TABLE OF CONTENTS

FORMING A NUCLEUS FOR THE JEWISH STATE: 1882-1947

Dr. Kenneth W. Stein

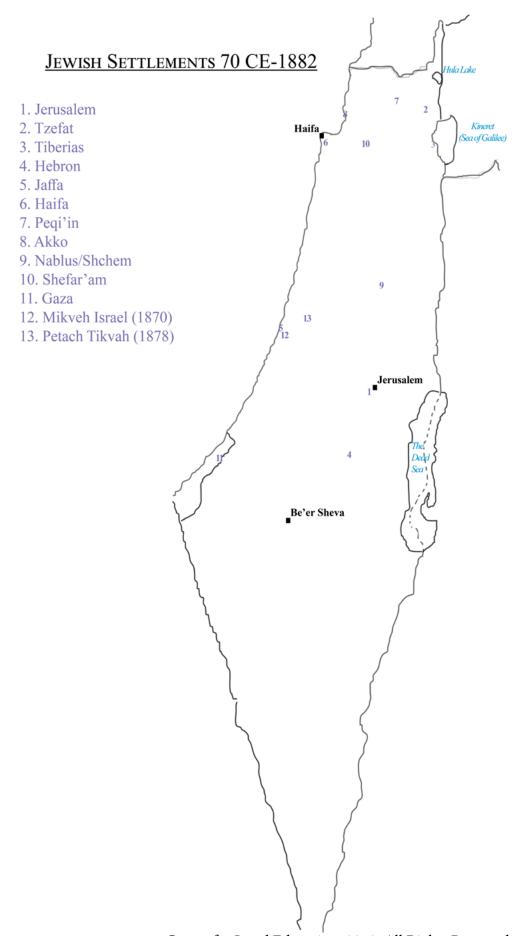


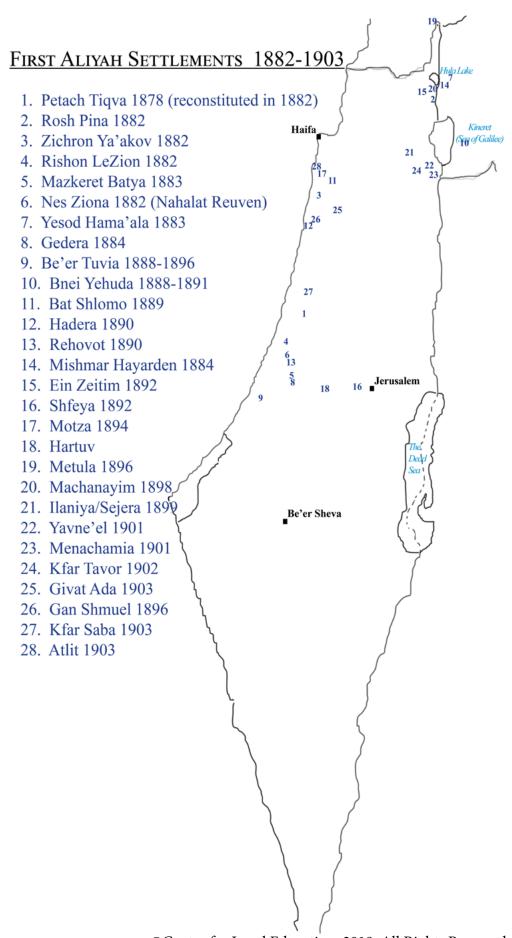
Introduction	3
Jewish Settlements 70 CE - 1882	4
First Aliyah (1882-1903)	5
Second Aliyah (1904-1914)	7
Third Aliyah (1919-1923)	
First and Second Aliyot (1882-1914)	11
First, Second, and Third Aliyot (1882-1923)	
Fourth Aliyah (1924-1929)	13
Fifth Aliyah Phase I (1929-1936)	15
First to Fourth Aliyot (1882-1929)	17
First to Fifth Aliyot Phase I (1882-1936)	18
The Peel Partition Plan (1937)	19
Tower and Stockade Settlements (1936-1939)	21
The Second World War (1940-1945)	23
Postwar (1946-1947)	25
11 Settlements of October 5-6 (1947)	27
First Aliyah to Tower and Stockade Settlements (1882-1939)	29
Jewish Settlements (1882-1947)	30
The UN Partition Plan (1947)	31
Partition vs. Armistice (1947-1949)	33

FROM BIBLICAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT, Jews and Judaism have had an unbroken connection to Zion, Eretz Yisrael, the Holy Land, or what came to be termed Palestine by the Great Powers after World War I. <u>Biblical Covenants</u>, daily prayer, Torah, and <u>liturgical references to Zion and Jerusalem</u> have been central to Jewish identity for thousands of years. From ancient times forward, Jews made Jerusalem their political and spiritual center. Around the 10th century BCE, the twelve tribes of Israel formed a constitutional monarchy, making Jerusalem its political and spiritual center. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, Jews remained present in Safed, Tiberias, <u>Jerusalem</u>, Hebron and other parts of the Holy Land.

Spurred on by growing anti-Semitism, in the 1880s a large number of Jews left Eastern and Western Europe, with several thousand immigrating back to their biblical origins, seeking to create new lives and livelihoods. Gradually the idea of Jewish national identity crystallized into building additional territorial presence in Eretz Yisrael, or Palestine. Then, there were 25,000 Jews in the area. By 1939, this grew to more than 450,000, and by May 1948, some 650,000 Jews. Linking Jews to land became the central feature of Zionism. Jews built settlements, urban centers, suburbs of neighborhoods, political institutions, and an infrastructure in the process of state building. Jewish geographic development concentrated on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road, along the coastal plain from Gaza to Haifa, and from Haifa through the Jezreel Valley to south of the Sea of Galilee and then north to the Lebanese-Syrian border.

From the 1880s forward, Jews immigrated in what has come to be defined as a series of aliyot – waves of migration. Hundreds of Jewish settlements and suburban areas were built in that period. The following maps trace that settlement process from the early moshavim and kibbutzim to the end of 1947. The maps show the formation of 315 Jewish settlements that created facts on the ground. British and UN decisions which suggested the creation of Jewish and Arab states in 1937 and 1947, respectively, clearly reflected the outlines of Jewish settlement building. By 1939, before one-third of world Jewry was destroyed in the Holocaust, a geographic and demographic nucleus for a Jewish state was present in Palestine. This reality was recognized by <u>Arab (1938)</u>, <u>Jewish (1937)</u>, and <u>British (1937)</u> assessments alike.





THE FIRST ALIYAH (1882-1903)

The First Aliyah* was the beginning of five consecutive waves of Jewish immigration to Eretz Israel prior to the establishment of the state of Israel (1948). This Aliyah comprised small groups and individuals including Hibbat Zion and the Bilu Movements. Leaving behind pogroms—organized massacres of Jews—in Russia and driven by idealism, they aspired to create a Jewish home for themselves in Eretz Israel.

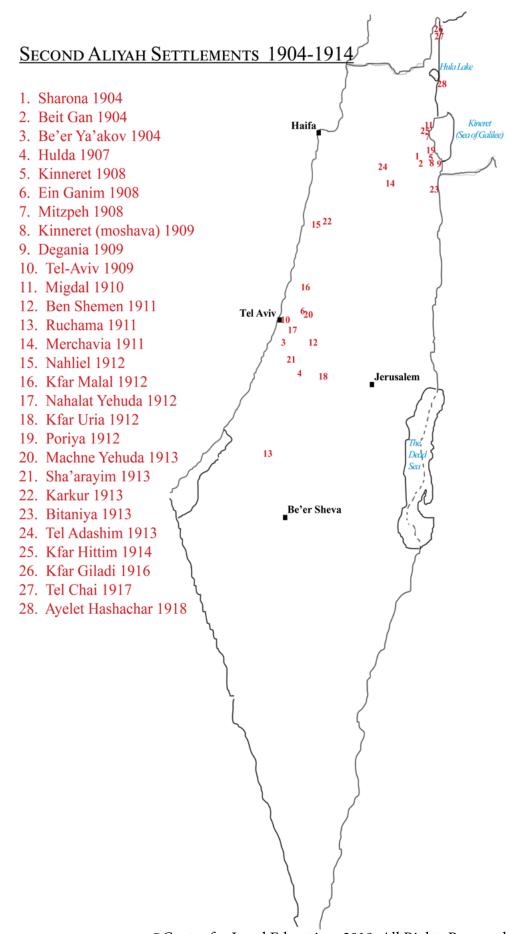
By 1903, 25,000 immigrants had established 28 agricultural settlements in addition to "Mikveh Israel," the first Jewish agricultural school in Palestine. Hebrew was revived and modernized as a spoken language, and 90,000 acres of land were purchased.

*Aliyah – 'going up' as in going up physically to Jerusalem or being called up to the Torah.

"Let the sovereignty be granted to us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves. The creation of a new State is neither ridiculous nor impossible." - Theodor Herzl, The Jewish State (1896)

"Yet others, who rebel against the lie of the Marranos, and who feel themselves too intimately connected with the land of their birth not to feel what Zionism means, throw themselves into the arms of the wildest revolution, with an indefinite arriere penste that with the destruction of everything in existence and the construction of a new world Jew-hatred may not be one of the precious articles transferred from the debris of the old conditions into the new." - Max Nordau, Address at the First Zionist Congress (1897)

"The Zionist Movement, the unique instance in world history of a people ...organizing itself for the rebuilding of its country which had been destroyed...It dates its origin from the first Zionist Congress held on the initiative of Dr. Theodor Herzl in Basle, Switzerland, in August 1897. Its formal establishment, however was preceded by an unbroken tradition of Zionist sentiment which was always a conscious and living factor among the Jewish communities scattered throughout the world." The Zionist Movement The Israel Year Book (1951)



THE SECOND ALIYAH (1904-1914)

Driven by Fear and insecurity over the 1903 Kishinev pogroms and other systematic government attacks against Jews in Russia, some 40,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine. More than 50,000 acres of land were purchased, with notably large areas in the Jezreel Valley south of Haifa in initial stages of negotiations.

The newcomers possessed an idealistic fervor similar to that of the First Aliyah and, in addition, brought the beliefs of socialism and set the stage for "Labor" Zionism, one of the core foundations of the Jewish state. Their arrival coincided with the early years of the official Zionist enterprise, including the opening of a Palestine office of the Zionist Organization in Jaffa in 1908.

In 1909, the first Kibbutz (Degania), the first modern Jewish city, Tel Aviv, and the first self-defense group, Hashomer were established. Hashomer was the precursor of the Haganah, established in 1920 and itself the forerunner of the Israel Defense Forces.

"[Chaim] Weizmann confirmed in his frequently expressed view that though Zionism was of necessity circumscribed by the difficulties and restrictions inherent in Turkish rule, ample scope nevertheless existed for work in Palestine. He traveled there immediately after the Eighth [Zionist] Congress, at The Hague in 1907, where he had issued an impassioned call for a synthesis of the policies then dividing the [Zionist] movement: practical work, which included endeavours for the cultural revival of the people both inside Palestine and in the communities beyond, to go hand-in-hand with the pursuit of their political aims. He contended that an increase of the Jewish effort in Palestine would strengthen them in political terms... The [settlers] were learning to be self-reliant. They had a love of the land, a sense of self-sacrifice, and they were laying the foundations of the coming Jewish State. Weizmann ...continued to emphasize that their path remained clear: intensified activity in Palestine that could transform Zionism into a concrete factor and thus act as a lever for political achievements." Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Introduction to Vol V, January 1907-February 1913, (1974)

THIRD ALIYAH SETTLEMENTS 1919-1923 1. Degania Bet 1920 2. Tel Yosef 1921 3. Ein Harod 1921 Haifa 4. Gan Shmuel 1921 5. Nahalal 1921 6. Geva 1921 7. Ramat Gan 1921 8. Kfar Yechezkel 1921 9. Beit Alpha 1922 10. Heftziba 1922 11. Yagur 1922 12. Binyamina 1922 13. Genigar 1922 Tel Aviv 14. Kfar Malal (reestablished) 1922 15. Givatayim 1922 Jerusalem 16. Ra'anana 1922 17. Balfuria 1922 18. Tel Adashim (reestablished) 1923 19. Kfar Gideon 1923 20. Ramat Hasharon 1923 _Be'er Sheva

THE THIRD ALIYAH (1919-1923)

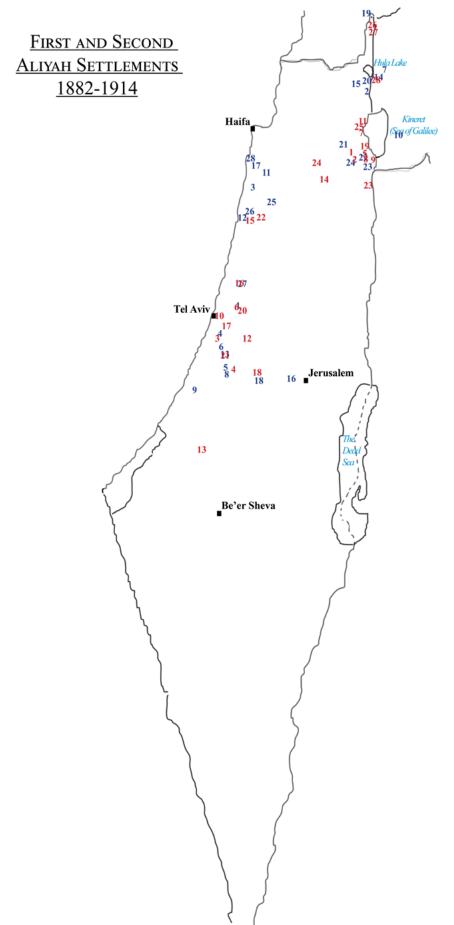
This Aliyah coincided with the conclusion of the Russian Revolution and the post-World War I period. Fear, insecurity and the hope of nation building motivated many of these immigrants. The 1917 Balfour Declaration and British control over Palestine offered the prospect of stability and security. The British government set up its administration in Palestine seeking to elicit Jewish and Arab participation in local government; the Zionists participated, but the Arab political community refused and boycotted.

35,000 immigrants were drawn to Eretz Israel. The majority came from Russia, Poland, Lithuania and Rumania and a few hundred came from Western European countries. Those in the Third Aliyah were mostly young people, many single males, who had recieved preparatory agricultural training. Upon arrival, they were ready to do pioneering and organizational work. They helped establish the Histradrut, a labor federation, small businesses, political parties, the Haganah, and the Palestine office of the Jewish National Fund.

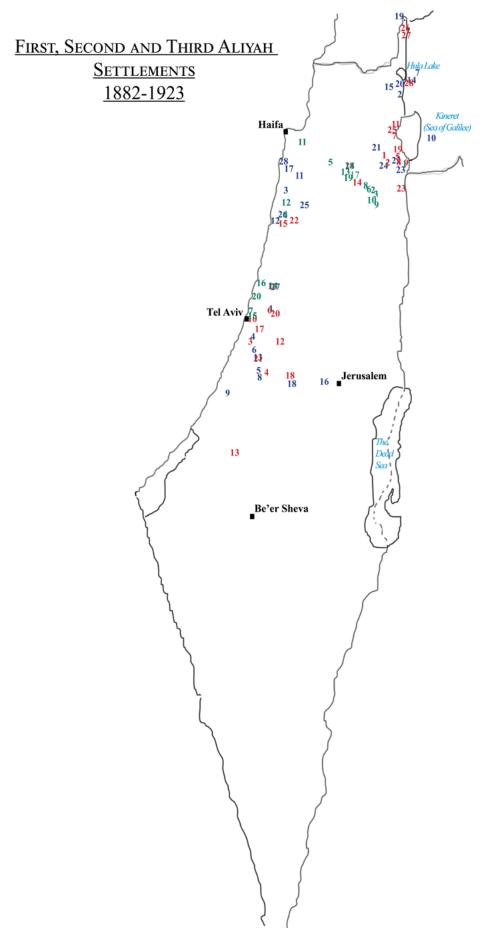
In comparing the settlement maps on pages 11 and 12 as follows, one can already detect the intentional geo-spatial growth of settlements along the coastal region and in the Jezreel valley. Well before the Zionists were provided political recognition by the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the establishment of British military and civilian rule in Palestine in 1920, 56 Jewish settlements were established.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." - The Balfour Declaration (1917)

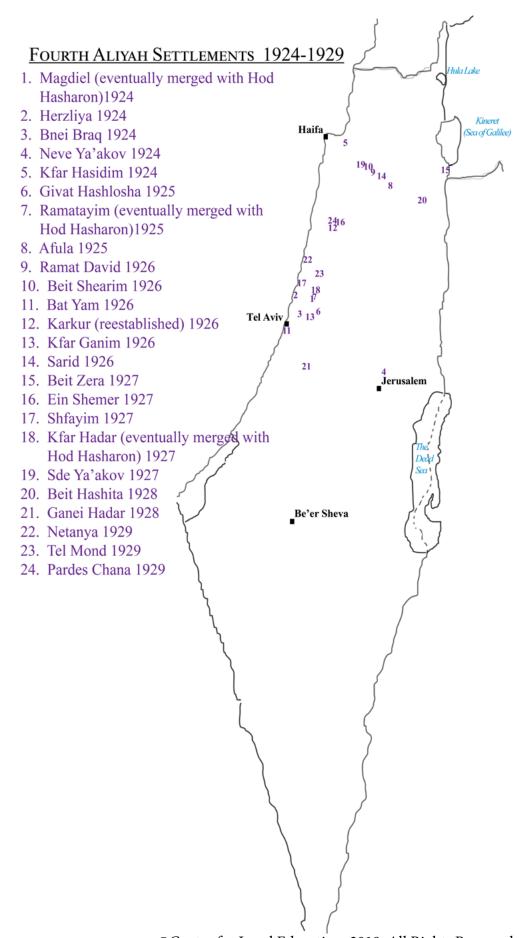
"The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." - Article VI of the Palestine Mandate (1922)



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THE FOURTH ALIYAH (1924-1929)

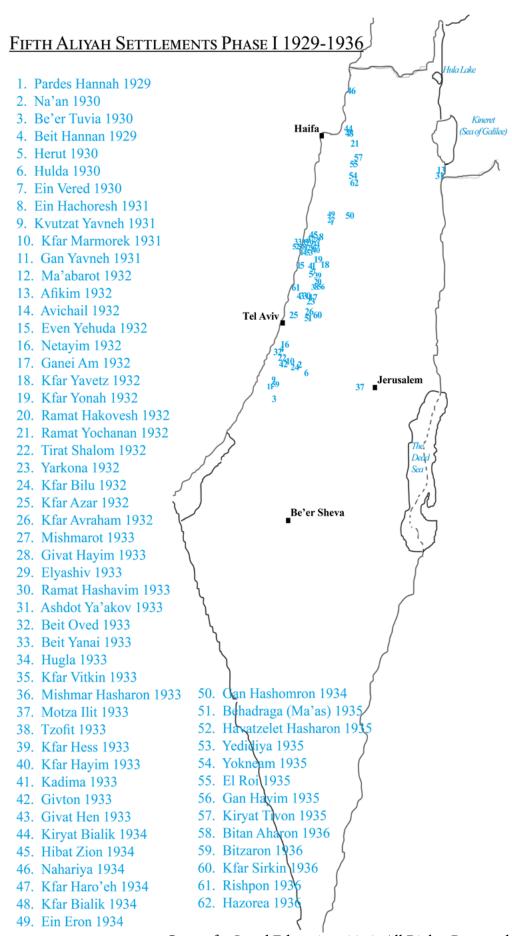
British Policy in Palestine aimed at maintaining a dual obligation to Jewish and Arab communities. In the fields of Jewish land settlement and Jewish immigration, British policy was to neither make Palestine wholly Jewish nor subordinate Jews to the Arab population. In immigration, Britain applied a principle of Jewish immigration tied to an ambiguous formula established in its 1922 policy statement of the "economic absorptive capacity of the country" to take in new immigrants. Zionists argued that such a capacity was limitless, while the Arab political leadership continue to insist that both immigration and land purchase be halted and the entire idea of a Jewish national home come to an end.

Different from the previous waves of immigration, this Aliyah was driven by economic forces and the restrictive <u>US 1924 Immigration Act</u>, which established and applied national origin-based quotas. While improved economic conditions in Palestine made it more attractive to immigrants, there was, for a brief period of time, an actual increase in Jewish immigration from Palestine in 1927. Yet, more than 80,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine in the Fourth Aliyah.

Middle-class newcomers settled in towns and invested in workshops, small factories, restaurants and shops. They contributed to the development of the coastal region by developing agricultural villages with citrus orchards. Thousand invested their own savings in new enterprises, indicating deep personal commitments to Zionist aspirations.

Early in this period, the British administration in Palestine acknowledged that the Jewish community was creating political, social, and economic separation from the Arab community.

"If [the Jewish community] has been able to rely on the Government of Palestine to maintain order and to impose no unnecessary obstacles, for all the rest it has had to rely on its own internal resources, on its own enthusiasm, its own sacrifices, its own men. ... the building of the National Home has not been the work of any Government; it is not an artificial construction of laws and official fostering. It is the outcome of the energy and enterprise of the Jewish people themselves." Report of the High Commissioner on the Administration of Palestine, 1920-1925," Volume I, Esco Foundation for Palestine, Inc., 1947, pp. 291-293.

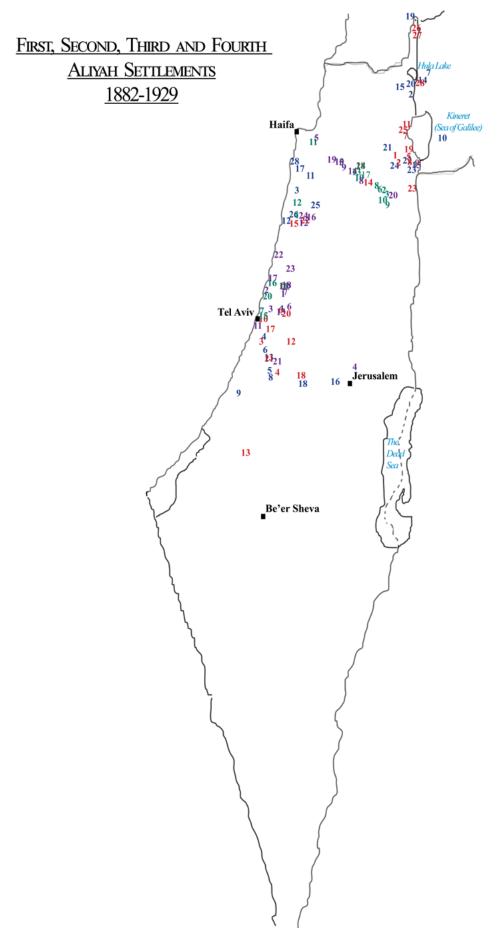


THE FIFTH ALIYAH PHASE I (1929-1936)

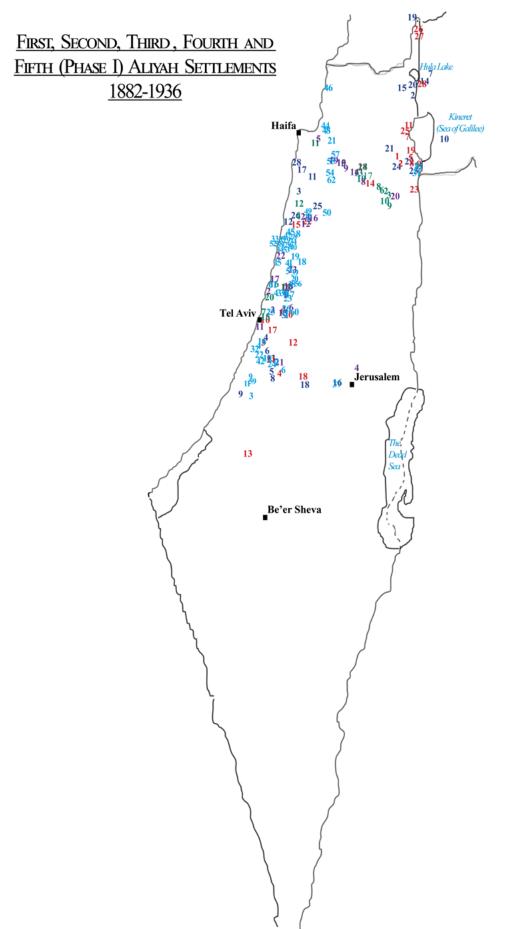
This Aliyah was driven by increased commitment to Zionism among European Jews and the rise in anti-Semitism and Nazism in Germany, and was compounded by difficulties in emigrating to the U.S. and Canada. Some 250,000 Jews immigrated and 80,000 acres of land were purchased. These seven years saw the largest Jewish demographic and geophysical increases of the Mandate Period. Significantly, from early 1932 onward, the Palestinian Arab press repeatedly castigates Palestinian leaders, small owners, and land brokers for engaging in <u>land sales to Jews</u>.

More than a quarter of the immigrants came from Germany and Austria. They brought with them a good deal of capital, contributing to economic growth in the Jewish sector, expanding trade, industry and agriculture. Most of these immigrants settled in urban areas and contributed significantly to business, medicine, education, literature and music. One-fifth of this Aliyah settled in kibbutzim and moshavim.

Careful assessments were made about which lands should be purchased for building rural settlements where populations could sustain themselves with incomes generated in and <u>commercial profits made on the world market</u>. Offers to Jewish buyers outstripped their capacity to acquire land.



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PALESTINE PARTITION **PLAN 1937** 4 T 44 35 W. 农 G Ma Jewish 8414 SINA A ree Mandated ©Center for Israel Education, 2019. All Rights Reserved.

PALESTINE PARTITION PLAN 1937

THE BRITISH (ROYAL COMMISSION) REPORT

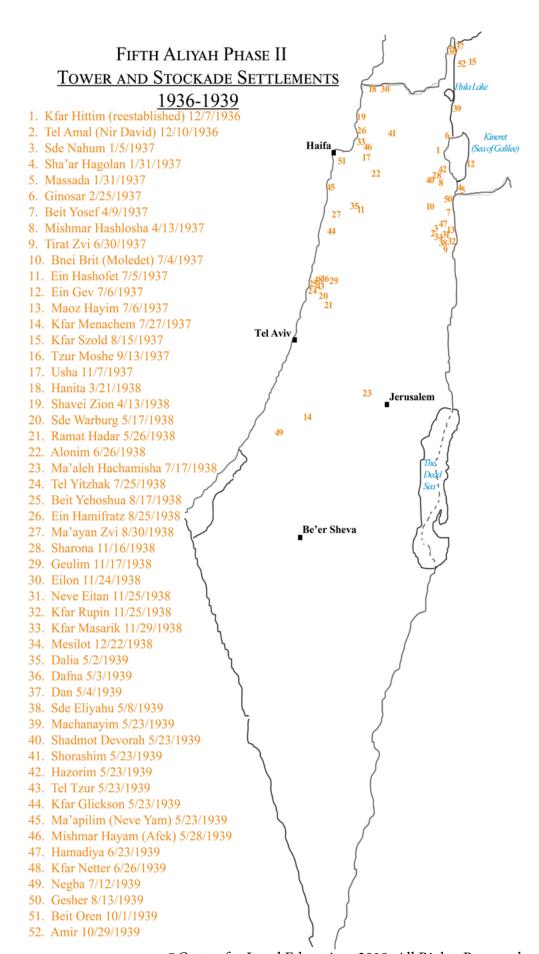
THE PALESTINE ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1937, headed by Lord Robert Peel, was commissioned to propose a new British policy initiative during the Arab riots in Palestine. The commission's major recommendations included:

- The Mandate should eventually be terminated;
- The British should maintain control of the corridor to Jerusalem from the coastal area south of Jaffa;
- The land should be partitioned into a Jewish and an Arab state;
- A transfer of land and populations was suggested.

Due to the clear incompatibility of the two communities and Britain's desire to end recurrent intercommunal violence, the commission reached this conclusion: "...that there is no possibility of solving the Palestine problem under the existing Mandate (or even under a scheme of cantonization), the <u>Peel Commission Report</u> recommends the termination of the present Mandate on the basis of Partition and put forward a definite scheme which they consider to be practicable, honorable, and just."

Obvious from the map on the facing page, the outline for the proposed Jewish state reflected very closely the area where new Jewish settlement had taken place over the previous half century. Official Jewish institutions sought to implement the approach outlined in The Political Significance of Land Purchase to what was being considered a potential future Jewish state.

The plan for partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states with an economic union was not enacted for several reasons. First, Britain believed that an Arab state would not have been economically viable. Second, implementing a two-state outcome would have likely increased political pressure for Britain to end her strategic presence in Palestine. By the end of the 1930s, the port of Haifa was extraordinarily important; via the newly opened oil pipeline from Mosul, Iraq provided critical oil for British naval vessels. Third, Britain decided to respond to the anger of Arab leaders in the Middle East who were vigorously against the creation of a Jewish state.



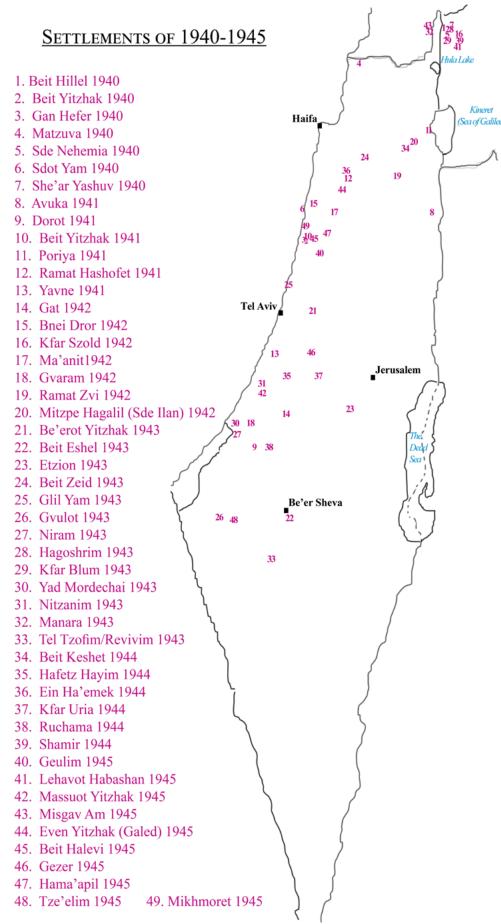
TOWER AND STOCKADE

PHASE II OF THE FIFTH ALIYAH (1936-1939)

WITH ARAB ATTACKS on Jewish settlements and British institutions, and political uncertainty at hand in the late 1930s, Jewish political organizations assumed that the British would apply immigration and land purchase restrictions in the near future. Jewish settlements were erected in a rush, with 52 fortified agricultural settlements built by between 1936-1939.

In order to evade British notice, the settlers hastily constructed a stockade and observation tower overnight. Once established, the British found it virtually impossible to remove these settlements—all on Jewish owned land—due to a still-enforced Ottoman law which stipulated that completion of a structure was a basis for legal recognition.

While these settlements were constructed to create contiguous defensive zones on already-owned Jewish land to ward off Arab attacks, a number were strategically located to advance geo-political control over a key area. Seventeen were placed around Beit She'an, just south of the Sea of Galilee, where the Jordan River flowed to nearby agricultural settlements. Beyond providing physical protection and fulfilling economic needs, Jewish decision-makers at the Jewish National Fund and the Jewish Agency determined that valuable strategic placement would enhance the Zionist objectives of either delineating a future Jewish state's border or being able to trade land with British officials for land from a proposed Arab state. The Peel Partition's recommendation to establish two states had a direct impact upon Zionist deliberations for setting land purchase and settlement placement priorities. In September 1938, <u>Arab leaders meeting in Damascus</u> acknowledged that portions of Palestine were 'already lost to the Jews'.



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THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1940-1945)

In Quelling the Civil disturbances in Palestine during the Arab rebellion against Jewish presence and British rule, the Palestine administration used harsh force against the protestors and terrorists. Realizing that dividing Palestine into Jewish and Arab states was not a workable compromise, Great Britain pulled back from the notion of partition and imposed severe immigration and land purchase restrictions on the Zionists, hope to curb Arab animosities caused by the two central features of Jewish nation-building. The three years of intermittent violence had a threefold impact: the Arab rural economy in Palestine suffered enormously, further impoverishing large segments of the peasant population; the Jewish community's capacity to purchase land and immigrate to Palestine was virtually eliminated by the 1939 White Paper, which amounted to a policy of truncating the Jewish national home, bringing the promise of the Balfour Declaration to a halt; and with the war clouds in Europe looming and Britain's Arab allies in surrounding states livid at the previous British policy toward the Jewish national home, His Majesty's Government decided to stay in Palestine for strategic reasons.

The White Paper limited Jewish immigration to 75,000 Jews over five years, after which Jewish immigration would be prohibited entirely unless an unlikely accommodation with the Arabs could be reached, and gave Mandate authorities the power to restrict and prohibit land sales to Jews. Jewish immigration to Palestine slowed enormously, though illegal immigration continued. Jewish land buying was stunted but did not halt completely; in fact, Arab sellers and Jewish buyers continued land transfers at quite a significant and sophisticated pace. Details on the frequency of such transfers and methods of circumventing the land transfer prohibitions is provided in the Land Transfer Inquiry Committee Report, 1945. Zionist decision makers established 42 new settlements on already-purchased but not yet occupied lands. Geopolitically, the settlements filled in already heavily settled Jewish areas on the coastal plain, in valley regions, and along the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem Road.

Pointing to Zionism's ultimate goal, in 1942 the Jewish Agency's David Ben-Gurion outlined the explicit intent to create a Jewish State while speaking at a program in New York City, seeking to rally American Jews to the Zionist cause while a great deal of attention was focused on the growing tragedy of European Jewry's destruction. Ben-Gurion said, "Either Zionism provides a radical and speedy satisfaction of the consuming need of thousands of uprooted Jews and, through mass immigration and settlement, lays the sure foundations of a free, self-governing, Jewish Palestine, or it is meaningless." - David Ben-Gurion, The Biltmore Program (1942)

SETTLEMENTS OF 1946-1947 *Indicates this was one of the 1. Alumot 1946 eleven settlements founded 2. Batzra 1946 on the night between the 5th 3. Be'eri* 1946 and 6th of October, 1946 4. Bnaya 1946 5. Dovrat 1946 6. Ein Hanatziv 1946 7. Ein Zeitim 1946 8. Ein Tzurim 1946 9. Emunim 1946 10. Gal'on* 1946 11. Hatzerim* 1946 12. Kedma* 1946 13. Kfar Darom* 1946 Tel Aviv 14. Kfar Kish 1946 15. Kfar Monash 1946 16. Maginim 1946 Jerusalem 17. Mishmar Hanegev* 1946 18. Neot Mordechai 1946 19. Nevatim* 1946 20. Neveh Ilan 1946 21. Nirim* 1946 22. Regba 1946 23. Shadmot Devorah 1946 24. Shoval* 1946 25. Tkuma* 1946 26. Urim* 1946 27. Yassur 1946 28. Yechiam 1946 29. Alumot 1947 30. Eyal 1947 31. Ha'ogen 1947 32. Herev Le'et 1947 33. Kfar Bnei Zion 1947 34. Ma'ayan Baruch 1947 35. Mivtachim 1947 36. Nachlat Zabotinsky 1947 37. Revadim 1947 38. Saad 1947 39. Sdot (Nir) Akiva 1947 40. Yakum 1947 41. Gevim 1947 42. Ein Carmel 1947

SETTLEMENTS OF 1946-1947

FROM 1945 TO 1948, 42 settlements were established in Palestine with a notable concentration in the area around Beersheba. Since the early 1940s, Ben-Gurion had emphasized in Jewish National Fund meetings the necessity for Zionism and the future Jewish state to have a presence in the Negev, situated as it was between Egypt in Sinai and Jordan on the eastern borders of Palestine. Moreover, he advocated for acquiring land near the southern port of Eilat as a future water outlet. Land acquisitions in those areas were not made in large numbers, but Ben-Gurion's intentions were clear.

Due to vigorous British enforcement of their restrictions on Jewish immigration, Jews who left Europe after WWII were mostly denied access to enter Palestine. Some 150,000 Jews immigrated illegally by land and ship. After Britain handed the issue of Palestine in 1947 to the newly formed United Nations, the Mandate authorities continued their policy of limiting the growth of the Jewish national home.

In 1945 Moshe Shertok, a leader in the Jewish Agency in Palestine, pleaded with the British to allow more Jews to immigrate to Palestine. He said, "The Jewish people must free itself from the humiliation of fear. It is entitled to ask the world to assist it to achieve freedom from fear and want."- Moshe Shertok, 'Let My People Go' (1945)

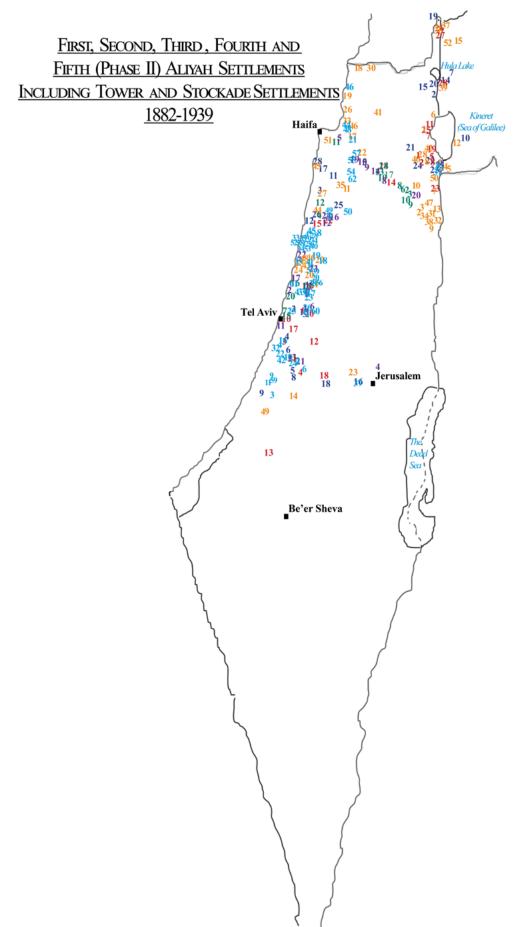
The British government remained steadfast in its enforcement of the restrictions against Jewish immigration.

The 11 Settlements in the Negev THE NIGHT BETWEEN OCTOBER 5TH AND 6TH 1946 1. Urim Haifa_ 2. Be'eri 3. Gal'on 4. Hatzerim 5. Kfar Darom 6. Mishmar Hanegev 7. Nevatim 8. Nirim 9. Kedma 10. Shoval Tel Aviv 11. Tekuma Jerusalem

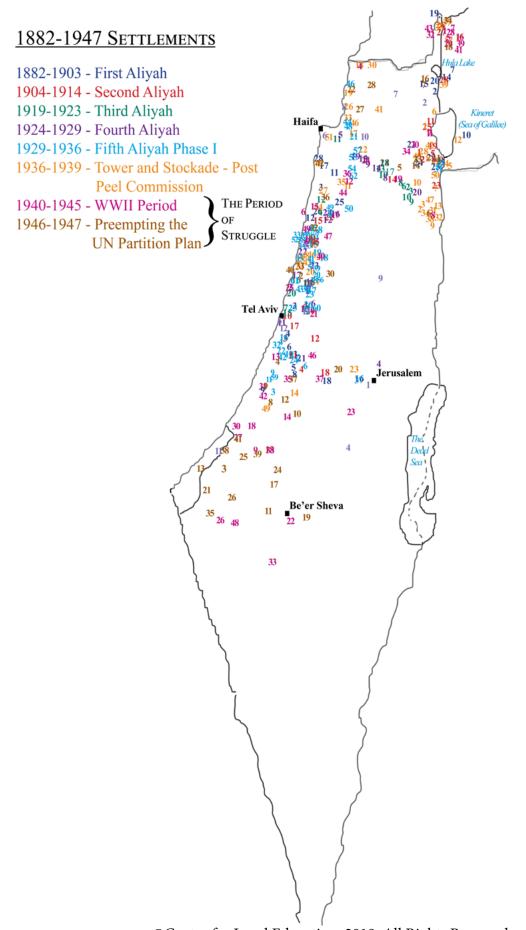
THE 11 SETTLEMENTS

ELEVEN SETTLEMENTS were constructed in the Northern Negev overnight on October 5-6, 1946. These areas were strategically chosen to bolster Zionist presence in the Negev region between Beersheba and Gaza. Small amounts of land were purchased in the Gaza area.

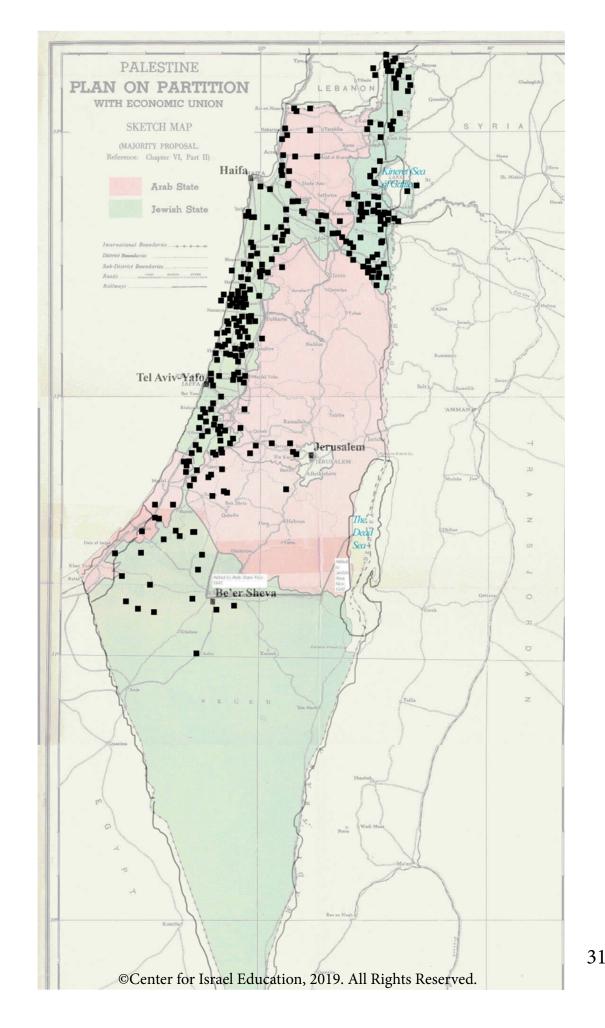
Every settlement organization of the Yishuv participated in the operation, providing a nucleus of at least 30 members for each of the settlements.



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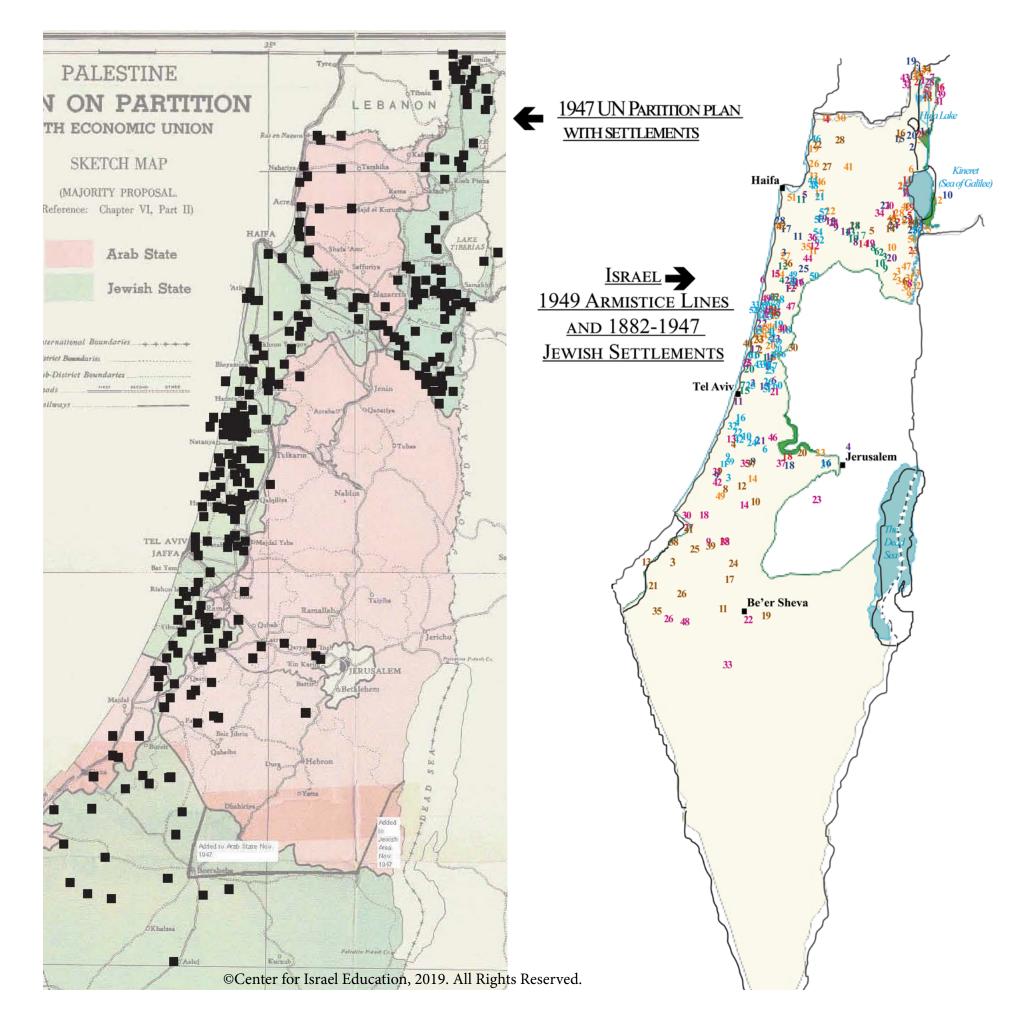


THE 1947 UNITED NATIONS PARTITION RESOLUTION

ONCE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT submitted the issue of the future status of Palestine to the United Nations, the UN General Assembly appointed a special committee to study the matter. After a lengthy investigation, the majority of the committee members recommended the partitioning of the land into two states – a Jewish state and an Arab state with Jerusalem under international supervision.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 181 by 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions. The United States and Russia supported the resolution; Arab and Moslem states opposed partition. The suggested borders for partition followed closely the contours of earlier Jewish settlement concentration. In essence, decades of Zionist strategic planning had an undeniable influence on determining the suggested UN partition borders.

Abdulrahman Azzam Pasha, the Arab League Secretary General, <u>rejected any compromise</u> with the Zionist leaders. He said, "The Arab world is not in a compromising mood. Nations never concede; they fight. You won't get anything by peaceful means or compromise. You can, perhaps, get something, but only by the force of arms. We shall try to defeat you. I'm not sure we'll succeed, but we'll try. We were able to drive out the Crusaders, but on the other hand we lost Spain and Persia. It may be that we shall lose Palestine. But it's too late to talk of peaceful solutions."



PARTITION VS ARMISTICE (1947-1949)

OF THE PALESTINE MANDATE'S total land area of 26,600 square kilometers, half was located in the desert region around and south of Beersheba, where there were few land title deeds. The 1947 UN Partition plan allotted 14,900 square kilometers to the planned Jewish state and 11,700 kilometers to the Arab state. By January 1948, two months after the release of the Partition Plan, Jews owned 2,023 square kilometers (13.6%) of their proposed state. However, since roughly 12,000 kilometers of the proposed Jewish state was in the untitled lands south of Beersheba, Jews already owned close to two-thirds of the titled land allotted to them under the Partition Plan. Significantly, the land outlined in the UN partition plan as seen on the opposing page reflected the footprint of Jewish settlement which had begun seventy years earlier.

The Partition Plan was tentatively accepted by Zionists and flatly rejected by Arabs. Intercommunal violence broke out immediately after the vote. Zionist leaders declared independence for the Jewish state on May 15, 1948. Multiple Arab countries promptly declared war on the new state and fighting lasted until early 1949, with Israel gaining a decisive upper hand and expanding its borders significantly beyond those of the Partition Plan. By mid-1949, with armistice agreements signed with its opponents, Israel controlled 78% of Mandate Palestine, roughly 20,500 square kilometers. This represented a 37% increase from their allotted territory under the Partition Plan and a corresponding loss of 50% of the territory designated for the Arab state. By the end of 1948, the remainder of Palestinian territory had come under the control of Jordan and Egypt, in the West Bank and Gaza Strip respectively. Arab rejection of the Partition Plan resulted in significant territorial loss and the war that ensued contributed to the widespread flight of Arabs from Palestine. Concluding the war, Israel signed armistice agreements, rather than peace treaties, with four neighbors: Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.