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The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem, 1947–1949



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BENNY MORRIS

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To the memory of my mother, Sadie, from whom I may
have inherited a way of thinking, and to my father,
Ya'akov

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Abbreviations

AHC	Arab Higher Committee
ALA	Arab Liberation Army
BG, DBG	David Ben-Gurion
CP	Sir Alan Cunningham Papers, Middle East Centre Archives, St Antony's College, Oxford
CZA	Central Zionist Archives
DBG-YH	David Ben-Gurion's <i>Yoman Hamilhama</i> , 1948-49 (The War Diary)
HHa	Hashomer Hatzair Archives (Mapam, Kibbutz Artzi Papers)
HHa-ACP	Hashomer Hatzair Archives, Aharon Cohen Papers
HMA	Haifa Municipal Archives
IDF	Israel Defence Forces
ISA	Israel State Archives
AM	Agriculture Ministry Papers
FM	Foreign Ministry Papers
JM	Justice Ministry Papers
MAM	Minority Affairs Ministry Papers
PMO	Prime Minister's Office Papers
IZL	<i>Irgun Zva'i Leumi</i> (National Military Organisation) or the Irgun
JEM	Jerusalem and East Mission Papers, Middle East Centre Archives, St Antony's College, Oxford
JJ	Jabotinsky Institute (IZL and LHI Papers)
JNF	Jewish National Fund
KMA	Kibbutz Meuhad Archives
KMA-AZP	Kibbutz Meuhad Archives, Aharon Zisling Papers
KMA-PA	Kibbutz Meuhad Archives, Palmah Papers
LA	Labour Archives (Histadrut)
LHI	<i>Lohamei Herut Yisrael</i> (Freedom Fighters of Israel) or Stern Gang
LPA	Labour Party Archives (Mapai)

Abbreviations

NA	National Archives (Washington DC)
PCC	Palestine Conciliation Commission
PICA	Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
CAB	Cabinet Office Papers
CO	Colonial Office Papers
FO	Foreign Office Papers
WO	War Office Papers
SMC	Supreme Muslim Council
STH	<i>Sefer Toldot Hahaganah</i> (The History of the Haganah)

Map 1 The United Nations Partition Plan, November 1947

(Based on Martin Gilbert, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict, its History in Maps*, new edn, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976)

Map 2 Arab settlements abandoned in 1948–9 and date and main causes of abandonment

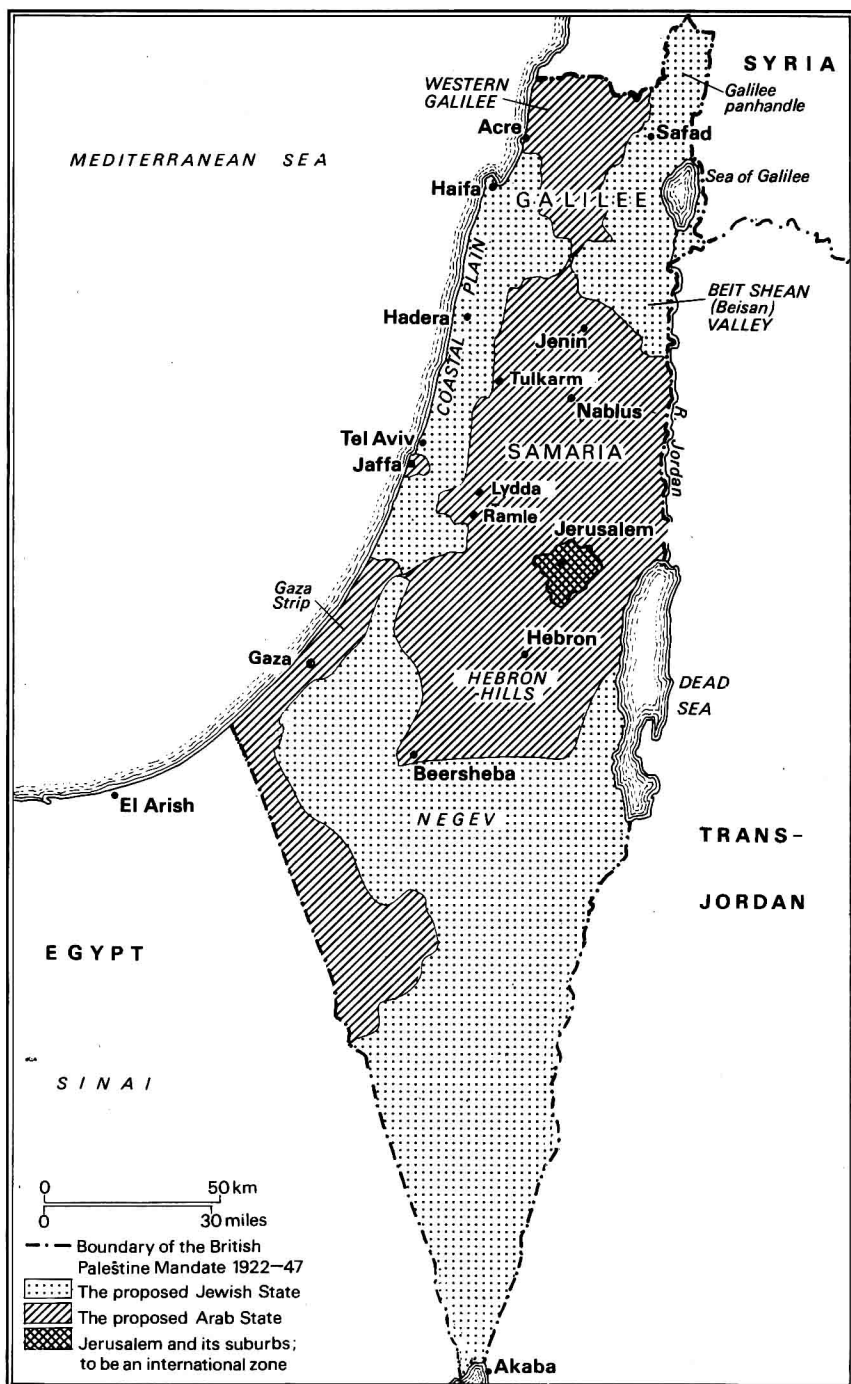
(Note: The map omits a dozen or so very small or satellite villages and small bedouin tribes or sub-tribes)

(Based on *Carta's Historical Atlas of Israel, The First Years 1948–61*, ed. by Jehuda Wallach and Moshe Lissak, Jerusalem, Carta, 1978, p. 139)

Map 3 Jewish settlements established in 1948–9

(Note: Several of the settlements established in 1948–9 were either dismantled or collapsed. Some changed their names. Others subsequently moved from the original sites to nearby sites)

(Based on The Survey of Palestine 1946 Map with additions by the Survey Department of the State of Israel, made available by the kind permission of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Geography Department and Map Collection)



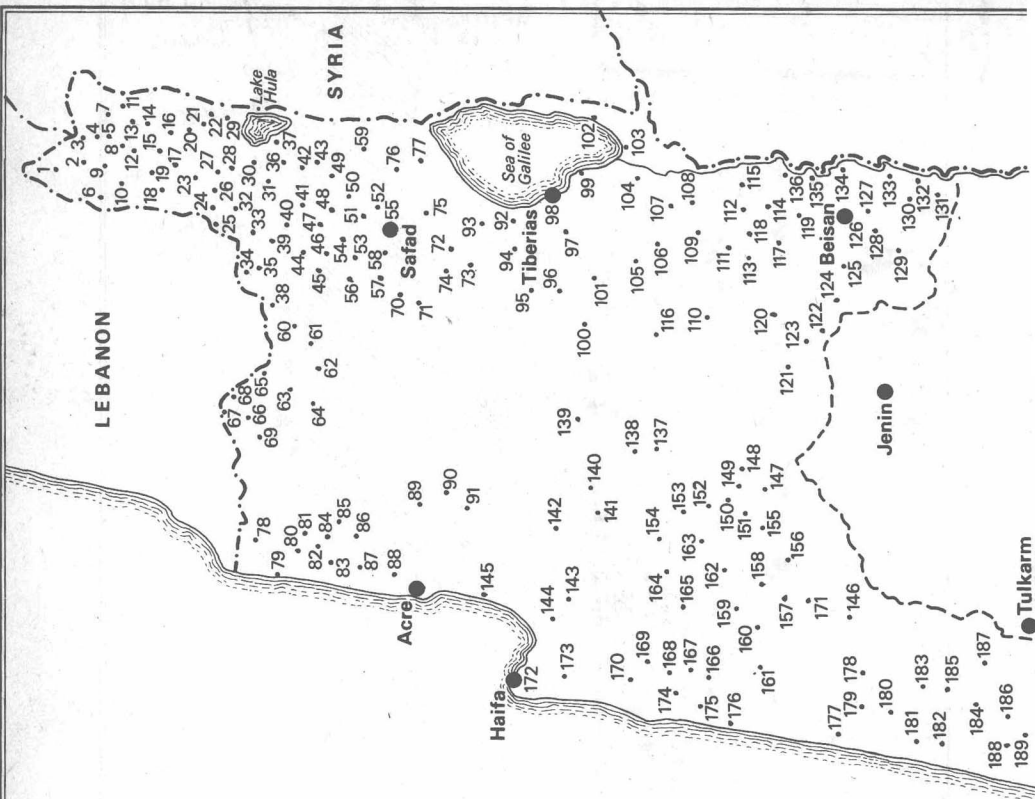
Map 1

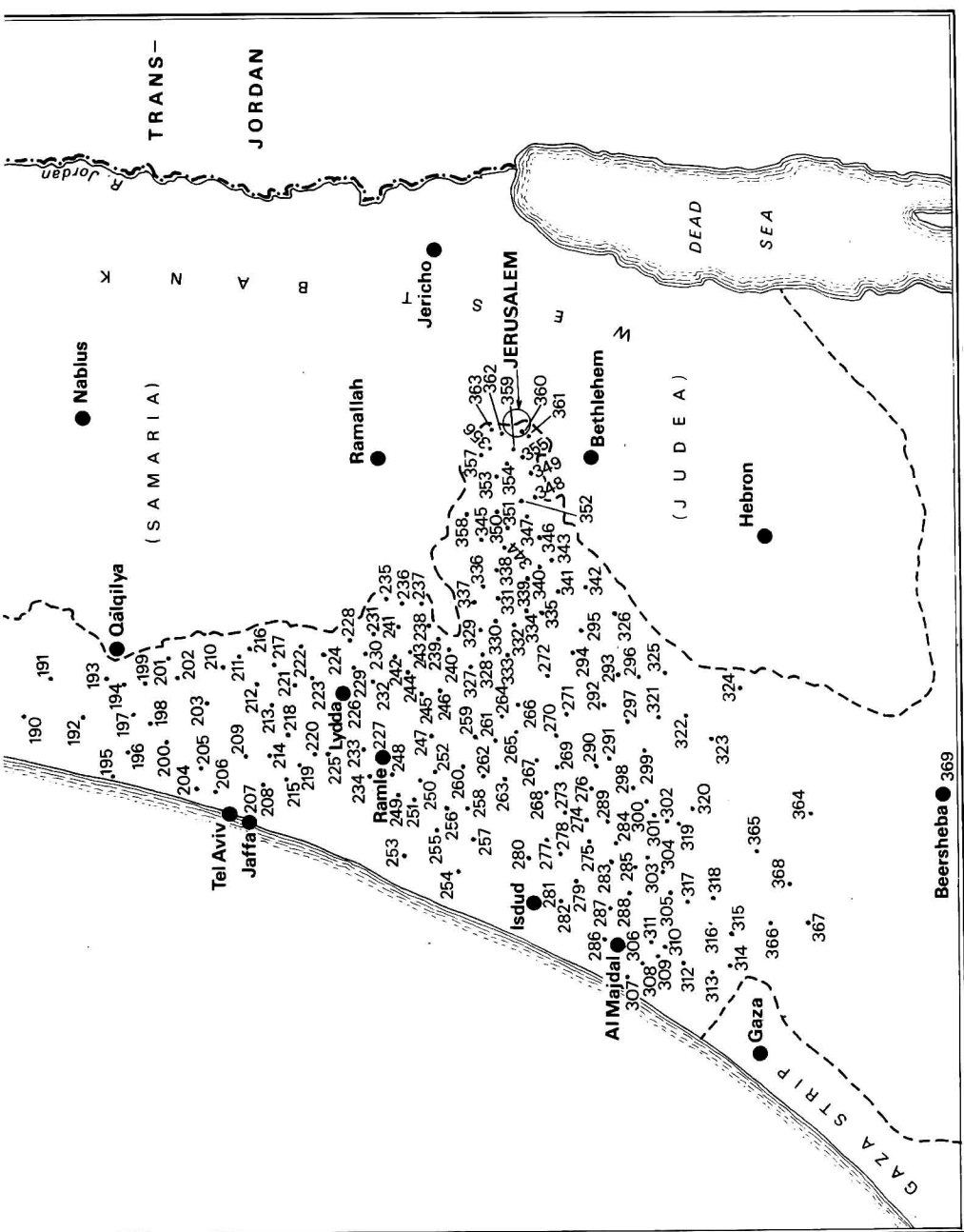


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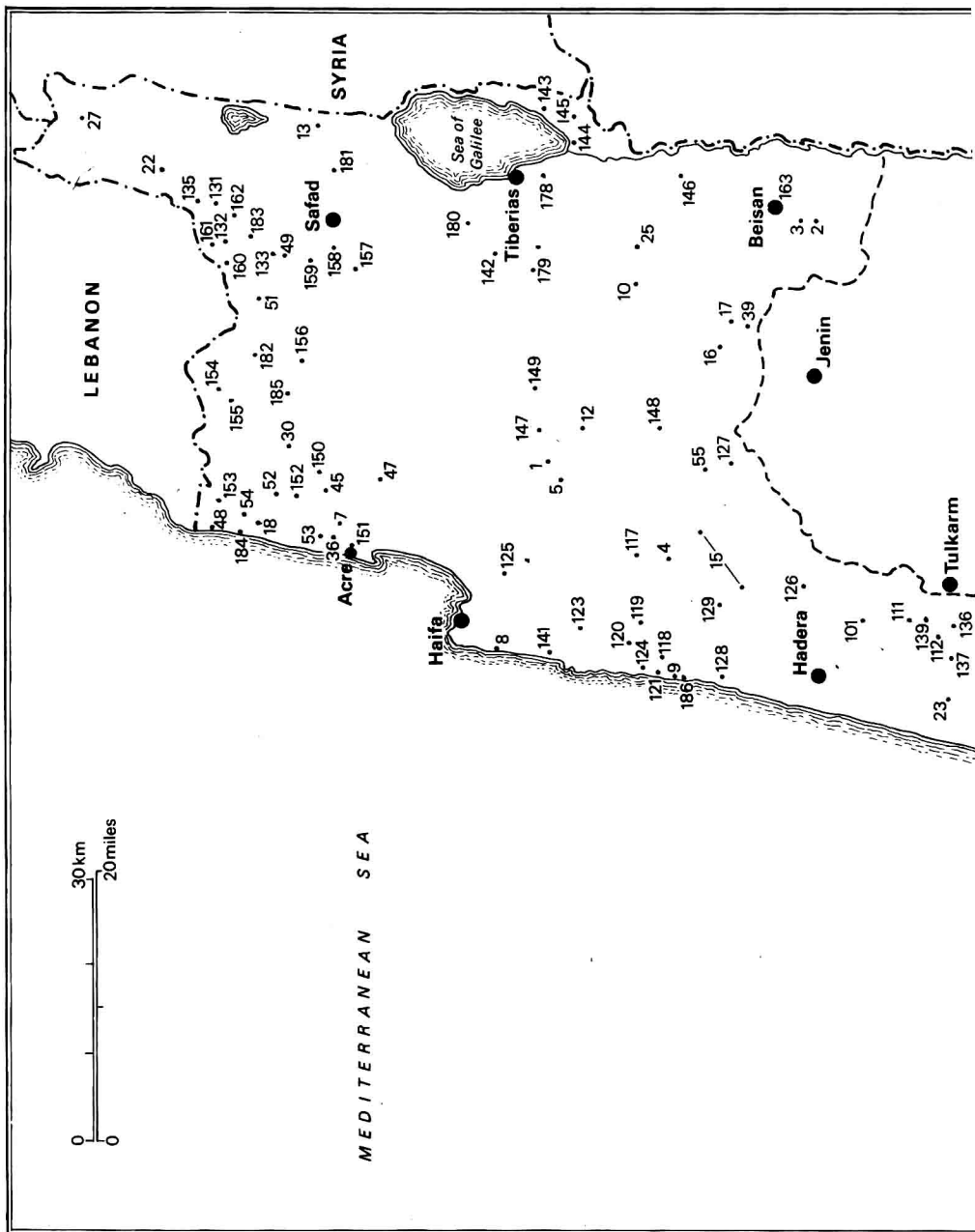
SYRIA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA





Map 2



Key to Map 2

In the Key, the following codes are used for decisive causes of abandonment:

- E Expulsion by Jewish forces
- A Abandonment on Arab orders
- F Fear of Jewish attack or of being caught up in the fighting
- M Military assault on the settlement by Jewish troops
- W Haganah/IDF "whispering" campaigns (i.e., psychological warfare geared to obtaining an Arab evacuation)
- C Influence of fall of, or exodus from, neighbouring town

The lines between C, F and M are somewhat blurred. It is often difficult to distinguish between the flight of villagers because of reports of the fall of or flight from neighbouring settlements, flight because of fears of being "next" or flight due to the approach of a Haganah/IDF column. I have generally ascribed the flight of inhabitants on the path of an Israeli military advance to M even though some of the villagers may have already taken to their heels upon hearing of the fall of a neighbouring village (which could go under C or F).

Similarly, the line between M and E is occasionally blurred.

Galilee panhandle

- 1 Abil al Qamh – F, C, 10 May 1948
- 2 Zuq al Fauqani – W, M, 21 May 1948
- 3 Shauqa at Tahta – F, 14 May 1948
- 4 As Sanbariya – May 1948 (?)
- 5 Khisas – W, C, 25 May 1948
- 6 Hunin – F, 3 May 1948
- 7 Al Mansura – W, 25 May 1948
- 8 Lazzaza – W, 21 May 1948
- 9 Zuq at Tahtani – C, 11 May 1948
- 10 Al Khalisa – C, W, 11 May 1948
- 11 Al Madahil – F, 30 April 1948
- 12 Qeitiya – W, 19 May 1948
- 13 Al 'Abisiya – C, 25 May 1948
- 14 Dawwara – W, 25 May 1948
- 15 As Salihya – F, W, 25 May 1948
- 16 Al Muftakhira – F, 16 May 1948
- 17 Az Zawiya – M, 24 May 1948
- 18 Al Buweiziya – C, 11 May 1948
- 19 An Na'ima – C, 14 May 1948
- 20 Al Hamra – F, M, 1 May 1948
- 21 Ghuraba – F, 28 May 1948
- 22 Khirbet Khiyam al Walid – F, 1 May 1948
- 23 Jahula – May 1948 (?)
- 24 Qadas – C, 28 May 1948
- 25 Al Malikiya – M, 28 May 1948
- 26 Nabi Yusha – M, 16 May 1948
- 27 Beisamun – W, 25 May 1948
- 28 Mallaha – W, 25 May 1948
- 29 Ad Darbashiya – May 1948 (?)

Upper Galilee

- 30 Al 'Ulmaniya – M, 20 April 1948
- 31 'Arab Zubeid – F, 20 April 1948
- 32 Deishum – M, 30 October 1948
- 33 'Alma – M, 30 October 1948
- 34 Saliha – M, 30 October 1948
- 35 Fara – M, 30 October 1948
- 36 Al Huseiniya – C, 21 April 1948
- 37 Tuleil – late April 1948 (?)
- 38 Kafr Bir'im – E, early November 1948
- 39 Ras al Ahmar – M, 30 October 1948
- 40 Dallata – not known
- 41 Marus – C, 26 May 1948 and M, 30 October 1948
- 42 Kirad al Ghannama – C, 22 April 1948 (later resettled and abandoned)
- 43 Kirad al Baqqara – C, 22 April 1948 (later resettled and abandoned)
- 44 Teitaba – May 1948 (?)
- 45 Safsaf – M/E, 29 October 1948
- 46 Qaddita – C, 11 May 1948
- 47 Ammuqa – M, 24 May 1948
- 48 Qabba'a – M, 26 May 1948
- 49 Weiziya – May 1948 (?)
- 50 Mughr al Kheit – M, 2 May 1948
- 51 Fir'im – M, 26 May 1948
- 52 Ja'una – C, 9 May 1948
- 53 'Ein az Zeitun – M, 2 May 1948
- 54 Biriya – M, 2 May 1948
- 55 (Arab) Safad – M, 10–11 May 1948
- 56 Meirun – (?) C, (?) 10–12 May 1948

- 57 Sammu'i - C, 12 May 1948
- 58 Dhahiriya Tahta - C, 10 May 1948
- 59 Mansurat al Kheit - M, 18 January 1948
- 60 Sa'sa - M/E, 30 October 1948
- 61 Ghabbatiya - (?), 30 October 1948
- 62 Sabalan - (?), 30 October 1948
- 63 Deir al Qasi - M, 30 October 1948
- 64 Suhmata - M, 30 October 1948
- 65 Al Mansura - E, early November 1948
- 66 Tarbikha - E, early November 1948
- 67 Suruh - E, early November 1948
- 68 Nabi Rubin - E, early November 1948
- 69 Iqrit - E, early November 1948
- 70 Farradiya - E, February 1949
- 71 Kafr I'n'an - E, February 1949
- 72 Ash Shuna - Not known
- 73 Yaquq - May 1948 (?)
- 74 Al Qudeiriya - M/E, 4 May 1948
- 75 'Arab as Suyyad - (?) M/E, 4 May 1948
- 76 Zanghariya - M/E, 4 May 1948
- 77 'Arab ash Shamalina - M/E, 4 May 1948

Western Galilee

- 78 Al Bassa - M/E, 14 May 1948
- 79 Az Zib - M, 14 May 1948
- 80 At Tell - M, 21 May 1948
- 81 Al Kabri - F, M, 5, 21 May 1948
- 82 An Nahr - M, 21 May 1948
- 83 Umm al Faraj - M, 21 May 1948
- 84 Al Ghabisiya - E, May 1948; E, 1949
- 85 Amqa - M, 10-11 July 1948
- 86 Kuweikat - M, 10 July 1948
- 87 As Sumeiriya - M, 14 May 1948
- 88 Manshiya - M, 14 May 1948
- 89 Al Birwa - M, 11 June 1948 (?)
- 90 Ad Damun - M, 15-16 July 1948
- 91 Ar Ruweis - M, 15-16 July 1948

Lower Galilee, Jordan, Jezreel and Beit Shean valleys

- 92 Majdal - M, C, 22 April 1948
- 93 Ghuweir Abu Shusha - C, 21 and 28 April 1948
- 94 Hittin - F, M, 16-17 July 1948
- 95 Nimrin - (?) F, M, 16-17 July 1948
- 96 Lubiya - F, M, 16-17 July 1948

- 97 Khirbet Nasir ad Din - M, C, F, 12 and 23 April 1948
- 98 (Arab) Tiberias - M, 18 April 1948
- 99 Khirbet al Manara - M, early March 1948
- 100 Ash Shajara - M, 6 May 1948
- 101 Kafr Sabt - C, 22 April 1948
- 102 As Samra - C, 21 April 1948
- 103 Samakh - M, 28 April 1948
- 104 Al 'Ubeidiya - F, 5 March 1948
- 105 Ma'dhar - A, 6 April 1948
- 106 Hadatha - A, 6 April 1948
- 107 'Ulam - A, 6 April 1948
- 108 Sirin - A, 6 April 1948
- 109 At Tira - W, 15 April 1948
- 110 Indur - C, M, 24 May 1948
- 111 Danna - E, 28 May 1948
- 112 Al Bira - C, 16 May 1948
- 113 Yubla - C, 16 May 1948
- 114 Jabbul - C/F, 18 May 1948
- 115 Kaukab al Hawa - M, 16 May 1948
- 116 'Arab as Subeih - C, 19 April 1948
- 117 Al Murassas - C, 16 May 1948
- 118 Kafra - C, 16 May 1948
- 119 Al Hamidiya - C, 12 May 1948
- 120 Qumiya - F, 26 March 1948
- 121 Zir'in - M, 28 May 1948
- 122 Al Mazar - M, 30 May 1948
- 123 Nuris - M/E, 29-30 May 1948
- 124 Khirbet al Jaufa - (?) C, 12 May 1948
- 125 Tall ash Shauk - (?) C, 12 May 1948
- 126 Beisan - M, C, 12 May 1948
- 127 Al Ashrafiya - (?) C, 12 May 1948
- 128 Farwana - M, 11 May 1948
- 129 As Samiriya - M, 27 May 1948
- 130 Al 'Arida - C, 20 May 1948
- 131 'Arab al Khuneizir - C, 20 May 1948
- 132 'Arab al Safa - C, 20 May 1948
- 133 'Arab az Zarra'a - (?) C, 20 May 1948
- 134 'Arab al Ghazawiya - (?) C, 20 May 1948
- 135 'Arab al Bawati - (?) C, 16 or 20 May 1948
- 136 'Arab al Bashatwi - C, 16 May 1948
- 137 Al Mujeidil - M, 15 July 1948
- 138 Ma'lul - M, 15 July 1948
- 139 Saffuriya - M, 16 July 1948
- 140 Beit Lahm - M, April 1948
- 141 Waldheim (Umm al 'Amad) - M, April 1948
- 142 Khirbet Ras 'Ali - Not known
- 143 Yajur - M, C, 25 April 1948
- 144 Balad ash Sheikh - M, C, 25 April 1948
- 145 'Arab Ghawarina - (?) W, M, mid-April 1948

Hills of Ephraim (Ramot Menashe) and Mishmar Ha'emek area

- 146 Wadi 'Ara - F, 27 February 1948
- 147 Lajjun - M, 30 May 1948 (?)
- 148 Al Mansi ('Arab Baniha) - M, 12-13 April 1948
- 149 An Nagnaghiya - M, 12-13 April 1948
- 150 Ghubaiya al Fauqa - M, 8-9 April 1948
- 151 Ghubaiya al Tahta - M, 8-9 April 1948
- 152 Abu Shusha - M, 9-10 April 1948
- 153 Abu Zureiq - M, 12-13 April 1948
- 154 Qira wa Qamun - W, (?) late March 1948
- 155 Al Kafrin - M, 12-13 April 1948
- 156 Al Buteimat - F, (?) May 1948
- 157 Umm ash Shauf - M, 12-14 May 1948
- 158 Khubbeiza - M, 12-14 May 1948
- 159 Sabbarin - M, 12-14 May 1948
- 160 As Sindiyana - M, 12-14 May 1948
- 161 Bureika - C, 5 May 1948
- 162 Daliyat ar Ruha - W/M, late March 1948
- 163 Ar Rihaniya - Not known
- 164 Umm az Zinat - Not known
- 165 Khirbet Qumbaza - May 1948 (?)
- 166 'Ein Ghazal - M, 24-26 July 1948
- 167 Ijzim - M, 24-26 July 1948
- 168 Jaba - M, 24-26 July 1948
- 169 Al Mazar - c.15 July 1948
- 170 'Ein Haud - c.15 July 1948
- 171 Qannir - C, F, 25 April 1948

Northern Coastal Plain

- 172 (Arab) Haifa - M, A, 21 April-1 May 1948
- 173 At Tira - M, 16 July 1948
- 174 As Sarafand - M, c.16 July 1948
- 175 Kafr Lam - M, c.16 July 1948
- 176 Tantura - M/E, 21 May 1948
- 177 Qisariya - E, 15 February 1948
- 178 Khirbet as Sarkas - E, 15 April 1948
- 179 Ad Dumeira - E, 10 April 1948
- 180 'Arab al Fuqara - E, 10 April 1948
- 181 'Arab an Nufaiat - E, 10 April 1948
- 182 Wadi al Hawarith - M, F, 15 March 1948
- 183 Raml Zeita - Not known

- 184 Khirbet Manshiya - F, 15 April 1948
- 185 Khirbet Zalafa - F, 15 April 1948
- 186 Wadi Qabbani - Not known
- 187 Qaqun - M, 5 June 1948
- 188 Umm Khalid - Not known
- 189 Khirbet Beit Lid - F, 5 April 1948
- 190 Birket Ramadan - Not known
- 191 Miska - E, 15 April 1948
- 192 Tabsar (Khirbet 'Azzun) - F, E, 3 April 1948
- 193 Kafr Saba - M, 15 May 1948
- 194 Biyar 'Adas - M, 12 April 1948
- 195 Al Haram (Sidna 'Ali) - F, 3 February 1948
- 196 Jalil - F, 3 April 1948
- 197 'Arab Abu Kishk - F, C, 30 March 1948
- 198 'Arab as Sawalima - F, C, 30 March 1948
- 199 Al Mirr - F, February 1948
- 200 Sheikh Muwannis - M/F, 30 March 1948
- 201 Ras al 'Ein - M, 13 July 1948
- 202 Majdal Yaba - M, 13 July 1948
- 203 Fajja - W, 15 May 1948
- 204 Jammassin - F, 17 March 1948
- 205 Al Mas'udiya (Summeil) - F, 25 December 1947
- 206 Sarona - Not known
- 207 Jaffa - M, late April-early May 1948

Lower Coastal Plain and northern Negev approaches

- 208 Salama - M, 25 April 1948
- 209 Al Kheiriya - M, 25 April 1948
- 210 Al Muzeiri'a - Not known
- 211 Qula - M, 10 July 1948
- 212 Rantiya - M, 28 April 1948; M, 10 July 1948
- 213 Al Yahudiya - M, 4 May 1948
- 214 Saqiya - M, 25 April 1948
- 215 Yazur - C, M, 1 May 1948
- 216 At Tira - M, 10 July 1948
- 217 Wilhelma - M, 10 July 1948
- 218 Kafr 'Ana - M, 25 April 1948
- 219 Beit Dajan - C, 25 April 1948
- 220 As Safiriya - Not known
- 221 Deir Tarif - M, 10 July 1948
- 222 Beit Nabala - A, 13 May 1948
- 223 Jindas - Not known
- 224 Al Hadiitha - M, 12 July 1948
- 225 Sarafand al 'Amar - Not known

- 226 Lydda – E/M, 10–13 July 1948
 227 Ramle – E/M, 10–13 July 1948
 228 Deir Abu Salama – M, 13 July 1948
 229 Khirbet adh Dhuheiriya – M, 10 July 1948
 230 Jimzu – M, 10 July 1948
 231 Khirbet Zakariya – M, c.12–13 July 1948
 232 Daniyal – M, 10 July 1948
 233 Abu al Fadl – C, 9 May 1948
 234 Sarafand al Kharab – F, 20 April 1948
 235 Shilta – M, 15–16 July 1948
 236 Al Burj – M, 15–16 July 1948
 237 Bir Ma'in – M, 15–16 July 1948
 238 Beit Shanna – (?) M, 15–16 July 1948
 239 Salbit – M, 15–16 July 1948
 240 Al Qubab – M, 15 May 1948
 241 Barfiliya – M, 14 July 1948
 242 Kharruba – M, 12–15 July 1948
 243 Al Kunaisiya – M, 10 July 1948
 244 'Innaba – M, 10 July 1948
 245 Al Barriya – M, 10–13 July 1948
 246 Abu Shusha – M, 14 May 1948
 247 Na'ana – F, 14 May 1948
 248 Bir Salim – M, 9 May 1948
 249 Wadi Hunein – C, 17 April 1948
 250 Zarnuqa – E, 27–28 May 1948
 251 Al Qubeiba – E, 27–28 May 1948
 252 'Aqir – M, 6 May 1948
 253 An Nabi Rubin – E, 1 June 1948
 254 'Arab Sukreir – M, 25 May 1948
 255 Yibna – M/E, 4 June 1948
 256 Al Mughar – M, 18 May 1948
 257 Bash-Shit – M, 13 May 1948
 258 Qatra – M, 17 May 1948
 259 Seidun – Not known
 260 Al Mansura – M, 20 April 1948
 261 Khulda – M, 6 April 1948
 262 Shahma – C, 14 May 1948
 263 Al Mukheizin – M, 20 April 1948
 264 Sajad – Not known
 265 Qazaza – C, 9–10 July 1948
 266 Jilya – C, 9–10 July 1948
 267 Al Kheima – Not known
 268 Huraniya – Not known
 269 At Tina – M, 8–9 July 1948
 270 Idhnnibba – C, 9–10 July 1948
 271 Mughallis – C, 9–10 July 1948
 272 Bureij – Not known
 273 Masmiya al Kabira – M, 8–9 July 1948
 274 Masmiya as Saghira – M, 8–9 July 1948
 275 Qastina – M, c.9 July 1948
 276 Tall at Turmus – Not known
 277 Yasur – Not known
 278 Batani Sharqi – M, 13 May 1948
 279 Batani Gharbi – (?) M, 13 May 1948
 280 Barqa – M, 13 May 1948
 281 Isdud – M, 28 October 1948
 282 Beit Daras – M, 11 May 1948
 283 Sawafir ash Shamaliya – F, 18 May 1948
 284 Sawafir al Gharbiya – F, 18 May 1948
 285 Sawafir ash Sharqiya – (?) F, 18 May 1948
 286 Hamama – M, 4 November 1948
 287 Julis – M, 11 June 1948
 288 'Ibdis – M, 8–9 July 1948
 289 Jaladiya – Not known
 290 Bi'lin – Not known
 291 Barqusiya – Not known
 292 Tall as Safi – M, 9–10 July 1948
 293 Deir ad Dubban – M, 23–24 October 1948
 294 'Ajjur – M, 23–24 July 1948
 295 Zakariya – E, June 1950
 296 Ra'na – M, 22–23 October 1948
 297 Zikrin – M, 22–23 October 1948
 298 Summeil – Not known
 299 Zeita – M, 17–18 July 1948
 300 Juseir – M, 17–18 July 1948
 301 Hatta – M, 17–18 July 1948
 302 Karatiya – M, 17–18 July 1948
 303 Beit 'Affa – Not known
 304 Kaukaba – C, 12 May 1948
 305 Beit Tima – M, 18–19 October 1948
 306 Al Majdal (Ashkelon) – M, 4–5 November 1948; 1951
 307 Al Jura – M, 4–5 November 1948
 308 Khirbet Khisas – M, 4–5 November 1948
 309 Ni'ilya – M, 4–5 November 1948
 310 Barbara – M, 4–5 November 1948
 311 Al Jiya – M, 4–5 November 1948
 312 Beit Jirja – Not known
 313 Deir Suneid – Not known
 314 Dimra – Not known
 315 Najd – E, 12 May 1948
 316 Sumsum – E, 12 May 1948
 317 Huleiqat – C, 12 May 1948
 318 Bureir – M, 12 May 1948
 319 Al Faluja – E, February–March 1949
 320 'Iraq al Manshiya – E, February–March 1949
 321 Kidna – M, 22–23 October 1948
 322 Beit Jibrin – M, 29 October 1948
 323 Al Qubeiba – M, 28 October 1948
 324 Ad Dawayima – E/M, 29 October 1948