2	16,005	15,603
440	Ja'una al	الجامعونة	safad	9-05-48	5	1,334	839	yh			6	10,454	11,076
426	Jahula	جاحولا	Safad	1-05-48	2	487	3,869	yh			2	3,146	4,045
29	Jish	جِش	Safad	29-10-48		0	12,430	hm	ALA	M		0	0
485	Kafr Bir'im	كفر بيريم	Safad	4-11-48	1	824	12,250	hm			3	664	6,838
446	Khalisa al	الخالصة	Safad	11-05-48	3	2,134	11,280	yh			4	13,116	17,722
466	Khisas al	الخصاص	Safad	25-05-48	3	545	4,795	yh		M	4	3,992	4,527
424	Khiyam al Walid K	خيام الوليد	Safad	1-05-48	4	325	4,215	yh			2	2,879	2,697
416	Kirad al Baqqara	كراد البقَّارة	Safad	22-04-48	5	418	2,262	yh			3	957	3,467
417	Kirad al Ghannama	كراد الغنَّامة	Safad	22-04-48	5	406	3,975	yh			2	1,344	3,371
456	Lazzaza	لَزَّازَة	Safad	21-05-48	3	267	1,586	yh			1	1,687	2,215
472	Maliyya al	المالكية	Safad	28-05-48	2	418	7,328	yh	ALA			3,954	3,467
467	Mallaha	مَلَّاحَة	Safad	25-05-48	3	1,032	2,168	yh			2	7,557	8,572
410	Mansurat al Khayt	منصورة الخيط	Safad	18-01-48	2	232	6,735			M	2	0	1,926
470	Marus	ماروس	Safad	26-05-48	2	93	3,183	yh		A	2	143	771
444	Mirun	ميرون	Safad	10-05-48	5	336	14,114	yh			3	1,406	2,793
453	Muftakhira al	المُفْتَخِرَة	Safad	16-05-48	4	406	9,215	yh			2	3,726	3,371
423	Hamra al	الحمر	Safad	1-05-48	2	0		yh			3	0	0
431	Mughl al Khayt	مُغْر الخيط	Safad	2-05-48	2	568	6,627	yh			4	4,331	4,719
451	Na'ima al	الناعمة	Safad	14-05-48	5	1,195	7,155	yh			1	8,064	9,921
454	Nabi Yusha al	النبي يوشع	Safad	16-05-48	2	81	3,617	yh	ALA		2	514	674
471	Qabba'a	قَبَاعَة كَبَاعَة	Safad	26-05-48	2	534	13,817	yh			2	3,513	4,431
474	Qadas	قَدَس	Safad	28-05-48	5	452	14,139	yh/hm	LEB/ALA		3	3,677	3,756
448	Qaddita	قَدَيْتَا	Safad	11-05-48	5	278	2,441	yh			2	1,391	2,312
455	Qaytiyya	قَيْطِيَّة	Safad	19-05-48	3	1,090	5,390	yh			2	7,680	9,054
435	Qudayriyya al	القُدَيْرِيَّة	Safad	4-05-48	1	452	12,487	mt/yh	ALA	M	3	3,507	3,756
481	Ras al Ahmar al	الراس الأحمر	Safad	30-10-48	2	719	7,934	hm			5	3,843	5,972
482	Sa'sa	شعسع	Safad	30-10-48	1	1,311	14,796	hm		M	6	9,273	10,884
483	Sabalan	سَبَلَان	Safad	30-10-48	2	81	1,798	hm			4	806	674
447	Safad (Arab)	صفد	Safad	11-05-48	2	11,055	4,431	yh	ALA	A		60,596	91,789
476	Safsaf	صفصاف	Safad	29-10-48	1	1,056	7,391	hm	ALA	M	4	6,703	8,765
484	Sailha	صالحَة	Safad	30-10-48	2	1,241	11,735	hm		M	4	8,038	10,306
461	Salihiyya al	الصالحية	Safad	25-05-48	3	1,763	5,607	yh			1	13,422	14,640
450	Sammu'u al	السَّمُوعِي	Safad	12-05-48	5	360	15,135	yh			3	2,007	2,986
425	Sanbariyya al	السنبرية	Safad	1-05-48	2	151	2,532	yh			1	1,042	1,252
452	Shawka at Tahta	الشوكة التحتا	Safad	14-05-48	4	232	2,132	yh			2	2,270	1,926
420	Shuna al	الشونة	Safad	30-04-48	2	197	3,660	yh			4	478	1,637
437	Suyyad al A(Jubb Yusuf)	جب يوسف ثم عرب الصيَّاد	Safad	4-05-48	1	197	11,325	yh	ALA		1	3,426	1,637
427	Taytaba	طيظبا	Safad	1-05-48	2	615	8,453	yh			2	3,939	5,105
487	Muntar al, K	خرية المنطار	Safad	20-07-49	1	0	52	yh			2	0	0
418	Tulayl	طُلَيْل كُنَيْل	Safad	28-04-48	2	394	5,324	yh			4	1,140	3,275
415	Husayniyya	الحسنيّية	Safad	21-04-48	5			yh		M	3	721	0
413	Ulmaniya al	العلَمانيّة	Safad	20-04-48	2	302	1,169	yh			1	1,108	2,504

















Table 3.10: Classification of Exodus Causes by Morris

Register Reference	Symbol by Morris	Explanation
1	E	Expulsion by Jewish forces.
2	M	Military assault by Jewish troops.
3	W	Haganah/IDF "whispering" campaigns(i.e. psychological warfare geared to obtaining Arab evacuation.
4	F	Fear of Jewish attack, or of being caught up in the fighting
5	C	Influence of fall of, or exodus from, neighbouring town.
6	A	Abandonment on Arab orders.

Table 3.11: Assignment of Reasons for Exodus per Each District

Register Reference	1		2		3		4		5		6		No data	Subtotal		Total	
	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b		a	b		
District																	
Acre	8	1	14	4									1	22	6	28	
Al Ramleh	6		36	7			2		6		1		4	51	11	62	
Baysan	1	1	4		1		2		16		1		5	25	6	31	
Beer Sheba	1	52	1	29			4						1	2	86	88	
Gaza	5	3	25	7			3		2				1	35	11	46	
Haifa	6	5	25	6	1		3	1	3				9	38	21	59	
Hebron	2	1	11	1					1					14	2	16	
Jaffa		2	11	1	1		9		1				1	22	4	26	
Jerusalem	1	1	29	4									4	30	9	39	
Jinin	1		4						1					6	0	6	
Nazareth			4						1					5	0	5	
Safad	8	2	20	16	9		8		12	2			2	57	22	79	
Tiberias		7	8				1		3	1	3		4	15	12	27	
Tulkarm	2	6	3				3	2					2	8	10	18	
Sub-Total	41	81	195	75	12	0	31	7	46	3	5	0	34	330	200	530	
TOTAL	122		270		12		38		49		5		34	530		530	
Percentage	24.6%		54.4%		2.4%		7.7%		9.9%		1.0%		-			100%	

Notes: a = from Morris designation, b = deducted from other sources.

this for the period between 29 November 1947, the date of the Partition Plan resolution no. 181, and 20 July 1949, the date of the last Armistice Agreement between Israel and an Arab country signed with Syria. First, a very large number of villages and several major towns have been depopulated immediately following the start of Plan Dalet in April 1948. By the date of declaring the state of Israel in the afternoon of 14 May 1948, 212 villages and 5 major towns, Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias, Baysan and West Jerusalem, were depopulated. Thus, over half of the Palestinian refugees (55%) were expelled or forced to leave by the Zionist militia (the *Haganah*, *Irgun* and *Stern gangs*) while Palestinians were supposed to be under the protection of the British Mandate and before any Arab regular soldier entered Palestine to save the Palestinians.

At this time, the total strength of the Zionist militia was 65,000, many were well trained and led by veteran European officers of WWII. The Zionists also were able to manufacture ammunition and armoured vehicles and, as such, were not harmed by the arms embargo imposed by Britain. On the other hand, the Palestinians were defenseless, without a single command, wireless or armour. The Arab irregular volunteers who came to help were a motley, ineffective group which caused more damage than gave support. This contradicts Israel's claim that, in expelling Palestinians, it was acting in self defense and that the refugees' exodus was an accident of war, not an Israeli plan.

Second, the great majority of depopulated villages in this period were located in the area allocated to a Jewish state in the Partition Plan. The inhabitants of these villages would have been (non-Jewish) citizens of the new state. Ben Gurion wanted an Arab-free state. Hence ethnic cleansing took place to rid the new state of its Palestinian citizens.

Third, a mere 27 days after 15 May 1948, until the announcement of the First Truce on 11 June 1948, Israeli militias (now called IDF) occupied more land and expelled more refugees in spite of the intervention of Arab regular forces which entered Palestine on 15 May 1948. The Israelis were much better organized, and vastly outnumbered the regular Arab forces. Thus the notion that the few (Jews) were pitted against the many (Arabs), or little David against the giant Goliath, is simply a myth.

At the end of these 4 weeks, two thirds of the refugees (66%) were expelled and all the major Palestinian towns in the centre and the north were over-run, occupied and depopulated (except Nazareth: occupied but not depopulated). The victory of the immigrant army of the Israelis over the defenseless Palestinians was complete. All subsequent Israeli operations were intended to increase the occupied area and remove the remaining Palestinians.

Fourth, the 10-day period between the First and Second Truce witnessed the Israeli onslaught on

Galilee and on Lydda and Ramle in the centre. Most Israeli operations were preceded by a massacre or an atrocity to expedite the flight of the refugees. Over 70 massacres have been recorded.

Fifth, as Figure 3.1 shows, it is remarkable to note that, in the brief duration of the First or Second Truce, hardly any villagers left their homes. If the Israeli claim that the refugees left on Arab orders or on their own accord is true, the lull in the truce would have been an ideal opportunity for them to pack their belongings and leave. But they did not leave, neither at the First or Second Truce. Thus the Israeli claim is false.

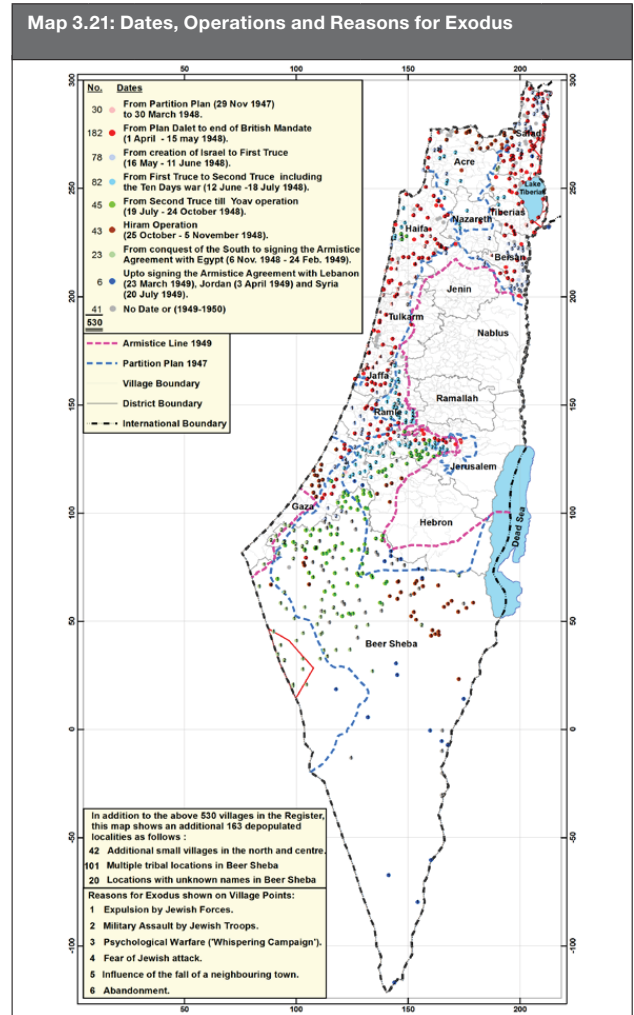
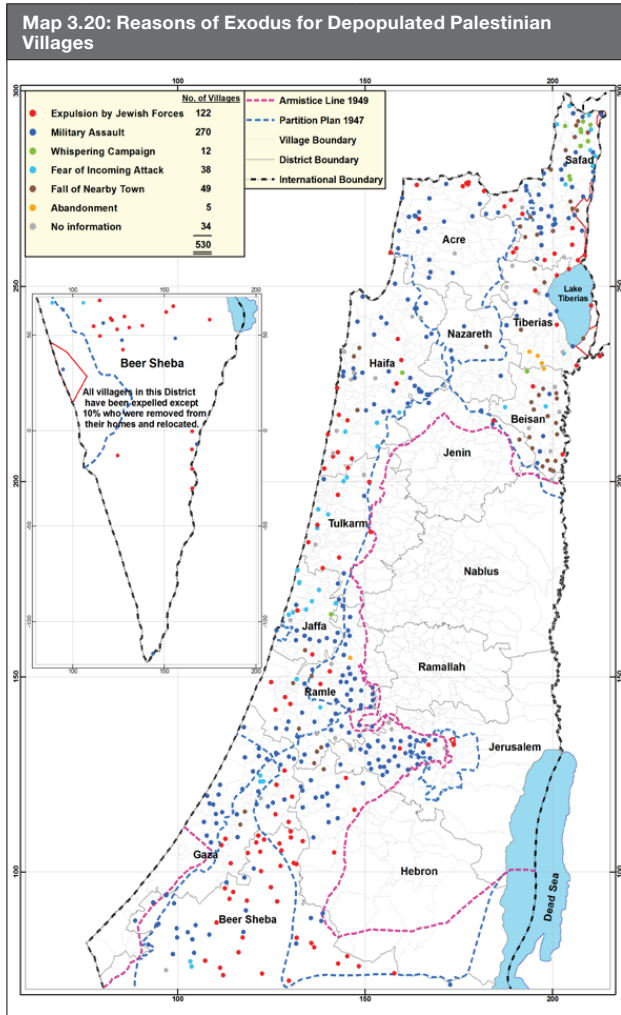
The lull in the Second Truce was broken temporarily by Israeli "cleansing" operations to clear out pockets of remaining villages. The Truce came to an abrupt end with the Israeli attack on the south of the country in violation of the Truce. This resulted in the total depopulation of all villages in the Southern District. This single Figure (3.1) sums up the grim sequence of *al Nakba* and debunks many of the Israeli myths which have been circulated for many decades.

From oral testimonies collected by Bir Zeit University and others<sup>328</sup>, villagers, when attacked, sought refuge in a nearby village. When that was attacked too, both moved to a third safe place not far from the original village. Refugees ended in the last refuge or camp after a long journey through a circuitous route. They were always trying to return home.

The reasons for the exodus are classified in categories following Benny Morris.<sup>329</sup> See Table 3.10. It is clear that some categories are interrelated. Categories 1, 2, 4, 5 are directly caused by Israeli military action; category 3 is part of the Israeli psychological warfare and category 6 is abandonment by own choice or by Arab orders.

Table 3.11 shows the depopulation of villages by category and by district according to Morris's designation of 369 villages (Note a) and the designation based on other (mostly Arab) sources (Note b) for additional villages entered in the Register. It is clear that the largest number of villages, 270 out of 530, were depopulated by "military assault" and the lowest number, only 5, by own volition. Military action (categories 1, 2, 5) caused the depopulation of 89 percent of the villages. Fear or psychological warfare (categories 3, 4) caused the depopulation of another 10 percent, leaving only 1 percent leaving "voluntarily". Map 3.20 shows the locations of the 530 villages and the reason for their exodus as per Table 3.11. Map 3.21 gives more information to cover extra 163 villages and shows also the date of exodus and the Israeli operation concurrent with it.

The column about the Palestinian Arab population in 1948 is based on *Village Statistics* (1945) produced by the British Mandate government. The natural growth of the Muslim Palestinians was 3.8 percent per annum according to government statistics. Since most of the refugees were Muslims, and allowing for four years, from 1944 the date of the survey to the end of 1948, the population figures of *Village Statistics* were upgraded by 1.16 and shown as such in the Register. The Register shows only the depopulated villages and some



of those depopulated and repopulated again. The population of the depopulated Palestinian towns has also been entered in the Register according to the upgraded *Village Statistics* but subtracting the estimated number of those who remained. This applies to Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, western Jerusalem, Ramleh, Lydda and Shafa Amr. No Palestinians were allowed to remain in Baysan, Safad, Tiberias, Beer Sheba, Isdud and al-Majdal. Nazareth was not depopulated.

The population of the Beer Sheba district needs special consideration. Since the 1931 Census, the number of all Bedouins in Palestine appeared static at 66,500, of which 57,265 lived in Beer Sheba.<sup>330</sup> This figure was still quoted in 1950 in UN documents. This is erroneous. Aref's first survey of 1931<sup>331</sup> estimated the population at 47,632 with several reservations. He excluded al-Ehewat and the town of Beer Sheba and admitted undercounting. More importantly, he underestimated female population because of traditional lack of access. This correction is estimated to be 1.0825 to allow for equal number with males. Correction for undercounting is estimated at 1.05. Upgrading this figure to 1948 at natural growth of 3.5 percent per annum, the total population of Beer Sheba is estimated to be 96,910 in 1948. In 1946, Dajani<sup>332</sup> carried out a more rigorous survey than Aref and found that the population in 1946 to be 95,500.

Those who became refugees, including those from Beer Sheba town in 1948, are 91,704 as shown in the Register. In 1998, they numbered 563,181. The rest, 118,000 (1998), remained in Israel.

On this basis, the total number of refugees in 1948 is 804,517. This excludes the additional refugees from 662 hamlets or locations; some were living in or near 183 Jewish colonies, others were living in small hamlets not stated as primary villages by the British Mandate. By comparing this figure with UNRWA data, it is estimated that these additional refugees, pro rata, to be 130,000, making a total of **935,000 for 1948 refugees**.

The figure frequently quoted for the 1948 refugees is 726,800, often approximated to 750,000. This is erroneous. The quoted figure of 726,800 comes from the UN Conciliation Commission on Palestine (UNCCP).<sup>333</sup> This figure suffers from two defects: (a) It is based on *Village Statistics* (1945) and needs to be updated four years to 1948; and, (b) it uses the low figure of 53,550 for the Beer Sheba district in 1931. When adjusted, the figure of 726,800 becomes 875,000 from main villages, leaving out secondary villages. It just falls short of Janet Abu-Lughod demographic analysis of population in Jewish-held areas.<sup>334</sup> She estimated this population to vary between 890,000 and 904,200. When correcting this figure for Beer

Sheba, by adding 36,447, this range becomes 926,647 to 940,649, which is closer to our figure of 935,000.

For the Israeli view, Morris writes, "The Director General of the Israel Foreign Ministry, Eytan, in a private letter in late 1950 referred to the UNRWA registration [sic] in 1949 [UNRWA was not in existence then] of 726,000 as "meticulous" and thought that "the real number was close to 800,000". But officially, Israel stuck to the lower figure of 520,000-530,000. The reason was simple: "if people...became accustomed to the large figure and we are eventually obliged to accept the return of the refugees, we may find it difficult, when faced with hordes of claimants, to convince the world that not all of these formerly lived in Israeli territory...It would, in any event, seem desirable to minimize the numbers...than otherwise".<sup>335</sup>

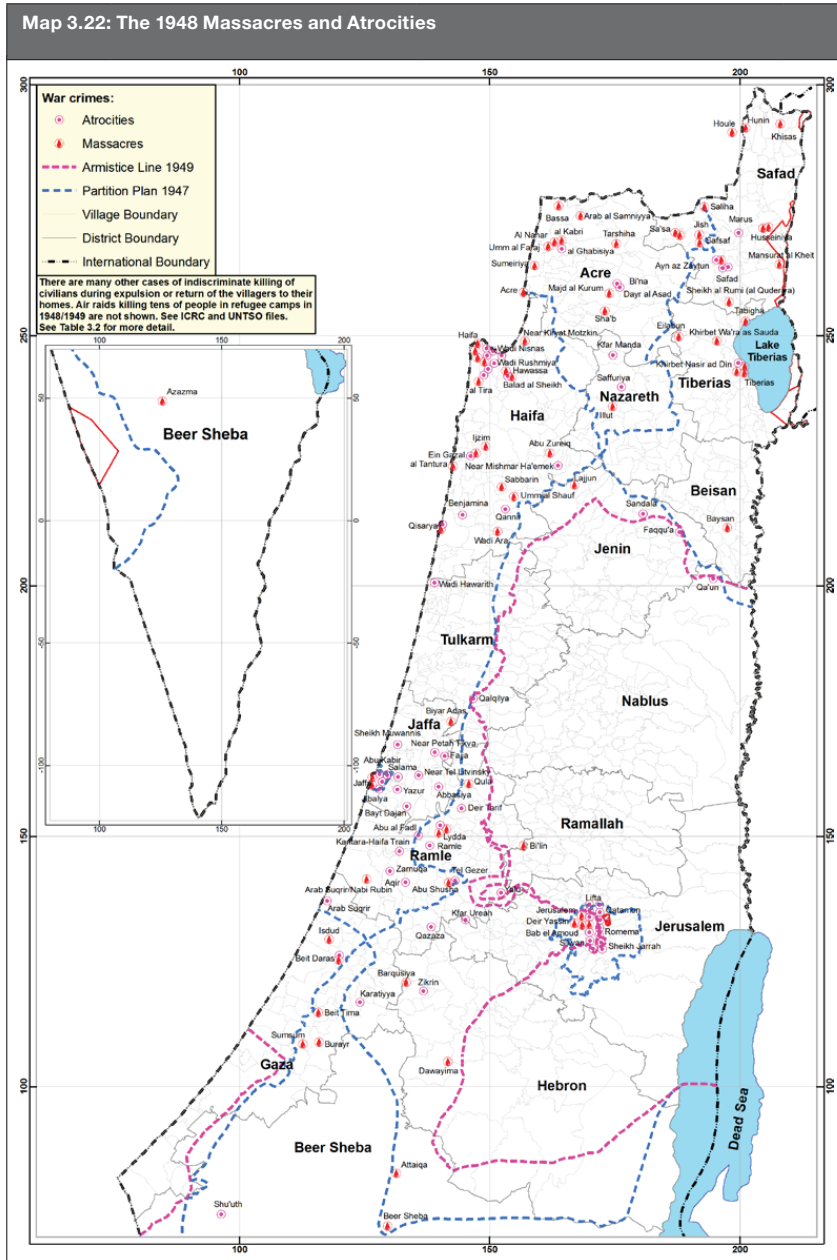
The village land area column lists the total village land as given in the *Village Statistics* (1945) for the indicated villages. The land area includes Public land and Jewish land portion if small. This area is listed only once if two villages in the same village boundary list appear in the list. The total shows 17,131,675 donums, being a rough indication of the land area of the dispossessed refugees. (A more accurate figure is given in Section 2.9 Summary of Land Ownership).

330 McCarthy, *supra* note 107, p. 76.  
 331 al-Aref, *supra* note 229, p. 34.  
 332 S.W. Dajani, "The Enumeration of the Beer Sheba Bedouins in May 1946," *1 Population Studies* 3 (1947).

333 U.N. Doc. A/AC.25/Com.Tech/7/add.1 of 1 April 1949, entitled: "Appendix B: Non-Jewish (sic) population within the Boundaries held by IDF".  
 334 Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Demographic Transformation of

Palestine." *Transformation of Palestine*. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.) Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971, p. 160.  
 335 Morris, *supra* note 242, p. 297.

Map 3.22: The 1948 Massacres and Atrocities



It is clear from examining the history of 1948 that massacres were used as an instrument of ethnic cleansing. Almost every Israeli operation was initiated with a massacre to act as a lesson for the defenseless villagers. Either by such examples, informing the people by loudspeakers or through the “whispering campaign” of recruited ‘friendly’ Jews, they were told: leave or else.

The Galilee was hit the worst by massacres during Hiram operations. This continued for a year after their occupation in a sporadic manner by hunting and killing those hiding or returning refugees in an operation called *Magrefa* (Scoop).

The extent of the massacres and atrocities had been denied totally by the Israeli official narrative.<sup>336</sup> It was later described in more detail by Yitzaki, Milstein, Pail, Erlich<sup>337</sup> and by Morris in his extended version.<sup>338</sup> Morris wrote in “Crimes of War”:

**Over the years, the release of new documents and newspaper interviews with witnesses and participants has uncovered Israeli massacres of Arab civilians and prisoners of war in the subsequent [after 1948] wars of 1956, 1976, 1973 and 1982...The bloodiest and most atrocity-ridden of these wars was, without doubt, the 1948 war of independence.<sup>339</sup>**

It is remarkable and indicative of cultural prejudice that most western scholars of the 1948 war on Palestine gave little or no attention in the 3 or 4 decades following Israel’s declaration to the numerous eye-witness accounts by Palestinian refugees who survived these massacres which were published from 1949 onwards, or to the UN Truce Observers reports describing some of them. They welcomed the revelations of the new Israeli historians which described *only* some of the survivors’ accounts.

The next column in the Nakba Register shows the level of destruction of villages which had been carried out systematically to prevent the return of the refugees. This information is based on the field research of 418 villages conducted in 1987-1990 and reported by Ghazi Falah.<sup>340</sup> The reference number and number of destroyed villages as per the survey are shown in **Table 3.12**. Unlisted villages, mostly in Beer Sheba, have been totally destroyed. An indication of the destroyed villages in Table 3.12 is shown in Map 4.8.

Cactus fences are still visible today in most village sites, a reminder of destroyed life and property. Palestinian towns were not fully destroyed only all or parts of the old city; they were occupied by Jewish immigrants. Remaining Palestinians were not allowed to repair or improve their property. Destruction of villages and property was a systematic process undertaken by the Israeli army, nearby settlers, then by JNF and ILA. It lasted till 1967 when destruction policy shifted to the West Bank and Gaza. See Section 4.2. Previously-cited Table 3.2 includes several cases of destruction of villages and plunder of property.

The next two columns show the Israeli operations attacking the village and its defenders if any. The list of Israeli operations, their abbreviation, purpose and date has already been given in Table 3.1. The areas covered by each operation are shown in Maps 3.1 to 3.8.

The list of defenders include: ALA = Arab Liberation Army led by Fawzi al-Qawqji which consisted of various Arab volunteers; AL = the British-led Arab Legion, which later became the Jordanian Army; EG = Egyptian forces; SYR = Syrian forces; LEB = Lebanese forces. The entries in the two columns: the operations and the defenders are indicative only and far from complete. For fuller understanding, further con-

sideration may be given to the Israeli operations shown in Maps 3.1 to 3.8.

The column of massacres and atrocities indicates the villages in the Register in which they occurred. The actual number is greater. See Table 3.2. For location of some of the massacres and atrocities see **Map 3.22**. The massacre is defined here as “the organized killing of a group of civilians with intent”. The atrocity is less severe in scale although it carries the same meaning. Neither the Table 3.2 or Map 3.22 include casual killing of individuals, mass killing of civilians in air-raids, especially in October-November 1948 and killing of prisoners of war or civilians detained in labour camps.

336 Israeli official literature is void of specific mention of massacres. Ben Gurion’s *War Diary, 1947-49*, *supra* note 244, mentioned Dayr Yassin as a backdrop to later political events (p.270), but not on the date of massacre, 9 April (p. 254). The bigger Daywayma massacre was not mentioned in the Diary except 10 days later: “A rumour(?) that 70-80 people were slaughtered...”, p. 613. The question mark is in the original. The official record, *Palestine War, 1947-1949, the Official Israeli*

*Story*. [Arabic] Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2<sup>nd</sup> print, 1986, does not mention Dayr Yassin massacre except in the context of Arab reaction: “Arab propaganda exaggerated the slaughter of Dayr Yassin inhabitants by LEHI and IZL”, p. 218. Daywayma was not mentioned, nor any other massacre.  
337 For citations to Yitzaki, Milstein, Pail, Erlich see, references in Table 3.2.  
338 Morris, *supra* note 242.

339 Benny Morris, “Arab Israeli War”, *Crimes of War*. Roy Gutman and David Rief (ed.), London: W. W. Norton, 1999, p. 30.  
340 Ghazi Falah, “The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and its aftermath: The Transformation and De-Signification of Palestine’s Cultured Landscape,” *86 Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 2 (June 1996).

Table 3.12: Level of Destruction of Villages

Destruction Reference	Description	Number of Villages	%
1	Complete obliteration	81	19.4
2	Destruction, rubble identified	140	33.5
3	Demolition, standing walls	60	14.3
4	Most, not all, houses demolished, one house standing	74	17.7
5	Most demolished, up to 2 Jewish families live there	17	4.1
6	More than 2 Jewish families occupy Houses	35	8.4
7	Inaccessible	11	2.6

**Source:** Ghazi Falah, "The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and its aftermath: The Transformation and De-Signification of Palestine's Cultured Landscape", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.86, No.2, June 1996.

The last two columns in the Register give the number of registered refugees and the total number of refugees for each listed village or town. The registered refugees list is upgraded from UNRWA records dated 9 April 1997, referring to the end of the previous month. The individual entry refers to the registered refugees from a particular listed village. But the subtotal for each district includes the total refugees from the listed villages plus the following secondary locations:

1. Villages whose land was taken over by Israel in 1948, while the village houses were left in the West Bank or Gaza.
2. Jewish villages or lands where refugees used to live and work.
3. Palestinian villages which remained in Israel, while some of their inhabitants became refugees.
4. Villages or sites which were satellites or extensions to listed villages.

Hence the sub-total per district is the sum of registered refugees in the listed and secondary villages. The total number of registered refugees according to UNRWA records is the shown total of 4,618,140 (2008).

The last column estimates the number of total refugees, i.e. the net expelled inhabitants of all villages in the Register as in 2008, sixty years after *al Nakba*. In a separate study, the variation of the natural increase of the refugees with time (50 years) and with location (5 areas of UNRWA operations) is taken into account. This is applied to the population as given by *Village Statistics* (1945), and the result is shown in the last column. The total number of refugees from the listed localities is estimated to be 6,679,978 in 2008. This means there are 2,061,837 unregistered refugees. By comparison of the last two columns, it is evident that the unregistered refugees come from the following categories:

1. Inhabitants of the cities, by far the largest.
2. Unlisted refugees who out of pride refused to register, at least in the initial period, e.g. in Beer Sheba District, where a large percentage of the population was not registered.
3. Refugees who were not eligible for registration for some technical reason.
4. Applicants after closing UNRWA records or those who have not updated their records.

It will be noted that in few cases in the Register, the number of the registered refugees in a particular

locality are larger than the total for the locality. This is due to the difference in the definition, and/or identification, of the refugees' origin as given by them in the early stages and as indicated in this Register.

The existence of a large number of unregistered refugees is not generally recognized. According to UNRWA registered refugees comprise only three-quarters of the total.<sup>341</sup> UNRWA officials also acknowledge the four sources of unregistered refugees listed above.<sup>342</sup>



# Chapter 4

# The Aftermath: The Destruction of Palestine

## 4.1 Patterns of Ethnic Cleansing

Getting rid of the native inhabitants of Palestine has long been one of the tenets of Zionism.<sup>343</sup> It was clearly spelled out by Yosef Weitz, the head of the Transfer Committee and the chief of land confiscation operations. As early as 1940, he proposed an ethnic cleansing plan: "The only solution is to transfer the Arabs from here to neighbouring countries. Not a single village or a single tribe must be left."<sup>344</sup> Plan Dalet was designed to "occupy...expel"<sup>345</sup> the Palestinian people. It was David Ben-Gurion's doctrine that the destruction of Palestine, its people, their cultural and physical landscape was the precondition for creating the state of Israel on its ruins. The systematic elimination of the Palestinians in 1948 took the following forms: military plans directed to conquer the land and settle Jewish immigrants; elimination of the refugees' physical presence by expulsion, massacres and killing returnees; looting and plunder; destruction of villages; political campaign to justify denial of the refugees' right to return; creation of a fictitious legal web to justify confiscation of Palestinians' vast property and, meanwhile, importing Jewish immigrants to replace Palestinians. We shall examine here the main features of these actions.

As early as January 1948, four months before the Israeli war began, Zionist officials prepared plans for the settlement of 1.5 million new immigrants over and above the existing 600,000 Jews. During the Jewish military operations that followed the UN partition resolution of November 1947 and before the end of the British Mandate, more than half of the Palestinian refugees were expelled. The settlement agencies headed by the Jewish National Fund (JNF) directed the military attacks

to acquire coveted land, such as the villages of Indur, Qumiya, Ma'lul, Mujaidil and Buteimat in Galilee, which were destroyed primarily to grab their land.<sup>346</sup>

Almost every one of the thirty-odd Zionist/Israeli military operations was accompanied by one or two massacres of civilians. There were at least 77 reported massacres, two-thirds of which took place before any Arab regular soldier set foot in Palestine. See Table 3.2.

The pattern of expulsion was consistent throughout, regardless of the region, the date or the particular battalion which attacked a village. The argument about whether this was planned or accidental is moot. Most serious research and all oral testimonies given at different times by refugees from different regions in Palestine confirmed the same pattern.<sup>347</sup>

After a village is attacked and conquered, whether it resisted or surrendered, a curfew is imposed. Sometime later, probably the following morning, the villagers were gathered in the main square or a nearby field in two separate groups: the men from the age of 15 to 50 and the women, children and very old men. The village was surrounded from three directions leaving the fourth open for escape or expulsion. The gap left open was pointing towards Lebanon and Syria in Galilee region, towards the West Bank and Jordan in central Palestine and towards Gaza and Egypt in the south.

The women were stripped of their jewellery and valuables and ordered to walk towards the gap or open gate, without looking back. Shots were fired over their heads to encourage their flight. There have been cases of rape, enslavement and murder.<sup>348</sup>

The men were lined up for review by a hooded man. Very frequently, selected young men were taken in groups of four, ordered to dig their graves, then they were shot and thrown in the dug pit.

"The soldiers separated the men and the women, depositing them at different locations, around 50 yards from the killing pit... The soldiers divested their victims of whatever valuables they possessed.... [One witness] recalled vividly the picture of these people, most of whom were undressed to the waist, lying for hours in the sun and getting severely sunburnt. For, after undressing, they had to lie prostrate in a confined area and were not permitted to move. When the killing was finally ready to commence, the soldiers formed a gauntlet running between the staging ground for the killing and the killing site itself. Successive groups of 15 to 20 were forced to run to the killing site's pit, to run the gauntlet, with the soldiers shouting at them and beating them with rifle butts as they passed by."<sup>349</sup>

While women and children were walking about in the woods, fields, rocky hills or along the shoreline without food or shelter, the men were led to forced labour camps. They were tortured, shot and killed at the first sign of disobedience and made to work on the Israeli military effort, such as digging trenches, carrying ammunition and making war items such as camouflage nets. They were also used in carrying the looted material from Arab homes, burying their dead and removing the debris from demolished Arab houses.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited 5 sites of the declared "POW" camps: Ijlil, Atlit, Sarafand (Ramle), Tel Litvinsky (Tel HaShomer) and in hospitals.<sup>350</sup> On one visit in January 1949, ICRC found 6,360 prisoners of whom 5013 were Palestinians.<sup>351</sup> The Palestinians

343 For a more detailed discussion see, *supra* note 47.

344 Central Zionist Archives, Weitz Diary, A246/7 entry for December 20, 1940, pp 1090-91. More explicit statements are found in the unedited manuscript of the Weitz Diary. Cited in Nur Masalha, *An Israeli Plan to Transfer Galilee's Christians to South America: Yosef Weitz and 'Operation Yohanan' 1949-1953*, Center for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, Occasional Paper No. 55, 1996.

345 See Section 3.1 and Khalidi, *supra* note 240, pp. 3-70; Palumbo, *supra* note 290; other authors, *supra* note 276.

346 See among others Benvenisti, *supra* note 232, pp. 102-209.

347 Abdul Jawad, Saleh, *Zionist Massacres: The Creation of the*

*Palestinian Refugee Problem in the 1948 War*, Heidelberg Conference, pp. 59 – 127 in: Benvenisti, E., Gans, Ch., Hanafi, S. (ed) *Israel and the Palestinian Refugees*, Berlin, New York: Springer 2007. See also, Pappé, Ilan, *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, Oxford: One World Publications, 2006;

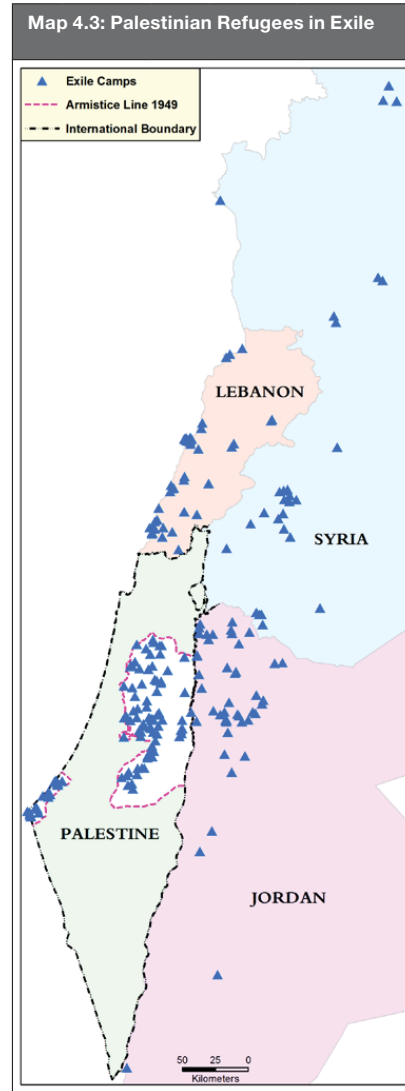
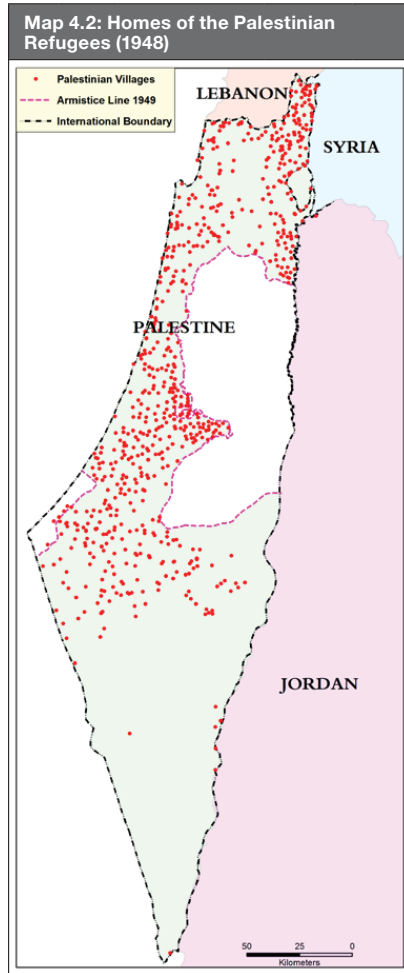
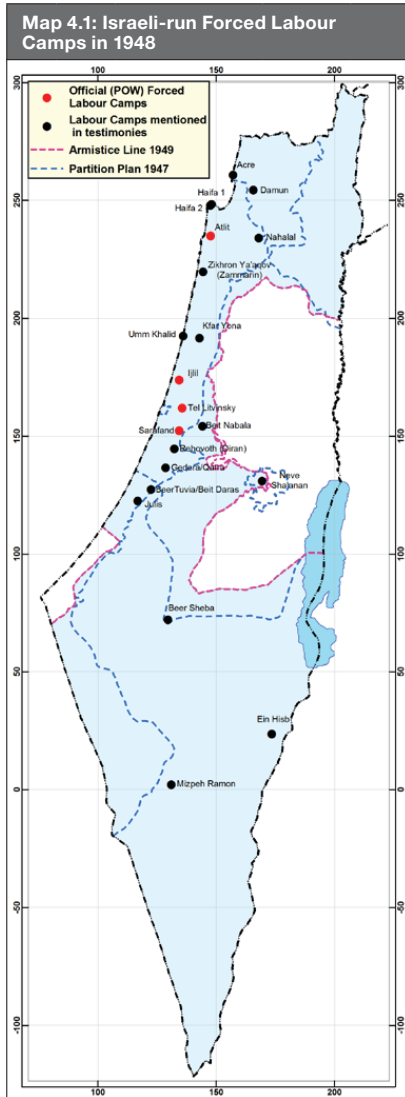
348 For example, Hudaib, Musa A.S., *Al Dawayima Village*, Amman: Dar al Jilil, 1985 [Arabic].

349 This was exactly the practice of the Nazi Unit 101, which was specialized in tracking and killing Jews during WWII. See, Goldhagen Daniel Jonah, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, London: Abacus, 1997 pp 226-229. Replace the words: soldiers, people by Israelis, Palestinians

respectively, you get the description of Tantoura massacre given by one of the survivors. Replace the words: soldiers, people by Germans and Jews you get the description of Nazi killing of Jews by Goldhagen. Original text of both cases is given in: Abu Sitta, Salman, *The Origins of Sharon's Legacy*, Al Ahrum Weekly, Issue 779, 26 January-1 February 2006, available at: <http://www.plands.org/articles/15.htm>

350 J. de Reynier, Chief Delegate, *Rapport General D' Activite de la Delegation pour la Palestine*, Jan 1948-July 1949, Geneva: ICRC, dated July 6, 1949.

351 ICRC report, GS9/1/GC/ G3/82 by Dr. E. Moeri, ICRC delegate, Tel Aviv, dated February 6, 1949.



were mostly ordinary farmers from Galilee villages who were not combatants and therefore not POWs by international standards. ICRC reluctantly accepted this classification in order to be able to visit them and report their cases. However, testimonies by several survivors indicated that Palestinian civilians were detained and forced to work in 17 other camps and locations never visited by ICRC.<sup>352</sup> See **Map 4.1**. It is estimated that about 25,000 Palestinian civilians were rounded up, detained and put into forced labour camps for periods from 10 months to 2 years. They have received no appreciable compensation or publicity about their plight.

Those refugees who dared to return to their homes or fields were liable to be shot and killed on the spot as “infiltrators.” If not seen, they may be blown up by booby-traps the Israelis had planted near their homes, wells, pumps, stores or any place they are likely to return to. Shooting of civilians was not restricted to wartime. After the fighting ceased, the UN truce observers reported many such cases<sup>353</sup> well after hostilities ceased.

The UN, the successor to the League of Nations which created the Mandate to lead Palestine into statehood, felt responsible for the refugees’ plight. In July 1948, the UN Disaster Relief Project (UNDRP) was created to provide relief to the refugees. It was found ineffective and was replaced on November 19, 1948 by the UN Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR) involving various relief agencies, notably ICRC (Red Cross) and AFSC (the Quakers) which operated from December 1948 to August 1949. The first to operate was ICRC which set up offices in Palestine from January 1948 in anticipation of the conflict. Next came AFSC which operated in the Gaza Strip and set up all refugee camps which are still in existence.

When the dimensions of the problem became known and with the failure of Lausanne negotiations, the UN established UNRWA in its resolution 302 of December 8, 1949 for a three year term, renewable.<sup>354</sup> UNRWA<sup>355</sup> is still in existence today due to Israel’s refusal to allow the return of the refugees to their homes. UNRWA keeps records of every refugee: name of the family head, his village of origin, date of birth, same for all his family members, their kinship, sex and religion. **Figure 4.1** shows a typical refugee card (old version).

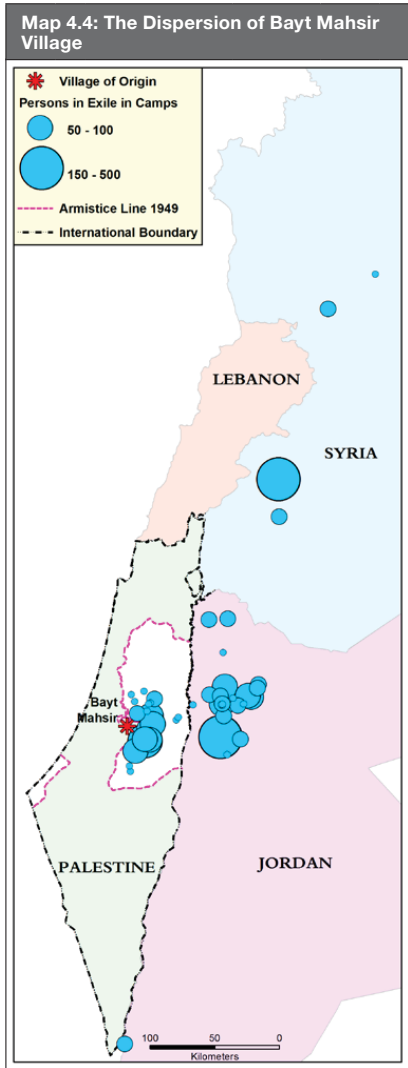
The massive displacement of the Palestinian people, although traumatic, followed traceable patterns. Graphically, the dispersion of the Palestinians in 1948 is shown by two maps. **Map 4.2** shows their original homes in Palestine in 1948. **Map 4.3** shows the exile of *registered* refugees in camps and other locations supervised by UNRWA. The unregistered refugees, mostly city people, have moved to Arab and foreign capitals. They had mobility, contacts, education and some residual wealth. They quickly adjusted and found positions in government, finance, trade and construction in nearby Arab capitals and abroad.

**Figure 4.2** shows that 73 percent of the refugees are registered but of those, the majority, (56 percent), are rural and 17 percent are urban. Of the remaining unregistered refugees, 27 percent of the total, the majority (21 percent) are urban and only 6 percent of the refugees are unregistered rural refugees. This corresponds to the generally known division of Palestinian society: 62 percent are rural and 38 percent are urban. Thus, 27% of all refugees are not registered for various reasons.<sup>356</sup>

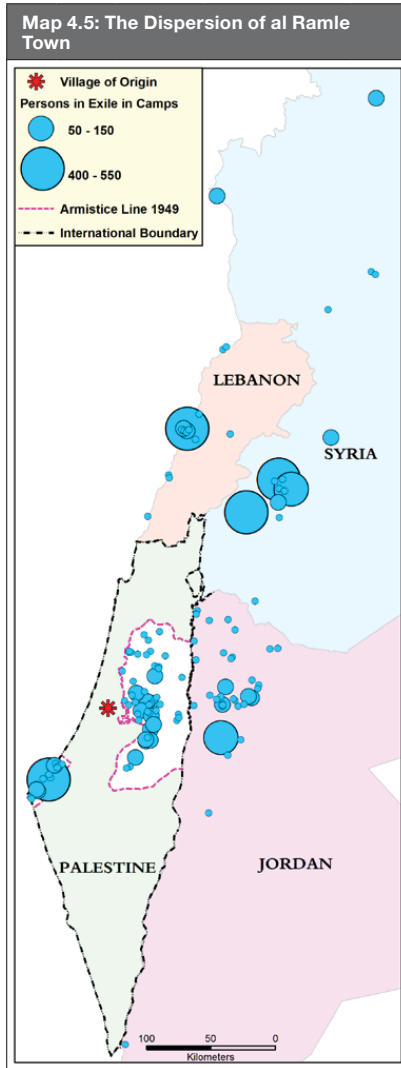
352 Details of these forced labour camps, hitherto unpublished, are found in: Abu Sitta, S, Rempel, T, *The ICRC and the Detention of Palestinian Civilians in the Israeli-Administered ‘Labour Camps’ during the 1948 War*, forthcoming publication.

354 Takkenberg, Lex, *The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 22-29.

355 UNRWA website: <http://www.un.org/unrwa>.  
356 See an explanation in Abu Sitta, Salman, *The Register of Depopulated Localities in Palestine*, London: The Palestinian Return Centre, September 2000.



This has an important bearing on the dispersion of refugees as stated above. Based on registered refugees' data only, the dispersion of a village like Bayt Mahsir, west of Jerusalem is examined. **Map 4.4** shows its dispersion in the West Bank and Jordan with few families in Syria. Note that dispersion in central Palestine is biased towards Jordan due to further exodus from the West Bank to Jordan as a result of Israel's occupation of the West Bank in 1967.



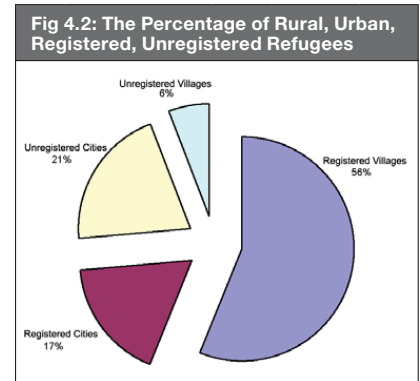
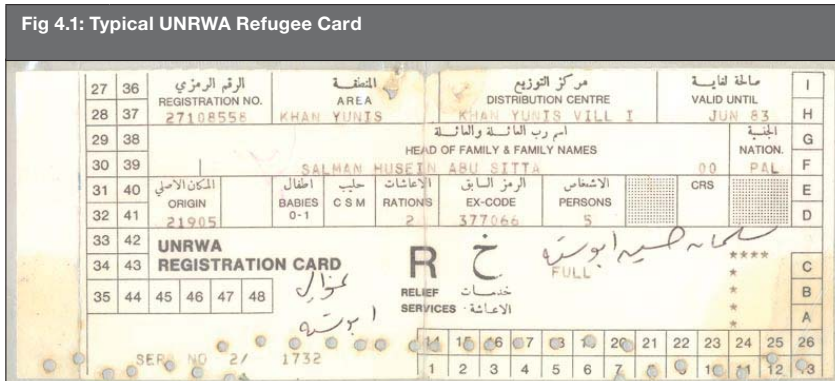
By contrast, Ramle town dispersion is much wider spread as shown in **Map 4.5**, not only due to its larger population, but also due to more mobility and better contacts of its population. Ramle population found refuge in all five UNRWA fields: Gaza, West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, all the way north to Aleppo.

What general direction did refugees take when expelled or fled? A detailed study of direction of ethnic cleansing revealed predictable but

quantitative results. See **Map 4.6**. As expected, Galilee refugees were expelled towards Syria and Lebanon. If we ignore segments of any village population less than 15 percent of total village population and focus on the movement of the bulk (i.e. 85 percent), we get the results shown in the table in Map 4.6. We find that 150 villages had moved to Lebanon and 100 to Syria but only 6 to the West Bank and 8 to Jordan. For the central region, 207 villages moved to the West Bank (and remained there after 1967) and 256 to Jordan, some after 1967. Only 5 or 6 villages moved to other areas. For the southern region, most villages moved to Jordan or Gaza, 131 and 111 respectively, but surprisingly only 22 moved to the West Bank. For the eastern region, Tiberias and Baysan valley, most villages moved to Syria and Jordan; only some moved to Lebanon. The coastal region is somewhat problematic. Most moved by land to West Bank and Jordan, 90 and 163 respectively, but a considerable number, 53, moved to Gaza by land and sea. Haifa (special) region is even more problematic. It was accessible by sea directly or through Acre to Lebanon and inland to Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and West Bank. Haifa refugees found refuge in all five UNRWA regions except Gaza.

Of all these results, the most remarkable is that most villages moved *en masse* to only one or two of the five UNRWA fields, a lesser number to three, very few moved to more than three. This emphasizes the central fact in the structure of the Palestinian society, that is, the village is the building block of the society. Since each village consists of 4 or 5 *hamulas* (large or extended family), this means, as has been demonstrated again, that the family unit is still intact and remains the focus of belonging, even though it has been subjected to pressures of exile and voluntary separation for work or study.

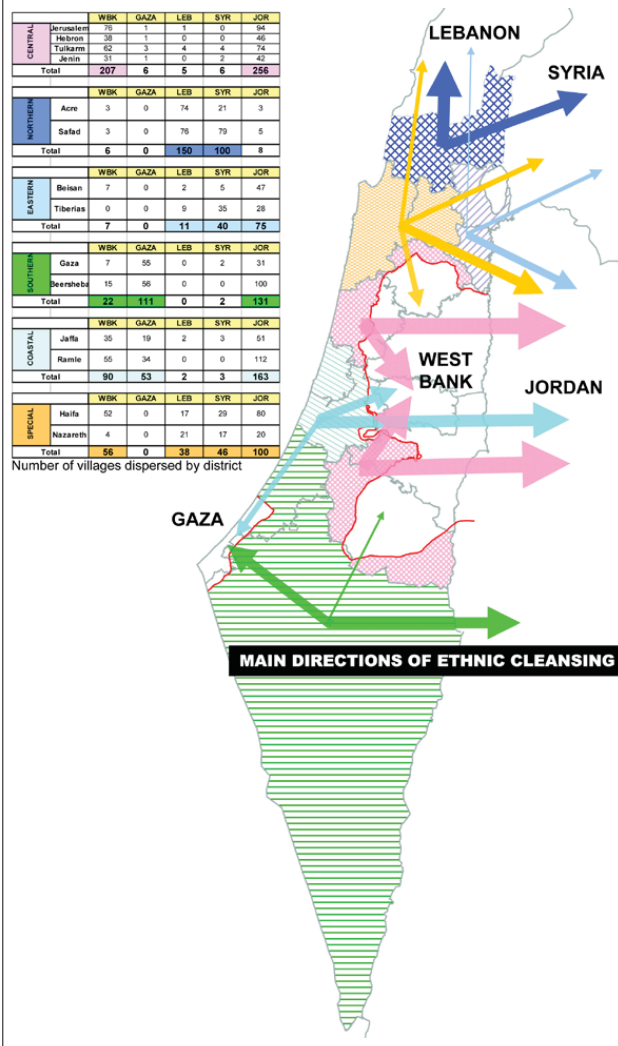
The registered refugees as recorded by UNRWA originate from 1,523 localities<sup>357</sup> which include cities, towns, primary villages (as per the British Mandate administrative division), secondary villages, hamlets and other localities. The registered places of exile extend to 602 camps, villages or towns. Out of these, 59 are recognized by UNRWA as "camps". Reference is made frequently to the fact that one third of the refugees live in camps, because only the 59 "official" camps are taken into account. This is a convenient and practical division but in fact, from social point of view, many refugees live in pseudo-camps or neighbourhoods which grew and function like camps.



357 This number (1523) of locations differs from the figure in Section 3.3 *Al Nakba Register* (1192) in that the former includes several multiple locations of the same town, listing quarters and neighbourhoods.



Map 4.6: Patterns of Ethnic Cleansing



Map 4.7: The Global Distribution of Palestinians

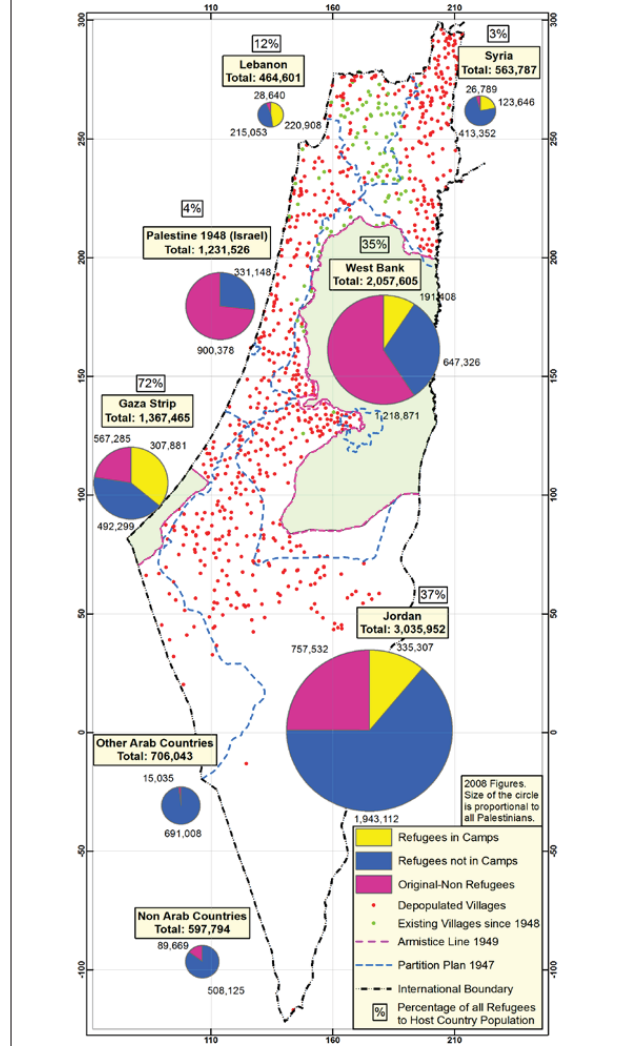


Table 4.1: Distribution of Registered Refugees according to Type of Residence

Field	Large Town	Small Town	Village	Outside a Camp	Camp (with some exceptions)	TOTAL
Gaza	86	100	234	386,664	278	432,451
Jordan	583,705	408,634	173,691	4,184	72,605	316,455
Lebanon	48,972	45,246	82,647			198,694
Syria	194,441	347	90,118	58	22	96,646
West Bank	1,243	204,603	219,562	299	596	154,418
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>828,447</b>	<b>658,930</b>	<b>566,252</b>	<b>391,205</b>	<b>73,501</b>	<b>1,198,664</b>
%	22%	18%	15%	13%	32%	100%

Source: UNRWA, Refugee Population, May 2000.

Table 4.1 shows the registered refugees by type of residence for the five UNRWA fields. While 32 percent live in "official" camps, there are further 13 percent who live in pseudo-camps or extension of camps, and another 15 percent live in villages, where refugees are frequently comparable in number to the host village. This gives a total of 60 percent living a camp life. Only 40 percent (18 percent in a small town, 22 percent in a large town) can be assumed to conform to the town's social and physical structure.

Table 4.2: Percentage of Registered Refugees in Exile by Dates of Birth

Period	West Bank	Gaza	Lebanon	Syria	Jordan	TOTAL
Before Mandate	Unknown	2.9%	1.6%	3.1%	2.6%	2.8%
Mandate	1920-1948	13.4%	10.3%	14.5%	12.5%	12.2%
Nasser	1948-1967	20.2%	16.2%	22.7%	20.4%	18.6%
Revolution	1967-1987	37.4%	34.8%	36.6%	37.8%	39.7%
Intifada I	1987-1993	14.8%	17.5%	12.4%	12.5%	13.1%
Oslo to Intifada II	1993-2000	11.4%	19.7%	10.7%	14.3%	13.6%
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: UNRWA, Refugee Population, May 2000.

Notes:

1. Born in Palestine 1948: Active memory 6%. Highest % in Lebanon. Lowest % in Gaza.
2. Born in Nasser era: Highest % in Lebanon (23%). Lowest % in Gaza (16%).
3. Born in Palestinian Revolution era: Highest % in Jordan (40%). Lowest % in Gaza (35%).
4. West after Intifada I, during Oslo, Intifada II till today: By far highest % in Gaza (20%). Lowest in Lebanon (10%).

Another aspect of interest is the percentage of registered refugees born in Palestine or exile during any one of the politically significant periods since the inception of the Mandate. Table 4.2 shows such percentages according to their area of exile and the political period in the last seventy years. Those born in Palestine with an active memory of the Mandate are about 6 percent (assumed half of the 12 percent born in Palestine 1948). Those nurtured in the nationalistic Nasser era are about 20 percent of the total, mostly in Lebanon. Those born in the high days of the Palestinian resistance movement ("Revolution"), who were the backbone of *fedayeen*, a major factor in shaping views and actions, are close to 40 percent. Those born during the first and second intifadas are about 28 percent. Their percentage to refugee population is by far highest in Gaza (about 20 percent).

Table 4.3: The Global Distribution of Palestinians in mid-2008

Place of Refuge	Population mid 2008	%	Original	All Refugees	Non Registered Refugees	Registered Refugees (RR)	RR in Camps	RR not in Camps	% of Refugees in Region to All Refugees	% of All Ref to Total Palestinian Population	% of Total Ref to Regional Palestinian Population	All Refugees Not in Camps
Palestine 1948 (Israel)	1,231,526	12.3%	900,378	331,148	331,148				5.0%	3.3%	26.9%	331,148
Gaza Strip	1,367,465	13.6%	307,881	1,059,584		1,059,584	492,299	567,285	15.9%	10.6%	77.5%	567,285
West Bank	2,057,605	20.5%	1,218,871	838,734	84,471	754,263	191,408	562,855	12.6%	8.4%	40.8%	647,326
Truncated Palestine (OPT)	3,425,070	34.2%	1,526,752	1,898,318	84,471	1,813,847	683,707	1,130,140	28.4%	18.9%	55.4%	1,214,611
<b>Total Palestine</b>	<b>4,656,596</b>	<b>46.5%</b>	<b>2,427,130</b>	<b>2,229,466</b>	<b>415,619</b>	<b>1,813,847</b>	<b>683,707</b>	<b>1,130,140</b>	<b>33.4%</b>	<b>22.2%</b>	<b>47.9%</b>	<b>1,545,759</b>
Jordan	3,035,952	30.3%	757,532	2,278,419	347,716	1,930,703	335,307	1,595,396	34.1%	22.7%	75.0%	1,943,112
Lebanon	464,601	4.6%	28,640	435,961	19,353	416,608	220,908	195,700	6.5%	4.3%	93.8%	215,053
Syria	563,787	5.6%	26,789	536,998	80,015	456,983	123,646	333,337	8.0%	5.4%	95.2%	413,352
Egypt	63,008	0.6%	10,740	52,268	52,268				0.8%	0.5%	83.0%	52,268
<b>Border Countries</b>	<b>4,127,347</b>	<b>41.2%</b>	<b>823,700</b>	<b>3,303,647</b>	<b>499,353</b>	<b>2,804,294</b>	<b>679,861</b>	<b>2,124,433</b>	<b>49.5%</b>	<b>33.0%</b>	<b>80.0%</b>	<b>2,623,786</b>
Saudi Arabia	354,879	3.5%	-	354,879	354,879				5.3%	3.5%	100.0%	354,879
Kuwait	48,688	0.5%	4,296	44,392	44,392				0.7%	0.4%	91.2%	44,392
Other Gulf	136,363	1.4%	-	136,363	136,363				2.0%	1.4%	100.0%	136,363
Iraq, Libya	95,944	1.0%	-	95,944	95,944				1.4%	1.0%	100.0%	95,944
Other Arab Countries	7,161	0.1%	-	7,161	7,161				0.1%	0.1%	100.0%	7,161
<b>Total non Border Arab Countries</b>	<b>643,036</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>4,296</b>	<b>638,740</b>	<b>638,740</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>99.3%</b>	<b>638,740</b>
USA	262,952	2.6%	39,443	223,509	223,509				3.3%	2.2%	85.0%	223,509
Other Countries	334,842	3.3%	50,226	284,616	284,616				4.3%	2.8%	85.0%	284,616
<b>Total non Arab Countries</b>	<b>597,794</b>	<b>6.0%</b>	<b>89,669</b>	<b>508,125</b>	<b>508,125</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7.6%</b>	<b>5.1%</b>	<b>85.0%</b>	<b>508,125</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>10,024,773</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3,344,795</b>	<b>6,679,978</b>	<b>2,061,837</b>	<b>4,618,141</b>	<b>1,363,568</b>	<b>3,254,573</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>66.6%</b>	<b>66.6%</b>	<b>5,316,410</b>
Notes	1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

**Notes:**

- Our estimate of all Palestinians (about 9,450,000 for 2005) is less than Palestinian CBS (PCBS) estimate of 10,091,985 by some 640,000. The difference comes from PCBS's higher estimate by 140,000 and 500,000 for Gaza and West Bank respectively. Our figure is based on net natural growth of 2.73%. The acceptable growth figures for previous years of 3.1% and 3.6% (now reduced) would yield 9,578,300 and 9,757,000 respectively, which is still lower than PCBS figure. The figure for Israel does NOT include Palestinians in Jerusalem (occupied 1967), estimated at 253,500. Total population = 'Original' and 'All Refugees' columns. All figures of non-Arab countries exclude early Palestinian immigrants who left Palestine to North and South America well before 1948.
- 'Original' population (who were not displaced) is upgraded from 1998 figures ("Atlas of Palestine 1948" published by Palestine Land Society, London, 2004, Table 3.16) at an average net natural growth of 2.73%

pa. This growth figure varies widely by region. The distribution of 'Original' figure in Arab countries, other than UNRWA five areas, includes unknown number of refugees. The total however is more reliable.

- All refugees = UN Registered Refugees (RR) plus non-RR. These figures exclude displaced Palestinians after 1967, estimated at 750,000 (2002). See "Atlas of Palestine 1948", Table 3.17.
- The non-RR figure is upgraded from 1998 figure which was obtained by subtracting all refugees displaced/expelled in 1948 from UN RR. The figure of 309,584 represents IDP in Israel (internal refugees). Earlier tables list the figure of refugees in Israel separately. These IDP are classified as other Palestinian refugees according to international law. Distribution of non-RR in Arab countries, other than UNRWA five areas, is tentative but the total is more reliable.
- Based on UNRWA figures.
- Based on UNRWA figures. However the definition of 'camp' is somewhat loose. Some camps turned into

small villages and host villages turned into camps. Our estimate of pseudo-camp life far exceeds 33.0%, it is about 55% (see Table 4.1).

- The difference between all RR and RR in camps.
- Percentage distribution of all refugees in regions. About 28% live in OPT, but 83% live in Palestine proper and border countries. Only 17% of refugees (and 12% of all Palestinians) live away from Palestine environs.
- Percentage of all refugees in a region to all Palestinians. This shows that two thirds of Palestinians are refugees. If we add those displaced in 1967, three quarters of Palestinian do not live in their homes.
- Percentage of all refugees in a region to the Palestinian population (including 'Originals') in that region. This shows that the refugees constitute over 77% in Gaza and Jordan of all Palestinians and about 100% in many other Arab countries. The refugees are 27% and 40% of all Palestinians in Israel and the West Bank respectively.
- All refugees not in camps = non-Registered Refugees + Registered Refugees not in camps.

Table 4.4: Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Palestinians (1950-2005)

Year	UNRWA Registered 1948 Refugees	Estimated Non-registered 1948 Refugees	Estimated 1967 Refugees	Estimated 1948 Internally Displaced persons (IDPs)	Estimated 1967 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)
1950	914,000	257,021	-	32,380	-
1955	905,986	305,260	-	40,254	-
1960	1,120,889	362,553	-	50,044	-
1965	1,280,823	430,599	-	62,215	-
1970	1,425,219	511,417	250,402	77,346	12,124
1975	1,632,707	607,403	297,400	96,157	14,205
1980	1,844,318	721,404	352,218	119,543	16,677
1985	2,093,545	856,802	419,512	148,616	19,612
1990	2,668,595	1,017,611	498,249	184,760	23,098
1995	3,172,641	1,208,603	591,763	229,694	27,239
2000	3,737,494	1,435,441	702,829	285,557	34,373
2003	4,082,300	1,591,500	779,237	325,400	38,266
2004	4,186,711	1,647,203	806,510	335,162	62,123
2005	4,394,946*	1,927,574*	834,737	345,217	57,669

**Source:** Badil, Survey of Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (2004-2005).

**Notes:** There is no single authoritative source for the global Palestinian refugee and IDP population. The figures above reflect estimates according to the best available sources and population growth projections. Figures are therefore indicative rather than conclusive. This table does not include some 400,000 Palestinians whose legal status is unclear. The figures indicated with (\*) are from Palestine Land Society used in Table 4.3. The figure of 345,217 for IDP is slightly higher than the figure in Table 4.3.

After the 1948 Israeli conquest, the Palestinians have been dispersed in many directions. **Table 4.3** shows a conservative estimate of the Palestinians' global distribution, both refugees and original inhabitants in 2008. It is clear that, in spite of persistent ethnic cleansing, the loss of Palestinian land was not always accompanied by the total absence of its people. It is true that two thirds of the Palestinian people became refugees in 1948 (and more later), but 88 percent of all Palestinians are still in historic Palestine and in a ring around it in neighbouring Arab countries not exceeding 150 km in width. **Map 4.7** shows the global distribution of the Palestinians according to Table 4.3. It also shows refugees (in camps or not according to UNRWA classification) and original inhabitants of the area. It is clear that Jordan is the host of the largest percentage of refugees outside Palestine.

Today, there are more displaced Palestinians other than the 1948 registered refugees, who are still the largest, oldest, and most politically important refugees in the world today. **Table 4.4** gives estimates over the period 1950-2005 of the 1948 refugees and other displaced persons. These other refugees are about 1,900,000 and over 345,000 internally-displaced Palestinians (IDP), citizens in Israel.

## 4.2 Plunder & Destruction of Palestinian Property

As listed in Table 3.2 and in this section, massive plunder took place in hundreds of depopulated towns and villages in the immediate aftermath of military assaults, especially in cities such as Haifa, Jaffa, Lydda, Ramle, Tiberias and Jerusalem. There was an orgy of plunder and looting in which official bodies and individual Jews competed for the biggest prizes. At least, fifty thousand Arab homes were looted. The Custodian of Enemy Property lamented that he could not register more than 509 carpets in his inventory. The rest had been looted on the way. Ben Gurion was aware of this; he recorded in his War Diary, (February 10, 1948, robbing the Arabs; 1 May, complete looting of Wadi Nisnas, Haifa; 17 June, looting in Jerusalem; 15 July, the terrible question of looting and rape...etc.).<sup>358</sup>

The orgy of looting and plunder permeated all classes of the Jewish immigrant community in Palestine. The first group to rush to loot are the Jewish neighbours in cities and the Jewish colonies in rural areas. In the words of the Jewish writer, Moshe Simlansky, "The [Jewish] people were gripped by a frenzy of looting; individuals, groups, men, women and children. They descended like vultures on the spoils: doors, windows, clothes, tiles..."<sup>359</sup>

Of particular loss was the dismantling by looters of water pumps and pipes in "bayaras" – citrus groves, mostly by neighbouring Kibbutz.<sup>360</sup> As a result, large areas of the famous Jaffa orange groves dried up and lost their produce, which was a valuable source for foreign currency. Also cattle died out of thirst, lack of food and neglect.

What could not be carried away was burnt. The burning of the crops started as early as May 1948, which was the harvest time. It was first applied to the wheat fields in the Negev.<sup>361</sup> Later, the crops were harvested to compensate for Israel's shortage of food. Wells were poisoned or back-filled to discourage the return of the refugees. Economic war, in addition to the military war, was waged against the Palestinians by cutting off food and water to the returnees.<sup>362</sup>

The second group of looters were army officers who turned their tanks and trucks, after expelling unarmed Palestinian farmers and city dwellers, to the vacant houses, stores and workshops and started loading their contents. The biggest prize was Lydda and Ramla whose 70,000 inhabitants were expelled at gunpoint.<sup>363</sup> The IDF loaded 1800 trucks from Lydda alone. "An officer took his 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion to Al-Ramla for looting" – (Ben Gurion War Diary, 15 July). Ben Gurion visited the two conquered towns and was shown the spoils. He noted in his Diary on 20<sup>th</sup> July, "I saw fabulous wealth, we must save it before it is too late".

"Soldiers, who entered abandoned houses in the towns and villages they occupied, grabbed what they could. Some took the stuff for themselves, others 'for the boys' or for the Kibbutz. They stole household effects, cash, heavy equipment, trucks and whole flocks of cattle. [After the occupation of Jish], the soldiers robbed several houses and stole 605 pounds, jewellery and other valuables. When the people who were robbed insisted on being given receipts for their property, they were taken to a remote place and shot. [When bodies returned], the finger of one of the dead was cut off to remove a ring". "Some of these files are still secret, but titles are telling: Plunder of Abandoned Arab Property; Looting; Robbery; Possession without Permit."<sup>364</sup>

Two days after the capture of Beer Sheba, the army took several tractors, leaving others for distribution among the Kibbutz. The heavy and agricultural equipment were "sold".

**"[T]he Irgun practice of looting Arab homes and shops was soon explained away and later justified.... It was perhaps natural, though it was certainly detestable, that before long, the rest of the Jewish soldiers of the Haganah and the Palmach should join in the orgy of looting and wanton destruction".<sup>365</sup>**

When the appointed Custodian collected and confiscated the remainder after looting and plunder, the army was given the first choice to pick what they wanted, the rest was put up for sale. The army took workshop equipments, iron works, tin works, locksmith works and the like.<sup>366</sup>

The third group of looters was the higher echelon of Mapai party and senior officials. They competed in selecting the best Arab houses in West Jerusalem where many of them still live today.<sup>367</sup> Some sold them recently for exorbitant prices.<sup>368</sup> Other than Arab residences which were reserved for high officials or absorption of Jewish immigrants, there was a general decision to destroy Arab villages in order to prevent the return of the refugee home owners and to erase any trace of their life before.

The fourth group, and by far the largest beneficiary, was the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund; they took over houses and lands of the Palestinians and lodged the newly imported Jewish immigrants in them without reference to the "provisional government of Israel" or it's appointed Custodian.<sup>369</sup>

There followed a massive campaign of destruction, which lasted over fifteen years and in which 53 percent of the 418 surveyed villages were totally destroyed and 44.5 percent partially destroyed. The clear aim of this destruction was, again, to prevent the return of the refugees.<sup>370</sup>

First the destruction was undertaken by the army, not only through "battles" with the farmers but for

'ideological' reasons, or simply wanton destruction. Next came a plan drafted by the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, immediately after declaring the state of Israel in May, to destroy Arab villages. To start, a list of 40 villages and another of 14 were selected for demolition.<sup>371</sup> The idea to resettle new (Oriental) immigrants in selected villages assumed they can be comfortable in an Arab architecture. They were given axes, hoes and agricultural instructors and told to cultivate the Arab land. They were unhappy, uncomfortable in a place they knew its owner was expelled to a refugee camp a few kilometres away. They had a mortal fear that the Arab owner of the house would come at night to repossess his house. A companion of those new immigrants wrote the following about the first night in a depopulated Arab village:

**I lay on my cot with a half-cocked rifle by my side and in my mind's eye I saw the [Palestinian] people of this village who had fled in panic and who were surely not far from here, waiting for the first opportunity [to return] to their village, to their houses. Who would prevent them from doing that, especially once they found out that Jews had come to take possession of their property?<sup>372</sup>**

The failure to resettle Jews in Arab villages accelerated the process of destroying them. The decision to destroy the villages was related to the international pressure to permit the return of the refugees. In May 1949, it was decided to get rid of all the heaps of rubble (of 41 destroyed villages) that remained as a sign of their previous site.<sup>373</sup> In July 1949 the work was undertaken by the government's Public Works and began with destroying villages along Jaffa-Jerusalem road, and in the southern coastal plain allocated for an 'Arab State' in the Partition Plan.<sup>374</sup>

The destruction took place with the implicit approval of Ben Gurion's government, but not in writing. He was careful not to put the matter on record. The cabinet approved the destruction of the entire old city of Tiberias, except holy places, "to prevent the Arab residents from returning".<sup>375</sup> See **Photo 4.1**. Two hundred buildings in historical Jaffa old city, which had withstood the passage of time for hundreds of years, were destroyed by municipal engineers. See **Photo 4.2**. It was initially suggested to destroy the whole old city but some buildings where Jewish squatters resided were spared and found adequate.<sup>376</sup>

The destruction work proceeded through the 1950's and 1960's, uninterrupted by the fear of international sanctions. In October 1966, the Israel Land Administration (ILA), (see Section 4.4), started a "Levelling Villages" campaign to destroy all depopulated villages in Galilee.<sup>377</sup> The campaign was accelerated after 1967 war, lest the refugees, now that whole Palestine was under Israeli occupation and Palestinians movement was possible, attempt to return to their homes.

358 Ben Gurion, War Diary supra note 244, entries for February 10, May 1, June 17 and July 15, 1948; See also Segev, supra note 275, pp. 68-74; Benvenisti, supra note 232, p. 165.

359 Segev, supra note 275, p. 70. See also p. 85, 98.

360 Segev supra note 275 p. 74, Benvenisti, Landscape supra note 232 p. 142.

361 Morris, supra note 293, p. 181.

362 Pappé, supra note 38, p. 95.

363 See a new revelation about Rabin's role, supra note 273.

364 Amin Jarjouria, an Arab Member of the Knesset reported the case of Jish victims: Segev, supra note 275, pp. 69-72. Sayf ad-Din al-Zu'bi, another Arab Member of the Knesset reported the wide-spread loss of property of remaining Palestinians. See, Peretz, Don, Israel and the Palestine Arabs, Washington: The

Middle East Institute, 1958, p. 153.

365 Kimche, Jon, *Seven Fallen Pillars: The Middle East 1945-1952*, New York: Praeger, 1953, n. 32, p. 234.

366 All these cases were reported by Segev, supra note 275, p. 69, 72, 74.

367 Golda Meir lived for a long time in a Palestinian house. Houses of Bisharat, Jerzman and many others are known to be occupied by Israeli high officials. For an architectural, illustrated review of Palestinian houses in West Jerusalem, see Kroyanker, David, *Jerusalem Neighbourhoods: Talbiyah, Katamon and the Greek Colony*, Jerusalem: Keter Books, 2002.

368 The house of a Palestinian Christian family head, Elias Maghneim, which he built in 1930 was occupied by Prof. Dan Patenkin, the founder of the School of Economy at the Hebrew University of

Jerusalem. His widow offered it for sale at \$ 9 million according to an advertisement at the Marker (financial Haaretz) on 24 September 2009.

369 See Sections 4.3, 4.4.

370 See Ghazi Falah, supra note 340. Details in Table 3.12 herein.

371 Segev p. 84.

372 Benvenisti, supra note 232 p. 215.

373 Ibid, p. 167.

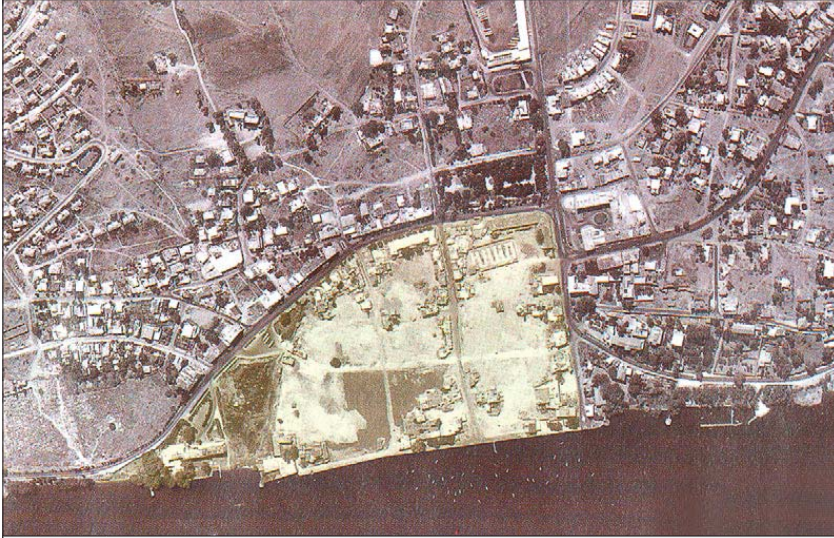
374 Ibid, p. 167.

375 Segev, supra note 232, p. 85

376 Haaretz, July 27, 1949, cited in Peretz, supra note 364, p. 163, n. 67.

377 Benvenisti, supra note 232, p. 168.

Photo 4.1: Destruction of Old City of Tiberias



Source: Kedar, B. Z., *The Changing Land between Jordan and the Sea*, Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Press, 1999, p.199.

Photo 4.2: Excavating Destroyed Jaffa Neighbourhood



Source: Kletter, Raz, *Just Past? The Making of Israeli Archaeology*, London: Equinox, 2006, Fig 7, p. 54.

The process of destruction had been refined to serve another aim, namely to create a fake "Israeli history", by destroying Arab and Islamic monuments or archaeological remains. There was a strong Zionist motive to erase Arab/Islamic archaeological evidence and insert a 'Jewdaized' history. Arab/Ottoman monuments or sites built after 1,700 were not considered worthy of preservation.<sup>378</sup> Some older monuments of the Mamluk period were falsely re-named "Crusader period".<sup>379</sup> The aim was to "preserve as few Arab remains as possible".<sup>380</sup> Many of the villages were over two thousand years old, and were built on layers of rich history. It was therefore decided to do an archaeological survey of each village before its destruction. Any signs of remains

which may help the story of Jewish or non-Arab presence in Palestine were preserved. All the rest were destroyed, except active churches and mosques. The latter, if inactive due to depopulated congregation, were neglected or transformed into restaurants or night clubs.

In the 1960's, ILA and JNF were primarily responsible for the destruction of the Palestinian landscape. On July 1, 1964, Israel Archaeological Survey Society (IASS) was founded.<sup>381</sup> Its mandate was to examine all sites to be destroyed or excavated for new settlements and determine if destruction of existing structures can be undertaken and where. ILA and IASS cooperated very well. ILA would hand over to IASS a list of

villages to be destroyed. IASS would examine the site, take photographs, draw maps and give clear instructions for destruction.

Over 100 villages were surveyed. Sometimes destruction took place before survey was completed, as in al-Bassa, Suruh, Bayt Susin, Nabi Rubin (north), Sataf.<sup>382</sup> This practice continued after 1967 war, in full coordination with ILA and the occupation army. Villages of 'Imwas, Yalu and Beit Nuba were destroyed in the summer of 1967 on the express orders of Yitzhak Rabin without survey. Ninety villages on the Golan Heights were destroyed, after order for survey was given to be completed "over the next two weeks".<sup>383</sup>

The work of selective destruction to forge history was enthusiastically embraced by JNF and Kibbutz members close to destruction sites. The forgery took unusual dimensions, reminiscent of bygone ages when a king destroys the statues of his predecessor or claims his victories to be his own. For example, the Arab structures in the old city of Caesarea and the village of Kawkab al-Hawa were destroyed, while the Crusader ruins were restored. Al-Madhi guest house in Ijzim was claimed to be a Crusader's castle.<sup>384</sup> The Arab village, Ein Hawd, renamed Ein Hod, was converted to artists' colony without reference to its Arab past. Palestinian old flour or water mills, *tahunas*, stone terraces and Sataf stone houses for example were incorporated in the new landscape implying that it was an Israeli history.<sup>385</sup> Plunder of archaeological material, not destroyed or stolen, was practised by Moshe Dayan on a very large scale in a one-man campaign to create an Israeli history.<sup>386</sup>

Summary and map of these details are shown on **Map 4.8** and **Table 4.5**.

The landscape destruction caused a great deal of damage to the historical heritage of Palestine. Two-thousand-year-old villages/towns were destroyed by Israel. Eusebius Pamphili, Bishop of Caesarea, charted the name and location of towns in existence around 313 AD and earlier.<sup>387</sup> Although his work was heavily weighted towards proving religious scripture, we can identify 139 Palestinian villages in existence since then by comparing their Roman and Arabic names in Palestine within the Armistice Line of 1949. Out of these, one hundred villages were depopulated and mostly destroyed by Israel in 1948.<sup>388</sup> The remainder, 39, are still inhabited by Palestinians in Israel. Almost half of the 139 villages were mentioned by Eusebius and the rest by other Roman sources.

There are further 50 identified ancient Roman sites (*Khirbet*, i.e. old place, ruin) with names current in the first century AD and recognizable in Arabic till 1948. These sites have been largely erased and omitted from Israeli maps. **Map 4.9** shows the selected 100 villages and 50 ancient sites (*Khirbets*) in existence for 2,000 years and depopulated and/or erased only in 1948.

The Atlas shows 2260 ancient sites (*Khirbets*) of which 161 villages with the prefix of *Khirbet* were

378 Kletter, Raz, *Just Past? The Making of Israeli Archaeology*, London: Equinox, 2006, p. 61.

379 Benvenisti, *Landscape*, *supra* note 232, pp. 270-305.

380 Kletter, *supra* note 378, p. 72.

381 Shai, Aron, *The Fate of Abandoned Arab Villages in Israel 1965-1969, History and Memory*, Volume 18, No. 2, Fall/Winter 2006, pp. 94-103.

382 Shai, *ibid*, p. 96.

383 Shai, *ibid*, pp. 96-101.

384 Moshe Ya'alon, the former Israeli chief of staff and a partner of Sari Nusseibeh in a political program lives in one of al Madhi family houses. The trees in his garden were planted by al Madhi before their expulsion.

385 See Benvenisti: *Landscape*, *supra* note 232, p. 169. There are

only few examples given by Benvenisti. There are hundreds more.

386 Kletter, *supra* note 378, pp. 150-162.

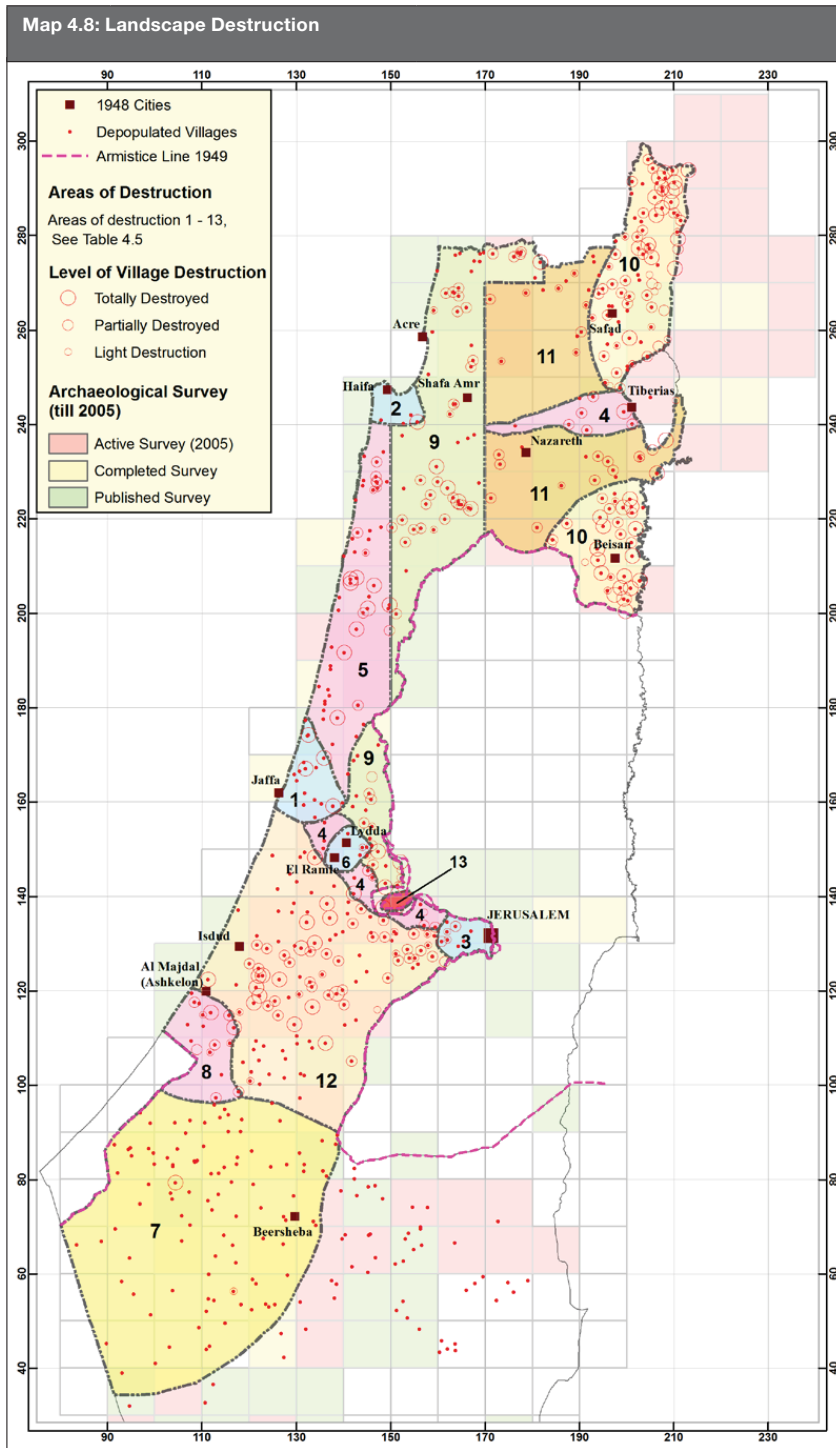
387 Eusebius, *supra* note 239, and caption of Map 4.9.

388 Most villages were destroyed. All or parts of the old quarters in towns and cities were also destroyed.

Table 4.5: Landscape Looting, Destruction and Re-Occupation

Area	Cities / Villages	Looting	Period	Destruction	Period	Replacement by Jewish Immigrants	Period	
1	Jaffa	Irgun, Hagana, Palmach went into an "orgy" of looting for 4 months. Remaining Arab notables asked for the return of their stolen property (£ 1.5 million). Irgun robbed Afghani and Ustinov arch. collections.	April-Aug 1948	More than 200 buildings destroyed by City Engineer	July 1949	Squatters placed in Arab quarters by Jewish Agency (JA).	July - Nov. 1948	
				Antiquities Dpt. fought against demolishing all old city.	Nov. 1949 - April 1950.			
				Manshiya destroyed	Mid 1970			
1	Yazur, Abbasia, Beit Dajan	Irgun, Hagana, Palmach and nearby Kibbutz looted villages for several months. Dayan robbed Tel Jerisha.	April-Aug 1948	In progress	upto 2007	Squatters placed in Arab quarters by Jewish Agency (JA).	Feb-May 1948	
				In progress	started 1950's			
2	Haifa	Nearly all movables looted. Jewish businessmen formed a committee to distribute Arab businesses among them.	April 1948 - Feb 1949	Some Arab quarters destroyed, eg. Faisal Street to Khamra (Paris) Square	July 1948	Squatters placed in Arab quarters by Jewish Agency (JA).	Summer 1948	
	Balad esh. Sheikh, al Tira	Looters descended upon villages from Haifa Jewish quarters	Summer 1948	Unknown		Squatters placed in Arab quarters by Jewish Agency (JA).	Summer 1948	
3	West Jerusalem	Wide spread looting of rich Arab homes by high level officials. Monasteries, Convents and Vatican Embassy collections robbed.	May 1948 - Early 1949	Unknown		Ninety percent of choice houses went to high Mapai officials.	Summer 1948	
	Lifta Ein Karem, El Maliha, Deir Yassin	Looting by soldiers and nearby Kibbutz.	Summer 1948	Various. Lifta is planned for destruction 2010.		Squatters placed by JA (except Lifta)	1948 -1949	
4	Jaffa - Jerusalem Corridor	Looting to the extent of peeling excellent stone from the walls of Arab homes in villages along the corridor.	1948	Destruction of all villages overlooking the highway and clearing rubble to hide the "embarrassing" evidence. By Public Works and ILA	1950's	Selected good houses for use by immigrants. (eg in Sataf).	1950's	
	Tiberias-Nazareth Corridor	Looting and vandalism by soldiers and nearby Kibbutz. Dr. Hart collection robbed.		Tiberias old city destruction started 24 Sept 1948. 642 out of 670 houses were destroyed. Three thousand year old stone with lion relief was destroyed. Destruction of all villages overlooking the road to Nazareth and clearing rubble to hide the evidence. By Public Works and ILA	1948	Jewish immigrants filling the void slowly.	1950-1960	
5	Coastal Highway	Looting and vandalism by soldiers and nearby Kibbutz. Tearing off windows, doors, tiles, pipes and irrigation equipment. Soldiers robbed Caesarea museum.	1948	Destruction of all villages overlooking highway and clearing rubble to hide the "embarrassing" evidence. By Public Works and ILA. Large destruction of 3 villages (Ijzim group) which resisted the attack, except good houses like al Madi's where former Chief of Staff Moshe Ya'alon lives.	1950's	Slow filling by Jewish immigrants.	1950's	
6	Lydda & Ramleh	Frenzy of looting. 1800 trucks loaded from Lydda houses. Army Battalion changed course to join looting. Valuables, jewellery stripped off expelled population.	July 1948	Lydda demolition started	Nov. 1949	JA requested immigrants' occupation of Arab houses in Ramleh	Approved 5 Nov 1948.	
				Old City of Lydda flattened	Mid - 1950	Ramleh settled ▶	Delay was to negotiate with King Abdulla. Lydda & Ramleh were in Arab Palestine state according to the Partition Plan.	14 Nov 1948 - March 1950.
				Ramleh	Various-dates	Lydda Settled ▶		15 December 1948 - March 1950.
7	Upper Beer Sheba District	All crops stolen or burnt.	Summer 1948	Wells, structures blown up (to prevent return of refugees).	1948 / 1949	Slow settlements. Military Kibbutzim established near Armistice Line.	From Spring 1949.	
						Beer Sheba town settlement started	Feb. 1949	
8	Bureir, Huj, nearby villages	Sporadic looting by soldiers and nearby Kibbutz.	Summer 1948	All houses blown up including mosques (to prevent return of refugees).	Early 1949	Slow settlements. Military Kibbutz established near Armistice Line. JNF expropriated the land.	1949	
9	Acre bay, West Marj ibn Amer (Esdraelon), North West Jaffa, adjacent to Armistice Line.	Sporadic looting by soldiers and nearby Kibbutz. Selbit arch. robbed. Galilee governor in Acre robbed arch. finds. Leijun (Meggido) excavations by University of Chicago robbed.	Summer 1948.	Selected villages blown up (including al Zeeb). Destruction of Arab/Muslim monuments according to a plan recommended by Israel Archaeological Survey (see map).	1950's	JNF expropriated land. Slow settlement. Barrier of new Kibbutzim created at the Armistice Line to prevent return of refugees.	1950	
10	Galilee Panhandle, Beisan Valley	Looted during conquest by soldiers. Removal of building items, crops, cattle by Kibbutz.	1948	Total destruction	1950's	Slow settlement by expansion of existing Kibbutz.	1960's	
				Clearing rubble by ILA	1960's			
		Archaeological Survey to create favourable Jewish history and destroy Arab/Muslim sites (see map).		1950-1960				
11	Central Galilee	Looting by soldiers during expulsion. Sending men to forced labour camps.	Autumn 1948	Destruction of depopulated villages after approval by the Archaeological Survey to eliminate Arab/Muslim monuments. (see map)	1950-1960	Slow settlement in a largely Arab district.	1960-1970	
12	Gaza - Ramleh Districts	Looting by soldiers and nearby Kibbutz. Ashkelon column capitals, graves' marble stones robbed.	May - Nov. 1948.	Slow destruction (Julis remained intact till 1952). Sites are far from Armistice Line. Archaeological Survey took time to order demolition.	1950 - 1960	Very slow settlement except: Beer Sheba, Majdal, new Isdud. New "development" settlements built for Arab Jews.	1950's	
		Dayan robbed arch. finds in Isdud, Ashkelon and Yibneh	1950					
13	Imwas, Yalu, Beit Nuba	Looting by soldiers	June - July 1967	Destroyed by orders of Yitzhak Rabin	July 1967	Settlement part of West Bank colonization.	after 1967.	

Notes and Sources: This table is to be read in conjunction with Map 4.8. For sources and references see the text of Section 4.2.



inhabited till 1948. The rest had been inhabited at one time, or until 1948, as small hamlets. As the Atlas shows, these ancient sites are scattered mostly along the mountain ranges of Palestine. There are much fewer known sites along the coastal plain, not because it was uninhabited, but because the invading armies destroyed

much of the landscape along the common route (*via maris*) from Cairo to Damascus. Similarly, Zionist settlement along the coastline under the British Mandate eliminated many of these names. Hence much less *Khirbets* are shown on the Mandate maps in this region as compared with PEF maps of 1871.

## 4.3 Disposition of Palestinian Property

During its formative years, Israel was on the brink of bankruptcy. "The *abandoned* [Palestinian] property was one of the greatest contributions towards making Israel a viable state".<sup>389</sup> Cash contributions came from German reparations, US grants and Jewish donations. The *abandoned* Palestinian fields, orchards, vineyards, homes, shops, factories and businesses provided housing for many of the 684,000 Jewish immigrants who settled in the country from May 15, 1948 to December 31, 1951 and provided employment and economic sustenance for them.<sup>390</sup> "The relative economic importance of Palestinian property [taken over by Israel] was largest from 1948 until 1953, during the period of greatest immigration and need".<sup>391</sup>

The plans to settle Jewish immigrants were prepared years ago, but were put into action after the Partition Plan resolution of November 1947 and before the massive expulsion of Palestinians.<sup>392</sup> With the rapid military conquest of Palestine from April 1948, various committees and laws were formulated to make use of the confiscated Palestinian property. It was necessary to import population to fill the void. Israel activated its program of sending Mossad agents to bring Jews in Arab countries to Israel, as European Jews preferred to immigrate to the US. These immigrants were persuaded by a mixture of rosy promises, incentives, and, for the reluctant ones, various acts of coercion, including throwing grenades at their houses.<sup>393</sup>

Of the 370 new Jewish settlements between 1948 and 1953, 350 were established on Palestinian property. In 1954 more than one third of Israel's Jewish population (1,590,000 in total) lived on Palestinian property.<sup>394</sup> The new immigrants settled in Palestinian urban areas, such as Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Lydda, Ramle, Baysan and Majdal. In 1949, with the towns saturated with Jewish immigrants, new dozens of Palestinian villages were filled with additional batches of new immigrants.<sup>395</sup>

The Custodian of Enemy Property reported that he recorded in his register at one point "50,000 houses, 7,000 shops, 5,000 workshops, more than 1000 stores" in addition to the harvest which needed collecting, chicken, sheep and cattle which needed feeding.<sup>396</sup> These figures are of course a gross underestimate<sup>397</sup>, but it indicates the volume of the Palestinian property in the hands of the Israelis after expulsion.

As indicated earlier, the famous citrus industry (Jaffa oranges) had a severe hit. The Arab property of 134,567 donums (54% of total citrus) had the potential to produce 8 million boxes worth £ 12 million (1947 prices).<sup>398</sup> Its export was a boon to Israel's foreign currency. As the pumps and equipment were looted by nearby Kibbutz and due to the absence of Arab owners and workers

389 Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs*, Washington: Middle East Institute, 1958, p. 141, 143. Peretz is a Jewish writer who witnessed these events. He was a student at the Hebrew University before 1948, then a correspondent for NBC in 1948, with the Quakers relief in 1949 and with the Voice of America later. His book is based on his Ph.D thesis, Columbia University 1954. Most of the quotations herein are based on his book.

390 *Ibid* p. 141.  
391 *Ibid* p. 143.

392 Benvenisti, *Landscape*, *supra* note 232, p. 119.

393 For details of terrorizing Arab Jews by Mossad see, Naeim Giladi, 31 *The Link 2* (April-May 1998); and Marion Woolfson, *Prophets in Babylon: Jews in the Arab World*. London: Faber and Faber, 1980, pp. 186-190.

394 Peretz, *supra* note 389, p. 143.

395 Morris, 1987 Edition, *supra* note 242, p. 195.

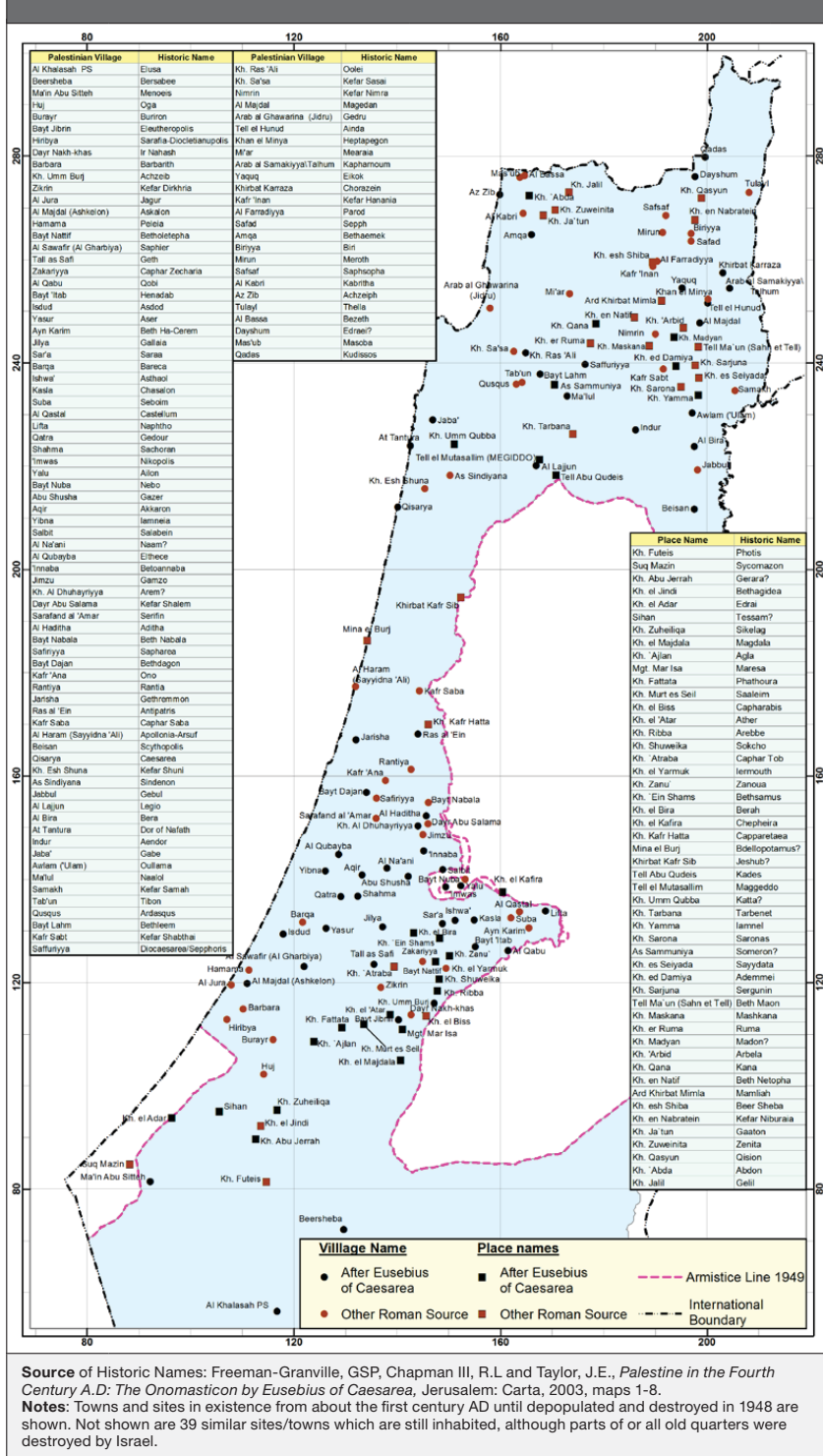
396 Segev, *supra* note 275, p. 69, 71. See also *Ha-Arez*, June 15, 1951; 65,000 living units. Other figures on the number of living units

taken over by Jews are: *Ha-Boqer*, November 19, 1950: 77,070 apartments taken over by new immigrants; *Ha-Arez*, August 2, 1950: 7800 shops, offices, workshops and storehouses quoted in Peretz *supra* note 389, p. 143, n. 8.

397 Sayigh, Yusef, *The Israeli Economy*, Cairo: The Institute of Arab Studies, 1966 [Arabic].

398 Mulihi, Ahmed (ed), *Shukri al Taji al Farouki Papers*, Amman: 1999, n.p., p. 16, 24, 110. Al Farouki was the leading Palestinian owner of citrus groves.

Map 4.9: Depopulated and Destroyed Historic Towns and Sites



Source of Historic Names: Freeman-Granville, GSP, Chapman III, R.L and Taylor, J.E., *Palestine in the Fourth Century A.D.: The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea*, Jerusalem: Carta, 2003, maps 1-8.  
 Notes: Towns and sites in existence from about the first century AD until depopulated and destroyed in 1948 are shown. Not shown are 39 similar sites/towns which are still inhabited, although parts of or all old quarters were destroyed by Israel.

who maintained the citrus groves, only 34,000 d. were cultivated in 1953.<sup>399</sup> The olive produce of Palestinian plantation which represented 99% of all olive plantations ranked Israel's third largest export in 1949, although not all cultivated were cared for and exported.

As to Palestinian land itself, the neighbouring Jewish settlements took over the land nearest to them without proper authority, even if the owners were still in the country. In Acre and Shafa Amr, many Palestinians were not permitted to cultivate their lands. Villages like Saffuriya were moved by

the army after the end of hostilities and their land was turned over to the Jews.<sup>400</sup> Most villagers in Tur'an, Nazareth, Ma'lul, Andur, al-Mujaydil, Ilut, to quote a few, were declared "absent", although they were in the neighbourhood. Their property was "robbed without shame" and their land was taken over by the Custodian.<sup>401</sup> Many Palestinians were taken to labour camps, declared "absent" and their property was turned over to the Custodian.<sup>402</sup>

Jewish squatters on Palestinian property were not removed. Neither were released Hagana soldiers who took over Palestinian property. The biggest beneficiary of the plunder was the Jewish Agency which took over Arab houses and allocated them to Jewish immigrants. In one building, Arabic, German, Russian, Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Spanish and French languages spoken by immigrants were heard while they were fighting for Arab apartments.

Nobody took the same care of the houses as the original owners. They started to deteriorate. The government found their repair too expensive (due to inflated costs and grafts) against an almost negligible rent. Yet it was decided from "patriotic" view that some houses must be kept (rather than returned to their owners).<sup>403</sup>

The seizure of all property by squatters, soldiers, the Jewish Agency and JNF, before the Custodian could reach it, was legalized retroactively. When the Custodian took office in mid-July 1948, he already found that Arab sections of Haifa and Jerusalem were already occupied. In Haifa, Palestinian businesses were distributed by a committee of Jewish businessmen and the government.

The Custodian was accused of favouritism by one member of the General Zionist Party by distributing 90% of the Palestinian property, especially the choicest buildings, to Mapai-controlled agencies, Histadrut's Sole Boneh and to clerks in his office at prices lower than 50% of the market value. Of 135,000 d. of Palestinian groves, only 66.5 d. were offered for public auction.<sup>404</sup> Further, 3,000 d. of citrus groves were taken over and cultivated by individual Jews without knowledge of any authority. Furious debates took place in the Knesset about the distribution of war spoils.

In spite of confiscation of the larger part of their property, the remaining Palestinians, cultivating in 1953 only half a million donums, supplied 30% of the grain, 40% of the vegetables and 100% of olives and tobacco of Israel's production. Despite their large contribution to agriculture, Israel government refused to restore the untilled land to 30,000 internally displaced Palestinians, who were denied the right to return to their homes within the country.<sup>405</sup>

In the first three years after *al Nakba*, millions of donums of Palestinian land were under the authority of the Custodian but only two and a half million donums were cultivated. A step taken to legalize the *de facto* occupation of land by settlers was the purchase of this land by the Development Authority from the Custodian, without disturbing

399 Israel Government Yearbook, English edition, 5714 (1953-54) p. 142.  
 400 Peretz, *supra* note 389, p. 153  
 401 Peretz, *ibid* p. 153. The case of Tanus Ilyas al-Asker is typical of thousands of cases of remaining Palestinians. Although he was a legal resident of Haifa and had an Israeli identity card, he was declared 'absent' by the Custodian who took over this home and shop. The court ruled that he was declared absent "only

to deprive his elementary rights [of ownership]." It is not known whether he received his property back. There is also the case of Abed il Al of Umm el Faraj. He was declared an "infiltrator" and expelled because he refused a proposal from the military to exchange his rich land for an inferior parcel in another area. Nearby Kibbutz were waiting for the outcome to increase their holdings from his land. Peretz, p. 178.  
 402 Peretz p. 154.

403 Peretz p. 163.  
 404 Peretz p. 176. Also, Haaretz March 29, April 12, 1957, cited by Peretz p. 177.  
 405 It maintains this position to this day. It is worth recalling that Israel's admission to the UN in May 1949 was unique in that it was conditional upon the return of refugees (Resolution 194) and withdrawal to the lines of the Partition Plan (Resolution 181).