

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Adel Manna, “Mekhtav el yadid Yesraeli” [Letter to an Israeli Friend], *Haaretz*, June 1984, 9.
2. The festivities of the tenth anniversary were an important event in Israel’s relations with its Arab citizens and it tried to compel them to participate in these celebrations. Many were opposed to this, including the leaders of the Communist Party, which led to demonstrations and clashes in Nazareth on 1 May 1958.
3. The term *istihlal* was commonly used in colloquial language to mean occupation—rather than *ihtilal*—so at school we began using the expression “Occupation of My Country Day” as a means of expressing dissatisfaction with these celebrations.
4. The arrival of Palestinian refugees by sea to a place with such a name is reminiscent of Israeli tales of the success of Zionist immigrants in reaching Palestine during the British Mandate despite the British authorities’ opposition and attempts to prevent the arrival of immigrants, particularly after 1939.
5. The Wadi Ara region was under the control of Arab (Iraqi and Jordanian) armies until April 1949. This is why Israel evicted inhabitants of the Galilee to this region as I detail later.
6. For further details of my grandmother’s life, see my article “Hikayat Zahra al-Ja’uniyya,” *Annals of Jerusalem* 6 (Winter/Spring 2008): 67–81. English readers will prefer “From Seferberlik to the Nakba: A Personal Account of the Life of Zahra al-Ja’uniyya,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* (Spring 2007): 59–76.
7. Later it was found out that Haim Orbach had worked in the Haganah intelligence service, and that he had made friends with the Arabs to gain information about their villages. He was also on good terms with the Ma’di family in Yarka, including Shaykh Jabr Ma’di. They tried to convince the residents of villages in the Galilee to surrender and not to fight the Jews in return for ensuring their security and safeguarding their property.

8. The role of Shafiq Abu 'Abdu, from the village of al-Damun which was destroyed, will be discussed in detail later. The authorities allowed him and some of his relatives to settle in the village of Sha'b.

9. Adel Manna, "Majd al-Krum 1948: 'Amaliyyat tamshit 'adiyya'" [Majd al-Krum 1948: "Ordinary Combing Operations"], *al-Karmel* 55–56 (Spring-Summer 1998): 184–200.

10. Danny Rabinowitz and Khawla Abu Baker, *Hadur ha-Zakuf* [The Stand-Tall Generation: The Palestinian Citizens of Israel Today] (Jerusalem: Keter, 2002).

11. Rabinowitz and Abu Baker, *Hadur ha-Zakuf*, 36.

12. Indeed, my mother, who passed away in January 2019, had been happy to see the book published in Arabic and in Hebrew.

INTRODUCTION

1. Those villages were described in the military orders for the operation as "communications bases" and not enemy positions, as was usually the case in relation to Arab villages. See Benny Morris, 1948: *Toldut ha-melhama ha-Arvit ha-Yesraelit ha-rishona* [1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War] (Tel Aviv: Am Ovid, 2010), 307.

2. Israeli researchers, with Morris at their head, estimate that the number of Arabs who were killed in the "border wars" and labeled as "infiltrators" was between three and five thousand individuals. This study demonstrates that tens, if not hundreds, of them were "Israeli Arabs."

3. This is the case of most studies on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Morris, who devoted serious study to the Israeli war on "infiltration" by Palestinian refugees, treated it as a fight to protect Israel's borders from the neighboring Arab countries, without devoting much attention to its repercussions and daily impact on the lives of Arabs in Israel.

4. See the article by Hassan Jabareen, in which he stresses the "Hobbesian moment" relating to the January 1951 elections: "Hobbesian Citizenship: How the Palestinians Became a Minority in Israel," in *Multiculturalism and Minority Rights in the Arab World*, ed. Will Kymlicka and Eva Pfösl (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), 189–218.

5. Constantine Zurayk, *Ma'na al-Nakba* [Meaning of the Catastrophe] (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm l-il-malayin, 1948).

6. Yitzhak Rabin, *Penkas sherut* [Service Identity Card] (Tel Aviv: Maariv Bookstore, 1979), 1:97.

7. Rabin, *Penkas sherut*.

8. For more on the Kafr Qasim massacre, see Rubik Rosenthal, ed., *Kfar Qasim: iru'im ve-metus* [Kafr Qasim: Events and a Legend] (Tel Aviv: United Kibbutz, 2000).

9. Uzi Benziman and 'Atallah Mansour, *Dayyari meshne: 'Arveyyi Yesrael, mamadam ve-hamdeniyut klapeihim* [Sub-Tenants: The Arabs of Israel, Their Status and the Policies Toward Them] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1992), 54–59.

10. Many of those who remained were accused of naiveté and of not putting up a sufficient defense of the country and the homeland. As in the case of other peoples who suffered tragedies and defeats, the sons failed to appreciate the conditions in which their fathers found themselves during the days of the catastrophe.

11. Subhi Abu-Ghosh, "The Politics of an Arab Village in Israel" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1965).

12. Sabri Jiryis, *Al-'Arab fi 'Isra'il* [The Arabs in Israel] (Haifa: al-Ittihad Press, 1966).
13. "Anqidhuna min hadha al-hub al-qasi" [Save Us from This Cruel Love] was first published in *al-Jadid* 6 (1969) in Haifa, which Darwish edited, before being widely published and circulated in the Arab world.
14. The fame of Habibi's *Pessoptimist* spread internationally; it was translated into several languages, including into Hebrew by Mefras publishers in Haifa in 1985. In English, it has been translated by Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Trevor Le Gassick as *The Secret Life of Saeed: The Pessoptimist* (London: Zed Books, 1985).
15. Ghassan Kanafani, *'Awd ila Hayfa* [Returning to Haifa] (Beirut: Dar al-'Awda, 1969).
16. Emile Habibi, "Al-Hiwar al-akhir" [The Last Interview], *Masharif* 9, June 1996, 19.
17. Ian Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980).
18. Tom Segev, 1949: *Hayestaelim hareshonim* [1949: The First Israelis] (Jerusalem: Domino, 1984), 20–104.
19. Benziman and Mansour, *Dayyari meshne*.
20. Ilan Pappé's book was translated from the original English (Oxford: One World, 2006) into Arabic (and very well received) under the title *Al-tathir al-'arqi fi Filastin* [The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2007).
21. Such positions represent the Zionist second line of defense after the fall of the first line, which denied that the massacres had occurred and blamed Arab leaders for the refugee problem because of the orders they issued.
22. Ari Shavit, "Mehake la-barbarim, Benny Morris" [Waiting for the Barbarians: An Interview with Benny Morris], *Haaretz*, 6 January 2004.
23. Morris's statements in this interview constituted an important turning point for him, and resulted in a storm of debate inside Israel and outside it.
24. Nur Masalha, ed., *Catastrophe Remembered: Palestine, Israel and the Internal Refugees* (London: Zed Books, 2005); Ahmad Sa'di and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds. *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
25. For a collection of his articles in English, see Mustafa Abbasi, *The Cities of Galilee During the 1948 War: Four Cities and Four Stories* (Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2014).
26. Cohen's study was translated into Arabic and published in Jerusalem and then Beirut; Hillel Cohen, *Al-gha'bun al-hadrin: al-laj'un al-Filastiniyun fi 'Isra'il min 1948* [The Present Absentees: Palestinian Refugees in Israel since 1948] (Jerusalem: Center for the Study of Arab Society, 2002; Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003).
27. Hillel Cohen, *Arvim tuvim:ha-mudi'een ha-Yisra'eli ve-Harvim be-Yesra'el* [The Good Arabs: Israeli Intelligence and the Arabs in Israel] (Jerusalem: Keter, 2006).
28. For the published version of her dissertation, see Shira Robinson, *Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013).
29. The daily newspaper *Al-Yawm* began to publish in September 1948, and was followed a month later by the weekly *Al-Ittihad*.
30. Sometimes referred to as the Arab Salvation Army or the Arab Liberation Army.
31. These villages differ in terms of the circumstances under which the residents were expelled and then allowed to return to their homes; they have in common the fact that the inhabitants did return, the villages were spared from destruction, and their population

saved from dispersal, contrary to what happened to hundreds of other Palestinian villages.

32. Published originally in Arabic as Elias Khoury, *Bab al-shams* (Beirut: Dar al-Adab, 1998); English translation by Humphrey Davies, *Gate of the Sun* (London: Vintage, 2006).
33. Tom Segev, “Roman ‘Arvi’” [“An Arab Story”], *Haaretz*, 1 March 2002.
34. Segev, “An Arab Story.”
35. S. Yizhar [Smilansky], *Khirbet Khiz’eh* (Jerusalem: Ibis Editions, 2008); published originally in 1949 in Hebrew as *Khirbet Hiz’eh*.
36. Tom Segev, “Ha-Sodut ha-reshonim” [The First Secrets], *Haaretz*, 2 March 1995.
37. Benny Morris, *Tekkun ta’ut* [Correcting a Mistake: Jews and Arabs in Palestine/Israel 1936–56] (Tel Aviv: Am Ovid, 2000).
38. Morris, *Tekkun ta’ut*, 146.
39. See the website of this organization, www.zochrot.org (accessed 30 March 2020), for publications and testimonies about the Nakba in Hebrew, Arabic, and English collected by activists. They also publish booklets concerning villages that were demolished.
40. Examples are *Nir* and *Ha-Olam Hazeh* newspapers in Hebrew, and the Catholic church’s magazine, *al-Rabita*, all of which contain important material and critical points of view towards government policy.

1. AL-NAKBA AND ITS MANY MEANINGS IN 1948

1. Constantine Zurayk, *Ma’na al-Nakba* [The Meaning of the Catastrophe] (Beirut: Dar al-‘Ilm l-il-malayin, 1948).
2. Zurayk, *Ma’na al-Nakba*, 7. Walid al-Khalidi collected four books which dealt with the Nakba and republished them in one volume, performing a great service to readers and researchers. Along with Constantine Zurayk’s book, works by Musa al-‘Alami, George Hanna, and Qadri Hafiz Tuqan were published under the title *Nakbat 1948: asbabihā wa subul ‘ilajihā* [Nakba 1948: Its Causes and Its Solutions] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2009), introduction by Walid al-Khalidi. The use of the term “al-Nakba” spread after Zurayk’s book; it was used by Arab communists in a leaflet distributed at the end of September 1948 and in the titles of many books published on the 1948 war and its tragic consequences, including the works of Muhammad Nimr al-Khatib, Muhammad Nimr al-Hawwari, and ‘Arif al-‘Arif, among others.
3. The five other notions were: defeat (*hazima*), setback (*naksa*), evil (*shar*), tribulation (*mihna*), and elsewhere in the book, disaster (*karitha*).
4. For Zurayk, his life and achievements, see Aziz al-‘Azma, ‘Arabi lil-qarn al-‘ishrin [Constantine Zurayk: A Twentieth Century Arab] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003). See also a commemoration of Zurayk from the American University of Beirut at online-exhibit.aub.edu.lb/exhibits/show/constantine-zurayk (accessed 27 December 2019).
5. Zurayk et al., *Nakbat 1948*, 5.
6. Zurayk et al., *Nakbat 1948*, 7.
7. Near the end of 1948, the dispute between King Abdullah of Transjordan and Mufti Hajj ‘Amin al-Husayni, in particular, intensified and Arab countries supported one side against the other.
8. For the “cold war” among Arab states in the 1950s, see Malcolm Kerr, *The Arab Cold War 1958–67: A Study of Ideology in Politics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

9. George Hanna, *Tariq al-khalas: tahlil wad'i li mihnat Filastin wa al-qadaya al-'Arabiyya* [The Path to Deliverance: A Situational Analysis of Palestine's Affliction and Arab Issues] (Beirut: Dar al-Ahad, 1948); republished in Zurayk et al., *Nakbat 1948*. Worth noting is that the author chose the term “affliction” rather than “Nakba” to describe the defeat in Palestine.

10. For more on the author and his other publications, see Zurayk et al., *Nakbat 1948*, xiii–xiv.

11. George Hanna, a socialist, does not ignore the role of the Soviet Union in the Palestinian Nakba, and also talks about Russia and the Russians.

12. Hanna, *Tariq al-khalas*, 61.

13. Hanna, *Tariq al-khalas*, 77.

14. Hanna, *Tariq al-khalas*, 58.

15. Musa al-'Alami, *Ibrat Filastin* [The Lesson of Palestine] (Beirut: Dar al-Kashaf, 1949); reprinted in Zurayk et al., *Nakbat 1948*.

16. Al-'Alami studied law in Britain. When he finished his studies in 1923, he returned to Jerusalem and worked for several years as a public attorney.

17. Al-'Alami assigns the responsibility for what happened in Palestine to Britain first of all, then secondly to the Americans and the Russians. See al-'Alami, *Ibrat Filastin*, 144.

18. Some researchers, particularly on the Israeli side, describe the events of the war in its first months as a “civil war.” This description is inaccurate and controversial; it is preferable to divide the war into two stages without describing the first stage as a civil war.

19. Muhammad Nimr al-Hawwari, *Sirr al-Nakba* [The Secret of the Nakba] (Nazareth: Hakim Press, 1955). The content of the introduction and the book indicate that al-Hawwari had finished writing his book in 1950, but its publication was delayed.

20. Hawwari, *Sirr al-Nakba*, 107, 196, 200.

21. Hawwari, *Sirr al-Nakba*, 315.

22. 'Arif al-'Arif gives detailed accounts of the events of the Nakba, its causes and remedies, and the price Palestinians paid in terms of lives and property in *Al-Nakba: Nakba Bayt al-Maqdis wal-firdaws al-mafqud, 1947–49* [The Nakba: The Nakba of Jerusalem and the Lost Paradise 1947–49]. The first of these volumes was published in Sidon in 1956, and the last in 1961.

23. Following the Jerusalem turmoil during the Nabi Musa festival in the spring of 1920, 'Arif al-'Arif and Hajj Amin al-Husayni fled and were pursued by the British authorities, but the two returned the following year. Al-'Arif occupied many posts in the British Mandate administration, including that of *qa'immaqam* (governor) of the Bir Sab'a district. Following the Nakba and the annexation of the West Bank to Jordan, he worked in the Jordanian administration, and served as mayor of the Jerusalem municipality during 1950–55.

24. For further information on this, see Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

25. In the last few decades new historical and critical readings of the Arab revolt of the 1930s and its negative ramifications have appeared. It is sufficient here to note that there was a focus on the negative results of the revolt, going beyond the discussion of heroic acts, sacrifices, and achievements.

26. Perhaps the outbreak of World War II and the absence of a large number of Palestinian leaders from the political scene because of imprisonment or exile played a role in this.

27. We do not intend here to explain and analyze the effect of this partition into two states, one Arab and the other Jewish, and its ramifications for the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination on the soil of the entirety of its homeland.

28. The UN resolution did not include the establishment of an international body to oversee the implementation of the plan, but it was sufficient, as far as the Zionist movement was concerned, to legitimate the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

29. David Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb, 1947–49* [War Diaries, 1947–49], ed. Gershon Rivlin and Elhanan Orren, trans. Samir Jabbur (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993), 99.

30. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 101.

31. Rashid al-Hajj Ibrahim, *Al-difa' an Hayfa waqadiyyat Filatin: Mudhakirat Rashid al-hajj Ibrahim, 1891–1953* [The Defense of Haifa and the Palestinian Cause: The Memoirs of Rashid al-Hajj Ibrahim, 1891–1953] (Beirut: The Institute for Palestine Studies, 2005), 190.

32. The Arab press in Palestine voiced this faulty understanding of the battle for destiny towards the end of 1947, as did the testimonies of dozens of people who lived through those events, whose *ad hoc* testimonies I have heard. Arab sources called the participants in the strike “rebels,” and the discussion was about “the revolt” and not “the war”; the events were compared to the events of the 1936–39 revolt.

33. Khalil al-Sakakini, *Yawmiyat Khalil al-Sakakini: yawmayat, rasayl, tamulat, al-kitab al-thamn: al-khuruj min al-qatamun, 1942–52* [The Diaries of Khalil al-Sakakini: Diaries, Letters, Insights, Book Eight: Leaving al-Qatamun, 1942–52] (Ramallah: Khalil al-Sakakini Cultural Center and the Jerusalem Studies Institute, 2010), 238.

34. al-Sakakini, *Yawmiyat*.

35. Twelve residents of Khisas village were killed in the Palmach operation, including a woman and four children, some of whom were found under the rubble of houses that had been blown up.

36. Yoav Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba: Yesrael, ha-Falastinimu-medinut 'Arav, 1948* [Independence and Nakba: Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab States in 1948] (Tel Aviv, Zamora Beitan, 2004), 65, 139; Benny Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-Plitim ha-Falastinim, 1947–49* [The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947–49] (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Ovid, 1991), 56; Adel Manna' and Motti Golani, *Two Faces of the Coin: Independence and Nakba, Two Narratives of the 1948 War and Its Consequences* (Holland: The Historical Justice and Reconciliation Institute, 2011), 65, 139.

37. Attempts by residents of the village to return to their homes, and their subsequent recourse to the Supreme Court in Jerusalem, will be discussed in later chapters of this book.

38. Some sources say that two of the perpetrators were wounded in the operation.

39. Some of those who returned to their villages were young men who were working for the mandatory government, some in the police.

40. These acts of collective punishment enjoyed the support of the [Jewish] leadership without reservation. In one session convened by Ben-Gurion, Gad Machnes said: “We must strike without mercy, including women and children” and added: “There is no need to differentiate . . . between the innocent and the guilty” (Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 99).

41. According to estimates, up to the end of 1947 about 450,000 Palestinians lived in the area allocated for the Jewish state under the partition resolution; 95 percent of them became refugees, and only about 5 percent remained in Israel and became citizens.

42. Nadim Musa, *Dhikrayat shuyu'i mukhadram* [Memories of a Veteran Communist] (Acre: Abu Rahmun Press, 2008), 32.

43. Musa, *Dhikrayat*. Those comrades who were members of the League and their role in villages of mid-Galilee will be discussed in the next chapter.

44. There are many works of Palestinian and Israeli historical literature on the Arab Rescue Army in the Galilee.

45. A very interesting question concerning this subject is: what if the United Nations had in fact gone back on the partition resolution and accepted the State Department's proposal for a Trusteeship?

46. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 135.

47. Walid al-Khalidi stirred up controversy when he became the first to write about this plan beginning in 1959: "Why Did the Palestinians Leave," *Middle East Forum* 34, no. 6 (July 1959): 21–24, 25; republished in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 2 (2005): 42–54. Also see "The Fall of Haifa," *Middle East Forum* 35, no. 10 (December 1959), republished in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 37, no. 3 (Spring 2008): 30–58; and "Plan Dalet, the Zionist Blueprint for the Conquest of Palestine," *Middle East Forum* 37, no. 9 (November 1961): 22–38. In 2007, Ilan Pappé published his study, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (London: One World), which supports the Palestinian position expressed by Khalidi.

48. Al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba*, 223–25.

49. Al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba*, 225. Al-'Arif refers to the change in the position of the Druze and the move by some of them to the side of the Jews in the fighting, basing his information on the testimony of one of the well-known fighters in Nazareth, 'Abd al-Latif al-Fahum.

50. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Husayni (1908–48) was one of the prominent leaders of the 1936–39 revolt, and Mufti Hajj Amin's choice to command the Jihad Muqaddas (Holy War), the most important Palestinian military organization in the 1948 war.

51. For several years Haganah sources were relied on, which the British and others adopted, and which indicated that over 250 people were killed in the Dayr Yasin massacre. However, recent Palestinian research indicates that the number of those killed was 104, less than half the original Haganah estimate.

52. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 284.

53. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*.

54. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 284–85. In the latter chapters of the book, there are further details on this committee and the role played by Elias Kusa in defending the rights of Arab citizens in Israel in general and Haifa in particular.

55. Bulus Farah, *Min al-'uthmaniyya ila al-dawla al-'ibriyya* [From the Ottoman Empire to the Jewish State] (Haifa: al-Sawt, 1985), 196.

56. Farah, *Min al-'uthmaniyya*, 196–97. Farah mentions in his memoirs that the only communists he met in Haifa at the time were 'Isam al-'Abbasi and Yusif 'Abdu.

57. Motti Golani, *Yamim Ahrunim: Hamemshal hamandatru-pennuy ve-melhama* [The Last Days: The Mandate Government, Withdrawal and the War] (Jerusalem: Zalman Sharzar Center, 2009), 82–83.

58. Abraham Sela, "Tzva ha-Hahatzla ba-Galil be-melemet 1948" [The Arab Liberation Army in the Galilee in the 1948 War], in *Melhemet Ha'atzma'ut: 1947–49, Diyyun Mehudash* [War of Independence 1947–49, Renewed Discussion], ed. Elon Kadish (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Security, 2004), 207–68.

59. The most prominent among them is Benny Morris's *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*, which documents many acts of murder and expulsion, but then arrives at the conclusion that there was no blueprint for the expulsion of the Palestinians.

60. That became clear during the occupation of central and upper Galilee in Operation Hiram.

61. The most prominent examples of that at the collective level were the Druze and communists in the north of the country.

62. The absence of regular armies as existed in the center and the south of the country gave the people a wider opportunity to adopt different positions in the interest of staying on the land and preventing massacres and uprooting.

63. Elias Khoury, *Bab al-shams* (Beirut: Dar al-Adab, 1998), 73; translated by Humphrey Davies as *Gate of the Sun* (London: Vintage, 2006).

64. The number of Arab residents of Israel, according to the official census before the renewal of fighting in October 1948, was 69,000.

65. Hillel Cohen, *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917–1948*, trans. Haim Watzman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 252.

66. Cohen, *Army of Shadows*, 258. Testimonies by refugee and expelled individuals who were trying to return from Lebanon also spoke about these experiences in late 1948 and later.

67. Kais Firro, *The Druzes in the Jewish State: A Brief History* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 51.

68. Nimr Murqus, *Aqwa min al-nisyan: Risala ila ibnati* [More Powerful than Forgetfulness: A Letter to My Daughter (1)] (Tarshiha: Makhul and Hazbun, 2000), 89; Nimr Murqus, ed., *Yani Qustandi Yani* (Kafr Yasif: al-Majlis al-Mahalli, 1987). Also author interview with Murqus at his home, 28 June 2008.

69. Eliezer Bray, "Ha'umnam transfer?" [Was it really a Transfer], *'Al Hamishmar*, 13 November 1948.

70. Most prominent among them in the leadership of the League was its secretary Fu'ad Nassar, Tawfiq Tuba, and Emile Habibi, who spearheaded the acceptance of the partition and the rejection of war.

71. Laila Parsons, *The Druze Between Palestine and Israel, 1947–49* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 69–70.

72. Just as the Dayr Yasin massacre is the most famous operation in the killings of defenseless Palestinian civilians, the expulsion of tens of thousands of the inhabitants of Lydda and Ramla became the most famous ethnic cleansing operation carried out by the Israeli army with orders from the top leadership.

73. Only a few hundred of the inhabitants of Lydda and Ramla were allowed to stay in their homes, and isolated in a quarter which became known as "the ghetto."

74. Gelber, *Komiyut ve-Nakba*, 230.

75. Sa'd al-Din al-'Alami, *Watha'iq al-Haya al-Islamiyya al-'Ulya, 1* [Documents of the Higher Islamic Committee: Jerusalem, 1967–1984] (Amman: Dar al-Karmil, 1986), 10.

76. Al-'Alami, *Watha'iq*, 10–11. Al-'Alami, the shar'i'a judge of Nazareth in 1948, was renting the Jisr family house, where the surrender agreement was signed.

77. The document for the surrender of Nazareth was published in Hebrew and Arabic in several books. 'Atif al-Fahum kept an original copy of the document signed on 16 July 1948.

78. Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*, 270.

79. Such as the refugees from Shafa 'Amr, Kafr Kanna, and 'Illut. As for the refugees from al-Mujaydil, Ma'lul, and Saffuriyya, they received different treatment, as they

were prevented from returning to their villages which remained deserted, and were later destroyed.

80. This contradicts Benny Morris's conclusions. Morris attaches greater weight to the conduct of army officers in the field. The orders issued in Lydda and Ramla on the one hand, and Nazareth and the Druze on the other, led to the desired results.

81. Nafidh Abu Hasna, ed., *Khalid al-Fahum yatadhakar* [Khaled Fahum Remembers] (Beirut: al-Ruwad Printers and Publishers, 1999), 43.

82. Peretz Kidron participated in the writing of those memoirs in Toronto, Canada, then published that story which he had heard in "Truth Whereby Nations Live," in *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, ed. Edward W. Said and Christopher Hitchens (London: Verso Books, 1988), 87.

83. Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*, 153–54.

84. There are memoirs or autobiographies by Hanna Abu Hanna, Mansur Kardush, and other residents of Nazareth who lived through these events in 1948.

85. Eliezer Bray, "Ha'umnam transfer" [Transfer, Really?], *'Al Hamishmar*, 19 November 1948.

86. Eliezer Bray, untitled article, *'Al Hamishmar*, 23 November 1948.

87. Bray, untitled, 23 November 1948.

88. Bray, untitled, 23 November 1948.

89. Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*, 272.

90. Hillel Cohen, *Arvim Tuvim: ha-mudi'een ha-Yisra'eli ve-Harvim be-Yesra'el* [Good Arabs: Israeli Intelligence and the Arabs in Israel] (Jerusalem: Keter, 2006), 35–36.

91. Cohen, *Arvim Tuvim*, 36. There is more than one reference to Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi's cooperation with the Israeli authorities on the eve of the 1948 war and after.

92. Bernadotte's proposals reinforced the feeling among some observers that the Galilee would end up as part of Israel, either by agreement or by force.

93. Muhammad Khaled al-Az'ar, *Hukumat 'umum Filastin fi dhikraha al-khamsin* [The All-Palestine Government on its Fiftieth Anniversary] (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 1998).

94. Hanna Abu Hanna, *Khamirat al-ramad* [Yeast of Ashes] (Haifa: Maktabat Kul Shay, 2004), 130–31; Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi, *Shahid 'yan: muthakarat Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi* [Eyewitness: The Memoirs of Sayf al-Din Zu'bi] (Shafa 'Amr: Dar al-Mashriq, 1987), 26–27.

95. Abu Hasna, *Khalid al-Fahum yatadhakar*, 44.

96. They called the ARA the "galloping army."

97. The name of this village is written as Mi'ar in local books and newspapers.

98. Mas'ud Ghanayim published a series of articles in *al-Mithaq* newspaper, organ of the Islamic movement, in May 2000, in which he defended the reputation of the ARA as he tried to justify and explain the conduct of the mukhtar of Sakhnin.

99. Mas'ud Ghanayim, *Makalat akhira* [Last Article], *Al-Mithaq*, 19 May 2000, 9.

100. Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 290.

101. Najib Susan, *Sada al-'ayam* [Echo of the Days] (Haifa: self-published, 2001), 32–35.

2. COMPLETING THE OCCUPATION OF GALILEE—OPERATION HIRAM

1. Three villages which the Jews considered to be "friendly" escaped destruction and their populations were not expelled: Tuba al-Zanghariyya which was inhabited by 'Arab al-Hayb, the Circassian village of al-Rihaniyya, and the village of Jish, whose remaining population after 1948 were mostly Maronite.

2. Hanna Ibrahim, *Shajarat al-ma'rifa: dhikrayat shab lam yatagharrab* [Tree of Knowledge: Memories of a Youth Who Did Not Emigrate] (Acre: al-Aswar, 1996), 81–82.
3. Ibrahim, *Shajarat al-ma'rifa*, 85.
4. Ghattas Ghattas, *Al-Bustan al-'amir wa al-rawd al-zahir* [The Resplendent Garden and the Flowering Meadow] (al-Ramah: self-published, 2001), 546; and interview with Mr. Ghattas at his home.
5. *Provisional Government Records*, 26 September 1948.
6. Tom Segev, “Asun ha-plitim nedha lzman mah” [The Refugee Crisis Has Been Postponed for a While], *Haaretz*, 15 March 2015.
7. Benny Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim, 1947–49* [The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–49] (Tel Aviv, Am Oved, 1991), 291.
8. Mordechai Maklef, commander of operations on the northern front, told Ben-Gurion in September that occupying the Galilee pocket would take no more than two to three days. Reuven Erlich, *Besvakh ha-Levanon, 1918–58* [Lebanon's Predicament, 1918–58] (Tel Aviv: Security Ministry, 2006), 210.
9. Maggie Karkabi testified that her brother Tawfiq Tubi met her mother, who had come from Lebanon, in the village of al-Rama during the summer of 1948. See Husayn Aghbariyya, ed., *Yahkun Haifa: hikayat min dhakirat ahlha* [They Speak of Haifa: Stories from the Memories of Its Inhabitants] (Haifa: Social Development Society, 2010), 113.
10. The massacres of Operation Hiram constitute about half of the major known massacres of the entire war, indicating a policy at the highest level, particularly as Ben-Gurion protected the identities of the perpetrators who were never brought to justice.
11. Benny Morris, *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 371.
12. Ibrahim, *Shajarat al-ma'rifa*, 74–75, and many talks and interviews with eyewitnesses from Majd al-Krum.
13. Interview with Muhammad 'Ali Sa'id Qaddah in his house in Majd al-Krum, 23 November 2007.
14. Notables from the Ma'di clan of Yarka played an important role in extending their protection to residents of neighboring villages.
15. Dozens of interviews were conducted with residents who witnessed this event. Some said the name of the officer was Jasim al-'Iraqi, while others said it was Salah Turk.
16. Indeed, a delegation consisting of 'Ali al-Mansur, Tawfiq al-Jabir, and Muhammad Haydar (the author of a diary) went to Yarka, contacted Haim Orbach, and went with him to the army command in al-Birwa.
17. This account contradicts what Nafez Nazzal wrote in his book about the Galilee, on the basis of the testimony of a refugee from the village. Nazzal claimed that most inhabitants of Majd al-Krum migrated to Lebanon and only a few elders and those who feared exile remained. In *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim* (304), Morris reported this account by Nazzal without close examination, despite the facts on the ground and the documents to which we shall refer below. Nafez Nazzal, *The Palestinian Exodus from Galilee, 1948* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1978).
18. Muhammad Haydar, a member of the delegation, said that in Yarka they met with Marzuq, and 'Ali and Milhem Ma'di who got in touch with Haim Orbach in Nahariyya. (Interview with Haydar in his house, 30 June 1984, less than a week after the publication of my article, in which there is a brief account of the events in the village.)

19. The testimonies of inhabitants of al-Shaghur villages on this issue are supported and confirmed by telegrams and documents of the army.

20. For his testimony, see Shukri 'Arraf, *Lamasat al-wal'* [Touches of Loyalty] (Mi'lya: Center for Village Studies, 2007), 505.

21. Levi, intelligence officer of the 123rd company, wrote: "At 13:30 the notables of Majd al-Krum received the terms for the surrender of their village; at 14:26 they signed them in the presence of the officers from the company." A copy of this document, with its addenda, is in my possession.

22. Two days after the publication of my article in *Haaretz*, 24 June 1984, Zeev Yitzhaki wrote: "I was the officer of the force to which the villagers surrendered in the war of independence."

23. An English translation of this military document, no. 616/13, from the Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, is included in appendix 3.

24. Villagers whom I met said that the signing of the surrender document took place at the 'Izzat Café on the corner of al-'Ayn square.

25. Documents in the Israeli military archives agree with the testimonies of the villagers. The commander of the company (Zeev Yitzhaki) to whom Majd al-Krum surrendered also confirmed the details of the incident.

26. Interview with Khalid Dhiyab Farhat in Florida on 27 January 2007. I met him several times after that in Jerusalem and Majd al-Krum.

27. Interview with Khalid Dhiyab Farhat.

28. Interview with Muhammad Kan'an (Abu 'Atif) in his home in the village, early August 2008.

29. Muhammad Kan'an's statements corroborate the testimony of Farid Zurayq (b. 1915), which I heard at his house, 8 August 2008.

30. Interview with Muhammad Kan'an, and with Habib Zurayq at his house on the same day.

31. Ibrahim, *Shajarat al-ma'rifa*, 89; Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*, 303.

32. See Ibrahim, *Shajarat al-ma'rifa*; Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*. A Supreme Court decision affirmed the expulsion operation; one judge wrote: "According to the credible testimony of Shukri Najib al-Khazen and the statements by officer Shmuel Pesitsky, the residents of al-Bi'na were expelled from their village at the time of its occupation" (no. 157/51).

33. Events in the villages of Shaghur demonstrate the existence of a pattern that was repeated elsewhere. The soldiers would gather the inhabitants, execute a number of youth, then order the residents of the village to go to Lebanon. The killing of a number of young men was intended to create fear and strike terror in the hearts of the villagers so that they would not delay in carrying out the expulsion order by officers of units of the Israeli army.

34. Ibrahim, *Shajarat al-ma'rifa*, 92–94; the testimony of one of the refugees from the village of Sha'b, who witnessed the killing of two residents of Bi'na, before Nafez Nazzal, quoted also in Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*, 303.

35. Interview with Abu Shawkat in Nahaf, on Saturday, 23 February 2013.

36. Supreme Court ruling no. 236/51, 'Abdul Ghani Hasan Muhammad Qays vs. the minister of the interior and two other representatives of the Israeli authorities.

37. Supreme Court ruling no. 236/51; also interview with Abu Shawkat.

38. Elias S. Srouji, *Cyclamens from Galilee: Memoirs of a Physician from Nazareth* (New York: iUniverse, 2003), 159.

39. Srouji, *Cyclamens from Galilee*; Ghattas, *Al-Bustan al-‘amir*, 545–47. About forty young men from the Christian inhabitants of al-Rama were arrested, and sent to prisoner of war camps.

40. Srouji, *Cyclamens from Galilee*; Elias Srouji, “The Fall of a Galilean Village during the 1948 Palestinian War: An Eyewitness Account,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 71–80.

41. Elias Srouji relates that they found refuge in one of the village churches with clergy-men whom the army did not expel, and returned to Nazareth a few days later.

42. Several eyewitnesses (from the Ghattas and al-Qasim families) related the details of this story during my interviews.

43. Interview with the poet Samih al-Qasim at his house in al-Rama, 7 August 2008, who confirmed in his testimony the role played by Jabr al-Ma‘di in the abrogation of the expulsion order.

44. *Haaretz* newspaper recently published an interview with the historian Yehuda Bauer conducted by Dalia Karpel in which he mentions meeting with residents of Bayt Jan, and the orders of officer Tabinkin who returned the expelled Christians to their village, al-Rama. Karpel, “Prof. Yehuda Bauer Explains Why the Jewish People is Impudent,” [Hebrew] *Haaretz*, 13 February 2013.

45. Morris, *Lidata shel ba‘yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim*, 302.

46. Morris mentions erroneously in *Lidata*, 305, that “most of the residents of ‘Ilabun were Maronites.”

47. Elias Saliba Surur, *‘Ilabun: tarikh wa dhikrayyat* [‘Ilabun: History and Memories] (Nazareth: al-Hakim Press, 1997), 31–51.

48. Volunteers in the ARA took up fortified positions in a line of defense outside the houses of the village; however, the residents offered them food and other assistance from time to time.

49. Interview with Habib Zurayq in his house in ‘Ilabun, 9 May 2008.

50. Elias Saliba Surur, *Al-Nakba fi ‘Ilabun* [Al-Nakba in ‘Ilabun] (‘Ilabun: Local Council, 1998), 11.

51. Interview with Habib Zurayq in his house in ‘Ilabun, 9 May 2008.

52. Habib Zurayq could not remember the date he distributed the pamphlets in his village at the beginning of October, but he did remember that he encountered refugees in Wadi Salama eating green olives from the trees out of sheer hunger.

53. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 4–15.

54. From the diaries of the priest Murqus Mu‘allim, in Surur, *‘Ilabun*, 116.

55. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 14–15.

56. All the names and events mentioned are taken from Surur’s book, *Al-Nakba*. Surur is considered the local village historian. In addition to the testimonies of villagers, he relied on the diaries of his grandfather, Murqus al-Mu‘allim.

57. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 28–29.

58. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 29–31. There are also testimonies by men and women from ‘Ilabun about the expulsion of the residents and their subsequent return in a documentary film; see Hisham Zurayq, *Abna’ ‘Ilabun* [The People of ‘Ilabun] (2007), 24 minutes.

59. Surur, *Al Nakba*, 31. These details corroborate the testimonies of villagers from the Zurayq family and others whom I interviewed (including Elias Surur) in 2007–8.

60. As we mentioned earlier, Elias Saliba Surur benefited from the diaries of his grandfather in addition to the testimonies of villagers which he complied and documented.

61. Surur, *Al Nakba*, 32–33; my interviews with Habib Zurayq and Farid Zurayq in May 2008.

62. Yisrael Galili, the author of “Israel Report” on which Yoav Gelber draws, met the residents of ‘Ilabun at the Mirun crossroads. He mentions in the report that the migrants left there without any food or drink. See Yoav Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba: Yesrael, ha-Falastinim u-medinut ‘Arav, 1948* [Independence and Nakba: Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab States in 1948] (Tel Aviv: Zamora Beitan, 2004), 352.

63. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 36–37; Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba*, 351.

64. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 38.

65. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 38. Rumaysh was the first stop, and a central one in south Lebanon, for refugees expelled from the Galilee, as is evident from the testimonies of people expelled from several villages in 1948.

66. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 39.

67. The attempts at justification by the army related by Morris are not convincing. The villagers, at least some that I interviewed, believe that the main reason was to expel the population in order to gain control over the land.

68. The ‘Ilabun villagers, on their way to Lebanon, saw hundreds of inhabitants of Kufr ‘Inan and Farradiyya in the villages, but the army returned in 1948 and expelled them from their homes.

69. The army unit that entered the village of al-Magharr tried to separate the Druze from the Christians and Muslims and to expel the others, but the Druze village notables rejected that and told the officers: “Either you kick us all out, or we shall remain together in our homes and country.”

70. Morris, *Lidata*, 321–22.

71. Fayed Hasan al-Rayyis, *Al-qura al-junubiyya al-saba’: dirasa watha’qiya shamila* [The Seven Southern Villages: A Comprehensive Documentary Study] (Beirut: al-Wafa Publishing, 1985).

72. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 22.

73. Surur, *Al-Nakba*.

74. Interview with Khalil Husayn al-Shawahda in early October 2010 in ‘Ilabun.

75. Interview with Khalil Husayn al-Shawahda.

76. Morris, *Lidata*, 307, 517–18.

77. Testimonies of relatives of the old man; they prefer to remain unidentified.

78. Interview with (Mrs.) Um Muhammad Hulayhel, who saw the bruises on the face of her relative from the soldiers’ blows before he joined one of the caravans of refugees and left for Lebanon.

79. It seems likely that cases of rape during and after the 1948 war were underreported in the historical literature. With time, it becomes more difficult to investigate those events.

80. Interview with (Mrs.) Um Muhammad Hulayhel.

81. Morris, *Lidata*, 517–18. Yisrael Galili reported the news of the massacres, particularly the murders and rapes in Safsaf, to Ben-Gurion on 11 September 1948 and asked that the soldiers guilty of murder and rape be put on trial, but Ben-Gurion disregarded that request.

82. Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba*, 353.

83. The Israeli army carried out massacres in ‘Ilabun, against al-Mawasi Arabs, in Kufr ‘Inan, Farradiyya, Majd al-Krum, al-Bi‘na, Dayr al-Asad, Nahaf, Tarshiha, Safsaf, Jish, Sa‘sa‘,

Hula, and Saliha. In the massacres of upper Galilee alone hundreds of defenseless civilians and prisoners were executed by the soldiers.

84. The news about the Hula massacre spread later, and an expanded report on the incident was published under the title "Khirbet Lamis" [in Hebrew] in *Ha-Olam Hazeh* (1 March 1978).

85. "Khirbet Lamis"; Morris, *Lidata*, 307.

86. These three villages were treated differently from the rest of the villages that were occupied in Operation Hiram; the army did not maltreat the population or expel them. Morris documented thoroughly the massacres of "Hiram Operation" in his book *Tekkun ta'ut* [Correcting a Mistake: Jews and Arabs in Palestine/Israel 1936–1956] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2000), 146.

87. Morris, *Tekkun ta'ut*, 290–91.

88. Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 351.

89. David Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-Harb, 1947–49* [War Diaries, 1947–1949], ed. Gershon Rivlin and Elhanan Orren, trans. Samir Jabbour (Beirut: Institute for Palestine studies, 1998), 3:604.

90. Telegram no. 597, from Moshe Carmel to the brigade commanders in the north, marked "urgent."

91. Morris, *Tekkun ta'ut*, 143.

92. Morris, *Tekkun ta'ut*, 144. Few historians have examined this study or the documents on which Morris based his attempt to analyze the events and consequences of Operation Hiram.

93. Waschitz published a book titled *Ha-'Aravim be-Erez Yisrael* [The Arabs in Palestine: Economics, Society, Culture and Politics] (Ha-kibuz ha-arzi, 1947).

94. Document in the file of Yosef [Joseph] Waschitz, Ya'ri archive in Giv'at Haviva.

95. The army tried to deny that it had perpetrated a massacre and attempted to expel the residents of 'Ilabun. However, news of what had happened in that village had spread quickly, as indicated by a letter from Elisha Soltz, the military governor of Nazareth, to the northern army command on 30 October 1948.

96. An English translation of this military document, no. 616/13, from the Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, is included in appendix 3.

97. The army document speaks of those young men as though they had been regular soldiers, which is not true.

98. The testimonies of residents of Majd al-Krum, told to me since the 1980s, are consistent with their testimonies before the High Court of Justice in Jerusalem in 1951.

99. Interview with Muhammad Haydar (Abu Jamil) at his house in Majd al-Krum, 30 June 1984. Hajj 'Abd Manna' was one of the witnesses before the High Court of Justice in 1951.

100. One of the soldiers refused to take part with his comrades in the massacre in al-'Ayn square, and was sent to search the houses, which is a more dangerous task, as the officer told him.

101. My Aunt Sa'da was a witness to the torture and killing from the window of her kitchen, and told me the details of this event more than once in my interviews with her.

102. Morris, *Lidata*, 304. For his brief description of the massacre, Morris relied on a report by United Nations observers who visited the village and wrote a report on 13 November 1948.

103. The other two were Ahmad Dhiyab and Mustafa Najm.

104. Morris, *Lidata*, 304; several interviews with the villagers.

105. The date of this document is 18 November, a few days after the visit by the UN team.

106. A copy of the same document addressed to the “Occupied Areas Government Command” for the northern front, officer Schnurrmann, is included in the appendices.

107. Gelber also mentioned this. It appears that the temerity of the villagers to tell the truth to the observers and implicate the Israeli army is what is meant by “conduct unbecoming.” See Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 354.

108. Morris, *Lidata*, 304, 516n29.

109. Among readers’ responses that did not express anger were those from Ya’cov Shim’uni, vice director of the Middle East Department in the Israeli Foreign Ministry, as well as Eliezer Be’eri, an activist in Mapam. They both had connections and contacts with the battles in the north during the war.

110. “Letters from Readers,” *Haaretz*, 26 June 1984.

111. Morris, *Lidata*, 304.

112. See chapter 3 concerning the question of the expulsion of hundreds of residents of Majd al-Krum in January 1949.

113. Adel Manna, “Majdal al-Krum 1948: ‘amaliyat tamshit ‘adeyya” [Majdal al-Krum 1948: Ordinary Combing Operations],” *Al-Karmel* 55–56 (Spring–Summer 1998): 184–200.

114. I had heard about this from the villagers, and Mr. Gazelle confirmed what I had already heard.

115. After a telephone conversation with Tsvi Rabinovich (Bahrav), I conducted the interview with him in Haifa on 16 May 1998.

116. Interview with Rabinovitch, 16 May 1998.

117. I realized then that Tsvi had not known up to that point that I was an Arab, and that my fluency in Hebrew made him speak with me more freely as a lecturer at Hebrew University.

118. I regretted that I was too late, but I had been able to hear from Tsvi his nearly comprehensive testimony prior to his death in December 2002.

119. Dr. Bashir Karkabi is the son of Zahi and Maggie Karkabi (nee Tubi), whom I met more than once in their house.

120. High Court of Justice ruling no. 125/51, Muhammad ‘Ali Husayn and Nine Others v. The Minister of the Interior, the Military Governor of the Galilee, and the Chief of Police of ‘Akka.

121. Quoted by Gelber in *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 351.

122. Morris, *Lidata*, 316–17.

123. Sarah Osatski-Lazar, *Iqrit ve-Bir‘m: ha-Sippur ha-Male* [Iqrit and Bir‘im: The Whole Story] (Givat Haviva: Institute for Arab Studies/Institute for Peace Studies, 1993), 8.

124. Osatski-Lazar, *Iqrit ve-Bir‘m*, 24; Najib Susan, *Sada al-ayyam* [Echo of the Days] (Haifa: Self-published, 2001), 14.

125. Morris, *Lidata*, 317; Susan, *Sada al-ayyam*, 14.

126. Quoted from Morris, *Lidata*, 317.

127. Osatski-Lazar, *Iqrit ve-Bir‘m*, 10.

128. Morris, *Lidata*, 318.

129. Morris, *Lidata*, 336.

130. Official Israeli estimates place the number of Arabs who remained in the Naqab at only 13,000, indicating that these figures need greater examination.

131. Most researchers use this figure from official Israeli statistics without scrutiny or reference to the fact that it may be inaccurate.

132. In a famous interview conducted by Ari Shavit in *Haaretz* on 9 January 2004, Benny Morris admitted that Ben-Gurion had carried out a programmed and methodical expulsion of the residents of the Galilee, which he defended, even criticizing Ben-Gurion for not finishing the job.

133. Morris, *Lidata*, 392.

134. Morris, *Lidata*, 392. The villages of Sakhnin and 'Arraba were not on an important transportation route for the Jews, unlike the villages of al-Shaghur.

135. Morris, *Tekkun ta'ut*, 141.

136. These facts, which are known to Morris, did not prevent him in his book on the 1948 war—particularly in the pages relating to the massacres of Operation Hiram—from returning to the defense of the army and blaming the victims in a manner that is coherent with his political positions, particularly since 2000. See Benny Morris, 1948: *Toldut ha-melhama ha-'Arvit ha-Yisraelit ha-rishona* [1948: History of the First Arab-Israeli War] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2010), 367–78.

137. As quoted by Morris in *Tekkun ta'ut*, 143–44.

3. THE ARAB COMMUNISTS: BETWEEN AL-NAKBA AND INDEPENDENCE

1. For further details on the matter of collaborators with the Zionist movement and its settler and intelligence agencies, see Hillel Cohen, *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 252; Hillel Cohen, *Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 35–36.

2. Cohen, *Army of Shadows*, 169; Laila Parsons, *The Druze between Palestine and Israel, 1947–49* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 56.

3. Cohen, *Army of Shadows*, 236, 254; Yoav Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba* [Independence and Nakba] (Tel Aviv: Zmora Beitan, 2004), 115.

4. Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 123–25; Parsons, *The Druze*, 69–75.

5. The historian Kais Firro, relying on the papers of Khalil Quntar, said that the salaries of Druze officers and soldiers were paid in Kiryat 'Amal. See Kais Firro, *The Druzes in the Jewish State* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 50–51.

6. 'Arif al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba: Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis wa l-firdaws al-mafqud 1947–49* [The Catastrophe: The Catastrophe of Jerusalem and the Lost Paradise 1947–49] (Sidon: al-Maktaba al-'Asriya, 1956), 1:424.

7. See Mansur Khudur Ma'di, *Rajul al-karamat: al-Shaykh Jabr Dahesh M'adi* [The Man Through Whom God Worked Miracles, His Excellency Shaykh Jabr Dahesh M'adi: Positions, Challenges and Achievements] (Yarka: published by family, 2014).

8. Parsons, *The Druze*, 80–82. This account is supported by several researchers, including Kais Firro. For further details on how the agreement was concluded and the entry into Shafa 'Amr, see Ben Dunkelman, *N'manut kfula* [Dual Loyalty: An Autobiography] (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv: Shoken, 1975), 165.

9. See Shukri 'Arraf, *Lamsat wafa' . . . wa . . .* [Touches of Loyalty . . . and . . .] (Mi'lya: Center for Village Studies, 2007). 'Arraf gives prominence to this one aspect of the picture.
10. Constantine Zurayk, *Ma'na al-Nakba* [The Meaning of the Catastrophe] (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, 1948).
11. Musa al-'Alami, *Abira Filastin* [The Lesson of Palestine] (Beirut: Dar al-Kashaf, 1949).
12. George Hanna, *Tariq al-khalas* [The Path to Deliverance: A Situational Analysis of the Palestine's Affliction and Arab Issues] (Beirut: Dar al-'Ahad, 1948); Constantine Zurayk, Musa al-'Alami, George Hanna, and Qadri Hafiz Tuqan, *Nakba 1948: Asbabha wa halulha* [Nakba 1948: Its Causes and Its Solutions], introduction by Walid al-Khalidi (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2009).
13. Communist Arabs had a monopoly on institutionally and legally permitted national action in Israel up to the 1980s. They managed to market their narrative of heroism and to silence the majority of voices that mentioned some of what was known about their role in 1948 and their support for conscripting Arabs in the Israeli army and other matters.
14. These parties were the Iraqi Communist Party, the Syrian Communist Party and the Lebanese Communist Party.
15. Ahmad Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara dai'mat al-khudra* [Roots of the Evergreen Tree] (Haifa: Ma'had Emile Tuma, 1996), 232.
16. Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara*.
17. "We do not mean that this book should write the history of the Communist Party in our country—we hope that this book will spur communist authors to write their history in a scientific and objective way" (Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara*, 7).
18. Musa al-Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi Filastin: shadhaya tarikh mansi* [Communists in Palestine: Fragments of a Forgotten History] (Ramallah: Muwatin, The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, 2013).
19. There is a rich literature in this field in the form of political and social theories critical of the diminished form of citizenship for Arabs in Israel. It is sufficient to mention Nimir Sultani, ed., *Muwatinun bila muwatana: Isra'il wa al-aqaliyya al-Filastiniyya: taqrir Mada al-sanawi li al-rasd al-siyasi, 2000–2002* [Citizens Without Citizenship: Israel and the Palestinian Minorities, Mada's Annual Political Monitoring Report 2000–2002] (Haifa: Mada al-Karmil, Arab Center for Applied Social Studies, 2003). Several studies were subsequently published, including Shourideh Molavi, *Stateless Citizenship: The Palestinian-Arab Citizens of Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
20. For more on this topic, see the interview with Radwan al-Hilu in al-Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi Filastin*, 55–80.
21. Tawfiq al-Tubi writes, as a witness to the events of the period: "The period when the partition resolution was issued . . . up to the point when we arrived at a clear position in support of a solution based on the establishment of two states, was one of the most difficult times we went through." Cited in Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara*, 16.
22. *Al-Ittihad* (organ of the National Liberation League), 5 October 1947.
23. Tawfiq Tubi's testimony, in Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara*, 16; Bulus Farah, *Min al-'Uthmaniyya ila al-dawla al-'Abriyya* [From the Ottoman Empire to the Hebrew State] (Haifa: al-Sawt, 1985), 172–73. The circumstances of the convening of this conference remain shrouded in mystery, as well as the time and place in which it was held in Nazareth.
24. *Al-Ittihad*, 25 November 1947.

25. For more on this subject, see Joel Beinin, *Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948–65* (Berkeley: University of Californian Press, 1990).

26. Prominent among the ranks of the opponents were Emile Tuma and Bulus Farah from Haifa, and others among the leaders of the League in Jerusalem, Jaffa, the Galilee, and elsewhere.

27. *Al-Ittihad*, 25 October 1947.

28. Emile Tuma was obliged, after his return to Haifa, to write a letter of apology for his position against partition and admit the error of his ways in order to be reaccepted as a member of Maki.

29. Farah, *Min al-'Uthmaniyya*, 172–88.

30. 'Awda al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat 'Awda al-'Ashhab: sira dhatiyya* [The Remembrances of 'Awda al-'Ashhab: An Autobiography] (Birzeit: Birzeit University, 1999), 120–21.

31. Lutfi Mash'ur v. Emile Habibi, Civil Appeals Court, case no. 809/89.

32. On the Israeli side, however, a great deal was said and written on the subject. For example, see Arieh Dayan, "Hakuministim asher hitzulu et hamdinah" [The Communists Who Saved the State], *Haaretz*, 5 September 2006.

33. *Kol HaAm*, 5 March 1948.

34. *Kol HaAm*, 21 March 1948.

35. Aharon Cohen, *Yisrael ve-ha'ulam Ha'rbi* [Israel and the Arab World] (Tel Aviv: Workers' Bookshop, 1964), 382.

36. Cohen, *Yisrael ve-ha'ulam Ha'rbi*, 407. Also see statements in 'Arif al-'Arif, *Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 3:563–64, in which he confirms the decisive role that Czech arms played in the battles of June 1948 and later.

37. Na'im al-'Ashhab, *Durub al-alam . . . Durub al-amal* [Paths of Pain . . . Paths of Hope] (Ramallah: Dar al-Tanwir, 2009), 48.

38. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 174–75.

39. Tawfiq Tubi's testimony in Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara*, 18.

40. Tawfiq Tubi's testimony in Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara*.

41. Thanks to Dr. Musa al-Budayri who provided me with this and other documents from the National Liberation League. Dr. Budayri later published a book containing some of those documents, in addition to interviews he had conducted with some leaders of the League in the 1970s; see al-Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi Filastin*.

42. Al-Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi Filastin*.

43. Al-Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi Filastin*.

44. *Kol HaAm*, 18 May 1948.

45. Meir Vilner signed the document of the establishment of Israel as a state for the Jews, and became a member of the interim cabinet which was created in May 1948.

46. Al-Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi Filastin*.

47. This is a clear reference to, and an attack on, the aristocratic Palestinian leadership led by Hajj Amin al-Husayni and others who were labeled feudalists.

48. Bashir Sharif al-Barghuthi, *Fu'ad Nassar: al-rajul wa al-qadiyya* [Fu'ad Nassar, the Man and the Cause] (Jerusalem: Dar Salah al-Din, 1977), 55.

49. Al-Barghuthi, *Fu'ad Nassar*. The final paragraph was altered, and was not part of the original document.

50. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 131–32.
51. Al-'Ashhab, *Durub al-alam*, 49.
52. Al-'Ashhab, *Durub al-alam*, 50–51.
53. Al-'Ashhab, *Durub al-alam*, 51.
54. Sa'd, *Judhur al-Shajara*, 111; Hanna Abu Hanna, *Mahr al-buma* [The Owl's Dowry] (Haifa: Maktabat kul shai, 2004), part three of the autobiography, 98–99.
55. "Bnazrat Haya Gam Kivush Halvavut" [In Nazareth, There Was an Occupation of the Hearts as Well], 'Al Hamishmar, 23 July 1948.
56. 'Isa Habib said in his testimony that the League organized about a thousand workers from Nazareth who travelled to Lydda and Ramla and other places to work the land there. See Sa'd, *Judhur al-Shajara*, 209.
57. Eliezer Be'eri (Bauer), "Sha'ruriyat Nazret" [The Nazareth Scandal], 'Al Hamishmar, 18 August 1949.
58. Bauer, "Sha'ruriyat Nazret."
59. Aharon Cohen, "Dvarim brurim" [Clear Issues], 'Al Hamishmar, 22 August 1948.
60. Bechor Shitrit received Moshe Shertok's (later Sharett's) letter on 8 August 1948; see Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba*, 417.
61. Bechor Shitrit's letter to Elisha Shultz on 12 August 1948, in Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba*.
62. Maggie Karkabi (Tubi) related in her testimony that all members of her family (apart from her brother Tawfiq Tubi) went to Brummana near Beirut. The mother yearned for her son and insisted that he come from Haifa to visit her, so he came to Beirut for a brief period, and then insisted on bringing them all back to Haifa. Interview with Maggie Karkabi in her home, 26 September 2008.
63. Report dated 23 September 1948 in Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba*, 418.
64. Interview with Zahi Karkabi in his house in Haifa, 26 September 2008.
65. Karkabi mentions the name of Eliezer Bray. After their arrival in Haifa, the three played an important role in the activities of the League, and in Maki later.
66. Interview with Matiya Nassar at his home in Jerusalem, 1 April 2009.
67. Interview with Matiya Nassar. The interview with Karkabi confirms most of what was said in the interview with Nassar and vice-versa.
68. Hanna Ibrahim, ed., *Hanna Naqqara: Muhami al-ard wa-sha'b* [Hanna Naqqara: Lawyer of the Land and the People] (Acre: al-Aswar, 1985), 177–78.
69. Cohen, *Arvim Tuvim*, 59.
70. The reference is to the pamphlet mentioned above in n41, which was distributed on 11 July 1948 in the cities and villages of southern Palestine, particularly in Gaza and Hebron.
71. 'Al Hamishmar, 14 September 1948, as quoted by Yossi Amitay in *Akhvat 'amim bamivhan: Mapam 1948–1954* [The Brotherhood of Peoples Tested: Mapam 1948–1954] (Tel Aviv: Tcherikover, 1988), 35.
72. Amitay, *Akhvat 'amim bamivhan*.
73. Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba*, 417.
74. Abu Hanna, *Mahr al-buma*, 132.
75. Abu Hanna, *Mahr al-buma*.
76. This was confirmed by Hanna Abu Hanna who knew Saliba Khamis well because of their familial links. 'Awda al-'Ashhab referred to it frankly in al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 149.

77. There is a consensus among a majority of League members in the Galilee, particularly those who had written memoirs (Hanna Ibrahim, Nimr Murqus, Nadim Musa, and others) that Ramzi Khuri from al-Bi'na was the one who brought the pamphlet from Lebanon.

78. In addition to the above-mentioned memoirs, the testimonies of a number of League veterans are available in Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara*.

79. The term "Nakba" in the singular and its plural were used more than once in that pamphlet as an introduction to the ramifications of the war for the "Arabs of Palestine and all Arab peoples."

80. The testimony of Su'ad Bishara, the widow of Jibra'il Bishara, in an interview in her house, July 2008. Subsequently one of his sons gave me his father's handwritten diaries, sections of which were included in a book that was published a year after his death.

81. *Jibra'il Butrus Bishara: 1925–2005* (Tarshiha: published by the family, 2006), 33–40.

82. Among them was Dr. Rawda Bishara who died at the end of 2013, and Dr. 'Azmi Bishara, a prominent Arab intellectual, who grew up in the Israeli Communist Party, and later founded the National Democratic Assembly (Balad).

83. *Kenis ha'hadut shel hakuministim hayihudim ve-ha'rvim beMaki* [The Conference of the Union of Jewish and Arab Communists in the Framework of the Israel Communist Party] (Haifa, 22–23 October 1948), 15.

84. *Kenis ha'hadut*, 14–15; *Kol HaAm*, 24 October 1948.

85. *Kenis ha'hadut*, 21.

86. *Kenis ha'hadut*, 21–26. These exaggerated numbers of the comrades in the League and the secret resistance movement were meant to legitimize joining Maki in the eyes of the Jewish public.

87. Some believe that the strict censorship at the time may explain the silence concerning those criminal actions carried out by the Israeli army. However, what the communists said and wrote in Hebrew leave no doubt that it was due to the adoption of Zionist discourse, which laid the blame for the Nakba on the Palestinians.

88. *Kol HaAm*, 2 January 1949.

89. *Al-Ittihad*, 3 January 1949. The article also contained information about his life and struggle.

90. *Kol Ha'Am*, 21 January 1949.

91. Shmuel Mikunis, "Eliahu Gozansky: the Man and His Deeds," *Kol HaAm*, 21 January 1949.

92. *Kol HaAm*, 19 July 1948.

93. *Kol HaAm*, 6 September 1948.

94. *Kol HaAm*, 1 November 1948.

95. *Al-Ittihad*, 25 October 1948. This accusation from the Arabic-language Israeli Communist Party (Maki) paper levelled at Arab leaders helped Israel evade responsibility for the birth of the refugee problem and enabled its rejection of the right of return endorsed by the United Nations towards the end of 1948.

96. The murder and expulsion of defenseless civilians involved the residents of the villages of 'Ilabun, al-Mawasi Arabs, Kufr 'Inan, Majd al-Krum, al-Bi'na, Dayr al-Asad, Nahf, Sha'b, Mirun, Jish, al-Safsaf, Sa'sa', Tarshiha, Salha, Hula, and others.

97. *Kol HaAm*, 16 November 1948.

98. *Kol HaAm*.

99. *Kol HaAm*, 20, 22 and 30 June 1949. At the same time that the paper expressed its opposition to the return of the Palestinians it wrote that Jewish migration to Israel (*aliyah*) was a vital necessity for Israel.

100. *Al-Ittihad*, 8 November 1948.

101. *Al-Ittihad*, 8 November 1948.

102. *Al-Ittihad*, 1 January 1948.

103. For more on this subject, see Mustafa Kabha and Wadi 'Awawda, *Asra bila hrab: al-mu'taqlun al-Filistinyun wal-mu'taqlat al-Isra'iliyya al-ula* [Prisoners with No Spears: Palestinian Detainees and the First Israeli Detention Centers, 1948–49] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2013).

104. Hassan Jabareen recently published an important article on the meaning and significance of participation in the first Israeli elections, "Hobbesian Citizenship: How the Palestinians Became a Minority in Israel," in *Multiculturalism and Minority Rights in the Arab World*, ed. Will Kymlicka and Eva Pfostl (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), 189–218.

105. For further detail on the historical significance of participation in the first Israeli elections, see Jabareen's article ("Hobbesian Citizenship"), which was also published in Hebrew in the journal *Theory and Criticism* (Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute).

106. All of the communist literature published by Maki appeared in both Hebrew and Arabic except for two important books: *Kenis ha'ahdut* [Unity and the Establishment of Maki] (Tel Aviv: ICP Central Committee, 1948); and *Ben-Gurion v. Kol HaAm* (Tel Aviv: ICP Central Committee, 1951).

107. *Kol HaAm*, 14 October 1948. *Al-Ittihad*, which reappeared that same month, adopted the same political discourse which made the Arabs responsible for the tragedies and calamities that befell them in the Galilee and other Palestinian areas.

4. FORCED MIGRATION CONTINUES AFTER THE CANNONS FALL SILENT

1. *Israeli Annual Census Book* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Central Statistical Bureau, 1951), 2:4. Ben-Gurion gives different (not final) figures on the number of Arabs remaining in Israel near the end of 1948, after the occupation of Galilee and the Naqab was completed. See David Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb, 1947–1949* [War Diaries, 1947–1949], ed. Gershon Rivlin and Elhanan Oren, trans. Samir Jabbour (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993), 633, 640–41.

2. Said by Yitzhak Tzvi at a Mapai party meeting, as reported by Tom Segev in 1949: *Hayesraelim hareshonim* [1949: The First Israelis] (Jerusalem: Domino, 1984), 46.

3. Segev, 1949: *Hayestaelim hareshonim*.

4. Nur al-Din Masalha dealt with Israel's transfer policy extensively in *Ard akthar wa 'Arab aql: Siyasat al-transfir al-Isra'iliyya fi al-tatbiq, 1949–96*, 2nd ed. [Maximum Land and Minimum Arabs: The Israeli Transfer Policy in Action, 1949–96] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2002), 17–55.

5. Masalha, *Ard akthar wa 'Arab aql*.

6. Minutes of Israeli cabinet meeting on 12 July 1950 as reported in Yoav Gelber, *Komiyut ve-Nakba: Yesrael, ha-Falastinimu-medinut 'Arav* [Independence and Nakba: Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab States in 1948] (Tel Aviv: Zemora Beitan, 2004), 428.

7. Minutes of the meeting of the Foreign Relations and Security Committee on 3 December 1951; Gelber, *Komimut ve-Nakba*.

8. From April 1951 to March 1952 Israeli sources speak of thirty-seven cases of violent infiltration, only one of which was along the Lebanese border. In the following year, forty-four cases of violent infiltration were reported on all fronts, not a single one across the Lebanese border. See Reuven Erlich, *Besvakh ha-Levanon, 1918–58* [The Predicament of Lebanon, 1918–58] (Tel Aviv: Security Ministry, 2006), 398.

9. *Al-Yawm*, 29 February 1952.

10. *Al-Ittihad*, 8 March 1952.

11. Alina Korn, “*Psha'*, *Status politi ve-akhifat khuk: ha-mi'ut ha-'Arvi be-Yisrael betkufat hamemshal hatzva'I* (1948–66) [Criminal Activities, Political Status and Implementation of the Law: The Arab Minority in Israel under Military Rule (1948–1966)] (PhD diss., College of Law, Hebrew University, 1997), 113–14.

12. Korn, “*Psha'*.”

13. Ben-Gurion mentioned in his diary that the phenomenon of “infiltration” had increased and reached 3,000 to 4,000 people. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–49, vol. 3, 692–93.

14. “Elimelech Avnir to the Defense Minister and the Chief of Staff,” 10 February 1949, Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, no. 1/3/2/35. A translation of the document can be found in appendix 5 in this book.

15. “Elimelech Avir to Defense Minister.”

16. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, no. 841/72/721. My thanks to Hillel Cohen for helping me obtain a copy of this document.

17. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, no. 841/72/721.

18. Moshe Carmel, governor of the northern district, supported “collecting all the arms of the Druze,” but Ben-Gurion decided that the government should not ask the Druze to surrender their weapons. See Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–49, 3:630–31.

19. Segev, 1949: *Hayestaelim hareshonim*, 67.

20. Interview with 'Awad Mansur at his home on 7 August 2001. The refugees from Kufr 'Anan were resettled on an infertile mountainous hilltop at the western entrance to the village, in barracks until the 1960s, away from the houses of al-Rama and close to our secondary school where I was a student.

21. Handwritten diaries of Muhammad Haydar, Abu Jamil. The information from his memoirs is corroborated by testimonies in Supreme Court cases raised by the people of Majd al-Krum, discussed more expansively in chapter 6.

22. *Army and Security Forces Archives*, Haifa District Command, no. 580/6, titled: “Combing Operation in Majd al-Krum,” signed by Tsvi Rabinovich. A translation of the document can be found in appendix 6.

23. *Army and Security Forces Archives*, no. 580/6. Those who were interrogated and chased that day testified that the soldiers and policemen assaulted the men verbally and with their hands and legs.

24. *Army and Security Forces Archives*, no. 580/6. On that day, my family was expelled from the village.

25. *Army and Security Forces Archives*, Shlomo [Pulman] to the military governor—Western Galilee, 12 January 1949, no. 436. This document, unlike the previous one, is handwritten and signed with the first name only. A copy can be found in appendix 7.

26. *Army and Security Forces Archives*, 12 January 1949, no. 436.

27. Shweili from Nahalal, who was nicknamed Abu Khadr, maintained good relations with many villagers in Majd al-Krum and villages of western Galilee in general.

28. I had heard the stories told by relatives about the blows which mukhtar Hajj 'Abd Salim Manna⁴ had received and how he escaped death several years before I became a student of history.

29. *Army and Security Forces Archives*, 12 January 1949, no. 436. The villagers in many cases chose to remain silent and not to submit complaints out of fear of retaliation by the soldiers.

30. I heard this story many times from my mother and aunts as an example of the courage of Zahra al-Ja'uniyya.

31. I first heard this story in my father's house. In 1984 I conducted several interviews, one with Muhyi al-Din Sa'id Manna⁵ (Abu al-Sa'id), who told me the story of Orbach in detail.

32. Interview with Uncle Husayn 'Ali Manna⁶ at his home in Majd al-Krum, 23 November 2007.

33. Interview with Muhammad 'Ali Sa'id Qaddah at his home in Majd al-Krum, 23 February 2003.

34. Interview with Muhammad 'Ali Sa'id Qaddah.

35. Muhammad Qaddah had an excellent memory for numbers and details. He mentioned, for example, that one Palestinian lira was worth about 12 Lebanese liras at the time.

36. Interview with Tsvi Rabinovitch in his home in Haifa, 16 May 1998.

37. The registration of the population of Majd al-Krum, as we said earlier, took place during 12–14 December 1948, but the receipts were not distributed until five weeks later, on 17 January 1949.

38. The testimonies of residents of Majd al-Krum clearly indicate that the authorities decided to expel the majority of young men of military service age, even though some had been registered in the census. However, many of them came back to the village, went to court in Israel, and obtained permanent identity cards and citizenship.

39. Interview with Muhammad 'Ali Sa'id Qaddah.

40. Interview with Muhammad 'Ali Sa'id Qaddah. See also Charles Kamen, "Akhe ha-'Ason: ha-'Arvim be-mdinat Yesrael, 1948–51" [After the Catastrophe: Arabs in the State of Israel, 1948–51] in *Mahbarut le-mekhkar ve-bekkuret* [Notebooks for Study and Critique] 10 (1984), 35.

41. *Al-Ittihad*, 13 November 1949, 4.

42. *Al-Ittihad*, 13 November 1949. The paper mentioned that three hundred individuals had been expelled from Tarshiha, while sixty-three others were expelled from al-Bi'na and Dayr al-Asad.

43. Riyad al-Solh had been accused of conducting negotiations with Israel to reach a peace agreement.

44. I found this important information in the diaries of Muhammad Haydar (Abu Jamil) who was in the habit of recording deaths, births, and weddings in the village as well as other local news and some general news.

45. Interview with Dhib As'ad Manna⁷ (Abu Nahi) at his home in Majd al-Krum, 6 August 2008.

46. Interview with Dhib As'ad Manna⁸. As we mentioned earlier, dozens if not hundreds of expellees from Majd al-Krum and other villages returned to their homes in the summer of 1951 on the eve of the second Knesset elections.

47. Diaries of Muhammad Haydar (Abu Jamil), who was one of the few educated people who remained in the village. He became the local news correspondent of the quasi-official daily *al-Yawm*.

48. Diaries of Muhammad Haydar (Abu Jamil).

49. This operation began on 31 August 1950 according to Abu Jamil's diary.

50. Supreme Court Decision no. 1951/155. We shall take up this case and other cases before the Supreme Court more expansively in chapter 6.

51. Benny Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul shel Yesrael, 1949–56* [Israel's Border Wars, 1949–56] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1996), 165–98.

52. Hillel Cohen, *‘Arvim tuvim: ha-mudi‘en ha-Yisra‘eli ve-Harvim be-Yesra‘el* (Jerusalem: Keter, 2006), 125–26; translated as *The Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

53. Cohen mentions that up to 1950, about two hundred of Sha'b's original inhabitants managed to return to their homes and lived there.

54. Cohen, *‘Arvim tuvim*, 125.

55. Yasir Ahmad ‘Ali et al., *Sha'b wahamiyatuha: qaryat sha'b al-jaliliyya wal-difa'a ‘unha* [Sha'b and Its Garrison: The Galilee Village of Sha'b and Its Defense] (Beirut: Thabet, al-Munadhdhama al-Filastiniyya li Haqq al-‘Awda, 2007).

56. ‘Ali et al., *Sha'b wahamiyatuha*, 97–100.

57. Elias Khoury, *Bab al-shams* (Beirut: Dar al-Adab, 1998); in English as *Gate of the Sun*, trans. by Humphrey Davies (London: Vintage, 2006).

58. ‘Ali, *Sha'b wahamiyatuha*. This source gives details of the battles and martyrs among the Sha'b villagers during that stage of the war.

59. Supreme Court Decision no. 51/236, *‘Abdul Ghani Qays et al. v. the Minister of the Interior et al.*

60. ‘Ali, *Sha'b wahamiyatuha*, 51–52. Also Sulayman Khwaldi has studied the question of the relocation of the inhabitants of Krad al-Baqqara and Krad al-Ghanama in "History of the Beduin villages of Krad al-Baqqara and Krad al-Ghannama" (PhD diss., University of Erlangen, Germany, 1992).

61. Cohen, *‘Arvim tuvim*, 126–127.

62. Supreme Court Decision no. 52/303, 724. Dahir Husayn Fa'ur v. the Inspector of the Police of Akka et al.

63. Supreme Court Decision no. 52/303, 724; Volume 7 (1953), 725. These decisions were published in several volumes.

64. Supreme Court Decision no. 52/303, 724.

65. Supreme Court Decision no. 52/263.

66. Supreme Court Decision no. 52/263.

67. Supreme court Decision no. 52/303.

68. Some of the Sha'b villagers who lived in Majd al-Krum maintained cooperative relations with Shafiq Abu ‘Abdu until the day he died, and a number of them, including Muhammad Haydar (Abu Jamil) attended his funeral in Sha'b in November 1969, as Abu Jamil reported in his diary.

69. The letter is in the archives of the attorney Hanna Naqqara, dated 13 March 1952. My thanks to Na‘ila Naqqara, the daughter of Hanna and wife of my colleague, historian Butrus Abu-Manneh, for allowing me access to her father's papers at her home in Haifa.

70. Letter, archives of Hanna Naqqara, dated 13 March 1952.

71. Letter, archives of Hanna Naqqara, dated 13 March 1952. Hamad 'Othman and his son Nur were on good terms with the policeman, Shweili. The father had been a policeman and his son was appointed for a period to serve in the police force, according to the testimonies of village residents.

72. The letter is written with beautiful penmanship and in the language of an educated man. Sa'id Husayn 'Abbas signed it with his thumbprint, indicating that he could neither read nor write, like many of his generation.

73. Cohen, *Arvim tuvim*, 127–30.

74. Shukri 'Arraf, *Lamsat waf... wa...* [Touches of Loyalty] (Mi'lya: Markaz al-Dirasat al-Qurawiyya), 308.

75. Supreme Court Decision no. 56/157.

76. The Supreme Court ruling was issued on 27 November 1956.

77. Benny Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim, 1947–49* [The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–49] (Tel Aviv: 'Am Oved, 1991), 319.

78. Interview with Su'ad Bishara in her home in Tarshiha, 8 July 2008.

79. 'Arraf, *Lamsat waf... wa...*, 144.

80. 'Arraf, *Lamsat waf... wa...*, 145.

81. Interview with Anis Bishara in his home in Tarshiha, 8 July 2008.

82. 'Arraf, *Lamsat waf... wa...*, 130–35.

83. Interview with Fatma Hawwari in her home in Tarshiha, 7 August 2008. She made a point during the interview of referring to Abie Nathan who, she said, visited her in her house in 1995 and asked for her forgiveness for what he had done in his youth when he bombed the village and caused a tragedy for her and her family.

84. Jibra'il Butrus Bishara, *Jibra'il Butros Bishara: 1925–2005* [in Arabic] (Tarshiha: published by the family, 2006), 42.

85. According to the census, there were 720 people living in the village. See *Jibra'il Butros Bishara*, 42–43.

86. Morris, *Lidata*, 320.

87. Elias Shoufani, *Rihla fi al-rahil: fusul min al-dhakira... lam taktamel* [A Journey in Departure: Chapters of Memory... not completed] (Beirut, Dar al-Kunuz al-Adabiyya, 1994, 51; Segev, 1949: *Hayestaelim hareshonim*).

88. Morris, *Lidata*, 320.

89. Interview with Anis Bishara (Abu Salim), 8 July 2008.

90. Morris, *Lidata*, 323. More than one person I interviewed in Tarshiha indicated that the bishop later helped people from the village to obtain permanent identity and residence cards.

91. Hillel Cohen, *Al-Gha'ibun al-hadirun: al-laji'un al-Filastiniyyun fi Isra'il mundhu sanat 1948* [The Present Absentees: Palestinian Refugees in Israel Since 1948] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003), 75.

92. The authorities later moved the newcomers from Romania to the cooperative settlement Ma'unah, which is located today between Tarshiha and Mi'lya.

93. These good relations found literary expression in a collection of stories by the attorney Tawfiq Mu'amar, particularly in "Al-Kamin (The Trap)" in *Al-Mutasallil wa qisas ukhra* [The Infiltrator and Other Stories] (Nazareth: al-Hakim Press, 1957), 73–89.

94. Supreme Court Decision no. 53/185, Fahd Mikha'il Khalil v. the police and military government in Tarshiha.

95. Supreme Court Decision no. 53/185. The court issued its decision on 26 January 1953.

96. *Al-Ittihad*, 14 March 1949.

97. Nimir Murqus, who participated in the attempt to resist the expulsion, testified that the number of original inhabitants of Kufr Yasif who were involved was thirty-five, including three comrades, Nicola Dawud, Raja Sa'd, and Ahmad Shehada. Interview with Nimir Murqus in his home in Kufr Yasif, 28 June 2008.

98. Morris, *Lidata*, 168.

99. *Al-Ittihad*, 14 March 1949.

100. *Al-Ittihad*, 19 June 1949; 26 June 1949.

101. Morris, *Lidata*, 173.

102. Morris, *Lidata*, 174.

103. *Minutes of Knesset Sessions*, vol. 3, 1949/1950, 71.

104. *Minutes of Knesset Sessions*, vol. 3, 1949/1950, 71.

105. Ben-Gurion's statements here in his reply to Tawfiq Tubi reflect Israel's propaganda and the arrogance of the prime minister and defense minister who was known for his anti-Arab positions, even at the personal level, towards Arab Knesset members in general and the communists in particular.

106. What Ben-Gurion was referring to was Tubi's party during the days of the mandate, the National Liberation League, which had a hostile attitude towards Zionism until 1947, as we mentioned earlier.

107. *Minutes of Knesset Sessions*, vol. 3, 1949/1950, 72.

108. *Al-Ittihad*, 12 June 1949, quoting 'Al Hamishmar.

109. Benny Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul shel Yesrael, 1949–56* [Israel's Border Wars, 1949–56] (Tel Aviv: 'Am Oved, 1996); originally published in English, Oxford University Press, 1994, 533 n212.

110. Benny Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul*, 190.

111. Meeting of the Mapai party on 18 June 1950, as cited in Morris, *Israel's Border Wars*, 190.

112. There is a lengthy review of such ideas in Uzi Benziman and 'Atallah Mansur, *'Arveyyi Yesrael, mamadam ve-hamdenut klapeihim* [Sub-Tenants: The Israeli Arabs: Their Status and Policies Toward Them] (Jerusalem, Keter, 1992), 54–60.

113. Masalha, *Ard akthar wa 'Arab aql*, 36–37.

114. Hawwari had been permitted to return to Israel near the end of 1949, and led a policy that was hostile to the communists, but he had reservations about ideas for the migration of Arabs to Arab countries. In fact he opposed them, contrary to what Sasson said.

115. Masalha, *Ard akthar wa 'Arab aql*, 38.

116. From a report of the secret services, as cited in Benziman and Mansur, 58.

117. *Minutes of Knesset*, as cited in Benziman and Mansur, 58; Mustafa 'Abbas, *al-Jishsh: tarikh qarya Jaliliyya* [Al-Jishsh: The History of a Galilee Village] (Al-Jishsh: al-Majlis al-Mahhali), 2010), 169–76.

118. *Al-Ittihad*, 17 July and 7 August 1953.

119. Tahir al-Tabari's letter to the head of state sent via the military governor of Nazareth was published in *al-Rabita* 8, July 1953, 13–15.

120. *al-Rabita* 9–10, August–September 1953.
121. *Al-Yawm*, 25 April 1954.
122. Benny Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul*, 165; Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–1949, 3:692.
123. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–1949, 693.
124. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–1949, 3:726.
125. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–1949, 640.
126. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–1949, 673.
127. Orna Cohen, 'Arveyyi Majdal (Ashkelon) Tmurus be-matzavam memelhemet 1948 ve-'Ad le-penuyyam memdinat Yesra'il [The Arabs of Majdal: Transformations in Their Circumstances from the 1948 war Until Their Exile from Israel], MA thesis, Hebrew University, September 1999, 32; Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–49, 3: 726.
128. Morris, *Lidata*, 338.
129. Cohen, 'Arvim tuvim, 119.
130. Cohen, 'Arvim tuvim.

5. STORIES ABOUT INDIVIDUALS AND VILLAGES

1. Hunaida Ghanim, "Al-Hudud wa al-hayat al-sirriyya li al-muqawama al-yawmiyya: qaryat al-Marja al-Filastiniyya, 1949–1967" [The Borders and The Secret Life of Daily Resistance: The Palestinian Village of Marja, 1949–1967], *Journal of Palestine Studies* 102 (Spring 2015): 121–43.
2. The conditions of transfer of control over those villages and the proximity of Triangle villages to the border (and witnessing bloody clashes) contributed to the atmosphere of constant tension and the occurrence of extraordinary incidents.
3. Abdallah al-Tal, *Karethat Filastin: mudhakirat 'Abdullah al-Tal qa'id ma'rakat al-Quds* [The Tragedy of Palestine: The Memoirs of Abdullah al-Tal, Commander of the Battle for Jerusalem], 2nd ed. (Kufr Qari': Dar al-Huda, 1990), 487–544; originally published in Cairo, Dar al-qalam, in 1959.
4. 'Arif al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba: Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis wal-firdaws al-mafqud 1947–1949* [The Catastrophe: The Castrophe of Jerusalem and the Lost Paradise, 1947–1949] (Sidon: al-Maktaba al-'Asriya, 1956–1961), 4:897–99.
5. These critical remarks were published prior to similar accusations by Abdullah al-Tal in *Karethat Filastin*, first published in 1959.
6. *Al-Yawm* published the details of the agreement the day after it was signed, and mentioned that Reuven Shiloach and Moshe Dayan signed for the Israeli side.
7. Al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba*, 5:1032–41.
8. 'Abd al-Rahim 'Iraqi, *La takhaf: dhikrayat 'ala sa'id al-khawf* [Don't be Afraid: Memories about Fear], (Yafat al-Nasira: al-Tal'a, 1996), 315–18; Abdul al-Raziq Abu Ras, *Qalansuwa: Ma'alim wa-ahdath* [Qalansuwa: Landmarks and Events] (Tulkarm: al-Matba'a al-Ahiliya, 1999), 143–44.
9. Abu Ras, *Qalansuwa*, 149–50.
10. Contrary to what *al-Yawm* newspaper tried to convey, the villagers remained not out of love for Israel but so that they could continue to live in their homes and on their land instead of living as refugees in the West Bank.

11. *Al-Yawm*, 8 May 1949.
12. *Al-Yawm*, 9 May 1949.
13. 'Arif al-'Arif discusses the article in the armistice agreement which protects the rights of the inhabitants after their transfer to Israeli control. See *Al-Nakba*, 4: 897–99.
14. Hillel Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn: al-laj'un al-filastiniyun fi 'isra'il min 1948* [The Present Absentees: The Palestinian Refugees in Israel after 1948] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2003), 67.
15. Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn*, 46. After the expulsion of the vast majority of the refugees, a few hundred were left in the Triangle area who lived in Baqa al-Gharbiyya.
16. Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn*, 72.
17. *Al-Ittihad*, 15 March 1951.
18. Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn*, 166. Cohen mentions that the Supreme Court decision was issued on 30 June; in fact it was issued one month later, on 28 July 1952. Supreme Court Decision 52/36, Nadaf and seven others v. the Minister of Defense and the Military Governor.
19. Supreme Court Decision no. 52/36.
20. Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn*, 166–67.
21. *Al-Rabita* 12, November 1953, 32.
22. *Al-Rabita* 12, November 1953, 32.
23. Elias Saliba Surur, *Al-Nakba fi 'Ilabun* [Al-Nakba in 'Ilabun] ('Ilabun: al-Majlis al-Mahhalli, 1998), 44–45.
24. Benny Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim, 1947–49* [The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–49] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1991), 306. What Morris has to say about what happened in 'Ilabun, including the date of the return of the villagers (summer of 1949) contains many errors.
25. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 44–45.
26. Morris, *Lidata*, 305. The priest Murqus Yuhanna al-Mu'allim, who recorded the events in 'Ilabun in his diaries, wrote that at the beginning of November the army entered the houses of 'Ilabun and looted them in a methodical way over several days, leaving nothing of the contents; they also stole the cows, goats, sheep, and horses.
27. Elias Saliba Surur, *'Ilabun: tarikh wa dhikrayat* ['Ilabun: History and Memories] (Nazareth: al-Hakim Press, 1997), 114–15.
28. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 61.
29. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 63–64.
30. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 64.
31. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 65–66.
32. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 66–67. That group returned to Juniya in Lebanon; they set off from there and crossed the border to the Galilee returning once again to 'Ilabun.
33. Morris, *Lidata*, 306.
34. Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 68.
35. Interviews with Elias Surur and several members of the Zurayq family in the summer of 2008.
36. *Al-Ittihad*, 25 May 1949. Bishop Hakim also held a special prayer for the martyrs on the occasion of the passage of a year since the 'Ilabun massacre. See Surur, *Al-Nakba*, 79.
37. The village historian Elias Surur wrote, based on the diaries of Murqus al-Mu'allim, that the army planned to blow up all of the houses of the village after expelling the

population; see *Al-Nakba*, 81. On 25 November 1948, it had taken measurements and placed markings on twenty houses in preparation for their demolition.

38. Sarah Osetski-Lazar, “Kufr Qari‘, 1948–49: Ha‘ziva vi-hashiva” [Kufr Qari‘, 1948–49: Migration and Return], unpublished paper presented at a conference on the 1948 war, Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute, 2010.

39. Osetski-Lazar, “Kufr Qari‘,” 14–15.

40. Osetski-Lazar, “Kufr Qari‘”; Muhammad ‘Aql, *al-Mufassal fi tarikh wadi ‘Ara* [A Detailed History of Wadi ‘Ara] (Jerusalem: al-Sharq Arabic Press, 1999), 284.

41. In addition to Sarah Osetski-Lazar and Muhammad ‘Aql, another historian of the events of Kufr Qari‘ and the region as a whole, Mustafa Kabha, merits attention. See Mustafa Kabha and Nimir Sarhan, *Bilad al-rawha fi fatrat al-intidab al-Baritani* [The Land of the Evening Journey During the British Mandate] (Ramallah, Dar al-Shuruq, 2004).

42. Osetski-Lazar, “Kufr Qari‘,” 16–17.

43. Osetski-Lazar, “Kufr Qari‘,” 20–22.

44. According to *al-Yawm*, the villages of Wadi ‘Ara were transferred to Israeli sovereignty on 20 May 1949. Two days later, the paper reported about the raising of the Israeli flag in the Wadi ‘Ara region.

45. Muhammad ‘Amin Beshr-Saffuri, *‘Illut abr al-tarikh* [‘Illut through History] (Nazareth: Maktab al-Nuris, 2002), 97.

46. Beshr-Saffuri, *‘Illut abr al-tarikh*, 99. The author included a photo with the description of the scene of the massacre, as well as photos of the victims of that massacre in the olive grove.

47. See Beshr-Saffuri, *‘Illut abr al-tarikh*, the testimony of Sabri ‘Ali Abu Ras in an interview with Wadi‘ Awawde in May 2004. The author thanks Mr. ‘Awawde for providing a copy of the interview.

48. In his book *Lidata* (The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem), Morris does not mention the killings in ‘Illut. In his later book *Border Wars* he notes the massacre in a footnote; see Benny Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul shel Yesrael, 1949–56* [Israel’s Border Wars, 1949–56] (Tel Aviv, Am Oved, 1996), 563.

49. Ilan Pappé mentions ‘Illut in his book only once by mistake as he places this village next to other villages in northern Galilee, such as Fassuta and Tarbikha, as targets of raids. Ilan Pappé, *Al-Tathir al-‘irqi fi filastin* [The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2007), 85.

50. Al-‘Arif, *Al-Nakba: Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 3:631.

51. Mustafa Abbasi, “Nazareth after the War, 1948–1949: Refugees and Demographic Changes,” in *The Cities of Galilee During the 1948 War: Four Cities and Four Stories* (Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2014), 189.

52. Father Dubrovsky (1913–52) was of Czech origin. He arrived in Nazareth in 1933, and died young in a road accident during his return to Nazareth from Haifa in 1952.

53. Ahmad al-Bash, “Majzarat qaryat ‘Illut” [The Massacre in ‘Illut Village], *Al-‘Awda* (August 2008): 3–4.

54. Morris, *Lidata*, 237.

55. Abbasi, “Nazareth after the War,” 173.

56. Cohen, *Al-Gha‘bun al-hadrun*, 51–52. In addition to the refugees in Nazareth, there were another 1,600 expellees in the villages of the district.

57. Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn*, 52. Abbasi mentions that the top clerics at the monastery said there were about 2,000 expelled villagers who had taken refuge there.

58. Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn*, 53.

59. Sarah Osetski-Lazar, *Iqrīt ve-Bir'm: ha-Sippur ha-Male* [Iqrīt and Kufr Bir'im: The Whole Story] (Giv'at Haviva: Institute for Arab Studies/Institute for Peace Studies, 1993), 13.

60. Yusif Susan, *Shahadati: yawmiyyat Bir'imiyā, 1948–68* [My Testimony: Bir'im Diaries] (D.M.: self-published, 1986), 17–18. Also, the testimony of Afif Ibrahim in Osetski-Lazar, *Iqrīt and Kufr Bir'im*, 16.

61. Susan, *Shahadati*.

62. Supreme Court ruling no. 51/220 in al-Ghabisiyya case.

63. Dawud Badr, *al-Ghabisiyya: baqīya abadan fi al-qalb wa al-dhakira* [Al-Ghabisiyya Will Live Forever in Our Hearts and Memory] (D.M.: self-published, 2002).

64. Interview with Ahmad Hulayhel (born 1916), 10 January 2001 in his house in the village of Jish.

65. Interview with Sa'id Hulayhel, son of Khaled Khalil Hulayhel, and Mariam Hulayhel, at her home in Jish.

66. Morris, *Lidata*, 322; Cohen, *Al-Gha'bun al-hadrūn*, 152.

67. Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi, *Shahid 'ayan: mudhakkarat Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi* [Eyewitness: the Memoirs of Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi] (Shafa 'Amr: Dar al-Mashreq, 1987), 37.

68. 'Ali Hulayhel died in the summer of 2001, six months after I interviewed him. People remarked that even in his last days he had expressed a sense of bitterness and injustice over the treatment he and his extended family had received from state institutions that barred their return to Qadditha.

69. In the wake of the operation, about 240 people migrated from al-Khisas, while about sixty from the family of Shaykh 'Atiya stayed.

70. Aharon Duleb, "Ma irei' be-Khisas?" [What Happened in al-Khisas?] *Nir* 4, no. 3 (December 1952), 12.

71. Duleb, "What Happened in al-Khisas?" 13.

72. The Supreme Court issued a provisional order on 12 June 1952; Supreme Court Decision, *Shaykh 'Atiya v. the Ministry of Defense*, no. 52/132.

73. Supreme Court Decision, *Shaykh 'Atiya v. the Ministry of Defense*, no. 52/132.

74. The pamphlets were distributed on 11 July 1948.

75. 'Awda al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat 'Awda al-'Ashhab: sirat dhatiya* [The Memoirs of 'Awda al-'Ashhab: An Autobiography] (Birzeit: Birzeit University, 1999), 162–74.

76. *Minutes of the Knesset*, vol. 1, 1949, 532.

77. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 162.

78. *Al-Ittihad*, 17 January 1949.

79. *Minutes of the Knesset*, vol. 1, 1949, 532.

80. Mustafa Kabha and Wadi' 'Awawde, *'Asra bila harb: al-mu'taqalun al-Filastiniyyun wa al-mu'taqalat al-Isra'iliyya al-ula, 1948–1949* [Prisoners Without War: Palestinian Detainees and the First Israeli Detention Centers, 1948–1949] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2013).

81. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 191–94.

82. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 191–94.

83. *Minutes of the Knesset*, vol. 7 (a), 1950–1951, 618–19.

84. *Minutes of the Knesset*, vol. 8, 1951, 784.
85. What Tubi was referring to was the case of Hasan Abu 'Isha and his family.
86. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 207–9.
87. *Al-Ittihad*, 15 December 1950.
88. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 213. The reference is to the house of MK Moshe Sneh, as told to me by Abu 'Adnan over several sessions at his house in Shu'fat.
89. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 216.
90. Al-'Ashhab, *Tadhakurat*, 217–19.
91. A solution to the problem of Mariam al-'Ashhab was quickly found in 1955, to the extent that she participated in the Knesset elections that year, according to the testimony and recollections of Abu 'Adnan.
92. *Al-Ittihad*, 16 February 1952. The paper reported the immigration of the attorney Subhi al-Ayubi to Libya which, it asked, raised an open question: "Who is behind the plan to encourage the immigration of Arabs to Libya?"
93. In 1951 a government was formed that united the various parts of Libya and declared Libya's independence in December of the same year, after which Muhammad Idris al-Sanusi was crowned king of Libya.
94. Author interview with the retired judge Khalil Abbud at his house in Nazareth, at the beginning of June, 2009.
95. Farid al-Sa'd, a wealthy and prominent activist in the national movement, was mentioned in ch. 1. This family is originally from Umm al-Fahm.
96. Meir Shelon arrived in Tripoli, Libya in September 1951 as the replacement to the previous consul, Meir Wardi, and remained there until December 1952. During that period, he worked to arrange for the emigration of Libyan Jews to Israel by way of Italy. For further details, see "The Heritage of Libyan Jews," particularly the topic "The Big Migration from Libya," online at livluv.org.il (accessed 7 April 2020).
97. According to his testimony, Khalil Abbud worked as an English language teacher in al-Rama high school then, after passing the bar exam in December 1955, practiced law. In 1982 he was made a judge and remained on the bench until his retirement in 1996.
98. *Decisions of the Supreme Court*, Decision no. 52/24, Nu'aima Nasr Hakim v. Minister of the Interior, 631–39.
99. *Al-Ittihad* newspaper reported that thirteen small villages in the Wadi 'Ara region had their inhabitants uprooted and their lands confiscated. *Al-Ittihad*, 10 February 1951.
100. Cohen gives three examples of that in his book, *'Arvim tuyim:ha-mudie'en ha-Yisra'eli ve-Harvim be-Yesra'el* [Good Arabs: Israeli Intelligence and the Arabs in Israel] (Jerusalem: Keter, 2006), 100–9.
101. The account of this event is taken from an article titled "Parashat Kfar 'Ara" [The Case of Ara village] in *Nir* 4, no. 1 (October 1952), 8.
102. "Parashat Kfar 'Ara, 8.
103. *Haaretz*, 29 August 1952; *'Al Hamishmar*, 29 August 1952.
104. *'Al Hamishmar*, 14 July 1952.
105. Sarah Osetski-Lazar, "Ha-Memshal ha-tsva'i ke-mangnon le-shlita ba-ezrahim ha-'aravim: ha-asor ha-rishon, 1948–58" [The Military Government as a System of Control over Arab Citizens: The First Decade, 1948–1958], *Hamezrah Hahadash* 43 (2002): 103–32.
106. Osetski-Lazar, "Ha-Memshal ha-tsva'i ke-mangnon."

107. 'Iraqi, *La takhaf*, 367.

108. 'Iraqi, *La takhaf*, 355–65.

109. 'Abd al-Rahim 'Iraqi devoted several pages of his memoirs to talk about this incident in al-Tira; the people feared that the army may carry out a massacre during the search, which struck terror in the hearts of the children. The source of these fears was the villagers' recollections primarily of what had happened in 1948, and followed by the killings along the border, and the Israeli retaliation against West Bank villages. See 'Iraqi, *La takhaf*, 290.

110. News item [in Hebrew], *Nir* 4, 12, (August 1953), 16.

111. A local committee of villagers estimated the damages suffered by the residents to be in the region of ten thousand liras.

112. *Nir* 4, no. 12 (August 1953), 15–16. The magazine published expanded reports of the incident and the reactions of condemnation by Arabs and Jews, including an English-language letter from the attorney Elias Kusa, 28–31.

113. *Minutes of the Knesset*, vol. 14 (5 August 1953), 2147–49.

114. Testimony of Fatima Qasem 'Eid, quoted in 'Isa Muhammad Dhiyab 'Awna, *'Arab al-Subayh: Tarikh wa Riwaya* [Al-Subayh Arabs: A History and a Tale] (Kufr Kana: Dar al-Hikma Press, 2006), 106.

115. Testimony of 'Abed Hasan Turki, in 'Awna, *'Arab al-Subayh*, 119.

116. Testimony of Ghayura Zayed, in 'Awna, *'Arab al-Subayh*.

117. *Al-Ittihad*, 17 December 1954.

118. Hanna Abu Hanna, *Khamirat al-ramad* [The Yeast of Ashes] Part 2, *al-Sira al-dhatiyah* [Autobiography] (Haifa: Maktabat Kul Shay', 2004), 16–19.

119. Abu Hanna, *Khamirat al-ramad*, 20.

120. Nadir Zu'bi, *Ha-Tefruset ha-merhavit shel tuf'at hameha'h bekerev hayeshuvim Ha'arvim, 1949–66* [The Geography of Protest in the Villages of the Galilee under Military Rule, 1949–66]. PhD diss., Haifa University, 2007, part 2, 187.

121. Zu'bi, *Ha-tefruset ha-merhavit*, 189. Both petitions are dated December 1954.

122. Rubik Rosenthal, ed., *Kfar Qasim: iru'im ve-metus* [Kafir Qasim: Events and a Legend] (Tel Aviv: United Kibbutz, 2000).

123. Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul*, 444.

124. Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul*, 445.

125. Morris, *Melhamut ha-gvul*, 424–25. Between seventy and ninety Arabs were killed in the Qalqilya operation, while dozens of Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded.

126. Al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba: Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 5:904–5.

127. Rosenthal revealed "Operation Mole" for the first time in a newspaper article published in *Hadashot*, 25 October 1991.

128. Rosenthal, *Kfar Qasim: iru'im ve-metus*, 14–15.

6. THE STRUGGLE TO REMAIN: BETWEEN POLITICS AND THE JUDICIARY

1. Formally, the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, available at mfa.gov.il/mfa/aboutisrael/israelat50/pages/the%20declaration%20of%20the%20establishment%20of%20the%20state.aspx (accessed 8 March 2020).
2. The personality of Minister Shitrit, and his achievements in 1948 and after, were singular among all other ministers in the Ben-Gurion government. This deserves more attention from researchers.

3. Uzi Benziman and 'Atallah Mansur, *Dayyari meshne: 'Arveyyi Yesrael, mamadam ve-hamdenuyt klapeihim* [Sub-Tenants: The Israeli Arabs: Their Status and Policies Toward Them] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1992), 63.
4. For more on this subject see Hillel Cohen, *'Arvim tuvim:ha-mudie'en ha-Yisraeli ve-Harvim be-Yesra'el* (Jerusalem: Keter, 2006); published in English as *Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).
5. Ian Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980).
6. *Al-Yawm*, 14 February 1949.
7. See the recently released Haim Hazan and Daniel Monterescu, *'Iir been 'Arbayem: le'umiyyut mezdakenet be-Yafo* [A City at Sunset: Aging Nationalism in Jaffa] (Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute and the United Kibbutz, 2011).
8. Benny Morris, 1948: *The History of the First Arab-Israeli War* (Yale University Press, 2008), 177; published in Hebrew as 1948: *Toldut ha-melhama ha-'Arvit ha-Yesraelit ha-rishona* (Tel Aviv: 'Am Ovid, 2010), 307.
9. Morris, 1948: *The History of the First Arab-Israeli War*.
10. Morris, 1948: *The History of the First Arab-Israeli War*.
11. Letter from the Emergency Committee in Jaffa to the command of the Haganah in Tel Aviv, dated 26 June 1948. Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem, File No. 2566/15.
12. Benny Morris, *Lidata shel ba'yat ha-plitim ha-Falastinim, 1947–49* [The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–49] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1991), 199–200.
13. Shitrit's answer to Yaakov Shimoni, dated 19 July 1948, quoted from Morris, *Lidata*, 154.
14. *Lexicon ha-ishim shel eretz yesrael* [Dictionary of Prominent People in Palestine, 1799–1948] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1983), 11.
15. 'Arif al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba: Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis wa l-firdaws al-mafqud 1947–49* [The Catastrophe: The Catastrophe of Jerusalem and the Lost Paradise 1947–49] (Sidon: Al-Maktaba al-'Asriya, 1956), 1:264. Al-'Arif adds that the role of Abu-Laban grew in importance and his status was elevated after the departure of Yusif Haykal from the city.
16. Arif al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba: Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 265–66.
17. Arif al-'Arif, *Al-Nakba: Nakbat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 268.
18. Interview with a Jaffa resident who lived through these events but did not want his name mentioned.
19. These facts emerged in the Supreme Court hearings, and were mentioned in the court's decision no. 48/7, Ahmad Shawqi al-Kharbuti v the minister of defense et al.
20. Supreme Court decision no. 48/7, 7.
21. Supreme Court decision no. 48/7, 16. It should be pointed out that the authorities also arrested 'Abdul Razzaq Abu-Laban, as the Hebrew-language papers, *Hamoked* for example, reported on 11 November 1948.
22. Several Hebrew newspapers carried news of the court proceedings, the issuing of an order for his release, and the fact that he had not been released several days later. See *Haaretz*, 5 and 7 January 1949.
23. Shitrit sent a translation of the petition to Ben-Gurion on 23 January 1949. The original document and translation are in the Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem, file no. 298/5 (Ministry of Minorities).

24. Letter from Shitrit to Ben-Gurion, dated 23 January 1949, Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem, file no. 298/5 (Ministry of Minorities).

25. Interview with anonymous Jaffa resident.

26. *Haaretz*, 13 January 1949.

27. Interview with anonymous Jaffa resident. The stories of some of them are related in this chapter, particularly those who signed the surrender agreement along with Hajj Abu-Laban.

28. Nasir al-Din al-Nashashibi, *Yafa lil'abd: kama'ayshha Nasir al-Din al-Nashashibi wa Salah Ibrahim al-nathirwa Muhamad Sa'id Ishkantna* [Jaffa Forever, as Experienced by Naser al-Din al-Nashashibi and Salah Ibrahim al-Nather and Muhammad Sa'id Ishkantna] (Beirut/ Amman: Arab Institute for Studies and Publication, 2013), 41–63.

29. Nashashibi, *Yafa lil'abd*, 63.

30. Hazan and Monterescu, *Tir been 'Arbayem*, 119.

31. *Al-Yawm*, 10 January 1950, 4. The list included the names of a large number of Armenians.

32. Ahmad Mashhuwari, "When They Travelled in Cadillacs in Jaffa," *Maariv*, 16 August 2001.

33. His father Yusif Jaday owned a pharmacy in al-'Ajami quarter, and that influenced his choice to study pharmacy, as he told me when I interviewed him for the first time in September 2011.

34. Mashhuwari, "When They Travelled in Cadillacs in Jaffa."

35. Fakhri Jaday continued to work part-time in the family pharmacy to the end of his days, with his son Yusif administering the pharmacy. In my interviews with Fakhri Jaday he expressed extreme bitterness and frustration about the conditions of life in Jaffa.

36. Hazan and Monterescu, *Tir been 'Arbayem*, 54–55.

37. Hazan and Monterescu, *Tir been 'Arbayem*.

38. *Al-Ittihad*, 16 February 1952.

39. Interview with 'Odeh al-'Ashhab (Abu 'Adnan) at his home in Haifa, 3 September 2011.

40. Samuel Dotan, *Adumim: hameflaga ha-kumunistit be-Eretz Yesrael* [The Reds: The Communist Party in the Land of Israel] (Kafr Saba: Shibna Hatsofer, 1991), 438.

41. Dotan, *Adumim*. The participation of Nassar in Rashid 'Ali al-Kaylani's revolt is mentioned in the book which the Communist Party published one year after his death. See Bashir al-Barghuthi, *Fu'ad Nassar: al-rajul wa al-qadiyya* [Fu'ad Nassar: The Man and the Cause] (Jerusalem: Dar Salah al-Din, 1977), 16–17.

42. Musa al-Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi filastin: shadhaya tarikh mansi* [Communists in Palestine: Fragments of a Forgotten History] (Ramallah: Muwatin, the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, 2013).

43. Budayri, *Shuyu'iyyun fi Filastin*, 153–56.

44. Report by Nuwaihed al-Hut, *Al-Qiyadat wa al-mu'assasat al-siyasiyya fi Filastin, 1917–1948* [Leaders and Political Institutions in Palestine, 1917–1948] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 3rd ed., 1986), 860.

45. *Al-Yawm*, 2 November 1949.

46. Supreme Court Decisions, no. 50/46, dated 26 May 1950, 222–232.

47. Supreme Court Decisions, no. 50/46, 223.

48. Supreme Court Decisions, no. 50/46.

49. Supreme Court Decisions, no. 50/46232. The judges took care to mention at the end of their decision: "We recommend to the military authorities that they rethink where the plaintiff's residence should be (under police supervision), and that they take his claims concerning his illness and his fear for his life from probable surprise acts of violence [at his plantation] into consideration."

50. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. 3 (1949/50), 1501.

51. In this chapter we provided examples of the lives of those who remained and those who were forced to leave. However, the question of the fate of those Palestinian cities in the middle of the country which were marginalized (such as Lydda, Ramla, and Jaffa) still await specialized studies that will chronicle and document what happened to them after the Nakba of 1948.

52. An example of the late emigration of some elites from the Palestinian coastal cities after the Nakba are the cases of Dr. Hasan Far'un, who moved from Jaffa to Amman, and the departure of Albert al-Sa'd and Wadi' al-Bustani from Haifa.

53. Hanna Naqqara received public appreciation and attention from researchers for his role in defending the usurped rights of the remaining Palestinians. See *Hanna Naqqara: Muhami al-ard wa-sha'b* [Hanna Naqara: Lawyer for the Land and the People], ed. Hanna Ibrahim (Acre: al-Aswar, 1985). A revised and expanded edition, *Mudhakkarat muhami Filastini: Hanna Dib Naqqara, muhami al-ard wa Sha'b* (Remembering the Palestinian Lawyer: Hanna Dib Naqqara, the People's and Land Lawyer), was issued in 2011 by the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut, 2011, edited by 'Atallah Sa'id Qubti.

54. Al-Hut, *Al-Qiyadat*, 629–630; Rashid al-Hajj Ibrahim, *al-Difa' 'an Haifa wa qadiyyat Filastin: Mudhakkarat Rashid al-Hajj Ibrahim, 1891–1953* [The Defense of Haifa and the Palestinian Cause: The Memoirs of Rashid al-Hajj Ibrahim, 1891–1953] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2005), 104, 106, 108.

55. Telephone interview with the son, Nicola Kusa (b. 1939), 13 May 2009. Elias Kusa's personal archives had been deposited by Hanna Abu Hanna with a charitable organization in Haifa concerned with Arab rights in Israel. Unfortunately all of my attempts, with the assistance of Hanna Abu Hanna, to locate Kusa's papers there were in vain.

56. Tom Segev, 1949: *Hayesraelim hareshonim* [1949: The First Israelis] (Jerusalem: Domino, 1984), 90–92.

57. As in Segev, 1949: *Hayesraelim hareshonim*, 26–28.

58. Elias Kusa, *Nir* 13 July 1951, 26–28.

59. Such as *Jewish Observer*, which published an article by him on 12 September 1952, in which he analyzed the situation of the Arabs in Israel. His article elicited many reactions inside Israel and abroad.

60. Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem, prime minister's advisor on Arab affairs, file on Elias Kusa, no. 17043. I would like to thank Nabih Bashir who photographed that document along with others and made them available to me.

61. Telephone interview with Nicola Kusa, 13 May 2009.

62. Albert Sa'd from Haifa, for instance, tried for two years to obtain a passport and a travel permit. When his dealings with government offices bore no fruit, he went to the Supreme Court; Decision no. 51/3 against the ministry of the interior.

63. Kusa, *Nir*, 13 July 1951, 26–28.

64. Christian clergymen were excluded from this rule, as were members of the Communist Party who travelled freely to the socialist countries and participated in conferences and tours which were organized for them from there.

65. Kusa, *Nir*, 13 July 1951, 26–28.

66. Supreme Court decision no. 53/112.

67. The decision was that the Ministry of Interior should pay Naqqara the sum of 30 liras to cover court costs.

68. Elias Kusa, “Tshuva le-Moshe Sharrett” [Letter to the Prime Minister], *Nir*, 5 May 1957.

69. Document dated 11 April 1957, no. 1546/41014, file of the prime minister’s advisor on Arab affairs, Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem.

70. David Kretzmer, *Al-Makana al-qanuniya lil-‘Arab fi ‘Isra’il* [The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel] (Jerusalem: Center for the Study of Arab Society, 2002). This is a revised and expanded Arabic-language version of the book released in 1995 and includes an introduction by the author.

71. Kretzmer, *Al-Makana al-qanuniya*, 50–51.

72. The case of Hajj Ahmad Abu-Laban discussed above (Supreme Court decision 48/7) was one of the first important cases that garnered wide attention from the press and public opinion in Israel.

73. Alina Korn, *Pshe’ā, status politi ve-akhifat khuk: ha-mi’ut ha-‘Arvi be-Yisrael betkufat hamemshal hatzva’I* (1948–66) [Criminal Activities, Political Status and Implementation of the Law: The Arab Minority in Israel under Military Rule (1948–66)] (PhD diss., Hebrew University School of Law, Jerusalem, 1997).

74. Korn, *Pshe’ā*, 8.

75. Korn, *Pshe’ā*, 112.

76. *Al-Ittihad*, 4 September 1949, and 13 November 1949, 4. The paper wrote about the expulsion of the inhabitants of Majd al-Krum, Dayr al-Asad, al-Bi’na, and Tarshiha.

77. Korn points out that 80 percent of the permits were for work outside the village (*Pshe’ā*, 70).

78. *Al-Ittihad*, 4 September 1950, quoting villagers from ‘Iblin following the arrest of seven residents and their exile to the Naqab as a punishment.

79. *Al-Ittihad*, 14 January 1951.

80. Habib Qahwaji, *al-‘Arab fi zil al-ihtilal al-‘Isra’ilimundh 1948* [Arabs under The Shadow of Israeli Occupation Since 1948] (Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization, Research Center, 1972), 152.

81. *Minutes of the Knesset*, vol. 9 (1951), 1807.

82. *Minutes of the Knesset*, vol. 9 (1951), 1807.

83. *Al-Ittihad*, 1 October 1950.

84. Nadim Musa, *Mudhakarat shiu’iyi mukhadram* [Memories of a Veteran Communist] (Acre, Abu-Rahmun Press, 2008), 79–80; *al-Ittihad*, 3 February 1951.

85. This case is famous in the historical literature, as is the Supreme Court ruling, no. 195/1951.

86. Yusif Susan, *Shahadati: yawmiyyat Bir‘imiyya, 1948–68* [My Testament: Bir‘imite Diaries, 1948–1968] (self-published, 1986).

87. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. 1 (1949), 239.

88. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. 2 (1949), 1637.

89. Hanna Ibrahim, *Shajaraal-ma'arifa: dhikarat shab lam yatagharrab* [The Tree of Knowledge: Memories of a Young Man Who Did Not Emigrate] (Acre: al-Aswar, 1996), 133–36; *al-Ittihad*, 19 May 1951.

90. *Kol HaAm*, 3 December 1950. We shall see more detailed accounts of this and similar cases of Hanna Naqqara before the Supreme Court later.

91. Sabri Jiryis worked in the office of Hanna Naqqara (1964–65) in Haifa after his graduation from Hebrew University. Based on the files he found in the office, he said in his book that 865 persons had obtained their identity cards from the Ministry of Interior after appealing in the courts during 1950–52. For more on this see Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976), 258n31.

92. *Al-Yawm*, 30 May 1951.

93. *Al-Yawm*, 9 August 1951.

94. Supreme Court Decision no. 51/108, Muhammad As'ad Izghayer and twenty-two others v. the minister of interior and the military governor of the Galilee, et al.

95. Supreme Court Decision no. 51/125, Muhammad 'Ali al-Husayn and nine others v. the minister of the interior and the military governor.

96. Supreme Court Decision no. 51/125.

97. Supreme Court Decision no. 51/125, 1387–88.

98. Supreme Court Decision no. 51/125, 1388; interview with Fahd 'Ali al-Husayn at his house in Majd al-Krum, near the end of June 2008.

99. Supreme Court Decision no. 51/125, 1389.

100. There is a large degree of agreement between these testimonies in the Supreme Court of Justice that I read only two years ago and the testimonies I heard from eyewitnesses I have met in the village since my research interest in the subject began in 1984.

101. Supreme Court of Justice decision no. 51/125, 1390.

102. Supreme Court of Justice decision no. 51/125. This testimony in the Supreme Court confirms the truth of information on the massacre in Majd al-Krum, mentioned in documents and in the testimonies of the inhabitants.

103. That this was the typology used by the judges for the act of the random killing of civilians and the tearing down of houses, without any reservation or criticism on their part, is astonishing.

104. The massacre in al-'Ayn Square in Majd al-Krum occurred a week after the surrender of the village (5 November 1948).

105. Supreme Court of Justice Decision no. 51/125, 1392.

106. Supreme Court of Justice Decision no. 51/125, 1391; interview with Fahd 'Ali al-Husayn.

107. Supreme Court of Justice Decision no. 51/125. Once again it is worth noting that the judges were using terms that are more reflective of reality, such as "occupation," in relation to Majd al-Krum and central Galilee.

108. Supreme Court of Justice Decision no. 51/125. See the study by Oren Bracha on "infiltrators" titled "Confusion about Whether They Are Helpless or Dangerous: The Infiltrators, the Law and the Supreme Court of Justice, 1948–1954," *Iyyuni mishpat* 21, no. 2 (April 1998): 333–85.

109. In addition to the study by Bracha mentioned above, the researcher Leora Bilkay devoted an important section to the analysis of the case of Muhammad 'Ali al-Husayn

before the Supreme Court. See Leora Bilsky, *Transformative Justice: Israeli Identity on Trial* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 174–77.

110. The connection between voting for the ruling party (Mapai) and its Arab lists and the approval of the authorities of the reunification for some families will be dealt with in chapter seven.

111. Supreme Court Decision no. 53/155, Salam Ahmad Kiwan v. the minister of defense et al.

112. Supreme Court Decision no. 52/81.

113. The final Supreme Court ruling on the case of Salam Ahmad Kiwan was issued on 9 March 1954.

114. Israeli Archives of the Army and Security Forces, file no. 54/7. This includes the reports of military governors for August 1952.

115. Hanna Abu Hanna, *Mhir bawma* [The Owl's Dowry] (Haifa: Maktabat kulshai', 2004), 132.

116. Minutes of the Knesset, September 1949, 1530, vol. 3 (Session of 16 January 19500, 534–35.

117. It appears that this “ambitious idea” of some leaders of the Liberation League and Mapam activists did not meet with Ben-Gurion’s approval, so he closed the file on it.

118. I tried on several occasions to conduct an interview with Tawfiq Tubi during his final years (2009–2010) without success due to his ill health. When I finally did succeed (in March 2011) it was difficult to carry on a conversation with him even through the intermediation of his son, Dr. Elias, who attended the interview in his father’s house.

119. *Al-Ittihad* on 29 May 1949 commented on the “special” project for military conscription for Arab citizens, saying: “Good luck to this special project, God willing. Are Arabs to be class B citizens even in defending the independence of the country?”

120. Special report no. 18/2402, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file, Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem, 1 October 1954.

121. *Al-Rabita* 15, October 1954, 12.

122. *Al-Rabita* 15, October 1954. Reports and articles expressed unease towards conscription in general.

123. *Al-Rabita* 15, October 1954, 14–17.

124. *Al-Rabita* 15, October 1954, 17.

125. Benziman and Mansur, *Dayyari meshne*, 118.

126. Benziman and Mansur, *Dayyari meshne*, 118.

127. Shim'on Avivi, *Tas nihoshet: hamdinyut ha-yesra'ilit klap ha-'ida ha-Druzit*, 1948–67 [Copper Tray: The Israeli Policy Towards the Druze Community, 1948–67], 84–85.

128. Avivi, *Tas nihoshet*, 86–95.

7. THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

1. Sayf al-Din al-Zu‘bi, *Shahid ‘ayan: mudhakkarat Sayf al-Din al-Zu‘bi* [Eyewitness: The Memoirs of Sayf al-Din al-Zu‘bi] (Shafa ‘Amr: Dar al-Mashreq, 1987), 40–42.

2. David Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 1947–49 [War Diaries, 1947–49], ed. Gershon Rivlin and Elhana Oren, trans. Samir Jabbur (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2nd edition, 1998), 661–64.

3. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*; Shim'on 'Avivi, *Tas nihoshet: hamdinyut ha-yesra'ilit klapi ha-'ida ha-Druzit, 1948–67* [Copper Tray: The Israeli Policy towards the Druze Community, 1948–67] (Jerusalem: Yitzhak Ben-Tzvi Center, 2007), 329–31.
4. Yoav Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba: Yesrael, ha-Falastinimu-medinut 'Arav, 1948* [Independence and Nakba: Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab States in 1948] (Tel Aviv: Zamora Petan, 2004), 420.
5. Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 419; Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 661–64.
6. Roberto Beki, *Arikhat reshut ha-tushavim be 8 be-November 1948* [The Population Census: Counting on 8 November 1948] (Jerusalem: Central Census Bureau, Special Publications series, no. 26, 1949), 13–14.
7. There is confusion surrounding the given facts of the first census of the Arab population. It is not clear who was counted, and the reasons why others were not included.
8. Beki, *Arikhat reshut*, 12.
9. Beki, *Arikhat reshut*. Yoav Gelber claims that the number of Arabs with voting rights came to 37,000. See Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 420.
10. Melekh Noy (Neustadt), *Bereshit ve-b'asur ha-rishon le-mdinat Yesraeil* [At the Beginning and in the First Decade of the State of Israel] (Tel Aviv: Newman Press, 1958), 174.
11. Noy, *Bereshit*, 175.
12. *Al-Ittihad*, 21, 28 February 1949; *Kol HaAm*, 24 February 1949.
13. Al-Zu'bi was granted a medal in recognition of his services alongside combatants for the state.
14. The first among them was Tawfiq Ziyad who began his political activities at the local government level in February 1949.
15. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. 1, 1949, 23. Jarjura's speech in the second session, 15 March 1949.
16. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. 1, 1949, 753.
17. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. 1, 1949.
18. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. 9, 1951.
19. The name of this parliamentarian and his political activities do not crop up often in studies, particularly those that portray the duality of political action by the remaining Arabs in black and white, whether they be communists or their adversaries, the collaborators.
20. One of the lists, the Worker's Bloc, did not get enough votes to cross the threshold and qualify, so the votes cast for it were wasted.
21. Ya'cov Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael: 'iyyunim polityyim* [The Arabs in Israel: Political Analysis] (Tel Aviv: Security Ministry, 1971), 167.
22. *Al-Yawm*, 4 February 1949, 2.
23. See 'Isa Habib's testimony in Ahmad Sa'd, *Judhur al-shajara dai'mat al-khudra* [Roots of the Evergreen Tree] (Haifa: Emile Tuma Academy, 1996), 209.
24. *Al-Ittihad*, 31 January 1949. These figures, which were published a few days after the elections, were not exact. Furthermore, the boast that 90 percent of those with the right to vote actually voted was not true. Official figures published later place the total at 80 percent or less.
25. Ra'nan Cohen, *Besvakh ha-ne'manyut: hevra ve-politica ba-megzar ha-'Arvi* [Battle of Loyalties: Society and Politics in the Arab Minority] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1986), 134.
26. Ben-Gurion, *Yawmiyyat al-harb*, 661.

27. Yossi Amitay, *Achvat 'Amim bamivhan: Mapam 1948–54* [The Brotherhood of Peoples Tested: Mapam 1948–54] (Tel Aviv: *Tcherikover*, 1988), 135–37.

28. Amitay, *Achvat 'amim bamivhan*, 138–39.

29. Amitay, *Achvat 'amim bamivhan*, 139.

30. Amitay, *Achvat 'amim bamivhan*, 138.

31. Maki viewed Sharett's assertion that the party opposed the immigration of Jews from the Eastern socialist camp as a "base slander." See *Kol HaAm*, June 1949, 22, 30.

32. Joel Beinin, *Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948–1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 124.

33. Al-Zu'bi, *Shahid 'ayan*, 41–42.

34. Al-Zu'bi, *Shahid 'ayan*, 36, 41–42.

35. Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 286.

36. Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 309–10.

37. *Al-Yawm*, 20 February 1949; 1 March 1949.

38. Hillel Cohen, 'Arvim tuvim: ha-mudie'en ha-Yisra'eli ve-Harvim be-Yesra'el (Jerusalem: Keter, 2006), 65; in English, *The Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

39. *Al-Rabita* 8, November 1949, 1–5.

40. *Al-Rabita* 8, November 1949, 5; *Al-Rabita* 7, October 1949, 1.

41. *Al-Rabita* 7, October 1949, 20.

42. *Al-Ittihad*, 31 July 1949.

43. Minutes of the Knesset, vol. II, 1949, 1514.

44. Interview with 'Aziz Srouji at his home in Nazareth, 24 May 2009.

45. Interview with 'Anis Srouji (Abu 'Isam) at his home in Nazareth, 6 March 2009.

46. The family included five brothers and three sisters, some of whom immigrated to the United States, where they spent the rest of their lives. Immigration was notably more widespread among the Christian middle class compared to the Muslim, which contributed to the decrease in their demographic ratio.

47. H. Cohen, 'Arvim tuvim, 64–69; Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 146–48.

48. Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 147–48.

49. "Ahdath al-Nasara" [The Nazareth Incidents], *al-Rabita* 5, May 1952, 1–2.

50. A truce was in fact concluded between the two sides ("Ahdath al-Nasara," 3–7).

51. Cohen, 'Arvim tuvim, 66–69.

52. "Dukhan fi 'Ilabun" [Smoke in 'Ilabun], *al-Ittihad*, 14 November 1952.

53. Muhammad Nimir al-Hawwari, *Sirr al-Nakba* [The Secret of al-Nakba] (Nazareth: Al-Hakim Press, 1955), 394; Cohen, 'Arvim tuvim, 72.

54. In his book, *Sirr al-Nakba*, al-Hawwari talks about those accusations in greater detail, but he denies them altogether.

55. Gelber, *Komimiyut ve-Nakba*, 425; also interviews with a number of family members who preferred to remain anonymous.

56. Cohen, 'Arvim tuvim, 72–73.

57. *Al-Ittihad*, 13 November 1949.

58. *Al-Ittihad*, 22 January 1950.

59. Cohen, 'Arvim Tuvim, 74–75; *al-Ittihad*, 14 May 1950.

60. Al-Hawwari, *Sirr al-Nakba*, 4–15.

61. Al-Hawwari, *Sirr al-Nakba*, 5. The well-known historian Bayan Nuwayhed al-Hut wrote a scathing criticism of Hawwari's book, *Sirr al-Nakba*, accusing him of being untruthful and levelling charges in every direction without facts; see Bayan Nuwayhed al-Hut, *Al-Qiyadat wa al-Mu'assasat al-Siyasiyya fi Filastin, 1917–1948* [Leaders and Political Institutions in Palestine, 1917–1948] 3rd ed., (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1986), 509.

62. Al-Hawwari had to support a family of eighteen people, which included two wives and their children.

63. Ra'nan Cohen says that the number of Arab votes cast in 1951 reached 58,984 as compared to 26,332 votes in 1949 (*Besvakh ha-ne'manyut*, 134).

64. Cohen, *Besvakh ha-ne'manyut*, 135.

65. Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 170. Landau says that the number of Arab voters reached 70,000, then two pages later he says the number was 80,000 out of 924,885 voters in the 1951 elections.

66. Three seats went to the Democratic list headed by Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi, and one seat each to the other two slates.

67. Despite the election of Faris Hamdan, the Triangle remained underrepresented. The Arabs of al-Naqab (the Negev) did not manage to elect a representative.

68. Haifa was the Arab municipality with the highest number of representatives (three) while Nazareth had only one.

69. Mas'ad Qassis managed to get listed as number two on the list headed by Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi in place of Amin Jarjura.

70. *Al-Ittihad*, 4 August 1951.

71. *Al-Ittihad*, 4 August 1951.

72. As previously mentioned, Emile Habibi returned from Lebanon to Nazareth and then Haifa with the consent of the Israeli authorities, like other Arab communist party activists.

73. The Arab Popular Bloc affiliated with Mapam had received 2,812 Arab votes in 1949, which constituted 11.6 percent of total Arab votes in those elections.

74. Amitay, *Achvat 'anim bamivhan*, 140.

75. *Al-Yawm*, 1 August 1951. The paper published detailed data on the results of the elections compared to the results of the first elections at the country level as well as the local level in Nazareth, Haifa, al-Ramla, and elsewhere.

76. Indeed, the Arab residents of the Naqab were not represented in the Knesset until the early 1970s. Hammad Abu Rabi'a was the first Arab elected from the region, and that was in the eighth round of elections.

77. The large village of al-Tayba was the exception to the other villages in the Triangle, giving Maki 35 percent of the total votes from the village.

78. Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 168–72.

79. People talk about villages that are known for their support for the communists such as al-Bi'na, al-Rama, 'Ilabun, al-Buqay'a, and Tarshiha. Al-Bi'na in particular gained fame for its communist activists, becoming known as "Red al-Bi'na."

80. Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 172.

81. Uzi Benziman and 'Atallah Mansur, *Dayyari meshne: 'Arveyyi Yesrael, mamadam ve-hamdeniyut klapeihim* [Sub-Tenants: The Israeli Arabs: Their Status and Policies Toward Them] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1992), 198.

82. Among the activists of Mapam in the 1951 elections were Haim Orbach from Nahariya, Baruch Noy from the 'Akka military government, and Moshe Raz from the west Galilee military government. Avivi, *Tas nihoshet*, 324.

83. For more detail on the prosecution and firing of communist teachers, see Cohen, *'Arvim tuvim*, 181–84.

84. An expression meaning that government officials and representatives only remembered Arab citizens and visit their villages on the eve of elections.

85. *Haaretz*, 5 January 1951.

86. The Hebrew language *Nir* published excerpts from Elon's article on 13 July 1951.

87. Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 92.

88. Elias Kusa, "Tshuva le-Moshe Sharrett" [Reply to Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett], *Nir*, 31 August 1951, 20.

89. Kusa, "Tshuva le-Moshe Sharrett."

90. Kusa, "Tshuva le-Moshe Sharrett," 21.

91. Kusa, "Tshuva le-Moshe Sharrett." In his articles, Kusa had taken up the issue of such unjust laws affecting confiscated lands and property belonging to expellees in the articles.

92. Ya'qub al-'Awdat, *Major Intellectuals and Literary Figures in Palestine* (Jerusalem: Dar al-Isra', 3rd ed., 1992), 46; and Palestinian Encyclopedia Committee, *Al-Mawsu'a al-Filastiniyya. Al-qism al-'am* [The Palestinian Encyclopedia. General Studies Part] (Beirut: Hay'at al-Mawsu'a al-Filastiniyya, 1984), 4: 569.

93. What saddened al-Bustani and made remaining in Haifa particularly difficult was the fact that he and his wife were cut off from their four children who had left the city, along with most Palestinian inhabitants.

94. According to news items in the local Haifa papers, he died in Beirut on 19 January 1954.

95. *Al-Rabita* 5, May 1955, 33.

96. *Al-Ittihad*, 7 August 1953.

97. The letter is dated 11 November 1954. Yoni Mendel found the document in the file of the prime minister's advisor on Arab affairs and provided me with a copy (16/4 L), Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem.

98. Elias Kusa, "An Arab Bloc," *al-Rabita* 16, November 1954, 19–20.

99. Kusa, "An Arab Bloc," 21.

100. Kusa, "An Arab Bloc."

101. Elias Kusa, "Man huwa al-mudallal?" [Who Is the Deceiver?], *al-Rabita* 8–9, September/October 1955, 25–28.

102. For the local elections in Kafr Yasif see Ahmad Sa'di, "Control and Resistance at Local Level Institutions: A Study of Kafr Yasif's Local Council under the Military Government," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 23, 3 (Summer 2001): 31–47.

103. Jeremy Forman, "Military Rule, Manipulation and Jewish Settlement: Israeli Mechanisms for Controlling Nazareth in the 1950s," *Journal of Israeli History* 25, no. 2 (September 2006): 335–59.

104. Forman, "Military Rule, Manipulation and Jewish Settlement."

105. Landau reports these numbers and says the participation rate was over 91 percent in *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 177. However, a simple calculation using the given data shows that the rate barely reached 90 percent; Ori Stendal, *'Arveyyi Yesrael bein hapatish la-sadan*

[Arabs of Israel between Mortar and Pestle] (Jerusalem, Academon, 1992), 290; R. Cohen, *Besvakh ha-ne'manyut*, 135.

106. Sayf al-Din al-Zu'bi, *Shahid 'ayan*, 103–6; Landau, *Ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael*, 117.

107. One reason for Maki's success with Jewish voters had to do with Moshe Sneh splitting with Mapam and moving over to Maki.

108. Interview with Rustum Bastuni's nephew, Hassan Bastuni, attorney, at his office in Haifa.

109. *Al-Mirsad* 148, 4 August 1955.

110. Amitay, *Achvat 'Amim Bamivhan*, 158.

111. There are many historical studies on Israel which indicate that; see Motti Golani, *Tehyye melhama ba-kayetz*, 1955–56 [There Will Be a War This Summer: Israel on the Road to the Sinai War, 1955–1956] (Tel Aviv: Ma'rakhot, 1997).

112. The first revolution was in 1947–48.

113. *Al-Ittihad*, 22 March 1957.

114. *Al-Ittihad* published reports on the parties and solidarity in the regions of 'Akka, the Triangle, and Kafr Qasim itself in particular.

115. *Al-Ittihad*, 22 March 1957.

116. Emile Habibi, "Bawwabat Mandelbaum" [The Mandelbaum Gate], *al-Jadid* 5 (March 1954).

117. He spent most of his remaining years in Nazareth, but he wrote in his will that he wanted to be buried in Haifa.

118. *Al-Mu'tamar al-thalith 'ashr li al-hizb al-shuyu'i al-Isra'ili: 29 May–1 June 1957* [The Thirteenth Congress of the Israeli Communist Party] (Tel Aviv: United Kibbutz, 1993), 30.

119. Eli Rechess, *Ha-Me'ut ha-'Arvi be-Yesrael: bein kumunizim le-le'umiyyut 'Arvit, 1965–91* [The Arab Minority in Israel between Communism and Arab Nationalism, 1965–91] (Tel Aviv: United Kibbutz, 1993), 30.

120. Ya'ir Bäuml, *Tzel kakhul lavan: mdennyut hamemsad hayesraeli u-pu'ulutav bkerev ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael-hashanin ha-mi'atzvut, 1958–68* [A Blue and White Shadow: The Israeli Establishment Policy and Actions Among Its Arab Citizens: The Formative Years, 1958–68] (Haifa: Pardis, 2007), 265–66.

121. "We Celebrate Israel's Independence Day" was the main headline on the front page of *al-Ittihad*, 16 April 1950.

122. *Al-Ittihad*, 16 April 1950. Maki's continued use of this discourse despite the dispelling of illusions concerning the essence and policy of Israel provides us with another model of believers whose faith is not shaken by facts or reality.

123. Shmuel Mikunis, "Al-nidal min 'ajl al-salam was 'istiqlal is'rail" [The Struggle for Peace and Israel's Independence], Central Bureau's political report submitted to the Israeli Communist Party's Twelfth Congress, 29 May–1 June 1953 (Haifa, *al-Ittihad*, n.d.).

124. Mikunis, "Al-nidal min 'ajl al-salam."

125. *Al-Ittihad*, 17 April 1956.

126. *Al-Ittihad*, 21 October 1954 described the treaty for the withdrawal of British forces from the Suez Canal region as "the deed of treason and submission," and in the following week (29 October 1954) it attacked the regime of the Free Officers, and asked it to halt the policy of terrorism against its enemies.

127. *Al-Ittihad*, 3 September 1956, 3.

128. Thirteenth Congress of the Israeli Communist Party.

129. Thirteenth Congress of the Israeli Communist Party, 39–41, 45, 47.

130. Hanna Ibrahim described the anticommunist atmosphere on the eve of those elections in great detail, and spoke also of the tensions within the party when the results of those elections became known; see *Shajarat al-ma'rifa: dhikrayyat shab lam yaghtarib* [Tree of Knowledge: Memories of a Young Man Who Did Not Emigrate]. 'Akka: al-Aswar, 1996), 205–11.

131. The party won 22 percent of the Arab vote in 1949. There was a major reversal in 1959 even compared to the results of the 1955 elections.

132. Rashid Husain, "Hina yaju' al-tarikh" [When History Grows Hungry], *al-Fajr*, 12 November 1959.

EPILOGUE

1. *Al-Ittihad*, 23 November 1956, 1.
2. *Al-Ittihad*, 23 November 1956, 3.
3. The trial of those accused of the Kafr Qasim massacre began on 15 January 1957 before a military tribunal in Jerusalem.
4. Tawfiq Tubi, *Kafr Qasim: al-majzara wa al-'ibra* [Kafr Qasim: The Massacre and the Lesson] (Tel Aviv: Central Committee of the Communist Party, 1996), 33.
5. *Al-Ittihad*, 20 November 1956, 1.
6. Avivi makes it clear that the Maki party did not succeed in getting a foothold in Druze villages in the 1950s and did not win any votes there. See Shimon Avivi, *Tas nihoshet: hamdinyut ha-yesra'ilit klapi ha-'ida ha-Druzit, 1948–67* [Copper Tray: The Israeli Policy towards the Druze Community, 1948–67] (Jerusalem: Yitzhak Ben-Tzvi, 2007), 347–48.
7. 'Abdel Rahim 'Iraqi gives an expansive description of those festivities which the military government organized in al-Tira. See: 'Abdel Rahim 'Iraqi, *La takhaf: mudhakarat 'ala sa'id al-khawf* [Don't Be Afraid: Memories About Fear] (Yafat al-Nasira: al-Tali'a, 1996), 355–64.
8. On 3 and 5 May 1949, *al-Yawm* published detailed reports on the participation of Arabs in Independence Day celebrations in Jaffa and 'Akka.
9. Arab villages in the Galilee and the Negev were under nightly curfew and their inhabitants were not allowed to spend an evening out in nearby Arab cities like 'Akka, Haifa, or Jaffa.
10. *Al-Ittihad*, 26 April 1952.
11. Yair Bäuml, *Tzel kakhul lavan: mdenyyut hamemsad hayesraeli u-pu'ulutav bkerev ha-'Arvim be-Yesrael-hashanin ha-mi'atzvut, 1958–68* [A Blue and White Shadow: the Israeli Establishment Policy and Actions Among Its Arab Citizens: The Formative Years, 1958–68] (Haifa: Pardis, 2007), 261–63.
12. Bäuml, *Tzel kakhul lavan*.
13. *Al-Ittihad*, 14 March 1958.
14. *Al-Ittihad*, 15 April 1958.
15. *Al-Ittihad*, 25 April 1958.
16. In addition to Yani Yani, Jabbur Jabbur, the mayor of Shafa 'Amr, Tahir al-Fahum, and Shukri al-Khazen were named as leaders of that front.

17. Bäuml, *Tzel Kakhul Lavan*, 278; *al-Ittihad*, 8 July 1958.
18. *Ma'ariv*, 11 July 1958, interviewed by Raphael Bashan, as quoted in Bäuml, *Blue and White Shadow*, 278.
19. As quoted in Bäuml, *Tzel Kakhul Lavan*, 278.
20. My thanks to Dr. Yoni Mandel who provided me with this document. This letter is among the collection of documents concerning Elias Kusa which were found in the Israel State Archives in Jerusalem.
21. In addition to the individuals named, there were also municipal council members from 'Akka, Nazareth, and Shafa 'Amr.
22. Among them were Ramzi Khuri and the attorney Hanna Naqqara. Missing from the list of signatories were members of the Knesset and well-known politicians from Maki and the Arab slates.
23. Among documents in the files of the prime minister's advisor on Arab affairs at the Israeli Central State Archives in Jerusalem.
24. Elias Kusa, *Quddat madaji'ihum* [The Sleepless] (Haifa: *al-Ittihad* Press, 1960).
25. Kusa, *Quddat madaji'ihum*, 1.

APPENDIX 1

1. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, Tel Aviv.

APPENDIX 2

1. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, Tel Aviv, file no. 632 [hand-written].

APPENDIX 3

1. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, Tel Aviv, document no. 616/13.

APPENDIX 4

1. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, Tel Aviv.

APPENDIX 5

1. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, Tel Aviv, file no. 107 [hand-written].

APPENDIX 6

1. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, Tel Aviv, file no. 580 [hand-written].

APPENDIX 7

1. Israeli Army and Security Forces Archives, Tel Aviv, file no. 43/1 [hand-written].

