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Arab-Jewish ‘neighbourly relations’ in rural Mandatory Palestine: the case of Khirbat ‘Azzun – Ra’anana

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On a summer day sometime in the late 1860s, a group of *shabab* (youth) from the Jabal Nablus (Samaria) highland left their village of ‘Azzun and descended to the sparsely populated and wooded coastal plain. They arrived at the long-abandoned site of Tubsur, about midway between the settled hills and the ancient shrine of Sidna ‘Ali b. ‘Ulaym on the Mediterranean shore (figure 1). Pitching their tents among the ancient ruins, they set about demarcating ‘Azzun’s new land claim in the Forest of Arsuf (*al-ghaba*) (figure 2). They debarked the old oak trees as boundary marks, one village elder narrated, ‘and after that they began improving the land by chopping down the trees and thorns.’

Like colonists settling on a land for the first time, they built an eponymous village, Khirbat ‘Azzun, and began making a living from growing grains and watermelons intended for faraway markets. ‘Its borders extended north as far as the lands of Miska, al-Tira and the Swamp (al-Bassa), the elder reminisced; ‘as far south as the tribe of Abu Kishk and the Yarkon (‘Auja river), westward up to the *ghaba* of the people of Kafr ‘Abbush (Ghabat al-‘Ababsha) and Sidna ‘Ali, and eastward up to the village of Kafr Saba’. Two generations passed, and then, he noted in dismay, ‘they sold a great part of its lands to the Jews, like the lands of Ra’ananya (Ra’anana) and Sabya (Kfar Sava)’ (figure 1).¹

The frontline trenches of the Great War carved open wounds in the plain’s soil, destroying and temporarily depopulating Khirbat ‘Azzun, Kfar Sava and some other nearby villages. Four years after the end of the War, on the morning of 2 April 1922, two carts freshly loaded with ploughs, drilling gear, spades, tents, food and water took off from Herzl Street in the fledgling Jewish town of Tel Aviv and headed north. With them were four recent newcomers to the country, members of an American-Zionist colonization group led by an engineer; two local guards; and three workhands. A few hours and twenty kilometres later they halted on top of a barren hill not far from Khirbat ‘Azzun, unloaded their tools and started erecting tents and a hut.²

The group was a peculiar sight in the area, inhabited as it was by Arabic-speaking peasants in several nearby villages and by groupings of Bedouin clans widely spread north, east and south of the site. The residents of Khirbat ‘Azzun, newly resettled there after the Great War, would soon learn that the new neighbours’ arrival was a part of a global scheme to resolve the historic problem of a people scattered far away from Palestine. Over time, the modest beginning of the Jewish settlement there would bear fruit: the settlement would gradually expand despite multiple difficulties, growing into a prosperous town, Ra’anana. In the process it would experience intricate relations with Khirbat ‘Azzun and other Arab neighbours, all of whom would eventually be forced to leave the area.

The relations between Zionists and Arabs in Palestine is an oft-told story, mostly presented either from the prism of national conflict, or from that of amicable Zionist-Palestinian coexistence.³ This article proposes to offer a more nuanced account of these intercommunal

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engagements. Rather than presenting a monochromatic image of 'cooperation' or 'conflict' on the national level, we suggest the need to focus on the local arena. Such detailed examination reveals close, mutually contradictory yet complementary perspectives on these neighbourly interactions. As a test-case for our method, we have chosen to examine one, little-familiar instance: the tense coexistence between the Zionist colony of Ra'anana and the village of Khirbat 'Azzun a few hundred metres to its north. Such micro-historic inspection would cast a focused light on the fine threads that made up the fabric of Arab-Zionist relations in Palestine's extensive rural areas during the decades before the Nakba and the foundation of the State of Israel.

The actors on the stage, Zionist-Jews and Arabs, each carried with them distinct sets of faiths, cultural norms, social practices, and material standards. The gaps prompted discords, but also formed fertile ground for socio-cultural exchanges and learning. Local relations became strained by the fermenting colonial context, as Zionist settlement expanded and the Palestinian national movement vehemently opposed it. As we shall see, however, neighbourly relations (Heb. *yachasey shchenut*; Ara. *jira*) in different localities were not all hostile. Indeed, elders of both Khirbat 'Azzun and Ra'anana remember the bilateral relationships between these two transposed 'settler communities' as fairly good.

The depiction above is applicable to many regions where Zionist settlements neighboured Arab towns, villages or Bedouin concentrations. But the minute details of these developments in each individual case – their particular DNA, so to speak – are often as significant as the general framework and are well worth exploring. Closely scrutinizing the socio-spatial context in each case might yield valuable insights into the texture of Arab-Jewish relations in Mandatory Palestine.

The Khirbat 'Azzun-Ra'anana case provides an enlightening instance of newly tapped written and oral sources enriching our understanding of settlement processes and intercommunal dynamics. They also reveal how these developments are perceived in the collective memory of the groups involved. Decoupling history from historical memory is ever-difficult when using peoples' testimonies alone; while inanimate and 'silent' evidence – like architectural remains – do not usually allow for a detailed historical narrative. In this study, we follow Yuval Ben-Bassat, Johann Büsow and Roy Marom in making integrative use of a range of such sources to recover the voices of the different communities.⁴

A word on our sources is in order. Written evidence, both published (memoirs, newspapers) and unpublished (archival documents), abounds. There are, however, notable gaps in the volume and quality of the evidence. Hebrew written sources survived in far bigger quantities than Arabic ones, not least because of the near-intact retention of their books, journals, and archival collections. Palestinian written records are considerably scantier, as substantial parts of them were lost during the Nakba.⁵ The dearth of written records has led many researchers, including the authors of this paper, to probe Palestinian oral testimonies to supplement (and often supplant) external, Zionist and British, sources. For over a century, oral sources have proved to be an indispensable, varied and adaptive platform for studying Palestinian history, folklore, cuisine, linguistics, genealogy, agricultural practices, and other facets. All too often overlooked by western researchers, oral evidence remains instrumental in telling key episodes in the history of Palestine that are otherwise unrecorded, or unavailable, in writing.⁶ Such oral testimonies have been central to our exploration in this study.

Our information on the early part of the period is markedly poorer than that available to us for the last decade or so of the Mandate. References to intercommunal interactions in the Hebrew and Arabic press, archival documents, memoirs and oral testimonies abound for the last decade of the Mandate but not for earlier periods. Since our view of historic developments is often shaped by the volume of the evidence as much as by its contents, this variance should be kept in mind when assessing relations during different periods and places, as done here.

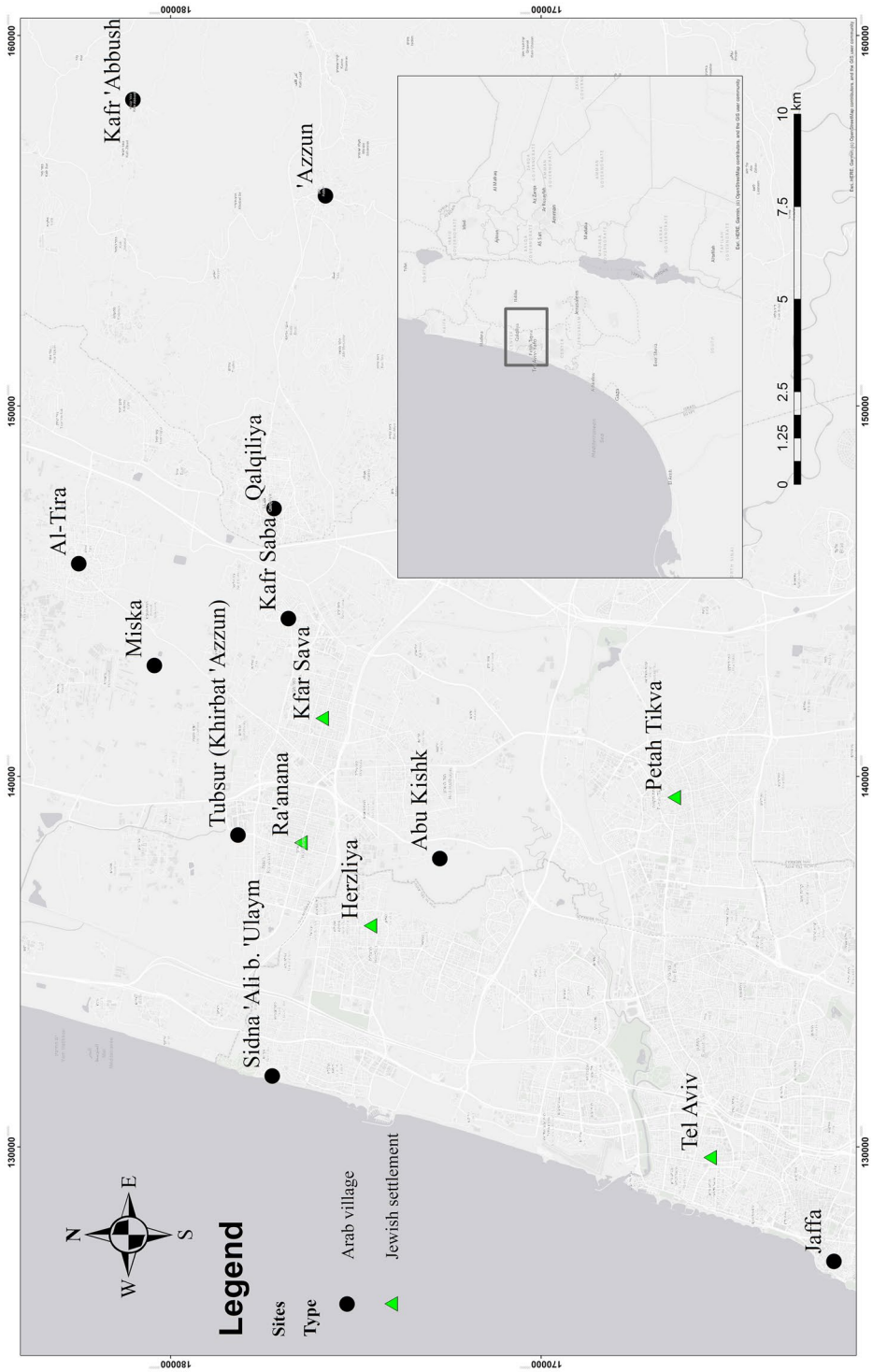


Figure 1. General location map for main sites mentioned in the text (map by R. Marom).

Colonization, land sales and conflict

The establishment of Tubsur and Ra'anana followed a long line of episodes of colonization, settlement, and contact, involving intermittent outbreaks of conflict. For centuries after the Mamluk occupation of the Crusader Overseas Principalities (1260–1293 CE), the Levant coast was kept sparsely populated, with commerce, habitation and transport pushed farther inland beyond European maritime reach. Human activity in the coastal region did not completely cease, however, with the sustained presence of nomadic tribes and highland pastoralists from far and near.⁷ During the Late Ottoman period (c. 1750–1918), the pale of settlement in the Palestinian lowlands gradually expanded.⁸ The restoration of the coastal cities, improved security following the Ottoman reforms, and lucrative maritime trade in cash crops encouraged the cultivation of new lands in the *ghaba* and the resettlement of long-abandoned sites like Tubsur.⁹ Alongside highland villagers, the lowlands absorbed a sizeable influx of nomads and peasants from Egypt, such as 'Arab Abu Kishk and Al Shubaki (figure 2). Areas near al-Khudayra/Hadera, some 25 km north of Tubsur, became home to transposed Eurasian settlers of Circassian and Bosnian origins under Ottoman imperial auspices.¹⁰

Formally, the land of Tubsur was held as *musha'*, that is, uninheritable holdings shared by the living adult males of 'Ahali 'Azzun'.¹¹ The notion of 'Ahali 'Azzun', roughly translatable as 'Azzun residents', does not fully overlap with actual residency. In a way it is akin to the concept of 'citizenship' awarded to all free male inhabitants of a Greek city-state and its dependencies.¹² Likewise, membership in Ahali 'Azzun encompassed most residents of both 'Azzun proper and Tubsur, considered as one unit for administrative and social purposes. The Ahali 'Azzun excluded minors and females, as well as newly arrived families such as al-Safadi, al-Qudsi and al-Tabib, who were considered outsiders and excluded from the *musha'*.¹³

Jewish rural settlement (Hebrew: *moshava/moshavot*, Arabic: *kubaniyat*) began in 1878 in Mulabbis/Petah Tikva, 15 km south-east of Tubsur. By the end of the First Aliyah (wave of Jewish-Zionist migration, 1882–1904) some two dozen *moshavot* had been set up throughout the Levant.¹⁴ These were free capital enterprises, which employed Arab labour extensively. Jewish farmers (*ikarim*) thus brought the local population into contact, cooperation and conflict with their own foreign culture, national allegiances, different religion and alien norms. In 1903, Petah Tikva residents established the *moshava* of Sabya/Kfar Sava on the Tubsur-'Azzun road, some

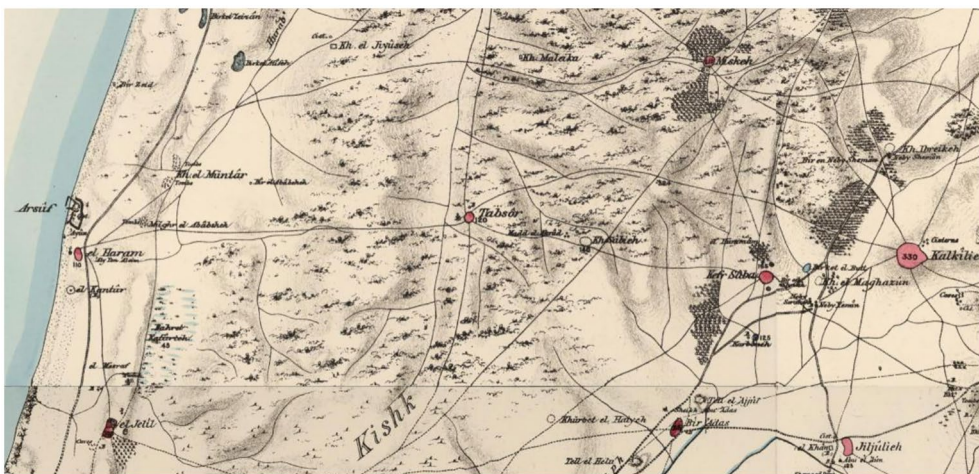


Figure 2. Tubsur/Khirbat 'Azzun within the *ghaba* shortly after the 'Azzuni settlement, 1874 (Survey of Western Palestine Map).

3 km southeast of Tubsur, and residents of Tubsur – still a satellite village of 'Azzun – thus came into direct contact with Zionist colonists.

Kfar Sava was the first Zionist stronghold in the District of Nablus. Its residents took a firm stance in land disputes with the Arab village of Kafr Saba (which originally owned Kfar Sava's lands), the town of Qalqiliya, and the nomads of al-'Auja river basin headed by the Abu Kishk sheikhs. In 1910, a Jewish guard killed an Arab villager who was stealing agricultural produce. Qalqiliya's inhabitants retaliated by attacking Kfar Sava and razing it to the ground.¹⁵ It took three years to reestablish the *moshava*; but the spread of the First World War into Palestine in 1915, and the advancement of the British-Ottoman front line to the area in late 1917, forced residents of Kfar Sava and Tubsur to evacuate. They reconstructed their ruined settlements only after the war.¹⁶

After the formation in 1920 of British Mandatory rule, committed to the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, Arab resistance to Jewish colonization grew ever more ardent and more organized. In May 1921, Arabs attacked *moshavot* throughout the country. Residents of 'Azzun, Qalqiliya and 'Arab Abu Kishk assaulted Kfar Sava, Hadera, Petah Tikva and its dependencies, and were repelled only at great cost; Kfar Sava was razed for the second time and would be rebuilt only the following year, concomitantly with the establishment of Ra'anana. These events inspired the creation of a Jewish self-defence militia, the Haganah.¹⁷

Ra'anana formed a link in the chain of burgeoning Zionist colonies in the Sharon region. More such communities would soon appear nearby: 'Ir Shalom (1923; later renamed Ramat ha-Sharon) and Herzliya (1924) to Ra'anana's south, Magdiel (1924) and Ramatayim (1926) to its east.¹⁸ Like these and other Jewish settlements that studded the Palestinian countryside, Ra'anana bore hallmarks of a Zionist colonizing venture: tilling the land as a prime objective, adhering to the principle of Jewish labour, commitment to Zionist ideology, and close collaboration with the various Zionist agencies.¹⁹

Ra'anana was also atypical in certain ways. Unlike the bulk of Jewish migrants to Palestine, who hailed from Europe, Ra'anana's founders came from the United States. They were members of an American Zionist organization called Achuza ('estate' in Hebrew), one of several such associations in the US formed on the eve of the First World War by eastern European immigrants. Mostly middle class and professionals, Achuza members put together funds for buying land in Palestine in order to settle on it, right away or later.²⁰ The Ra'anana group established itself on 5,500 dunam of land (ca. 1,250 acres) purchased from Ahali 'Azzun.²¹ During the first fifteen years, Ra'anana remained closely bound to its American metropole. The New York Achuza organization continued to oversee the settlement's economic decisions and underwrote many of its public projects.²² Achuza also used its leverage in the US in times of crisis in Palestine to assist the settlers, American citizens – in 1929 and again in the late 1930s.²³ The home movement across the Atlantic thus served as a pillar of sustenance for the young *moshava*, alongside the support provided by the Yishuv.

For the American settlers, members of the New World with a European cultural mindset, Palestine's Arab inhabitants were an enigmatic and, on the whole, untrustworthy people. 'Has it ever happened that an Arab would keep his word?' noted Yehuda Leib Kazan, the New York businessperson who came in 1921 to purchase land for the Achuza settlers and was appalled by the Arab sellers' bargaining tactics.²⁴ By the time of Ra'anana's founding, Arab animosity for the Zionist enterprise had already become a fact of life. The Arab presence in Jewish settlement areas presented a problem: while not preventing Jewish life in the area or precluding intercommunal coexistence, it still called for permanent Jewish vigilance. Armed guards accompanied the settlers from their first day, as we have seen, and would remain an indispensable feature of life in Ra'anana, as in other Jewish settlements in Palestine.

How did Khirbat 'Azzun's residents perceive their new neighbours? Recorded recollections from the early years are non-existent; but there are some clues. Having participated in previous episodes of engagement with neighbouring *moshavot*, the residents saw Ra'anana's settlers as a foreign, though not quite alien, group. In land sale transactions they were often considered dishonest. Land sale records from the Central Zionist Archive feature frequent complaints about Zionist mistreatment of the sellers: rigging in the purchasing price, evading compensation for unharvested produce, and arrears in much-needed payments.²⁵ A member of Ahali 'Azzun, fourteen years old at the time, related to Marom: 'a Jewish land monger (*simsar*) came from Jaffa. [The selling resident] was promised 200 Pounds. He took the purse of money without checking it, but when he came here [to 'Azzun] he opened it and found only 100 Pounds [...] half of the promised sum.'²⁶

There was also tension between residents of the Khirba and the home village of 'Azzun, which was aggravated by legal proceedings regarding land partition.²⁷ 'One lawyer offered to register the lands as an eternal *musha'* for the male residents, so that it cannot be sold to Jews, but they [the villagers] refused to register it. Everybody wanted their share. They wanted money; once they started selling it was like unravelling a rosary (*misbaha*).'²⁸ A female resident of Tubsur, eighteen years old in 1948, narrated:

The Khirba was registered [in custody] in the names of the families during the times of the Turks. All Ahali 'Azzun had lands in Khirbat 'Azzun, but those who resided there did not sell land. Those who sold the land were the people who lived in 'Azzun proper. They argued with the residents of the Khirba. [A relative of the narrator told a seller], 'You have never visited Khirbat 'Azzun, who are you to sell it away?' [My relative] fought with him and told him 'Depart from here, and return to Irbid [in Jordan] whence you came.'²⁹

The narrators' relative took the sellers to court, claiming that Ahali 'Azzun sold land belonging to minors and females without their consent. 'Thus, Tubsur's residents saved part of the lands. The court appointed a surveyor to measure the plots of land, and then they apportioned the land between us and the residents of Ra'anana. Each inhabitant – male, female, minor or grown-up – got a share of 13.5 dunams.' A similar solution, against local custom but compatible with Ottoman and British (colonial) legal norms, was later achieved in Ghabat Miska, Miska's *musha'* bordering on Tubsur in the north.³⁰ These conflicts strained the delicate social fabric of 'Azzun, Qalqiliya, Kafr Saba-Kfar Sava and Tubsur-Ra'anana, exacerbating anti-Jewish sentiments among some and highlighting common interests with the Zionists among others, in increasingly polarized and fragmented Palestinian politics.³¹

Over time the Jewish settlers learned to exploit the *fasad* (internal squabbles) in rural Palestinian society and steer its course by divide and conquer.³² The Haganah assigned security responsibilities to local 'security chiefs', often colourful and exploitative types.³³ Ra'anana's defence was delegated to Moshe Schwartzman, a recent settler from Bessarabia, who was introduced to security work by Petah Tikva's 'Eldest of the Guard', Avraham Shapira, in the immediate aftermath of the 1921 attacks.³⁴ Known by the Arabs as Musa al-Natur ('Musa the guard'), he was an adept manipulator of *fasad*, an expert in exploiting it to Zionist and Ra'anana's advantage.³⁵ 'We always knew about the [troubled] relations in Khirbat 'Azzun. We also knew how to exploit this situation, and they were very careful not to hurt us, as it was clear to them that the next day we would know who the culprits were.'³⁶

Ra'anana and Khirbat 'Azzun, dynamic instability and delicate coexistence

Since Ra'anana's founding, its relations with its Arab neighbours were a competition between two constantly progressing players, with Ra'anana advancing markedly more energetically. The inflow of new colonists and capital from abroad and from other parts of Palestine boosted the settlement from the handful of founders in 1922 to 509 in 1930, 852 in 1933, 2,500 in 1936, and

as many as 5,900 by 1949 (figure 3). Land acquisitions augmented its assets, from 5,500 dunams in 1922 to ca. 7,000 in 1929 and 9,200 by 1936.³⁷ Ra'anana's economy grew stronger, relying first on barley and tobacco and, from the late 1920s onward, more fruitfully on citrus plantations. By then the *moshava* had public institutions such as schools, a public hall, a library, a pharmacy, and more (figure 4).

Khirbat 'Azzun remained a small village of some 300 people (in 1941), dwindling landed possessions, and poor infrastructure (figure 5).³⁸ The village improved its economic base by adopting



Figure 3. Camels carrying crushed seashells (*zifzif*) for construction in Ra'anana, mid-1920s (Ra'anana Municipal Archives).



Figure 4. Ra'anana in the mid-1930s (Ra'anana Municipal Archives).



Figure 5. Khirbat 'Azzun shortly before its depopulation, 1947 (Y. Ory collection).

new agricultural methods and benefitting from a degree of cooperation with Ra'anana. Toward the end of the period, the village owned a fine mosque, a school, a couple of guest rooms (*dawawin*), twelve plots of citrus plantation (*bayyarat*), a mechanized well, and a grocery shop. Yet Ra'anana, like most Jewish settlements, retained its edge of development over its Arab neighbours thanks to its superior material resources and considerable external assistance.

Contemporary sources and retrospective testimonies depict a twofold intercommunal scene: cooperation in daily matters, accompanied by formalized, ceremonial visit exchanges (Hebrew: *bikurey shchenim*, Arabic: *ziyarat*, figure 6),³⁹ on one hand; and mutual suspicion that produced periodic quarrels, on the other. Both facets were there throughout the period up to 1948, with discordance becoming accentuated towards the end of the period.

For Ahali 'Azzun, the new Jewish settlement represented an opportunity for improving their own lot in different ways. In addition to lucrative land sale deals, Ra'anana provided employment opportunities: despite the Zionist ideal of 'Hebrew labour', Ra'anana's residents employed Arabs in agriculture, from fencing plots to picking vegetables and fruits. The practice became more popular once Ra'anana had moved to citrus growing, which required extensive seasonal labour.⁴⁰ Arab peasants would also come to Ra'anana to sell vegetables, straw, cow manure and milk that they produced in their village, and buy plants, fowl manure and finished goods from their Jewish neighbours. Such business exchanges began on a small scale sometime in the early 1930s and expanded later on into a common routine. Arab villagers coming with their donkeys to sell their merchandize in Ra'anana became a fixture of Ra'anana-Khirbat 'Azzun ties; 'Some of the Arabs spoke broken Hebrew, even Yiddish,' an elderly Ra'ananian fondly remembered.⁴¹ The evolving amity would lead to mutual visits and joint celebrations by members of the two communities.

The spirit of sociability was mixed with rightful suspicion, especially by the Jews who often felt that Arab sellers were untrustworthy: 'You always had to watch and make sure they were not cheating by stealthily pressing the spring-operated balance with their foot...' They also 'had a trick of squeezing the container with the manure they were selling, so as to reduce its capacity



Figure 6. Ceremonial *iftar* meal between Khirbat 'Azzun and Ra'anana's leaders, 1938 (Ra'anana Municipal Archives).

and give you less.⁴² People used to say 'an Arab who doesn't steal doesn't count,'⁴³ one veteran settler noted, echoing Yehuda Leib Kazan's initial unfavourable notion of the Arabs. Meir Reiner, who employed Arab labour in his family's farm between Ra'anana and Khirbat 'Azzun, also experienced this tense coexistence. 'They would work for him during the day and steal from him at night,' his son recalled.⁴⁴ One of many such small-scale duplicities concerned an elderly lady Brumbek, who 'would come in secret to buy eggs in Khirbat 'Azzun' a then-child resident of the village related; 'My mother told me to carry as many eggs as I could in a basket on my head [...] I would put down eggs [hiding them] along the way without [the lady] noticing, and collect them in my saddleback when returning to Khirbat 'Azzun.'⁴⁵ Suspicion was an essential facet of this symbiosis, of which both sides benefitted in their respective ways.

The pre-1948 history of Palestine is replete with wrangles and clashes between Zionist settlers and the country's Arab inhabitants surrounding them. As was the case almost everywhere else, periodic quarrels marked Ra'anana's relations with Arabs who lived in the vicinity, in temporary or permanent dwellings.⁴⁶ More often, however, Arabs were associated with danger, with incursions into Jewish settlements and stealing from them, and with threatening traffic on roads leading to and from Jewish places in the region. Located on different sides of Ra'anana, the Arab neighbours infringed on it as unconnected groups rather than collectively. An Arab robber attack on Jewish settlers near Ra'anana took place already in the year of its foundation.⁴⁷ Abu Kishk Arabs, concentrated south of the *moshava*, having participated in the Kfar Sava-Petah Tikva attacks in 1921, were expected to attack Ra'anana during the country's 1929 disturbances, a threat that sent Ra'anana's residents into hiding in fortified defences.⁴⁸ During and after the 1936–1939 Palestine Revolt, Arab assaults would continue and pose an ever-greater menace to the Zionist presence in the Sharon, as we shall see below.

Rows on economic-agricultural grounds occurred early on.⁴⁹ The instigators of such incidents were usually from the Arab side: Khirbat 'Azzun cattle would occasionally step in to graze on Ra'anana's cultivated fields and cause damage; agricultural equipment would be pilfered from its grounds; saplings would be stolen from its farms, and so on – small-scale occurrences, all too familiar in the Palestine countryside and encouraged by the temptation of the settlement's

modern equipment.⁵⁰ Usually nonviolent but irritating, such instances required Ra'anana to apply vigorous protective measures.⁵¹ From the very beginning, a couple of locally trained guards paid by the council, along with occasional volunteers armed with sticks or (less often) guns, would conduct foot or horse-mounted patrols around its fields and residential areas, engaging intruders in local skirmishes, chasing them away, or taking them to the police station in nearby Kfar Sava.

Until the mid-1930s, this kind of a mixed routine – peaceful exchanges coupled with occasional bothersome incidents – was acceptable to all parties. The periodic clashes were containable, their scale being too small to disrupt the benign neighbourliness. To the Arabs, the Zionist settlement seemed a non-menacing quantity then, despite its continuous growth. Moreover, it had certain advantages from which they could and did benefit. 'We were OK with the Jews, we traded with them and people were happy (*mabsutin*) with being paid well.'⁵² To the Jewish settlers, having initially expected an unfriendly environment, the limited troubles with their neighbours were tolerable hurdles on the way to fulfilling their national dream. Despite the recurrence of unpleasant incidents in the early years, their relations at that stage embodied a model of coexistence that could endure for a long time. This would change during the later years of the Mandate.

The local and the national

The local sphere of Ra'anana's relations with its Arab neighbours was one side of a coin; the other would loom only during the second half of the period. Both parties were mindful of the *moshava's* link to the evolving Zionist enterprise and of its problematic potential. But in the early years the impact of this awareness on their relations was limited and felt only intermittently. As the 1920s turned into the 1930s and nationalistic rhetoric was escalating on both sides, its negative impact on Jewish-Arab neighbourliness aggravated almost everywhere. By mid-decade the national conflict had become a key shaper of Arab-Jewish relations across the country, in urban areas and the countryside alike, stirring mutual resentment and violence. Ra'anana's ties with its Arab neighbours, hitherto relatively placid, could not escape this impact.

As the mounting tension of the early 1930s erupted into the Palestinian revolt in Spring 1936, settlements and roads in the Sharon area, as elsewhere in the country, became subject to assaults by Arab militants who allied themselves with the anti-Zionist cause, or joined the fray to other ends. During the revolt Ra'anana faced threats as well as sporadic attacks by its Arab neighbours. 'The security situation here is deteriorating day by day,' its executive council notified the British district governor when requesting more gun permits.⁵³ A Haganah summary of belligerent Arab acts in the area during the revolt noted how 'Khirbat 'Azzun Arabs uprooted trees, burned [citrus] packing-houses, and conducted firing assaults'. The report depicted these villager attacks as being 'small-scale' compared to hostile Arab activities elsewhere in the region.⁵⁴ Still, the increasing frequency of such incidents around the Jewish settlement did signal that the growing aversion to the Zionist venture, articulated by Palestinian leaders, was percolating to the country's Arab peripheral sections and affecting their dealings with the Jews. National interests were becoming as important as local concerns in moulding their relations.

The most common kind of Jewish-Arab interactions during these later years involved Arab cattle herds overstepping into Ra'anana's fields and citrus plantations. Such trespassing had occurred before, but from the early 1940s their frequency markedly increased, to near-daily routine. 'Every day', the head of Ra'anana's local council complained in Autumn 1944,

people of Khirbat 'Azzun and various Bedouins in our neighbourhood bring their herds into our orchard groves, fields, gardens, even our residential areas. They leave their women and children there to serve as shepherds while they themselves pick fresh leaves and the flowering of citrus trees and collect them in sacks. The damage to the groves, fields and gardens is tremendous and increases every day.⁵⁵

While maintaining the basic tense coexistence with Khirbat 'Azzun, Ra'anana's farmers and guards fought back by forcefully driving the intruders away, threatening them in their own village, and filing complaints with the police. No fewer than thirty-seven such complaints were submitted between 1941 and 1944, according to one report.⁵⁶ The police would sometimes disregard these incidents; at other times it would intervene, warn, and impose fines on intruders – a punishment that turned out to be all but useless:

One Arab from Khirbat 'Azzun near Ra'anana told me: there are some 400 cattle-heads in the village, all of which are fed by the property of others (to wit, Jews). Throughout the year the village pays some 40-50 pounds [in fines]. You cannot find an economy cheaper than that anywhere... To the owner of the herd it pays to persist with his crime, assuming he is not caught every night.⁵⁷

In the Palestinian countryside, bringing cows to graze on private agricultural land had little to do with national reasons. Flocks of sheep or cattle stepping into cultivated land had long been a familiar occurrence and a common source of local squabbles, after in Palestine and after harvest was even considered a norm.⁵⁸ Still, for the Arab herd owners, the deepening Arab-Zionist animosity rendered such Arab infringements on Jewish land free of misgivings. This was also the case with other small transgressions, such as the stealing of agricultural implements and personal items from the Jewish settlers, which likewise became more frequent. They were a typical mark of the Jewish-Arab scene in Ra'anana and the Sharon during the 1940s,⁵⁹ leaving the area's Zionists with the sense that 'as a rule, all Arabs are thieves'.⁶⁰

The other face of the *moshava's* relations with its Arab environment was a kind of convenient symbiosis, especially with the village to its north. Ra'ananians developed cordial ties with its Arab residents, visited them in their homes and hosted them in their own.⁶¹ Moshe Schwartzman cultivated usable bonds with family heads and inhabitants of the village, as well as with other Arab leaders in the area, and regularly met with them in their homes or in Ra'anana.⁶² 'The party was quite intimate', he reported about an event at his home with guests from Khirbat 'Azzun and nearby villages; the guests 'stressed they would be greatly honoured if we accepted their invitation to visit them'.⁶³ Commercial relations, primarily dealings in agricultural products and food, likewise persisted until 1948 and were held even in times of high Zionist-Palestinian tension.

Accounts from the late-1930s and throughout the 1940s also tell about regular exchanges of semi-formal collective visits between the two communities, mostly on holidays and special events. Thus, for example, in December 1940 a mission from Khirbat 'Azzun attended Ra'anana's celebration of the Jewish feast of Hanukkah in *Beit ha-Am*. Speaking to the mixed crowd, Baruch Ostrovsky, president of Ra'anana's executive council throughout most of the Mandate period and beyond, hailed the 'twenty years of good relations' with the Arabs, 'in good times and bad... We have known how to manage our affairs with wisdom, so we have never run into clashes' – a somewhat wishful depiction, if fitting for the festive occasion. At the end of the party the guests were invited to the local cinema. The Arabs reciprocated a month later by inviting a group of their Zionist neighbours to join in their 'Id al-Adha celebration in the village.⁶⁴

Ostrovsky saw great importance in nurturing the friendship with the village and made it a point to form personal ties with some of its inhabitants. These ties yielded fruit: in a striking display of amity during Ostrovsky's business trip to the US in Autumn 1938 – the height of the Arab revolt – friends from Khirbat 'Azzun came to his home and left a quantity of olive oil, flour and sugar at the door, to help his wife and children. The gesture would be quoted as proof of the affability that typified the relations between the two places.⁶⁵ Ostrovsky strove to cement the ties beyond such personal interactions. 'The relations between Ra'anana and the nearby Arab village Khirbat 'Azzun are among the best in the region, at all times', hence 'even during the "events" [the 1936–1939 revolt] Ra'anana was subject to no assaults', he proudly stated in August 1947.⁶⁶ For Arabs around Ra'anana, such friendly meetings, compatible as they were with the region's norms of hospitality, were convenient and pleasant. Little affected by the evolving

national conflict until close to the end of the period, they seem to have appreciated the material advantages in the existence of a well-off settlement in their vicinity and enjoyed the friendly ties with the Zionist *moshava*.⁶⁷

1948: war and dispossession

To what extent was the Nakba, with its disastrous effects on Palestinian life and Jewish-Arab relations, avoidable? The question will likely remain unanswered.⁶⁸ The reasons for the Arab exodus have been a matter of extensive disagreements among 'old' and 'new' Israeli historians, Palestinians and others. Israeli scholars writing in the 1950s and 1960s usually argued that the Palestinians chose to leave and became 'voluntary refugees',⁶⁹ or left because their villages were conquered in the war.⁷⁰ Later Israeli historians presented a more nuanced narrative, of the Arabs leaving either due to panic, Israeli attacks, or forceful expulsion.⁷¹ Palestinian scholars persistently speak of the Arabs fleeing due to pre-planned expulsion.⁷²

Individual case-studies of surviving villages, underscoring the importance of local factors, point to a variegated scene.⁷³ Khirbat 'Azzun was vulnerable because of its isolated position amidst Jewish settlements.⁷⁴ The Palestinian regional leadership in Tulkarm acknowledged the vulnerability of such villages, and supported a partial evacuation of women and children.⁷⁵ Khirbat 'Azzun was one of the first villages to be partly evacuated, already in December 1947. This took place following the massacre near Ra'anana, in late-November, of the Shubaki family by the Lehi ('Stern Gang').⁷⁶ The elders of Khirbat 'Azzun were willing to pay compensation for minor damages to Jewish equipment in order to keep the peace,⁷⁷ but this did not stop the gradual exodus from the village. By February 1948, the transfer of families and property from it to 'Azzun was well underway, while some men remained in Khirbat 'Azzun to guard the properties that was left behind.⁷⁸

The village depopulation was completed as part of a Haganah decision to cleanse the central coastal plain of its Palestinian inhabitants.⁷⁹ On 12 April, an intelligence officer of the regional Alexandroni Brigade, code-named 'Tiroshi', reported:

There are still Arabs living in Khirbat 'Azzun. The roads to the east have been blocked for them and their situation is getting worse [...] they can be exterminated (*mehusalim*) by us. If we don't tell them to leave the area, the Defectors (*porshim*, i.e., the Irgun and Stern Gang) could do so.⁸⁰

On 16 April, Tiroshi reported the emptying of the village in a terse, unemotional tone: 'Khirbat 'Azzun was evacuated by its last inhabitants. The reason we gave for the eviction order: our inability to guarantee that the deed [massacre] of Deir Yassin will not recur here as well. The property was handed over to the committee that handles enemy property.'⁸¹

These laconic, stale reports veil an acute interpersonal and intercommunal drama. Oral recollections of those who were involved in the expulsion shed important light on the events of that fateful day, the likes of which happened in numerous other Palestinian villages. The immediate pretext for the deportation was an incident in which Jewish workers were injured in the fields, an incident that caused intense panic in the village. Early in the morning, an armed Jewish delegation from Ra'anana, headed by security chief Moshe Schwartzman, entered Khirbat 'Azzun. They found its inhabitants near the mosque 'on their shackles, sitting on the ground and awaiting their fate.'⁸² It was a Friday, the day of Islam's congregational prayer. After attempting to break into the mosque, the delegation engaged in a 'nervous and impatient' conversation with the village dignitaries regarding assuring the safety of the villagers and their property. The delegation ordered the residents to leave.

Sh. Elon, the local Haganah commander who was with the delegation and oversaw the eviction, testified that the Arabs entrusted him with the keys to their houses and property, to be kept until their return. Later on, the property was sold and the proceeds were deposited in a fund designed for compensating the Arabs once the fighting had ended. Instead, however,

Ra'anana used the fund's resources for building Beit ha-Magen, a monumental memorial hall commemorating the *moshava's* members who fell fighting the Arabs.⁸³

Here the Jewish account of the Khirbat 'Azzun evacuation ends. For the Arab villagers, however, their departure marked the onset of a new odyssey, most of which is beyond the concerns of our study. Its early part, however, is relevant here. Following their eviction, former Khirbat 'Azzun residents attempted to return to their previous home, but were denied. The reminiscences of the then-child who had cheated the elderly lady Brumbek of her eggs offer an evocative personal perspective of such efforts, and are worth quoting here at some length:

I left on the last day and after two or three days I returned to the Khirba on the back of a donkey [...]. When I arrived at Mirmale [a plot of land] there were six soldiers standing in front of Abu Salim's Eucalyptus tree. [...] A Jew, who speaks Arabic better than me, a little girl of 12 years old, approached me, asking where I wanted to go. The soldier showed me the key to our house, and I told him that I wanted to talk to my brother. The soldier told me that my brother was in the citrus grove (*bayyara*). He instructed me to follow the *wadi*, so that I didn't run into the army.

I shouted for my brother, and found him picking mandarins and clementines. My brother filled four tanks of diesel fuel for me, and then he told me to go back [to 'Azzun]. I reached [the area called] al-Shantiyya, which the Jews had fenced off and turned into a large army camp. There was a big dog on a leash there. I threw a stone at it and it started barking.

A Jew came to me and asked, 'Why are you doing this?'
 'Because that's what I want,' I said.
 'Where are you coming from?' he inquired.
 'From the orchard,' I answered.
 'Why didn't your brother come with you?'
 'He was sitting in the orchard, and didn't want to come.'

The Jew told me to go through such and such road, and escorted me until the Jaffa-Haifa road. I reached Qalqiliya by the night prayer (*'isha*). My brother stayed in the orchard for two or three more days, then he left it and walked from Khirbat 'Azzun to the Iraqi border. He didn't want to go to 'Azzun. He had a little son, and also me and my mother [to take care of]. After approximately two months he came at dawn on foot from Jordan to 'Azzun because he had no money left with him.⁸⁴

Ra'anana annexed Khirbat 'Azzun into its own territory and renamed it 'Ne'ot Sadeh' (roughly, 'Pastoral Fields'). Village houses were settled with new immigrants to Israel, mostly from Europe. Starting in the 1960s, Ra'anana gradually demolished the village buildings: the mosque was torn down and replaced by a synagogue; the cemetery was turned into a road and a parking lot. Most of Khirbat 'Azzun's refugees were absorbed in their village of origin; others were spread around the world. After the 1967 war it became possible for them to visit the old village site and some of them did. Memories of the Mandate period and its aftermath are still alive – and are of high relevance – to members of the dislocated 'Azzuni community of Tubsur.

In the grand scheme of Arab-Jewish relations in Mandatory Palestine, the Khirbat 'Azzun-Ra'anana case is of minuscule weight. If, hypothetically, we detach the neighbourly relations between the two settlements from the bigger picture of the national conflict, we may perhaps imagine that Khirbat 'Azzun and Ra'anana could live in tendentious coexistence for many more years. Common interests encouraged symbiosis; considerable gaps triggered confrontations, but these were a local matter, not a national one, unpleasant but bearable. Sadly, however, detaching these relations from the Zionist-Palestinian conflict is no more than a hypothetical exercise.

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Notes

1. Palestinian Rural History Project (PRHP) interview with a former resident of Tubsur/Khirbat 'Azzun, b. 1938; 27 September 2022. The PRHP documents, preserves, studies and publishes culturally and scientifically important information concerning Palestine's rural history and heritage. Currently, its corpus holds over 1,600 oral history interviews about some 850 Palestinian communities.
2. Izaak Stiegmann (ed.), *Ra'anana: Mi-Shmama le-Moshava Porachat* [Ra'anana: From a Wilderness to a Flowering Colony] (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2017), pp.21–30.
3. The literature is vast and focuses on urban centres. For some key works, see: Zachary Lockman *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Mark LeVine, *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011); Abigail Jacobson and Moshe Naor, *Oriental Neighbors* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2016); Louis A. Fishman, *Jews and Palestinians in the Late Ottoman Era 1908-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).
4. Yuval Ben-Bassat, 'Proto-Zionist—Arab encounters in late nineteenth-century Palestine: Socioregional Dimensions', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.38, No.2 (2009), pp.42–63; Johann Büsow, *Hamidian Palestine: Politics and Society in the District of Jerusalem 1872-1908* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp.13–36; Yuval Ben-Bassat and Gur Alroey, 'The Zionist–Arab incident of Zarnuqa 1913: A Chronicle and Several Methodological Remarks', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.52, No.5 (2016), pp.787–803; Roy Marom, 'The Abu Hameds of Mulabbis: An Oral History of a Palestinian Village Depopulated in the Late Ottoman Period', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.50, No.1 (2023), pp.87–106; Roy Marom, 'Hadera: Transnational Migrations from Eastern Europe to Ottoman Palestine and the Glocal Origins of the Zionist-Arab conflict', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.60, No.2 (2024), pp.250–70.
5. Beshara B. Doumani, 'Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.21, No.2 (1992), pp.5–28.
6. E.g., 'Arif al-'Arif, *Nakbat Filastin wa'l-Firdaus al-Mafqud 1952-1948* [Palestine's Nakba and Paradise Lost] (no place of publication: Dar al-Huda, 1952-1953); Ted Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt: The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Mustafa Kabha and Nimer Serhan, *Lexicon of Commanders, Rebellions and Volunteers of Palestinian 1936-1939 Revolt* [sic] (Kafr Qara': Dar al-Huda, 2009); 'Adel Manna, *Nakba and Survival: The Story of the Palestinians Who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948-1956* (Jerusalem: Van-Leer, 2017); Samir Abu al-Hayja', *Al-Iju' al-Qusri: Shahadat Shafawiyya li-Shuhud 'ala al-Nakba* [Forced Exile: Oral Testimonies of Witnesses to the Nakba] (Jerusalem: al-Matba'a al-'Arabiyya al-Haditha, 2017).
7. Denys Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks AD 1099-1516* (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1986), pp.5–28; Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft, 1977), pp.125–41.
8. Roy Marom, 'Dispelling Desolation: The Expansion of Arab Settlement in the Sharon Plain and the Western Part of Jabal Nablus, 1700-1948' (PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2022), pp.98–186.
9. Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Farid al-Salim, *Palestine and the Decline of the Ottoman Empire: Modernization and the Path to Palestinian Statehood* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015), pp.77–168; Marom, 'Dispelling Desolation', pp.242–92.

10. Roy Marom, 'Hadera'.
11. On the concept of *musha'* see: Scott Atran, 'Hamula organisation and Masha'a tenure in Palestine', *Man*, Vol.21, No.2 (1986), pp.271–95.
12. Josin Blok, 'Citizenship, the Citizen Body, and Its Assemblies' in H. Beck (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Greek Government* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), pp.159–75.
13. Marom, 'Dispelling Desolation', pp.218–19.
14. Marom, 'The Abu Hameds', pp.88–92.
15. Sha'ul Biber, '*Emda Qidmit: Sippur ha-Haganah bi-Kfar Sava* [A Frontline Position: The Story of ha-Haganah in Kfar Sava] (Kfar Sava: Kfar Sava Haganah's Veteran Association, 1991), pp.26–27.
16. Biber, '*Emda Qidmit*', pp.34–39; Roy Marom, 'A World War in Local Perspective: Arab and Jewish Narrations of WWI in the Sharon Plain', *Ariel*, Vol.204–205 (2015), pp.29–47; Marom, 'Dispelling Desolation', p.287.
17. Sir Thomas Haycraft, *Palestine: Disturbances in May, 1921. Reports of the Commission of Inquiry with Correspondence Relating Thereto* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1921), pp.36–41; Biber, '*Emda Qidmit*', pp.40–53; 'Abd al-Aziz Amin 'Arar, *Siyar Kawkaba min Shuhada' Kafr Thilth wa-A'lamiha* [Constellation of the Martyrs of Kafr Thilth and its Notables] (Kafr Thilth: n.p. 2009), p.18; 'Abd al-Aziz Amin 'Arar, *Khirbat Khuraysh al-Muhajjara wal-Mudammara* [The Depopulated and Destroyed Village of Khirbat Khuraysh] (Kafr Thilth: n.p., 2013), p.50.
18. Rina Idan, 'Jewish settlements in Sharon area between the years 1929-1939' (PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999).
19. Stiegmans, *passim*.
20. Bernard Irwin Sandler, 'The Jews of America and the Resettlement of Palestine 1908-1938: Efforts and Achievements' (PhD dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, Israel, 1979). Achuzza had several branches in the US; the Ra'anana settlers came from New York. The organization set up seven settlements in pre-1948 Palestine.
21. Central Zionist Archives (hereafter CZA), files L18/6519, 6520, 7047 and L75/336.
22. The construction of Ra'anana's first public hall, *Beit ha-Am*, in 1926 was subsidized by Achuzza, as were other public structures. The settlement's financial dependence on the American association ended in 1935. Stiegmans, pp.77–78, 124, 131–32, 138–39; Ra'anana Town Council, *Protocols*, 5 March 1935.
23. During the 1929 Palestine unrest and during the Palestinian late-1930s revolt, Achuzza New York asked the US government to protect its citizens in the country. The government instructed its consulate in Jerusalem to extend protection to Ra'anana; Sandler, p.169; Stiegmans, pp.146, 162.
24. Y. L. Kazan, *Mi-New York 'Ad Ra'anana* [From New York to Ra'anana] (Tel Aviv: Newman, 1954), p.94.
25. CZA, L18/6519, 6520, 7046, 7047.
26. PRHP interview, 20 June 2018.
27. Similar conflicts developed among Ahali Beit Lid in Khirbat Beit Lid, 10 km north of Tubsur; Marom, 'Dispelling Desolation', pp.281–83.
28. PRHP interview, 28 March 2021.
29. PRHP interview, 14 May 2018.
30. Marom, 'Dispelling Desolation', pp.273–78.
31. For another case of such conflict concerning Ghabat Kafr Sur, a few km north of Tubsur, see Roy Marom, 'The Palestinian rural notables' class in ascendancy: The Hannun family of Tulkarm (Palestine)', *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies*, Vol.23, No.1 (2024), pp.95–99.
32. Hillel Cohen, *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917–1948* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), pp.15–94; Marom, 'Hadera', pp.263–64..
33. Like Avraham Druyan in Kfar Sava: Avraham Druyan and Pnina Druyan, *Yehidi mul Sadot* [Alone among Fields] (Tel Aviv: Ma'ariv, 1985); Ya'aqov Barazani in Kfar Yona, 10 km northeast of Ra'anana: Raziell Mamat and Avi Bleir, *Miniqrot Tsurim: Sipuro ha-Mufla shel Ya'aqov Barazani* [From among the Rocky Crevices: Ya'aqov Barazani's Marvellous Story] (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defence, 1979); and Ezra Danin in Hadera: Ya'akov Sharett, '*Ezra Danin: Tziyoni be-Khol Tnai* [Ezra Danin: An Unconditional Zionist] (Jerusalem: Kiddum, 1987). For other sites around the country, see the recollection volume edited by Yirmiyahu Rabina, *Agudat ha-Shomrim: Zichronot u-Ma'asim* [Guards' Association: Memories and Deeds] (Tel Aviv-Hashomer, 1966).
34. On Shapira, see his biography: Yehuda Edelstein, *Avraham Shapira (Sheikh Ibrahim Micha)* (Tel Aviv: Friends, 1929); Liora R. Halperin, *The Oldest Guard: Forging the Zionist Settler Past* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2021), pp.1–4. On Schwartzman, see his *Sipurav ve-Zichronotav shel Moshe Schwartzman mi-Yom 'Aloto Artza (1921) ve-'Ad Emtza'-Sof Shnot ha-Arba'im (Terem Qom ha-Medina)* [Moshe Schwartzman's Stories and Recollections from His Immigration to Palestine (1921) until the Mid-to-Late 1940s (before Israel's Establishment)], Ra'anana Municipal Archives (henceforth: Schwartzman Autobiography), p.1.
35. Haganah Archive (hereafter HA), file series 105; Rabina, *Agudat ha-Shomrim*, I, pp.448–51; Schwartzman Autobiography; PRHP interviews.
36. 'From the diary of a guard: Moshe Shvartzman': <http://moreshet.raanana.muni.il/Web/Story/Defense/Units/Notrim/988.aspx>.

37. Steigmann, pp.89, 131, 138, 143.
38. Khirbat 'Azzun-Tapsur [sic], Haganah village report, 10 December 1941 – AH, 105/227. The official censuses of 1922 and 1931 counted the residents of Khirbat 'Azzun among the residents of 'Azzun.
39. See, for example, 'Ra'anana's council attended a celebration in Khirbat Azzun [sic]: *Hatzofe*, 5 November 1940; 'Ra'anana: A Jewish-Arab celebration', *Hatzofe*, 5 November 1940. These visits were coordinated by leaders of both places, with involvement of Zionist intelligence officers like Moshe Schwartzman, who attached great importance to their proper conduct (HA, 105/80 [1943]).
40. Interview with Malachi Reiner, Ra'anana, 1 June 2022. For later references to Arabs employed in Ra'anana see Ra'anana Town Council, *Protocols*, vol. 1, e.g. entries for 10 April 1940 and 15 May 1940.
41. Interview with Nechemia Tanne, Ra'anana, 1 September 2014.
42. Interview with Malachi Reiner; interview with Chenya Shamir, Ra'anana, 6 June 2022.
43. Interview with Chenya Shamir.
44. Interview with Malachi Reiner.
45. PRHP interview, 19 June 2022.
46. E.g., *Ha'aretz*, 25 September 1929; *Davar*, 29 September 1929; testimony by Sh. Ayalon (Westerman) – Ra'anana Archive, Box 3, File 10.
47. Account by Haim Aptiker, a Ra'anana resident, describing an attack on him near the settlement by Arab robbers in 1922 – Ra'anana Archive, Box 3, File 10.
48. Menachem Michalson (ed.), *Ha-Haganah be-Ra'anana* [The Haganah in Ra'anana] (Ra'anana: The Haganah Veterans' Association in Ra'anana, 1982), pp.12-13, 18-19, 24, 77; testimony by Menachem Ilan (Mittleman) – Ra'anana Archive, Box 3, File 9.
49. Arab SHAY files, HA 105.
50. E.g., *Do'ar Hayyom*, 20 April 1933 (reporting the theft of lemon-tree plants which were later discovered in the *mukhtar* of Khirbat 'Azzun's home); *Davar*, 8 March 1936; Michalson, *Ha-Haganah*, pp.69–70, 87–91, 97–98, 165–70.
51. An isolated incident of stone-throwing from Khirbat 'Azzun on a bus going to Ra'anana was reported in *Davar*, 29 October 1933.
52. PHRP interview, 22 March 2022.
53. Deputy Head of Ra'anana's Local Council to district governor, 8 September 1938 – Israel State Archive (hereafter ISA), file 1739/5-m.
54. Account from 19 November 1941 – HA 105/198, p. 369. See also *Davar*, 16 July 1936 (reporting shooting from Khirbat 'Azzun on Ra'anana); *Filastin*, 19 September 1936 (reporting shooting from Ra'anana on Khirbat 'Azzun).
55. Ostrovsky to district officer, 3 September 1944 – ISA, 1739/5-m.
56. Petah Tikva police report, 20 October 1944 – ISA, 1739/5-m.
57. Haganah report, 22 December 1941 – HA 105/198, p. 393.
58. Marom, 'The Abu Hameds', pp.95–96.
59. Examples of trespassing incidents in HA 105/198, pp. 336, 450, 454, 479, 523; ISA, 1739/5-m, letters from 12 and 29 October, 16 November, 7 and 11 December 1944. Reports on stealing in HA 105/198, pp.234, 330, 336, 450.
60. Interview with Chenya Shamir.
61. Interviews with Nechemia Tanne, Malachi Reiner and Chenya Shamir; Michalson, *Ha-Haganah*, p.66.
62. E.g., HA 105/80, pp. 1240, 1367, 1409, 1428, 1506, 1572; HA 105/197, pp. 97, 347, 349; HA 105/77, pp. 2162, 2183.
63. HA 105/80, p. 1409.
64. *Haboker*, 31 December 1940; 10 January 1941. Similarly, *ibid*, 30 August 1946; *Kol ha-'Am*, 26 August 1947.
65. Testimony by Ostrovsky's daughter, in Nurit Chalif, *Ra'anana, Lihyot et ha-Halom; Zichronoteha shel Shoshana Ostrovsky-Goldberg* [Ra'anana: Living the Dream; Shoshana Ostrovsky-Goldberg's Recollections] (Ra'anana, 2009), p.97.
66. Chalif, *Ra'anana*, p.98, quoting Ostrovsky's announcement to the press.
67. Roy Marom, 'The Arabs of the Raanana Area in Late Ottoman and British Mandate Periods', in Stiegmann, pp.447–48.
68. Yoav Gelber, *Qomemiyut ve-Nakba* [Independence and Nakba] (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 2004); Ahmad H. Sa'di, and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds), *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
69. Gershon Rivlin and Tsvi Sinai, *Hativat Alexandroni be-Milhemet ha-Qomemiyut* [The Alexandroni Brigade During the War of Independence] (Tel Aviv: Ma'arachot, 1995), p.57.
70. Yehuda Slutsky (ed.), *Sefer Toldot ha-Haganah: Mi-ma'avak le-Milhama* [History of the Haganah: From Struggle to War] (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1972), iii, 2, p.1501.
71. Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.80 and 165.

72. Walid Khalidi, 'Plan Dalet: Master plan for the conquest of Palestine', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18.1 (1988), pp.4–19.
73. Morris, *Revisited*; Adel Manna, *Nakba and Survival* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022).
74. Morris, *Revisited*, p.126.
75. To Tenne ('a), 'Abd al-Qadir al-Husayni's visit in Tulkarm', 19 January 1948 – HA, 105/23/a.
76. The Lehi believed that members of that family tipped off the British about its training activity in the area, leading to a British raid that resulted in the death of five young Lehi activists.
77. Tiroshi to Tenne, 18 February 1948 – HA, 105/23/a.
78. Tiroshi to Tenne, 11 February 1948 – HA, 105/215.
79. 'Summary of the Meeting of the Councilors for Arab Affairs at Camp Dora, 6.4.48 [6 April 1948]'; Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Archives, 1949/4663-125; 'Summary of the Meeting of the Councilors for Arab Affairs at Camp Dora, 13.4.48 [13 April 1948]', *ibid*; Marom, 'Hadera', p.264.
80. Tiroshi to Tenne ('a), 12 April 1948 – HA, 105/143.
81. Tiroshi to Tenne ('a), 20 April 1948 – HA, 105/257.
82. Israel 'Joice' Beinish, 'The Evacuation of Khirbat 'Azzun', 6 December 1981, pp.21–22, Ra'anana Archives, Haganah Files/2. Beinish submitted the account for the Haganah's commemorative volume but the editors judged it unfit for publication.
83. Sh. Elon (Westerman), 'The Evacuation of Khirbat 'Azzun', n.d., p.2, Ra'anana Archives, Haganah Files.
84. PRHP interview, 19 June 2022.