ד 27

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מצרים

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בעיות ירושלים
כללי

נפתח: 29.4.69

נסגר: 31.1.71

84/ד 27

[redacted]

שם תיק: בעיות ירושלים -כללי
מזהה פיזי
חצ-7050/2
מזהה פריט: 0002lv3
כתובת: 3-312-3-5-2
תאריך הדפסה 27/09/2016

סודי

31.1.1971

עותק מס. 5 מתוך 8 עותקים
(בסה"כ 10 עמודים)

מר מ. בזית, ממנכ"ל

המשרד לענינים כלכליים

הנדון: ירושלים - מיומת עבודת

1. ביום 19 רבא הודיעני מלכותית ד"ר יעקב הרצוג, מנכ"ל משרד ראש הממשלה, כי חוא ממנה אותי מרכז של צוות-עבודה לנושא ירושלים אשר רות"מ ושת"מ בקבוחו להבעיל. בעקבות כך נענתי למניתך לבשם ללא ריחוי להכנת מיומת-עבודה (בשל מחלת ד"ר הרצוג ניגשתי לעבודה זו בתאום עמך בלבד).

... 2. רצ"ב מיומת-עבודת ראשונה,- כינתיתי"מס. 1" אשר הכינותי על יסוד עיון מחיר ומרוכז בחומר הרב המצוי, ואחרי מספר מיחות עם גורמים שונים.

3. תכלית המיומת היא לרשום אופציות שונות, תקיימות או הנראות אפשריות. בדי להעמיד אופציות אלו בהקשרם הכולל רשמתי החילת קוים לאופי הבעיה וההסדר. לפי-כך ערכתי את "הניר" דלהלן:

פרק א'	אופי הבעיה
פרק ב'	אופי ההסדר לעתיד
פרק ג'	עמדות מוצחרות
פרק ד'	הצעות/אופציות

4. זוהי מיומת ראשונה, מעין רישום תיזות לעבודת. מכלימת - לתניע להמשך הליבון/בירור ואולי להביא לפסילת אופציות או העלאת אחרות. ההצעות כמובן עומדות חן כ"א לחוד, והן בצירופים,וצירופים הלקיים,במגוון רב.

5. במבע הדברים שנטלתי חושר מכל הבא ליד, וחומר זה רב מאד. עבודת יסודית, במקרה ובזאת הירש, מחייב לדעתי:

א. ריכוז שיטתי של החומר, כולל מסמכי האו"ם על ירושלים; הערכות מסמטיות, ליקוט עמדות המדינות כפי שבאו לידי ביטוי בדיוני האו"ם משך השנים, וכו'.

ב. ראיון שיטתי של אישיות נוגרים (לגווניהם), מוסלמים, יחודים; וכן אחרים, בארץ ובחו"ל. בראיונות כאלה משתמע כמובן, אקט מדיני המעון שיקול והחלטת.

ג. בדיקת שיטתית של עמדה גורמים בי"ל; והיקאן, המעצמת הכנסיות (ביחר שאת משחר ב-ב' לעיל הרי כעצם בדיקת מעין זו יש, כמובן, אקט מדיני מסדרגת ראשונה, עם מחיוב והשלילה שבכך, ומחלך כזה מעון אישור במיטור המשלהי העליון.

6. מתבקש כינון שני צוותות עבודה שיעבדו הן בעקביל, והן השני אחרי הראשון ובהתאם להנחיותיו:

א. צוות ההסדר המדיני הכוללי:
מינימום חבריו: (1) נציג המחוס המדיני-כללי
(2) נציג המחוס מדתי
(3) נציג המחוס המשפטי
(4) מאאס/מרכז

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ב. <u>צוות התמדרים המשייסים:</u>
מינהלה חבריו: (1) נציג המחוז היהודי
(2) נציג המחוז הנוצרי
(3) נציג המחוז המוסלמי/ערבי
(4) נציג המחוז העירוני
(5) נציג המחוז הבטחוני-כללי (צ.ה.ל.)
(6) נציג המחוז הבטחוני-מניעתי (משטרה)
(7) נציג המחוז הבינוי והתכנון
(8) מתאם/מרכז

7. במידה ותידרש עבודת רחומה <u>ומהירה</u> הרי נראה חשוב לרכז קורס כל את כל החומר (5, א' לעיל). לכך יידרשו 10 ימי עבודה מלאה לפחות של עובד מנוסה בתוספת מזכירה/בתבנית (<u>באנגלית</u>) מעולה, וזאת תוך שתוף-פעולה מלא של הארכיב המדיני, שמרית מש"מ, מחלקת מקוד והמגזיזה. קרוב לודאי כי יהיה צורך להסתייע גם במקורות מחוץ למשרד (גנזך המדינה, המשרית האומית וכיו"ב). מכלית מבצע זה תהיה כמולה:

א. ריכוז החומר
ב. תיעצות א נמרץ.

8. א. נראה לי כי כל שלב נוסף בהכנת נושא ירושלים עותנת בהחלטה מדינית לגבי מיב/אופי הצעד הבא.

ב. מאליו מובן כי הסדר עבודה מעין זו מעון מתן מסכות מורמלית ברורה.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

מיכאל שרגאי

העתק: ד"ר יעקב חרצוג, מנכ"ל, משרד ראש הממשלה
מר גדעון רפאל, המנכ"ל
מר אריאור לוריא, משנה למנכ"ל

ירושלים, 31.1.1971

סודי

ירושלים - טיוטת עבודה מס. 1

א. אופי הבעיה

לבעית ירושלים משמעות מיוחדת בשל מרכיבים שכל אחד לחוד, וכולם יחד, קובעים את אופיה בעיני כל גורם שענין לו בירושלים:

1. המרכיב היהודי: בהכרח העולם חופש בדרך-כלל הענין היהודי בירושלים מקום מיוחד. בענין היהודי בירושלים חברו יחד כל שאר המרכיבים, וביחד שאת מאשר באיזה גורם דתי או אתני או מדיני אחר. על דרך השלילה ניתן לומר: טול מירושלים את יסודותיה היהודיים - והענין שיש לנוצרים ולמוסלמים בירושלים ולעולם התרבותי בכלל, הינו כלא היה. ירושלים היונית ומרכזית לעם היהודי, ובנובע מכך: למדינת ישראל, יותר מאשר לכל גורם אחר. מקומה של ירושלים במודעה היהודית הדתית-מסורתית-אנושית-היסטורית הוא כה מרכזי שכל פגיעה בה מוגעת בלב האומה ממש; לכך אין מקביל או דומה בכל אומה אחרת, כולל אומות האיסלאם, לא לגבי זיקתה לבירתה שלה, ובודאי שלא לגבי זיקתה לירושלים.

2. המרכיב המיסטי אוניברסלי:

המקום המיוחד שתופסת ירושלים במודעה תרבות האדם, - בשל מקומה בהתפתחות המחשבה האנושית, האמונה, המוסר, הנבואה, והחשראה המיסטית. מרכיב זה קשה לגדרה מאשר שאר המרכיבים, אף על פי כן השפעתו הכללית חזקה מכל היתר יחד.

3. המרכיב המדיני:

השלטון הריבוני המינהלי בירושלים חשוב לאותז בו, וכל שכן למי ששואף לאחוז בו, מאז כוננה דוד לבירת ישראל. על השלטון בירושלים נוהלו מלחמות רבות אשר במגיעיתן וביעדיתן מלאו המקידים מרכזיים כל ששת המרכיבים הרשומים כאן.

4. המרכיב הדתי הכללי:

(מקומות מקודשים לשלוש דתות עולמיות).

5. המרכיב האוכלוסייתי:

(עיר בת חיים תושבים מעדות, עמים, דתות וכו' שונים וכולם כאחד רואים בעובדת ישיבתם בה מציאות בעלת משמעות עמוקה).

6. ירדן:

מאז הקמת היישות הירדנית בשנות העשרים בשכנות מיסית מיידית לא"י המערבית, וביחד שאת מאז פלישת הלגיון הערבי ליהודה, ירושלים ושומרון ב-1948, ומיפות שמתים אלה למלכת התאשטית, היתה ירדן הגורם המוסלמי הריבוני הקרוב ביותר למקומות המקודשים לאיסלאם, ומאז 1948 הריבון הוטטלמי השליט בהם. על אף העובדה כי המלישת היתה בניגוד להחלטות האו"ם,

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והסיפוח נשאר בלתי חוקי, והוכר ע"י שתי מדינות לא-ערביות, כלבד (פאקיסטאן ואנגליה), תרי השתרשה מעין "מזקה" ירדנית בירושלים וחזקת זו זכתה בשתמע בהכרה דה-פקטו מצד האו"ם וכו'. זכותה למעמד באחרים המוסלמים בירושלים כזכות מדינה מוסלמית כלשהי אחרת, לא יותר.

ב. אופי ההסדר לקחיד

1. ההסדר חייב לשקף את ששת המרכיבים המרכזיים של הבעיה.

2. התעלמות ממרכיבים אלה, מאחד, או אחרים מהם, צופן בחובה גרעין של סכסוכים בעתיד.

3. מבחינה ישראל יש טעם בהסדר חדש, - בנבדל מן המציאות הנוכחית שנוצרה אחרי מלחמת יוני 1967, בתנאי כי ההסדר החדש יפחות בעיות/יקשין מהיחויות. הסדר חלקי בלבד, ו/או הסדר הלוקה בהתעלמות ממרכיב זה או אחר יגרה להתערבויות/מחיאת נושא ירושלים מחדש, ולכן לא ישנה עקרונית/מציאותית במצב הקיים.

4. הנחת היסוד היא כי ירושלים תופסת מקום מרכזי בהקשר הכללי של הסכסוך במזה"ת, ועל-כן מתרון ירושלים עשוי לעמש נקודת-מוצא/מנוף/מפתח לפתרון בעיות נוספות.

5. כנגד התפיסה היהודית-ישראלית המירבית (ההכרח בהסדר כולל שיעניק לנו השיג-נצח בירושלים, בחינת דור הגאולה) קייפת הפיסה מזערית(הגורסת: תפיסת מרובה לא תפסת ולא על דורנו שלנו מונח כל עול הגאולה כולו, ונותר תפקיד גם לבאים אחרינו) שלפיה השגת השלום הצריך ויתורים מסוימים, לפי המציאות הנתונה.

6. ההסדר שיושג צריך לא בלבד להיות הוגן מלפי כל מרכיבי הבעיה ולטפק את הענין של הנוגעים, אלא הוא חייב גם להיראות הוגן ומספק, וביצועו הלכה למעשה חייב להיות הוגן ומספק.

7. לגבי הצד המוסלמי-ערבי חשוב ביותר כי ההסדר יהיה, ויתקבל כך, מכובד. ענין זה של הכבוד, היוקרה וכו', נראה להיות חיוני בעיני המוסלמים(ערבים) לא פחות מכל בחינה מעשית.

8. בעיה ירושלים, - על מרכיביה, אופיה והשלכותיה עומדת ללא הקדים. אין לבעיה זו דוגמא או מקביל, היא SUI GENERIS.

יתרה מזו: משך כל הדורות, מאז הפכה ירושלים מוקד מדיני-דתי-הרבותי-שלטוני-מיסמי לא היה קיים מעולם הסדר כולל כפי שרצוי לחשיגו כעת. המגמה היא, איפוא, לא להתחמק ולראות בנושא ירושלים בעיה שבין ישראל לירדן ולגשת לפתרונה במישור הדו-מדינתי המצומצם הזה, אלא לגשת לפתרון מיקיף את כל המרכיבים, ודוקא עי"כ להקל על יישוב הסכסוך, במישור ישראל-ירדן, הייגו באמצעות העלאתו - בנושא ירושלים - למישור שונה,רחב הרבה יותר.

בעוד מגמה כזו תיראה אטביציונית מאד, יתכן ודוקא בגישה כזאת של הסתייעות בגורמים/מרכיבים מחוץ לתחום ישראל-ירדן פתח להתקדמות רצויה. כנגד גישה כזאת קייפת הטענה שהכנסת גורמים מן החוץ צופנת בחובה סכנות מדיניות וכו' בלתי רצויות לנו. ביקורת כזו גורסת שעדיף הסדר, ולו חלקי, בסיגר ישראל-ירדן, ואפילו יגרור בהמשך הזמן סוגיות חדשות.

בין אם המגמה היא להסדר כולל, בין להסדר דו-מדינתי בלבד, הוא יתאפיין ע"י "Unprecedentedness" עם כל הזהירות והעדינות המתחייבות מכך.

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ב. עמדות מוצהרות להסדר:

1. העמדה הישראלית: א. ירושלים היא בירת ישראל, חוקית חלים בכל חלקיה
ב. אין ישראל חובעת לעצמה ריבונות בלעדית לגבי המקומות הקדושים.
ג. ישראל חעצה להתחשב באינטרסים האוניברסליים בירושלים ולשתפם בניהול המקומות הקדושים.

2. עמדת הותיקאן: (מאז יוני 1967):
הענקת מעמד "מיוחד" למקומות הקדושים. מעמד (Status) שיוכר בחוק הבינלאומי.

3. עמדת האיסלאם: אין עמדה אחידה:
ירדן: (ינואר 1971) הכרה בחשיבות ירושלים הערבית לכל הדתות, הבטחת גישה/מולחן. קודם לכן חלמיד דגלה ב"חזרת" ירושלים.
עתר סדינות ערב ופקיסטאן: הפקעת ירושלים מידי ישראל וה"חזרה" - לא מוגדר תמיד, כדיוק למי יש להחזירה.

4. הועצת הכנסיות העולמית: (20.8.1969) צורך בסו"מ עם נוצרים, יהודים ומוסלמים על שמירת המקומות הקדושים, מעמד ירושלים אוכלוסיה. (ז"א אין עמדה מוגדרת לגופו של ענין).

5. ארמנים, יווניים-אורתודוכסים: קיום הסטטוס קוו; חשדנות כלפי הותיקאן וכלפי כל מי שמבקש לשנות במצב הקיים.

6. חוגים נאורים במערב: מדגישים בד"כ את המרכיב האוניברסלי (א' 2 לעיל) ומסתפקים בציון הצורך בהסדר למקומות הקדושים. דוגמא לכך: הכנית ה- Quakers (עיין 70) המדגישה את ייחוד בעית ירושלים ועומק הזיקה אליה מצד שלוש הדתות וההכרח בהסדרי-קבע ובלתי-קיימא.

7. ענין הבינאום: מדינות, - בנבדל מן הגורמים העל-מדינתיים הנ"ל, - התבטאו בענין ירושלים בעיקר בהקשר השלבים השונים של הדיונים באו"ם בדיון הבינאום. הדיון עצמו איבד למעשה את מעמדו זאת לעיתים רחוקות מישהו מעלה אותו מנבכי העבר (דוגמת שר החוץ הכלגי בינואר 1971). לעומת זאת אין עד היום הסבר אחר למיקום שגרירויות רבות שלא-בירושלים אלא בקיום על הניר של החלטת הבינאום (1947); מכל מקום, מיקום השגרירויות שלא-בירושלים משתמעת מניעת הכרה בירושלים כבירת ישראל הריבונית.
משמענים חשובים (כלאוטרמבא) קובעים כי לשתי החלטות האו"ם ביולי 1967 (ביזמת מאקיסמאן) להחזיר את המצב בירושלים כמי שהיה ערב מלחמת יוני 1967, - היינו עיר מחולקת בין ישראל וירדן, המשמעות הברורה של מתן

בוטפנקא אמצא אומית מעורשת לאותו מצב רת-מקמו מנוגר עקב אי-ביצוע הבינאום, ובכך:
מחימה אומית, - וברוב עצום) - על חיסול עניין הבינאום.

ד. הצעות (אופציות)

1. הצהרת כללית Declaration of Intent

הסברו: ישראל תהן הצהרה כזו המוסרת כללים את מגמות ההסדר. להצהרה זו יצטרפו גורמים נוספים, - ירדן, הותיקאן, מועצת הכנסיות, הפטריארכים הארמני ותיווני בירושלים. הצהרה כזו תוכל להיות מופקדת באו"ם ככסף ריבוני, בינלאומי וסמלי.

(הסטטוס לאוטרפטס תעלה נוסחת-נסיון להצהרה מעין זו).

בקורת לחיובו: הצהרה כזאת תענה על תביעות אוניברסליות שונות (עיין א' 2; ב' 7 ו-8 ג' 6).

לשלילתו: להצהרה זו אין ערך מדיני-חוקי מחייב; היא בעיקרה סמל; הפקדתה באו"ם מגרעת לה אלמנט של "זיקה" לאו"ם שאינו רצוי לישראל.

2. מיסטור האופי האוניברסלי:

א. מועצת מייעצת

הסברו: ישראל תציע הקמת גוף מייעץ על-מדינתי (International Jerusalem Council) ותעניק לו מעמד חוקי במערכת חוקיה. המועצה הזו תשמש הבריח המקשר בין הריבון (ישראל, או אולי ישראל בשותפות חלקית עם ירדן) לבין הקהילה העולמית שעניין לה בירושלים כמרכז דתי-הרבותי כלל-עולמי.

מרכיבי המועצה: 3 נציגי הדתות - 1 היהדות, הנצרות והאיסלאם.
נציג האו"ם
2 - 1 נציג הריבון החילוני ואולי ירדן
3 - 2 נציגים של מחומים מקצועיים - אדריכלות, היסטוריה וכו'.

בקורת-לחיובו: זהו מחווה ללא תקדים מצד הריבון ויעיד על כנות מגמותיו. מיפוק למרכיב האוניברסלי (א' 2).

- לשלילתו: הרכב מועצה כזאת, הגדרת סמכויותיה, ביסוסה בחוק וכיו"ב ייצרו בעיות קשות מאד.

ב. מועצת דתית לירושלים:

הסברו: כגבול מן המועצה המייעצת הנ"ל (2 א') שנושאי ממולה חורגים מעניני דת, - מועצה זו תטפל בלעדיות בנושאי דת, מולחן, מקומות קדושים וכו'. החוק מעילותה מצומצם, איפוא, מהחוק מעילות המועצה המייעצת הנ"ל.

מרכיבי מועצה כזאת: קשת רחבה של נציגי דתות וקדות, נוצרים לגווניהם הראשיים, מוסלמים, יהודים, בודיסט, הינדי וכו'.

בקורת-לחיובו: ג"כ מחווה מצד הריבון(ים); מיפוק המרכיב האוניברסלי (א' 2).

- לשלילתו: הרכבת מועצה דתית רחבה כזאת תעורר ויכוחים רבים ותהיה קשה ביותר, - הוא הדין סמכויותיה, מעמדן בחוק ו וכיו"ב.

7/.

3. ירושלים - עיר מאוחדת בריבונות ישראלית בלעדית

הסברה: הפיכת תחולת החוק הנוכחית לסיפוח מלא לישראל של העיר כולה בתחומיה המוניציפליים. כל הסדר - דתי עירוני וכו' יושתת על בסיס זה.

בקורת: לחיובה: אקט מדיני שיקבע במסמרות, אחת ולתמיד, מצבה המשפטי של ירושלים - בעיני ישראל, העם היהודי, ירדן והעולם בכללו. המסקנה שלב מאי-בהירות.

לשלילה: החרפה נוספת של חכעית בעיני כל הנוגעים והמעוניינים, - למוציא את ישראל.

4. ירושלים - עיר מאוחדת בריבונות ישראל מוך הענקת מעמד ריבוני לירדן בחלק מוגדר של ירושלים

הסברה: מתוך התחשבות במרכיב ירדן (א' 6), על השלכותיו בעולם הערבי-מוסלמי, ומתוך מגמה לחקל על הלחץ על ישראל, היא תקצה שטח(ים) מוגדר(ים) בתחום ירושלים לירדן בו (בהם) תהיה ירדן ריבונים, עם כל הנובע מכך.

לסידור כזה גוונים שונים:

- הר הבית בלבד (מסגד כיפת הסלע ואל-אקצה).
- הר-הבית וכן שכונות ערביות מסוימות (ואדי ג'וז, שייך ג'ראח, שעפט וכו')
- שכונות מסוימות אך לא הר-הבית (לגביו יותקן הסדר אחר).

בקורת: לחיובה: יש בכך משום טיפוק חלקי של שאיפת ההחזרה וכו' ואולי גם משום מוצא של כבוד מה, חצלת פנים וכו' לירדן (ולערבים/מוסלמים- ברוח ב' 7,6 לעיל וכו').

- לשלילה: התנגדות עניינית נכרת בישראל; השלכות בשטון בתקופת המעבר (הארוכה מן-הסתם) בין מצב הלוחמה/השיטנה לבין שכנות-שלום חקינה.

5. ההסדר העירוני:
עיר ישראלית ומאוחדת עם עיריות משנה ערביות

הסברה: ירושלים רבת תחולק לעיריות משנה, יהודיות וערביות שתפעלנה תחת עיריית-גג אחת. עיריית גג זו תקיף במסגרה נוספת, במקין "אגוד ערים מרכז יהודה" גם את רמאללה-בירה בצפון וגם את ביה לחם ובנותיה בדרום, מתוך האינטרסים החדיים הקיימים בין ערי "האגוד".

הנושאים הבינלאומיים בין דתיים יוכלו לקבל שטול במוך מסגרת זו, או מחוצה לה, מוך הענקת מעמד מיוחד לשקומות הקדושים.

בקורת: לחיובה: הצעה זו כבר קיימת מעובדת בקוית הכלליים, ויש בה, למחות במישור חיי היום יום של תושבי העיר, יהודים כערבים ואחרים יסודות חיוביים/מעשיים רבים מאד. נוסף לכך קיימים מקדימים להסדר עירוני מעין זה שניתן להסתייע בהם (לונדון למשל) ושבעצם קיומם גלומה הוכחת מעשיותם.

- לשלילה: הצעה זו תהיה לוקה בחסר לגבי הנאמר בא'7,6 וכיו"ב, - הצלת כבוד הערבים וכו'.

6. מעמד מיוחד כולל למקומות הקדושים בסמכות ירושלים שכולה ישראלית ריבונית:

הסבר: קביעת חקיקה/מעמד מיוחד למקומות קדושים מוגדרים תוך מתן ביטוי חיצוני -סמלי לכך. (למשל: דגל האיסלאם - בנבדל מדגל ירדן, על מסגדי הר-הבית). מעמד זה יקבע סידורי שמירה עליה, תבטחת חופש הגישה והתולחן וכו', לוח הזמנים לתפילות ולביקורים שלא-לצורך-תפילות וכו'. בהתנקה מעמד כזה, - שניתן גם לכנותו EXTRATERRITORIAL יהיה משום סיפוק שורת של מרכיבים בינלאומיים/בינדתיים עולמיים, עם כל המשמעות מכך.

בקורת-לחיובו: במתן מעמד כזה מירב הסיפוק/הכיבוד של מאפיון/מגמות בינלאומיות/בינדתיות, כולל מוסלמית. בכך גלום כח המשיכה והשכנוע של הסדר כזה, מה גם שהוא עולה בקנה אחד, ולו חלקית, עם שורה של עקרונות שהוגדרו/נקבעו עוד מאז המנדט הבריטי, דרך דיוני האו"ם לשלביהם ועד היום. אין באופציה זו פגיעה משמעותית בריבונות ישראל.

- לשלילה: ירדן עשוית לא לראות בכך סיפוק דרישותיה.

7. מעמד מיוחד נגרר למקומות הקדושים לפי הדתות:

הסבר: למקומות המקודשים של הנצרות ושל האיסלאם יוענק מעמד מיוחד לחוד/בנפרד: הניהול ופיקוח וכד' לא יהיה מרוכז/אחיד, כי אם יותקנו סידורים נפרדים/מפוצלים/מתיחכן מעין רשות נצרית לחוד ורשות מוסלמית לחוד, - תוך פיתוח/הרחבה של המוסדות הקיימים כיום, אך אגב הענקת מעמד/הרחבת הרכב/המסמכות.

בקורת-לחיובו: עצמאות רבה יותר למוסדות הניהול הדתיים (יהודיים/נוצריים/מוסלמיים). אי פגיעה בריבונות ישראל, סיפוק הביעות עולמיות.

- לשלילה: בהסדר כזה פחות מהנדרש ע"י הותיקאן, אף כי הקתולים עשויים לסמוך בכך. להסדר כזה פחות "ברק" וסמליות אוניברסלית, - עיקר אופיו יותר מקומי פרגמטי, לא תרבה יותר מאשר קישום מה של המצב הקיים.

8. חמרדת התחומים המוסלמיים/ערביים מירושלים רבה:

הסבר: בהיות כל/רוב האופציות מוגנות/תלויות בהסדר שייעצא ליהודה ושומרון הרי סביר כי בהסדר הכולל/יתכן בחטרדה ירושלים הערבית/מוסלמית מגוף ירושלים-רבה והבלעתה בישות שתחליף את "מישל הצבאי. בעוד נושא רחב זה חורג מתחום סיומת העבודה הזאת, הרי המשמעי מכך לכעית ירושלים הוא שעשוי להיראות כמעשי סידור שיטיל את האחריות לאמצעים המוסלמיים של ירושלים על גוף חדש, ערבי מן המתם.

בקורת-לחיובו: הקטנת חלחץ על ישראל: סיפוק דרישות ערביות/מוסלמיות: ביצוע רעיון "התחזרה".

- לשלילה: ביטול איחוד ירושלים, - עם כל הכרוך בכך.

מיכאל ארנאי

31.1.1971

[illegible]

משרד החוץ

מחלקת המשפט

מברק יוצא - משווג

ירושלים

ס מ ו ר

מס' 472

נשלח: 29.1.71

אל: ניו-יורק

מאת: המשרד

איגרות המזכ"ל בענין ירושלים.

שלך 425.

1. מחייבים פגישתך אם ארקהרט. יש להבהיר לו ששתי האיגרות מזמינות עימות מיומר וללא תכלית בין המזכירות וממישראל.

2. בענין ביני ירושלים ידועה למזכירות עמדת מישראל ולא נסכים לקבל חובת דיווח על מכניות פיתוח וכיו"ב. אין להם איפא לצפות שנגיש המכניות. כמובן לא נראה לנו למסור מכניות באופן בלתי רשמי כנזכר במברקך הנ"ל.

3. בענין הארמון הרי מתשובתנו הקודמת יכלו ללמוד שאין כוונה לפגוע בשמח המוחזק על ידם בהתאם להסדרים שנעשו באוגוסט 1967 . אנו תמהים על שראו לנכון לחדש עתה דרישות לגבי השמח הרחב יותר שמכל מקום אינו נכס או"ם.

4. הפולמוס שמעוררות שתי האיגרות ודאי שאינו משרת את ענין המו"מ בין ישראל וירדן. הוא צופן בתוכו סכנת עימות פומבי העלול לשבש מהלכים של דיפלומטיה שקטה שהכל מסכימים על חיוניותה.

5. מכאן שגם למזכירות צריך להיות ענין במציאת סוף פסוק לפרשה שכבראה נגרדו לתוכה בגלל פעלתנות יתר של מטה האו"ם בירושלים.

6. לגבי עיתוי השיחה נראה לנו שאין להחפז אלא להמתין שבוע-שבועיים.

לוריא - מאום ב'

שהה 3 ויהם 4 מנכל 3 סמנכל מאום ב פרבאי חקר דם אמן

לב / חב

מברק יוצא-משווג

משרד החוץ

מחלקת המשפט

סודי

מס. 136

נשלח: 28.1.71

אל: בריסל

מאת: המשרד

מיידי

אלון שלך 75 ו-76

א. ברור שלא היתה לרמל שליטה על עיתוי הבשת השאילתא אך גם ברור שבשרבתו חרג מאד מהנושא וחידדו ללא צורך וזאת כפי שאתה אומר בסעיף 3 בשלך 76 ברגע עדין ביותר. על כך עליך בהחלט לעיר באזני דאביגיון (לאחר זאת בחלים אם יש לחזור לכך גם אצל הרמל). כמיסב ידיעתנו לא היתה אף פעם, ובודאי לא בשנים האחרונות, נקיטת עמדה פומבית כה חריפה מצד מדינה מערבית בשאלת ירושלים וגם זאת עליך להדגיש.

ב. עליך גם להתיחס לנושא המקורי של השאילתא לפחות בנקודה אחת. לא ידוע לנו דבר על התפיחה המיתמסת שהביעו כביכול "פקידים ישראלים" באזני הקונסול ובהחלט ראוי שתאמר זאת.

ג. "מפר 'ב" פרסם עמדת הרמל. אין אנו מגיבים פרט לקביעה כללית (במידה ונשאל) שעמדת מישראל בשאלת ירושלים ידועה. אין לנו ענין בהתנצחות פומבית בנושא.

~~שחזל דוהם~~ מרוז

מנכל 3 מנכל פרבאי מעת הסברה קונסולרית מקס

מב/תו

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס – מסווג

מס' 425

נשלח: 281600 יבואר

אל : המשרד

מאת: ניו יורק

מ י ד י

לוריא, מאום ב.

ירושלים

ארמון הנציב.

א. רואה בדאגה אגרות המזכל האחרונות. האחת, הקצרה, מאיימת על דווח נוסף למועביט ולעצרת ומנצלת ענין הארמון האמתלה להניח יסוד לויכוח חדש על מעמד ירושלים שיתבסס על דוח שליליי מאת המזכל.

תשניה. הארוכה, כוללת בנוסף לדעתי הפרה חמורה של ההבנה שהושגה ב 67. זאת היתה בשעתו AGREEMENT TO DISAGREE ; אשר בין השאר מצאה בטוי לא רק בגאגום השטח שהוחזר אלא גם בעובדה שהצלחנו לשכנע המזכירות לא להסתמך כלל על אמנת החסינות מ 47.

שימו נא לב לסעיפים 22 ו 24 של דווחי מ 22 אוגוסט 67.

ב. ייזכר כי גם אז הדבר הסתבך בגלל העברת הקומוניקציות סתם שגרמו לדוגז בשני הצדדים. ואפשר היה להגיע להבנה רק אחרי שיבה אל שיטות דיפלומטיות יותר מתוחכמות ואשר התרכזו בנסוח משותף של האגרות שהוחלפו. אני סבור שגם עכשיו עלינו לשאוף לחזור לאותה שיטה ולהשתדל להפסיק את ההתכתבות הזאת בינינו לבין המזכל. משום כך אני מציע, כאמור במכתבי מאתמול, שכשלב ראשון אשתדל לראות את ארקהרט (באנצ עוד לא חזר) על מנת לברר מה גורם להתענינות פתאומית זאת של המזכל בארמון הנציב ובמיוחד מדוע הם בוחרים בשעה זו דווקא לטרוף את הקלפים ולעשות פלסתר ההבנה שהושגה ב 67 ושפעלה עד כה מאז ועד עכשיו לשביעת רצון כולם ומבלי לעורר בעיות כלשהן, וכיצד אפשר להפסיק ההתכתבות שרק עשוייה להביא להחרפות בלתי רצויות.

ג. בשתי האגרות, המזכל חוזר ומבקש מה שהוא מכנה WASTER PLAN.

מזעורדת השאלה אם איכל לתת לו משהו בי ד (לידיעתו האישית ולא להפצה למועביט כמובן). ולהסביר ביתר פירוט כמו המברקכם 94 מה 7 דנא.

רוזן.

מהול רוהמ4 מנכל3 לוריא מירון מאום ב

מב/מר

משרד החוץ

מזכר

סופי ביותר

סיווג

אל: מר מ. פרגאי	אל:
מאת: מ. גזית, סמנכ"ל	מאת:

המצ"ב מהווה מסמך שהוכן ע"י הולנד במסגרת פעילות ה-6 בבושא ישראל-ערב.

המסמך הגיענו בצינור סודי ויש, על כן, להגביל הפצתו.

ב ב ר כ ה,

מרדכי גזית

24.1.71			
תאריך	חתימה	תאריך	חתימה

11.70 — 500X100

QUESTION DE JERUSALEM ET PERSPECTIVES POUR LE STATUT DE LA VILLE

Situation avant Juin 1967

1. La situation juridique de la Ville de Jérusalem - siège des principaux Lieux Saints chrétiens, islamiques et juifs - est toujours réglée, en principe, par la Résolution des Nations Unies, n. 181, du 29 novembre 1947. Celle-ci prévoyait la création d'un "corpus séparatum" soumis à un régime international, comprenant toute la ville et un territoire limitrophe délimité, dont l'Administration aurait été confiée au "Trusteeship Council" des Nations Unies. Cependant le statut, qui aurait dû être arrêté dans un délai de cinq mois, suivant l'approbation du regime spécial pour Jérusalem, n'est jamais entré en vigueur car, en raison de la guerre entre Arabes et Israéliens, le plan de partage de la Palestine n'a jamais été appliqué.

2. Au moment de la constitution de l'Etat d'Israël, la situation de fait issue de la guerre fut réglée sur la base de la ligne d'armistice entre Israël et la Jordanie, établie le 3 avril 1949, qui partageait la zone qui aurait dû être internationalisée, en deux secteurs, à savoir le secteur occidental - ou Nouvelle Ville - occupé par les israéliens et le secteur oriental - ou Vieille Ville (à l'intérieur des murs et comprenant la presque totalité des Lieux Saints) - occupé par les jordaniens.

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3. Malgré la division de fait ainsi créée, le principe de l'internationalisation de Jérusalem était réaffirmé dans la Résolution des Nations Unies du 9 décembre 1949, qui est toujours considérée comme valable par tous les pays occidentaux n'ayant reconnu ni l'incorporation de la ville de la part des deux occupants en 1948, ni l'occupation israélienne après 1967. La non-reconnaissance de l'incorporation du territoire de Jérusalem est marquée par une série de manifestations, dont les plus évidentes consistent à maintenir à Tel Aviv le siège des principales Ambassades et Légations occidentales accréditées auprès de l'Etat d'Israël, à régler, par des procédures minutieuses, le protocole concernant les Représentants diplomatiques à Tel Aviv et les Consuls à Jérusalem, et enfin à ne pas demander d'"exéquatur" pour les Consuls à Jérusalem, qui ne sont notifiés que verbalement. Cette attitude vise à éviter toute initiative qui pourrait être interprétée par les autorités israéliennes comme un changement de la ligne adoptée au sujet de la question de principe du "corpus separatum".

4. Avant la guerre de juin 1967, les deux Administrations de la Ville avaient été organisées de façon paritaire : ainsi dans la nouvelle Ville (zone juive) il y avait un gouverneur et un maire israéliens auxquels correspondaient un gouverneur et un maire jordaniens dans la Ville ancienne

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(zone arabe). La situation s'était encore compliquée lorsque à la suite de la décision israélienne du 26 janvier 1950 de proclamer Jérusalem capitale de l'Etat, tous les Ministères ont été progressivement transférés dans la Ville - en dernier lieu le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères - ce qui ne manqua pas de provoquer de vives protestations de la part des pays occidentaux.

Situation après Juin 1967

5. Avec l'occupation israélienne du secteur oriental de Jérusalem - issue de la guerre des six jours - l'administration jordanienne a pris fin. Après une tentative - échouée pour refus de collaboration - de maintenir le maire arabe, un seul gouverneur pour toute la ville de Jérusalem et un seul maire de la capitale "unifiée" sont restés en fonctions, les deux de nationalité israélienne. Par ailleurs, le Gouvernement israélien a adopté, à partir du 27 juin 1967, une série de mesures visant à unifier les deux secteurs de la Ville sous une seule Administration municipale. Ces décisions ont provoqué plus d'une prise de position de la part des Nations Unies, notamment la Résolution du Conseil de Sécurité, n. 252, du 21.5.1968 qui considère comme non valable tout acte juridique ou administratif, visant à modifier le "status quo" de Jérusalem. Par conséquent Israël est invité non seulement à

abolir les mesures déjà décidées, mais à s'abstenir d'en adopter d'autres à l'avenir.

6. L'annexion progressive du secteur oriental de Jérusalem a été neanmoins poursuivie avec méthode par le Gouvernement israélien, soit dans le domaine de l'administration que dans celui de l'urbanisme, grâce surtout à la réalisation de programmes de construction visant à englober la vieille Ville, au nord, dans une ceinture de maisons juives. Tout en poursuivant la politique d'annexion, Israél n'a, cependant, pas encore poussé les choses jusqu'au point de modifier le statut des habitants arabo-palestiniens du secteur oriental, qui, entre autres continuent à être considérés comme ressortissants jordaniens.

7. En ce qui concerne les Lieux Saints chrétiens situés dans la Ville, ceux-ci continuent de bénéficier, comme par le passé, d'une sorte d'extraterritorialité et du privilège du libre acces, qu'Israël a toujours été prêt à consentir. D'autre part les Lieux Saints islamiques (notamment les mosquées d'Omar et de El Aqsa) sont ouverts au libre culte des fidèles, sous l'autorité de l'Administration musulmane des "Biens Aûqaf" et sous le contrôle - à l'extérieur des temples - des forces de sécurité israéliennes.

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Position des divers Pays

8. Compte-tenu de la division de fait qui a existé pendant presque vingt ans, et successivement de l'occupation totale de la Ville par les forces israéliennes, à la suite de la guerre de 1967, il est difficile d'~~enviscager~~ insister sur l'application intégrale des décisions originaires des Nations Unies. Il s'agit, donc, de chercher d'autres formules à soumettre aux deux Pays directement intéressés au futur statut de la Ville, en vue d'assurer la protection et la liberté d'acces aux Lieux Saints.

9. En ce qui concerne Israël, il ne semble pas possible qu'il renonce, même partiellement, au secteur qui a été administré par lui depuis la constitution de l'Etat en 1948. Les dirigeants soutiennent fermement le principe de la souveraineté israélienne sur Jérusalem - capitale "unifiée" de l'Etat - tout en se déclarant prêts à négocier avec les arabes au sujet de mesures viables pour un statut spécial des Lieux Saints - chrétiens et islamiques - en vue d'assurer leur protection, le libre exercice du culte, et l'entière liberté de transit et d'acces.

10. De leur côté les jordaniens se montrent egalement intransigeants en réclamant la restitution du secteur arabe de la Ville.

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en conformité avec la Résolution n. 242, qui prévoit la restitution des territoires occupés par Israël. La position jordanienne est, d'autre part, partagée par les égyptiens et par les autres pays arabes.

11. Même dans le cadre des conversations à Quatre, la question a été longuement examinée sans qu'il ait été possible d'envisager de solutions acceptables. Les Quatre ne sont tombés d'accord que sur un point, à savoir que la solution du problème dépend de la possibilité d'un accord entre les deux parties directement intéressées. L'URSS insiste pour le rétablissement de la souveraineté jordanienne sur la Vieille Ville et elle souhaite une libre circulation entre les deux secteurs de la Ville. Les Etats Unis évitent de se prononcer sur les questions de souveraineté et, partant, sur le rétablissement des droits jordaniens sur la Ville. Ils estiment que Jérusalem devrait être administrée conjointement par les arabes et par les israéliens sur la base d'accords qui pourraient intervenir à ce sujet. La Grande Bretagne considère qu'une décision sur le statut de la Ville devrait assurer la liberté d'accès et la protection des Lieux Saints. La France, enfin, se borne à

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poser le principe, selon lequel le statut de Jérusalem devra en assurer la conservation, grâce à des mesures d'ordre international, sans exclure pour autant la création d'un "corpus separatum", prévue par la Résolution des Nations Unies du 29 novembre 1947.

12. Toute une série de solutions différentes ont été donc envisagées, afin de résoudre la question de Jérusalem, allant de l'internationalisation de la Ville et du territoire limitrophe, sur la base des lignes de démarcation indiquées par les Nations Unies dans le projet de partage de la Palestine, à l'adoption de formules limitées au libre accès et à la protection des Lieux Saints.

Possibilités de solution globale ou limitée

13. Dans les limites sumentionnées on peut théoriquement imaginer quelques formules pour la solution de ce problème.

14. Une première hypothèse consiste à adopter une solution globale, en réalisant l'internationalisation de toute la Ville, délimitée par les frontières proposées jadis par la Commission de Conciliation des Nations Unies, sauf quelques modifications qui se rendraient nécessaires. L'instrument juridique dont découlerait l'internationalisation, pourrait être une Résolution des Na-

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tions Unies à laquelle feraient éventuellement suite, les provisions nécessaires prises par les Etats directement intéressés. La zone en question serait démilitarisée et soumise à un régime de neutralisation. En ce qui concerne les questions économiques et monétaires, elle pourrait être liée, dans une Union douanière, avec l'un des deux pays limitrophes.

15. L'autorité responsable de l'administration devrait être constituée par le Conseil de Tutelle des Nations Unies, comme cela a été le cas pour les territoires confiés directement au "Trusteeship Council" des Nations Unies. En ce qui concerne l'administration effective de la région, la solution envisagée pourrait avoir plusieurs aspects: la plus grande partie du pouvoir pourrait être attribuée au Conseil de Tutelle et par conséquent à l'organisme institué sur place par ce dernier; ou bien l'on pourrait limiter l'activité de l'organisme international à une fonction de simple contrôle, en laissant l'administration effective à des organismes locaux, jouissant d'une plus ou moins vaste autonomie; ou l'on pourrait enfin laisser coexister les autonomies locales avec l'exercice de certaines activités de ce-

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ractère général confiées aux soins des deux Etats qui administreraient le territoire.

16. La solution globale envisagée ci-dessus, dans chacun de ses divers aspects, présenté toutefois un grave inconvénient d'ordre essentiellement politique. Une solution de ce genre ne peut, en effet, se réaliser que si l'Etat d'Israël acceptait de renoncer à sa souveraineté sur Jérusalem et de ne plus y maintenir sa capitale.

17. Devant cette difficulté, qui parait insurmontable, une solution limitée pourrait être envisagée. L'objet de l'internationalisation ne serait plus la Ville entière, mai seulement la partie de la Vieille Ville comprenant les Lieux Saints, dans des limites établies d'après les necessités locales. Cette zone de dimensions réduites, donnerait à l'Etat d'Israël la possibilité de conserver sa souveraineté sur la restante partie de Jérusalem et d'y maintenir la capitale. Les problèmes pratiques seraient moindres en raison du nombre limité de ses habitants et du caractère spécial des institutions religieuses qu'elle abrite.

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18. Pour ce qui a trait aux questions relatives à l'acte d'internationalisation, à la démilitarisation et à la neutralisation, ainsi qu'aux problèmes économiques, cette solution limitée se base sur les mêmes considérations déjà exprimées au sujet de la solution globale (v. par.15). En ce qui concerne enfin la question de l'autorité de contrôle, l'on pourrait envisager deux solutions différentes: l'autorité de contrôle serait nommée par le Conseil de Tutelle des Nations Unies, qui garderait des pouvoirs de contrôle définitif; ou bien l'on pourrait envisager l'institution d'une autorité internationale, créée par una décision des Nations Unies. Compte-tenu du caractère particulier des cas en question, cette autorité pourrait même être une autorité religieuse mixte.

Possibilité de solution de compromis

19. Une solution même limitée le long des lignes susmentionnées ne manquerait pas de se heurter à l'opposition la plus vive, tant du côté israélien que du côté arabe. Les israéliens, en effet, ont toujours insisté sur la nécessité d'unifier la ville de Jérusalem qu'ils considèrent la capitale de l'Etat. Pour leur part, les jordaniens insistent pour obtenir le re

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stitution de la partie de la Ville jadis sous administration arabe, de même que de tous les territoires occupés par Israël lors de la guerre de juin 1967.

20. L'on peut ici se demander si une approche différente ne pourrait être plus acceptable aux deux parties en cause. Les dirigeants responsables israéliens, tout en réaffirmant leur volonté de maintenir la capitale dans la ville unifiée, ont soutenu, par ailleurs, la possibilité que le drapeau jordanien reprenne à flotter sur les Lieux Saints islamiques. Ce qui pourrait signifier une attitude moins rigide du coté israélien si la question pouvait être présentée sous l'angle religieux. Pour leur part, les jordaniens ont eux aussi fait preuve d'une certaine souplesse en ce qui concerne quelques aspects du problème. Tout en rejetant nettement les solutions qui sanctionneraient la présence israélienne dans la Vieille Ville, ils ne semblent pas s'opposer avec autant d'obstination à l'idée d'une administration de type internationale, pourvu qu'Israël en soit exclu.

21. Compte-tenu de la plus large disponibilité dont les deux parties semblent faire preuve en ce qui concerne la protection des Lieux Saints, intéressant les trois religions

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monothéistes représentées à Jérusalem, on peut se demander si le futur règlement du sort de la Ville ne pourrait être trouvé en se concentrant dans l'étude de l'aspect religieux du problème, plutôt que de son aspect territorial. Soit du côté israélien que du côté arabe, on a toujours admis la nécessité de sauvegarder l'intégrité des Lieux Saints et d'y assurer la liberté de culte et d'accès, en envisageant même un régime spécial qui pourrait se rapprocher à une internationalisation proprement dite. A cette fin, au lieu de prendre en considération chaque Lieu Saint existant à Jérusalem, on pourrait attribuer le caractère de Lieu Saint à la Vieille Ville, c'est-à-dire à toute la zone délimitée par l'enceinte des murs où se trouve la grande majorité des sanctuaires et qui serait, ainsi, soustraite tant à l'administration jordanienne qu'à celle israélienne. On créerai de la sorte une enclave ayant des caractéristiques analogues à celles de la Cité du Vatican. Quant aux sites religieux en dehors de la Vieille Ville, l'on pourrait envisager pour eux un régime d'extraterritorialité comme cela a été fait, à Rome, pour les Palais du Latran et les trois Basiliques qui se trouvent hors les murs

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du Vatican. Même si plus limitée comme extension, la zone de la Vieille Ville, ainsi que les Lieux Saints rattachés à elle, pourrait être soumise au même régime prévu à l'origine par les Nations Unies pour le "corpus séparatum" de Jérusalem.

22. Une solution de ce genre, considérée d'un point de vue essentiellement religieux, pourrait ne pas rencontrer une opposition irréductible de la part de la Jordanie, étant donné que l'administration israélienne serait exclue de la Vieille Ville. D'autre part, cette solution n'affecterait pas les revendications jordaniennes sur le restant du secteur oriental de la Ville sous administration arabe jusqu'à la guerre de 1967.

23. Un aménagement de la Vieille Ville le long de ces lignes, ne préjugerait d'ailleurs pas la décision israélienne de maintenir la Capitale à Jérusalem, dont les frontières définitives seraient établies dans le plus large contexte du règlement relatif aux autres territoires occupés. En acceptant une telle solution Israël obtiendrait d'ailleurs, la reconnaissance de sa présence dans le secteur de la Ville qu'elle a administré depuis 1948; avec la suppression de la fiction juridique du "corpus separatum",

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adoptée par les Nazions Unies et jusqu'ici respectée par la majorité des pays occidentaux.

24. En ce qui concerne l'administration des Lieux Saints, c'est-à-dire de la ville murée et des autres sanctuaires pouvant bénéficier du même régime spécial, elle pourrait être exercée par les Nations Unies sous l'une ~~ou l'autre~~ des formules envisagées ci-dessus (v. par. 17 et 18), peut-être même sans avoir recours, à l'affectation de fonds spéciaux, étant donné la possibilité de faire face aux dépenses d'administration en utilisant les recettes touristiques.

25. Compte-tenu du caractère essentiellement religieux d'une solution de ce genre, on pourrait également envisager la possibilité pour les Nations Unies, qui seraient en définitive l'organisme duquel dépend la zone internationale ainsi créée, d'en confier l'administration aux représentants des trois plus importantes religions monothéistes, qui, dans l'esprit oecuménique qui est en train de s'affermir dans le monde, pourraient être portés à collaborer afin d'assurer un plus haut niveau de spiritualité à la Ville Sainte.

Rome, le 16 Janvier 1971

בת' בטבת תשל"א
22בינואר 1971

אל: מר מרדכי בוזיל סמנכ"ל-משה"ח.
מר משה עשרן, סמנכ"ל.
אלדף הראבן, מנהל המברה.
מאד"ם 2.

מאת: תמר אשל.

לאור המגבלת הירדנית, אנו מב"ב סיכום על בנם הארכיאקטים ומתכנני ערים דבר' אשר רק בחרש שעבר למי הזכנת ראש העיר, בהכניות הכנוי של ירושלים.

סיכום זה הוא ראשוני בלבד ומקידוד להבהיר לאנשי מסלחתנו באו"ם ואולי, למי שיקולכם גם לשגרירויות, מתן אחכנ"ות בהן מדובר, ומה אירע בכנם, לאור מחד שמית לאירוע בעתונות. באמצעות המברה קבלו כל משגרירויות את המברות שהכנו לכנם זה באנגלית על בלאמת מהמבנים.

אנו עומדים לערוך את דיוני הכנס, המלצות, וקטעי המתמבות.
נראה לי שיש מקום לדיון מאותף בנושא זה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

תמר אשל.

דיון בהכניות פיתוח ירושלים ע"י
קבוצת מתכננים בינלאומית

בין ה- 21 - 19 בדצמבר 1970, כונסה לפי הזמנת ראש העיר טדי קולק, קבוצה של ארכיטקטים, אדריכלי נוף, מתכנני ערים, מנהלי מוזיאונים וכד' כתת-ועדת לענייני תכנון של ועד ירושלים. ועד ירושלים הוקם בקיץ 1969, והוא מונה כ- 70 אישים מכל רחבי תבל, פילוסופים, היסטוריונים, תיאולוגים, פוליטיקאים, ארכיטקטים, אומנים מנהלי מוזיאונים נשיאי אוניברסיטאות וכיו"ב אשר הסכימו לכהן בגוף זה ליד ראש העיר על מנת ליעץ בשאלות תרבותיות, אסתטיות וחברתיות הנוגעות לירושלים.

הועד, אשר רק מיעוט חבריו הם יהודים, הוקם מתוך הנחה שכדי לשמור על אופית האוניברסלי של ירושלים רצוי לשתף קשת רחבה של אישים מכל העולם המייצגים אינטרסים דתיים ותרבותיים שונים ודיסציפלינות שונות על מנת שיהיו שותפים אתנו בשמירת צביונה המיוחד של ירושלים. לא הצלחנו לקבל הסכמת אישים מוסלמים לכהן בגוף זה אולם דאגנו לחברים שיוכלו לייצג את האינטרס התרבותי המוסלמי כ- Gaston WIET מי שהיה בשך עשרות שנים אוצר המוזיאונים בקהיר ומומחה לאיסלם, או Prof. Lemeville המומחה להסטוריה ואמנות ביזנטית. ר"ב סיכום הדיונים שהתקיימו בישיבה הראשונה. בסוף החוברת בעמ' 72 ההצהרה שהסכימו עליה המשתתפים, וכן רשימת חברי הועד.

עם חברי הועדה מתקיימת התכתבות שוטפת והספקת חומר על העורת בירושלים. בחלקם מגיעים באפן אינדיבידואלי לביקורים וליעוץ ספציפי ועל ידי כך מביאים אותם למעורבות בענייני ירושלים. הם מהווים גוף בעל מעמד המוכיח שאנו איננו נוהגים שרירותית וללא התחשבות באינטרסים התרבותיים והדתיים של אחרים ומעוניינים בדעתם וכן מעוניינים בחרוטתם ובשיתופם למען האדרתה של ירושלים.

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הגוף הגדול של ועד ירושלים, אינו יכול להתכנס לעתים קרובות מדי ולכן הוחלט לנסות לעבוד על נושאים ספציפיים באמצעות תת-ועדות. חלק גדול מדיוני ועד ירושלים נסבו בשעתו על בעיות ארכיטקטוניות והוחלט שתת הועדה הראשונה תוקדש לבעיות תכנון העיר. הדבר ניתן לביצוע מאחר ויכולנו להביא לפני תת הועדה מספר תכניות:

1. תכנית האב Master Plan אשר דו"ח הביניים שלה פורסם בעברית והובא לפני כל העתונות לפני בשנה. ירושלים 1969.

2. תכנית המתאר לעיר העתיקה: Old City of Jerusalem and its Environs Town planning Scheme אשר הוסקלה, פורסמה בעתון הרשמי בדצמבר, ועתה אנו בעיצומם של ארבעת החודשים בתם הקהל הרחב לומד את התכנית ורשאי להגיש את השגותיו עליה.

3. מחשבות ראשונות על הקמת מרכז עסקים Central Business District לירושלים אשר יחזק את המרכז הנוכחי ויאחד את המרכזים הקיימים במערב העיר ובמזרחה.

הוכנו שלשה פרסומים על תכניות אלו באנגלית וכן פרקים נבחרים מתכניות אב לתחבורת של ירושלים.

בראשונה הוזמנו לכתן בתת-הועדה חברי ועד ירושלים הקשורים לנושא. לאחר מכן הוזמנו מספר אנשי מקצוע נוספים. לקראת מועד קיום הכנס ביקשו מספר אנשי מקצוע וחברי ועד ירושלים שאינם אנשי מקצוע להצטרף. לא מנענו זאת מהם, הם באו על חשבונם והשתתפו בכל הדיונים. חלק מהמוזמנים לא יכול היה לבא והציע את הערותיו בכתב על התכניות. כתוצאה הגיעו מכתבים מ- Lewis Mumford (שהוא גם חבר בועד ירושלים) Maxwell Fry ואחרים. לדיוני הכנס הוזמנו ארכיטקטים ומתכננים ישראלים העוסקים בפועל בתכניות ובבנוי בירושלים וכן נציגי פורסות ציבוריים ומשרדים ממשלתיים הקשורים ישירות לנושא.

הכנס היה פתוח לעתונות והיו גם מספר משקיפים שיצגו גופים כנסייתיים.

תחבורה שתיו בדיונו: פרקי התכניות, הגדרתן והמקצן יש לבצוע בתומר המודפס הר"מ על כל תכניות.

1. **תכנית האב** - אינה מסמך חוקי, כנהוג באנגליה למשל היא מתווה מסגרת כללית לחשבות ועקרונות לגבי התפתחותה העתידית של ירושלים, בהתחשב במחזידת בידול האוכלוסיה. תכנית זו מכוונת, מנחה ומדריכה הכנת תכניות מתאר משורשות לגבי כל איזור או חלק. כנהוג בתכנון ערים יש להתחשב בתכנת תכנית כזו, מכלל האוכלוסיה הנזקקת לעיר מבחינת עבודה, שירותים, בידור וכו'. לפיכך תכנית האב כללה בתכנון גם את האוכלוסיה הפריפרית של ירושלים מעבר לגבולות המוניציפליים, ההגדרה, (לגי המקלסה לתכנית האב) של האיזור המטרופוליטני של ירושלים הוא הרדיוס של ה- Commuting לפרכז העיר.

לפיכך כלולים בתכנית האב, אשר צריכה להניח את היסוד לרשת התחבורה בגם רמאללה ובית לחם (נקודה זו מנוצלת ע"י הערבים להוכיח שכאילו אנו בתכניותינו מתכנו את שתי הערים לגבולות העירוניים של ירושלים.)

התכנון עובד לפי הערכת האוכלוסיה של ירושלים לשנת 1985 כ- 400,000 אשר מהם 295,000 יהודים ו- 105,000 לא יהודים, דהיינו שמירת אותה פרופורציה.

לגבי תשתת המטרופוליטני, היתה משתנה לטובת הלא יהודים, כלהלן: יהודים: 330,000, לא יהודים: 270,000. סה"כ 600,000. לגבי שנת 2010 הערכת חלוקת האוכלוסיה המטרופוליטנית שתגיע סה"ה לכ- 900,000 היא: ..... 465000 יהודים
425000 לא יהודים

מתוך זה התערכה שתושבי ירושלים בגבולות המוניציפליים יהיו כ- 500,000 והפריפרית כ- 400,000.

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תכנית המתאר לעיר העתיקה:

בתקופת הבריטים הכינו 5 תכניות מתאר. בתקופת הירדנים היתה התעלמות מתכניות אלה, ולאחר איחוד העיר היה צורך דחוף לערוך תכנית חדשה. תכנית המתאר מגדירת שימושי קרקע, כולל אזורי מגורים, שמירת האוכלוסיה, גובה בתים, מקומות לפורמות, מקרקעין, שימור אתרים היסטוריים ואומנותיים וכד'.

התכנית צריכה לכלול גם מערכת כבישים, אולם זו לא נסתיימה והתכנית הופקדה בלעדית. הקתון הרשמי הודיע עליה ב- 24 בדצמבר, תודעה בעתונות הביאה לידיעת הציבור כי היא פוצגת עתה לקהל הרחב במשרדי העיריה וכל אחד יכול להעיר את הערותיו, ולהביע את התנגדותו עד מחצית אפריל. רק לאחר דיון מחודש בהערות יוחלט על מתן תוקף לתכנית והיא תהפך לממשך חוקי.

מרכז עסקים ראשי:

כדי לסמן את ערכי הכלכלה, התרבות והבידור של תושבי העיר דרוש מרכז עירוני חזק. היום קיימים שני מרכזים נפרדים, האחד בעיר המזרחית והשני בעיר המערבית ושניהם אינם ממלאים את ערכי העיר. כוונת המרכז המבוקש הוא להביא לרצף בין שני המרכזים ולהפוך את המרכז לרב - תכליתי והולם את ערכי האוכלוסיה הגדולה וקהל התיירים הרבים הבאים לעיר.

צורת המתכננים עובד רק מחשבות ראשוניות לגבי מהות המרכז המוצע. עדיין אין תכניות סופיות. מחשבות אלו הכלולות בפרסום חר"ב הובאו להערותיהם של תת-ועדת לתכנון ירושלים.

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<u>הדיון והביקורת שהושמעו:</u>

הצגת התכניות ע"י המתכננים הישראלים לא היתה מדגמית ומגרמת לאי הבנות בכמה מקרים. יתכן וקוצר הזמן היה האשם.

כוונת הדיון הראשונית היתה בעיקרה לתכנית המתאר של העיר העתיקה, מתוך הנחת מדה נושא המענין במאוחד את הקהילה הבינלאומית, וכן תכניות מרכז העסקים הראשי אשר נמצאות רק בראשית התהוותן. תכנית האב הובאה כמסגרת ורקע לדיון. אולם המשתתפים התענינו בעיקר בתכנית האב וראו בה את העיקר והתייחסו רק בצורה שולית לשתי התכניות האחרות. רשת המשתתפים מהו"ל לא היתה אחידה, ומשבע הדברים היו דעות בעד ונגד.

בניגוד למה שהופיע במספר עתונים איש מהנוכחים לא נכנס לדיון מדיני ולא ערער על איחודה של ירושלים, מעמדה כבירת ישראל, הפקעת קרקעות וכו', אדרבא, נקודת המוצא הבלתי מעורערת היתה שבתכנון יש לקחת בחשבון שירושלים היא בירת ישראל. נאמרו כילים יפות על דאגתנו לשימור מקומות הסטוריים וכו' וכן הערכה על עצם כינוס גוף מיעץ כזה(כ' הצחרת מכנס בסיומו) (אלא בהקשר זה יש לזכור כי לואי מסבורה במכתבו המפורסם המליץ כי ירושלים תהיה קנין של הקהילה הבינלאומית כמל לאחדות העולם, וכי לא תהיה בירת ישראל.)

נקודת זו מתוך מכתבו של מסבורה לא עוררה דיון ונמעט לא הוזכרה לעומת הזכרה חוזרת של דברים מהדים שאפר בקשר לגדלה של ירושלים, בעית התחבורה וכו'.

היתה אחדות דעות לגבי מספר נקודות כגון:

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1. כל אחת מהתכניות עובדה ע"י צוות אחר וקיים חוסר תאום בין הצוותים. מחלין התכנון לקוי ואין שיתוף בין כל גורמי התכנון.

2. חוסר נושא מרכזי סטרוקטורלי לתכנית האב.

3. חסר בהירות מה אופי העיר שאותה רוצים לבנות ומהם העקרונות שעליהם מושתתת התכנית.

4. הגדרות אחרי הערכות סטטיסטיות על גידול אוכלוסיה וגידול מספר מכוניות מבלי לנסות לענות את כווני ההתפתחות בהתאם למטרה הסופית.

5. נסיון להתאים עצמנו לגידול המכוניות ולנוחיות נהגיהן יביא ליצירת עיר מפלצתית המשותקת ע"י בעיות התחבורה והמזוהמת על ידה - כפי שקייפות לרוב בכל העולם המפותח.

6. איטוף הנתונים שעליהם מושתתת התכנית מיושן ואינו מתאים לתכנון מודרני.

7. אין נראה מאמץ מספיק לברוק אלטרנטיבות שונות בעיקר לא בתחרון בעית התחבורה ומערכת המבישים.

8. שימור העיר העתיקה ואחריה ההיסטוריים בקפדנות איננו מספיק כי יש חשש שהעיר המתפתחת מסביב תחנוק אותם ותקלקל את הרקע. (צוגמא רומא).

9. מחסור במבנים ארכיטקטוניים מעניינים ובולטים בירושלים.

10. דרוש מתאם עליון לכל מחלין התכנון. רצוי לקבוע קבוצת עבודה המורכבת ממתכננים ישראליים ושחו"ל שיעבדו יחד.

<u>הין מספר נושאים שהרצוי בתוך תיק שנבדקות. למשל</u>

1. מרכז עסקים ראשי וגדול דרוש לירושלים.

2. עדיפים מרכזים קטנים המשפרים את אופי המכונות הייחוד.

3. יש לבנות מרכז גדול כדי שיסגע את המיכת ירושלים לערבר כלכלי של תל אביב.

4. יש לחשוב מלכתחילה את ירושלים כחלק מערך איזורי ואין לחשוש מתלומה הכלכלית של ירושלים בשפלה.

5. הבניה באבן בחוסר בניה מפילה את אופיה של ירושלים.

6. הבנית באבן מחניקה את היצירה המודרנית הארכיטקטונית ~~המביאה~~ מאוד למבנים חסרי ערך. יש צורך לעורר שימוש בחמרי בניה חדישים וארכיטקטורה טובה ונועזת

7. שקום העיר העתיקה הוא חיקוי ללא תוכן שיהפוך אותה לעיר רפאים.

8. שקום בתי הכנסת בעיר העתיקה הוא מעשל בעל ערך ומבוצע בצורה מפוייפת.

9. אין להשוך את ירושלים למוזיאון, היא עיר חיה ויש לחכניס בה את כל האלמנטים המודרניים הנוחגים ביפסי לרוח זמננו.

לא נקבע אם טוב שהעיר תתפתח בצורה רדיאלית או לינארית, מהם כללי שימור הנוף, מערכת הכבישים ועמדות נקודות נוסמות שהוקלו בזמן הדיון. מרבית הדיון לא היה מסמקק עניני ועסק ב~~מדיניות~~ הרבה פרטים המסתמסים קבלו על עצמם להעביר guidelines אשר לדעתם צריכים להוות בסיס לתכנית האב.

<u>סיכום</u>

1. לעמדות שביטינו לבקורת מסוימת, לא ציפינו לבקורת מרוכזת כל כך.

2. הערות המתכננים נבדקות עתה ~~ואין~~ מסמ שיביאו ~~להבנה~~ לפתרון בהליכי התכנון ובמרשי התכניות.

3. אין לנו מסמ שתכינוס יהווה נקודת מפנה, בכל מה שנוגע לטיפול בבעיות תכנון העיר.

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4. עצם כינון הגוף והתחיעצות אתו, מעידה על הרצינות בה אנו מטפלים בבעיות ירושלים והרצון לשתף את מיטב הכוחות בעבודתנו זו.

5. הירדנים לא התחשבו בהכניות המתאר. בנו במקומות הטשתיתים את הגוף, ודמות העיר, כגוף מלון אינטרקונטיננטל ובית החולים כהר הזיתים, הכנסיה היונית הטוגרת את כל המבט לעבר נחל קדרון וכדו', כן לא שמרו על אתרים היסטוריים ונתנו להם להתפורר (מגדל דוד, החומות וכו') - ואיש לא מצה פיו.

6. בכל הקוב בעולם בעיות הכנון עיר מהוות נושא לחילוקי דעות. אין לצפות שתהיה אחידות דעים, אולם אנו נמשיך לנייס לנושא זה את מיטב המחשבה והידע מתוך הרגשת אחריותנו ההיסטורית.

7. נושא היכנון העיר והבניה, כמכול חברה דמוקרטית, הוא נושא לדיון כללי השתות לכל התושבים. הרצאות וטיפוזיונים נערכים, מאמרים נכתבים, וכמעט בכל ערב, גם בין קהילת אנשי המקצוע, קיימים חילוקי דעות.

8. העיתונות מלקטת בעיקר את הדברים השליליים יצרה תדמית מסולמת על הדיונים ואנשים.

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THE JERUSALEM COMMITTEE
Townplanning Subcommittee
December 19-21, 1970

FINAL STATEMENT

We were invited by the Mayor of Jerusalem as a townplanning subcommittee of the Jerusalem Committee, to review a number of plans for the future development of Jerusalem: "The Master Plan 1968, Interim Report"; "A Plan for the Central Business District"; "The Old City of Jerusalem and its Environs, Outline Townplanning Scheme, 1970"; "The Jerusalem Transportation Plan for 1985 (1970)".

We should like to begin by expressing our appreciation of what is much more than a generous invitation but, we hope, a valuable example of international cooperation beneficial to the development of a city with which a large part of the world is concerned. We hope very much that this cooperation will be continued.

We should also like to put on record our admiration for the scrupulous care which is being taken of the many works of art and historical monuments of all nationalities and religions, and of the effort made to incorporate these effectively in the plans.

The very glories of Jerusalem are so many that they make the problems of development unusually complicated. One has only to realise that:

- Jerusalem is a very great spiritual center, important to several great religions.
- Jerusalem is the capital of Israel.
- The inhabitants of Jerusalem form a unique mosaic of diverse peoples and the results are the exceptional appearance of the city, with its synagogues, mosques and churches and its many historic monuments.
- Jerusalem is a creative intellectual center, with its many institutions of religious and secular learning and of culture.
- Jerusalem landscape is again exceptional, not only in its beauty but for its essential significance in the history of three religions.

These strong characteristics of the city magnify and complicate all the normal problems which beset the development of any city today.

The interim plans presented the essential resources for our deliberations. We feel, however, that there are contradictions among the different plans which have yet to be resolved and that in each plan a number of concepts need further consideration. Other essential concepts have not perhaps been grasped.

We believe that some of the weaknesses in the plans which have been noted may be due to administrative difficulties at the center.

In the spirit of mutual confidence which underlay our frank exchanges and with the desire that the best possible plan for Jerusalem should finally be formulated, we make the following suggestions and recommendations:

The Master Plan should be restructured.

The planning process ought to be reassessed.

The collection of data provided in the submitted reports is valuable. We were impressed by the thoughtful and stimulating quality of the propositions put forth, by the wide range of concern. The earnestness which underlies the pursuit is clear to any dispassionate observer. The subcommittee feels, however, without exception, that there has not been sufficient consideration of alternatives, clarification of the basic ideas, nor the expositation of a unified theme. To guide the planners there is need of a set of broad principles of an overall coordination of policies, while the alternatives should be clearly set out.

The physical planners of the city have need above all of a comprehensive vision of it. We agree with those who formulated these plans that the special qualities of Jerusalem call for the most creative efforts from the planning profession; all that has been learned of methodology and the deepest insight into the related sciences have to be brought to bear. What the plan calls for are principles of physical order, a set of planning guidelines so firm that they will directly generate the plan of a great city as it evolves, and so well grounded in functional, social, economic, emotional and symbolic issues that agreement on them may gradually be reached.

In our judgement the first step to be taken in this exceptionally difficult task is to set up a mixed task force composed, on the one hand, of people well versed in the plans and, on the other, of those who can bring dispassionate perspective to bear.

This task force should report directly to the relevant government ministries and to the Mayor and should be given adequate guidelines by which it can review the plans and make recommendations and should be requested to complete this process within six months.

It should feel free to consult with this subcommittee who make themselves available and with any other groups of citizens and professionals which the task force deems necessary.

In specifying the course of action to be pursued in this six-month interval, we recognize the difficulty of formulating in advance and that a great deal of discretion must be left to the task force. We should like to suggest that the members of the present subcommittee submit to the Jerusalem Committee as soon as possible their proposed guidelines or broad areas in which such guidelines can be helpfully formulated.

We assume that since this city is complex and unique, every effort will be made at the national level to overcome the complications and facilitate the implementation of the final recommendations.

In view of the complexities of executing an ideal plan to meet the ambitious goals that the planning of Jerusalem deserves it is recognized that financial grants and aids of considerable magnitude must be forthcoming. It is our hope that the often expressed world concern with Jerusalem will be backed by concrete financial manifestations and generosities.

We believe that a continuous relationship between the subcommittee and the planners of Jerusalem is a useful and, if sometimes frustrating, a rich interchange. It stands ready to constitute itself in any form which is deemed desirable, as a committee of the whole or recognizing that specific tasks can best be handled by smaller numbers, as groups or individuals.

We are much heartened by the willingness of all parties concerned to reveal frankly their innermost concepts about the potentials of the great city, by the reservoirs of goodwill encountered and by a political leadership which is ready to encourage and accept the most advanced townplanning in order to meet the merging problems of the present and the future.

December 21, 1970

NY TIMES

Jerusalem the Golden

By C. L. SULZBERGER

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PARIS—Peace prospects in the Middle East are probably less bad today than at any time since 1967. That is not to say prospects are good; simply that talks between both sides will almost certainly be resumed and that pressures by the Big Four powers and by public opinion in Israel, Egypt and Jordan are conducive to agreement.

The argument, of course, comes over what sort of agreement is acceptable. Anything acceptable to the Arab governments, as defined by their own spokesmen, is not acceptable to Israel. And anything acceptable to Israel, as defined by its spokesmen, is not acceptable to the Arabs.

Nevertheless, there is a fluttering of doves on both sides and increasing fear of the chaos that might be produced by guerrilla-led revolutions in the Arab world should another round of fighting supervene. Finally, the new regimes in Syria and Iraq are less furiously hostile to settlement than their predecessors.

If one takes a long, cool look at the problems, only one seems utterly insoluble. It is possible to envision Israeli withdrawal from Egypt's Sinai peninsula and some kind of supervised demilitarization to insure Israel's access to Aqaba and Suez.

It is possible to envision an arrangement that would restore most of the West Bank to Jordan—again with supervised demilitarization. Jordan might even gain suzerainty over the Gaza Strip, formerly held by Egypt, where so many Palestine Arab refugees are quartered. This would require a narrow Jordanian corridor to the sea.

Such ideas might be considered negotiable if Israel receives adequate political recognition and adequately enforceable security guarantees. There is no problem with Lebanon. And the Golan Heights, formerly Syrian, certainly will not be considered unless Syria accepts the 1967 U.N. resolution.

The United States, Britain and France would endorse such a settlement. And while Russia might arguably prefer continuation of the present situation—neither war nor peace—for other reasons it wants peace.

The present situation affords a magnificent chance to spread Soviet influence among the Arabs. But settlement would insure against confrontation with the U.S.A. and would probably guarantee pro-Moscow Arab regimes against being overthrown by pro-Peking guerrillas. Finally, settlement would reopen the Suez Canal, which Russia wants to reinforce its Indian Ocean fleet.

There is only one crucial issue on which compromise still seems inconceivable: Jerusalem. Jerusalem in its entirety is now the capital of Israel and even that old dove Ben Gurion is not ready to yield the eastern "Old City" wrested from Jordan in 1967.

Likewise, even those Arabs who no longer insist that "the Jews be driven into the sea" will not consider any solution that doesn't return to Arab control that portion of Jerusalem containing the Islamic sacred shrines in the old city.

Is it not time to ponder a new approach that would safeguard all three religions connected with Jerusalem—Judaism, Christianity, Islam—while preserving both actual Israeli and vestigial Arab political rights?

Both the latter are linked to religion but they go beyond that since there is a purely secular quarrel involved. This does not affect Christianity, whose last secular overlords in Jerusalem (saving Britain's mandate) were the Crusaders before the era of the nation-state. The Turks, more recent suzerains, now have only a religious concern.

Why isn't it possible to leave Jerusalem in Israeli hands but to construct within it a separate Moslem "Vatican City," including the Moslem holy places and ruled by a Moslem religious dignitary chosen by Islam, whether he be caliph or mufti?

Such a religious ruler of a tiny lay state could have his own symbolic protective force similar to the Pope's Swiss Guard. Why couldn't Moslem lands like Turkey or Pakistan—removed from the Arab world—contribute a small mercenary company?

An Islamic "Vatican City" could have its own assured lay privileges, permitting even enemies of surrounding Israel to seek refuge within these holy premises, just as fugitives from both sides were protected by the Pope during World War II.

There is nothing unprecedented about such an arrangement. There are German and Italian enclaves inside Switzerland; Monaco, Liechtenstein and San Marino; and there is Vatican City, accessible to all, a state recognized by the world. Surely the same concept could apply for Jerusalem the Golden.

(3) מ. כהן!
הסברה
מר מ. פרגון - זניות כנסת"ל

משרד החוץ

12/11/70

סיווג

מזכר

אל: מר מ. פרגאי, הממונה על ענינים כנסיתיים	אל:
מאת: לשכת היועץ המשפטי	מאת:

ירושלים

הנדון: בית המשפט העליון לערעורים בירושלים המזרחית

מזכרך מיום 4/11/70

לפני מלחמת ששת הימים היו קיימים בירדן שני בתי משפט עליונים לערעורים. האחד שכן בעמאן ואזור שיפוטו היה הגדה המזרחית והשני שכן בירושלים המזרחית ותחום שיפוטו היה הגדה המערבית.

לאחר שהוחלט על אחוד ירושלים התברר שיש להעתיק את מקומו של בית המשפט ששכן בירושלים המזרחית וזאת מפני שלא ייתכן שבית משפט שנמצא באזור ישראלי יהיה מוסמך לדון בעניניהם של תושבי הגדה המערבית. לכן העבירו את בית המשפט הזה לרמאללה בה הוא שוכן גם היום. זו היא הסיבה להמלצה (L) המופיעה במברק מס' 26 מיום 2/11/70 שנשלח מניו יורק.

בברכה,

יגאל עתבי

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לדריש, מארס ב'

להלן פרק המסלבות בדבר הדפיה לשטחים.

145. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, HAVING EXAMINED THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED TO ITS, HAS ARRIVED AT THE CONCLUSION, EXPRESSED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ITSRAEL IS PURSUING IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES POLICIES AND PRACTICES WHCH ARE IN VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPUATION OF THOSE TERRITORIES.
146. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE CONSIDERS THAT IN THIS CASE THE FUNDAMENTAL VIOLATION OF HIMAN RIGHSS LIES IN THE VEY FACT OF OCCUPATION. THE COMMITTED THEREFORE FINDS IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE THE SPECIFIC POLICIES AND PRACTICES APPLID TO PARTICULAR INDIVIDUALS, ROUPS OR AREAS FROM THE BRAD CONTEXT OF THE OCCUPATION ITSELF. THE IDEAL MANNER IN WHICH VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COULD CEASE WOULD CLEARLY BE BY THE TERMINATION OF THE OCCUPATION ITSELF. IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE THE OCCUPATION LASTS, THE OCUUPYING POWER HAS BOTH A LEGAL AND A MORAL OBLIGATION TO IMPLEMENT THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTIONS — AN OBLIGATION WHICH IT VOLUNTARILY ASSUMED AND WHICH I CANNOT AVOID BY MERELY DECLARING THAT THE QUESTION IS AN "OPEN" ONE.
147. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS EXAMINED THE EZIEXUSTUBG ARRABGNEMENTS FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THOSE CONVENTIONS ANDHAS COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THEY ARE TOTALLY INADEQUATE. UNDER THESE ARRANGEMENTS, ALLEGATIONS THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTSIONS HAVE BEEN VIOLATED CANNOT BE COMPLETELY OR EXHAUSTIVELY INVESTIGATED, AND IT IS POSSIBLE FOR VALABLE EVIDENCE TO BE OVERLOOKED OR EVEN WITHHELD. SUCH AN INVESTIGATION CAN BE EFFECTIVE ONOLY IF THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNED EXTENDS ITS FULL CO-OPERATION.
148. A PRIMARITY DIFFICULTY AFFECTING THE IMPLEMENATION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS IN THIS CASE IS THE ABSENCE OF AN EFFECTIVE PROTECTING POWER. THE CONVENSIONS ASSIGN CERTAIN FUNCTIONS TO THE PROTECTING POWER, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN ASSUMED IN THE PRESENT CASE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS. BUT THE RED CROSS CAN HARDLY BE EXPECTED TO E AS EFFECTIVE IN THIS ROLE AS A TRUE PRTOECTING POW

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149. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTE OF THE RED CROSS, DESPITE ITS LAUDABLE EFFORTS TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, HAS NOT BEEN AUTHORIZED, STAFFED OR EQUIPED TO DEAL ADQUATELY WITH ALLEGATIONS OF VIOLATIONS OF THE GEVENA CONVENTIONS, ANS IS PRECLUDED BY ITS OWN POLICIES FROM PUBLICIZING THE FACTS IN SUCH CASES OR FROM CRITICIZNG EVEN BY IMPLICATION, THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE WITH REGARD TO ALLEGATIONS OF MALTREATMENT OF PRISONERS HELD UNDER SECURITY REGULATIONS IN ISRAEL AND IT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, TO WHOM RED CROSS OFFICIALSHAVE BEEN DENIED ACCESS. WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE RESULTS OF INVEFGATIONS BY AN INDEPENDENT AND IMPARTIAL AUTHORITY MIGHT AT LEAST ENSURE THAT THE POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION COULD PROVIDE SOME SLIGHT DETERRE T TO PERSISTENT AND CONTINUING BREACHES OF THE GENEVA CONVENSTIONS.
150. FOR THESE RASONS, THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO PROPOSE AN ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY THE THIRDS ANDFOURTH GENEVA CONVENTIONS WILL BE ENFORCED AND COMMENDS THIS ARRANGEMENT TO THE STATES CONCERNED IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE.
151. THE SUCCESS OF SUCH AN ARRANGMENT MUST DEPEND ON THE WILLING ADM ISSION BY THE STATES CONCERNED OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SUPERVISION BY AN INDEPENDENT AUTHORITY AND ON THEIR READINESS TO GRANT SUCH AN AUTHORITY FREEDOM OF OPERTATION IN THE SPIRIT OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS. THE FIRST REQUIREMENT IS TO HAVE THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNED CARRY OUT THEIR OBLIGATIONS EXISTING UNDER THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS. SECONDLY, IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE GOVERNMENTS BE PREPARED TO RESPECT THE RECOMMENDATIONS RESULTING FROM ANY INVESTIGATION CARRIED OUT IN THIS CONTEXT.
152. IN THE MEANTIME, IN ORDER TO SPARE THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND THE PRISONER OF WAR IN THE AREA OF CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST FURTHER SUFFERING, THE WIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO APPLY FORTHWITH THE PRINCIPLES DECLARED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242(1967) AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THAT RESOLUTION TO WITHDRAE ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND TO BRING THE OCCUPATION TO AN END.
QTEM THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL SHOULD ALSO BE CALLED UPON TO DESIST FROM PRACTIVE AND POLICIES IN VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, TO PREVENT ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND HOSTILITY DIRECTED AGAINST

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THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND TO OBSERVE WITHOUT RESERVATION THE NORMS OF HUMQWV CONDUCT R DN ESTABLISHED AND ORDAINED BY THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND WHICH HAVE RECEIVED FRESH ENDORSEMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL REGHTS WHICH IS NOT YET IN FORCE.

154. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL SHOULD FURTHER BE REQUESTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:
(A) TO PERMIT, UNCONDITIONALLY, ALL PERSONS WHO FLED THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, OR WHO WERE DEPORTED OR EXPELLED THEREFROM, TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES.
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EDIATELY, AND TO PREVENT, ALL POLICIES AND PRACTIVES OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT, SUCH AS THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY, IMPOSITION OF EXCESSIVELY HARSH CURFEWS AND MASS ARRESTS.
(C) TO MAKE FULL COMPENSATION FOR PROPERYT DESTROYED, AND TO EFFECT RESTITUTION OF PROPERYT CONFISCATED, IN VIOLATION OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION.
(D) TO CEASE IMMEDIATELY, AND PREVENT, THE TORTURE AND ILL-TREATMENT OF PRISONERS OF WAR AND OF PERSONS IMPRISONED OR DETAINED UNDER THE LAWS AND REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE OCCUPATION AND TO APPLY TO ALL SUCH CATEGORIES OF PERSONS THE PROVISIONS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND OF THE UNITED NATONS MINIMUM RULES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.
(E) TO BRING TO AN END THE INDEFINITE AND PROLONGED DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL OF ALL PERSONS, INCLUDING THOSE DETAINED UNDER SECURITY REGULATIONS AND THOSE UN.E ADMINSTRATIVE DETENTION, BY RELEASING THEM OR AFFORDING THEMA FAIR TRIAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS.
(F) TO REFORM THE PROCEDURED AND CONDITIONS OF ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION IN CONFORMITY WITH THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS.
(G) TO REFRAIN FROM ATTEMPTS AT COMPELLING THE INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO COLLABORATE WITH THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES.
(H) TO DISCONTINUE THE POLICY OF ESTABLISHING ISRAELI SETTLEMTNS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND TO WITHDRAW ALL ISRAELI SETTLERS FROM SETTLEMENTS ALREADY ESTABLISHED.

KI)TO ELIMINATE, AND REFRAIN FROM THE CREATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WHICH RESULT IN THE DEPARTURE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES FROM THEIR ESTABLISHED HOMES AND COMMUNITIES.
(J) TO REFRAIN FROM HARASSEMENT AND ARBITRARY DEPORTATION OF LEADERS AND INTELLECTUALS FROM AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.
(K) TO RESCIND ISRAELI LEGISLATION IN FORCE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND WHICH IS REPUGNANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTIONS.

(L) TO REPEAL ALL MEASURES TAKEN TO ALTER THE STATUS OF OCCUPIED JERUSALEM AND TO RESTORE IT TO THE STATUS SUBSISTING BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES.
(M) TO RESTORE THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO THE STATUS WHICH IT ENJOYED BEFORE THE OCCUPATIO N AND IN PARTICULAR TO RETURN THE COURT OF APPEAL OF JERUSALEM TO IST SEAT IN JERUSALEM.
(N) TO INVESTIGATE ALL THE ALLEGATIONS BROUGHT TO THE NOTICE OF THE COMMITTEE CONCERNING ILL-TREATMENT OF CIVILIANS AND DETAINEES, PARTICULARLY THOSE PERSONS DETAINED UNDER SECURITY REGULATION, ACCESS TO WHOM IS DENIED TO RED CROSS OFFICIALS, AND THOSE PURPORTEDLY HELD UNDER ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION, AND TO TAKE APPRPRIATE REMEDIAL MEASURES.
155. WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE ABOVE, AND HAVING REGARD TO THE EXISTING POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFILCT VIS-A-VIS ONE ANOTHER, THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, HAVING IN MIND THE URGENT NEED FOR PRIVIDING A WORKABLE MECHANISM TO ENSURE THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION O F THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, PROPOSES AS A TEMPORARY PRACTICAL MEASURE THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RECOMMEND TO THE STATES WHOSE TERRITORY IS OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL THAT THEY APPOINT IMMEDIATELY EITHER A NEUTRAL STATE OR STATES, OR AN INTERNAIONAL ORGANIZATION WHI CH OFFERS ALL GUARANTEES OF IMPARTIALITY ANDEFFECTIVENESS, TO SAFEGUARD THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION O F THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IN THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES PREVAILING IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WHERE THERE IS A LARGE POPULATION WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY OF EXERCISING ITS RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PROPER REPRESENTATION OF THEIR INTERESTS. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TAKE THIS FACT INOT ACCOUNT

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IN IMPEMENTING THIS RECOMMENDATION. IN THE SPRIT OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS, WHICH REQUIRE THAT ANY SUCH ARRANGEMNT BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT NEUTRAL STATE OR ORGANIZATION, NOMINATED BY ISRAEL, BE ASOCIATED IN THIS ARRANGEMNT. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE FURTHER PROPOSES THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALL UPON ISRAEL TO ACCEPT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT AND TO PROVIDE ALL THE FACILITIES NECESSARY FOR ITS EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING CNSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTIONS. THE STATE OR STATES OR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION DULY NOMINATED UNDS ARRANGEMENT MIGHT BE AUTHORIZED TO UNDERTAKE THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES:
(A) TO SECURE THE SCRUPULOUS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS RELATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS CONTAINED IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR TO INVESTIGATE AND DETERMINE THE FACTS IN THE CASEOF ALLEGATIONS OF TY VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHT S PROVISIONS OF THOS CONVENTIONS OR OF OTHER APPLICABLE INTERNATIONS INSTRUMENTS.
(B) TO ENSURE THAT THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS TREATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE APPLICABLE LAW.
(C) TO REPORT TO THE STATES CONCERNED, AND TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ON ITS WORK.
156 THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE FEELS THAT UNTIL SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IS MADE, IT SHOULD CONTINUE ITS WORK. FOR THIS PURPOSE THE COMMITTEE WOULD REQUIRE CERTAIN FACILITIES TO ENABLE IT TO KEEP ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS INTHE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WHICH HAVE A BEARING ON THE PROTECTION OF THEHUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THOSE TERRITORIES, TO RECEIVE ALLEGATIONS AND EVIDENCE OF VIOLATIONS OF THOSE RIGHTS, TO CONDUCT STUDIES OF RELEVANT DEVLOPMENTS AS THEY OCCUR, AND, IF NECESSARY, TO RETURNTO THE MIDDLE EAST FOR FURTHER WORK IN EXECUTION OF ITS MANDATES.
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Dr. Z. Warhaftig

5. XI. 1970.

THE SPIRITUAL AND HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF JERUSALEM FOR JEWS AND GENTILES

The Talmud, in The Tractate Sanhedrin (95A), relates the reaction of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, when he first set eyes upon Jerusalem.

Jerusalem appeared minuscular in his view, as he exclaimed "Is this the City against whom I have set all my legions? Lo, this city is smaller and weaker than all the cities of the nations".

Jerusalem was never one of the larger cities of the world, and only towards the end of the period of the Second Temple did she reach respectable proportions of population.

From the time of the destruction and during one thousand nine hundred years of exile until recent times, Jerusalem has been a small city She is ancient, one of the most ancient of the world, she is strikingly beautiful as expressed in the Talmud, 'Ten measures of beauty were given t the world, of them Jerusalem received nine' : Ancient and beautiful, yet but yet quite small.

At her peak, during the end of the Second Temple, the population of Jerusalem reached a quarter million; under Moslem rule, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ during the eleventh century, she was occupied by thirty thousand people, Jews and Arabs. In the Crusader period the population dropped at one point to three thousand. The Ottoman Empire saw the population rise to no more than fiftenn thousand. A century ago the population numbered approximately twenty-five thousand, of whom about one half were Jewish, the rest being Moslems and Christians. Since then, the population has grown and so has the proportion of Jews within that population, until we find that in 1945 the overall population numbered one hundred and sixty-five thousand, of them one hundred thousand Jews (60%), in the year 1967 the overall population grew to two hundred and sixty-three thousand, of them one hundred and ninety-five thousand Jews (74%) and today in 1970 the population has grown to two hundred and eighty thousand people of whom two hundred and ten thousand (75%) are Jews and seventy thousand (25%) Moslems, Christians and others.

The importance of Jerusalem lies in the fact that she is the spiritual center of the mother of monotheistic religions, Judaism. As the Biblical sentence reads "From out of Zion come forth Torah, and from Jerusalem the word of God".

The greatness of Jerusalem lies in her sanctity; there is no holier

place for the Jewish nation, than Jerusalem. The Land of Israel is more sanctified than foreign lands, and within Israel, Jerusalem, within the city walls is the most sacred of her cities (Mishnah Kaylim - Chapter 1: 6 & 7); "of the eleven stages of holiness which were reigned upon Israel, ten were given to Jerusalem" (Mishnah ibid, Responsa Radbaz). For Israel, at large, was sanctified by the conquests of Joshua, the holiness of which was not permanent in terms of the specific rituals concerning the land, such as the giving of the tithe and the Sabbatical year; whereas the original holiness of Jerusalem has been maintained, as the Divine Presence has never retreated from her confines. (Maimonide, Laws of the Temple, Chapter 6, code 16).

The sanctity of Jerusalem is based upon religious law, a complete system of Torah commandments, amendments, prohibitions and customs.

The holy Temple in Jerusalem "my chosen city" (Kings 1:11), the royal court in Jerusalem, the eating of the second tithe, the bringing of the first fruit, and the sacrificing of the first-born animals in Jerusalem, all these were responsible for declaring Jerusalem the national center of our people, assuring an abundant population and guaranteeing economic prosperity.

"All may enter Jerusalem, but not all may leave" (Ketubot, Chapter 13, Mishnah 11), meaning a man may coerce the members of his family to live with him in Jerusalem - but he may not coerce his family to leave her. If the husband wishes to live in Jerusalem and his wife does not, he may legally grant her a divorce without paying the marriage vows. If she wishes to live in Jerusalem and he does not, he is liable to divorce her and bears responsibility for paying the marriage vows (Tosefta Ketubot Chapter 12, Ketubot 110B).

Jerusalem is at the center of Jewish thought. The name Jerusalem is mentioned in the Bible six hundred and fifty-six times. Jerusalem is known in Talmudic sources as "the holy community" and on Hashmonaim coins "holy Jerusalem". The Midrash states that Jerusalem has seventy names, paralleling the seventy names of the Almighty.

Jerusalem encompasses within her the whole of the Land of Israel.

The Zohar teaches that there are two Jerusalems, the Jerusalem in heaven and the Jerusalem on earth - one directly above the other. The two Jerusalems are intertwined and one cannot exist without the other. The Talmud in Ta'anit states "The Lord God has said, I shall not enter the heavenly Jerusalem until I have entered the earthly Jerusalem".

There is no substance to the heavenly Jerusalem, of thought, of belief

without the earthly Jerusalem of substance and action. Nevertheless, there is no 'raison d'être' for the earthly Jerusalem without the heavenly Jerusalem;both are intertwined,the thought and the action,the philosophy and the empirical goals.

In his "prayer on the ruins of Jerusalem", the Ramban,on the occasion of his arrival in Jerusalem from Spain seven hundred years ago,pours out his heart and cries "We have stood at the Gates of Jerusalem,the House of the Lord,and the entrance of heaven,Jerusalem,the rebuilt,the earthly Jerusalem rejoinded with the heavenly one".

Jerusalem has been,and is to this very day,the cultural,creative, spiritual center of the Jewish people.In Jerusalem,nearly three thousand years ago,Isaiah prophesized "And it shall come to pass at the end of days that the House of God shall be established on the heights of the mountains, and all the peoples of the world will pour forth to her...And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,and their spears into pruning-hooks; Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,Neither shall they learn war any more".

In Jerusalem,Jeremiah voiced his prophecies of indignation and hope. In Jerusalem the voices of Amos and Micah were heard.

Jerusalem is called by Isaiah(22)the Valley of Prophecy - the valley which gave forth such numerous prophets.

Rabbi Johanan states that a prophet whose residence is not stated specifically - resided in Jerusalem.

In Jerusalem,David sang his Psalms,as did the Levites,the sons of Korah and Asaf.

In Jerusalem the Sages composed a monumental work,known as "the Mishnah".The illustrious rabbis: Rabbi Meir,Rabbi Akiva and their associates, came together to lay the groundwork for Oral Law.

Jerusalem was the site of the writing of the Jerusalem Talmud. this city the institution of "Ga'on" and "Av Ha'Yeshiva" were continued for hundreds of years. To Jerusalem came the greatest of rabbis,erected there places of study from which Responsa were sent out to all corners of the world.

Jerusalem serves as the spiritual center of the Jewish people at the present day.Here is the Seat of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel,the supreme religious authority for the Jews in Israel,and for all practical purposes for all Jewish communities at large.Here we find the great eeucational centers of Jewish learning,both old and modern and renowned institution

of Torah research.

Here, in this city, there is developing one of the great academic centers of the world, the Hebrew University, from whose towers of learning emanates light to all who seek it.

Jerusalem is the center of religious thought and research of the Jewish people. The Biblical and Talmudic research, as well as the Talmudic Encyclopedia, Biblical Encyclopedia and the Hebrew Encyclopedia, all find their roots in Jerusalem. The only writer of Hebrew literature to have won the Nobel prize lived and created in this city.

Jerusalem was and is alive in the day to day traditional practices of the Jew. In our worship three times a day a special prayer for Jerusalem has been included "May You, O Lord, return in haste to Your City Jerusalem". In the Grace after meals. the rebuilding of Jerusalem maintains a central theme.

On the river banks of Babylon, during the first exile, nearly two thousand five hundred years ago, our forefathers took an oath "If I forget Thee, O Jerusalem, May My right hand wither, May My tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I remember You not, If I do not lift up Jerusalem above my Joy". (Psalm 137).

For one thousand nine hundred years of exile the Jew has kept his vow. In his home, the Jew leaves a portion of the wall unapinted, in remembrance of the ruins of Jerusalem. At the festive wedding ceremony of every Jew under the canopy, a special blessing is said to express devotion to and longing for Jerusalem and a cup is broken to symbolyze pain and sorrow at what has befallen the Holy city.

Historically, whoever has attempted to question spiritual centrality of the city for the Jew has failed completely. Ieroyam the son of Navat, divided the Jewish Kingdom and attempted in vain to establish new spiritual center at Dan and Bet-El. Upon the destruction of the North Jewish Kingdom which enveloped ten of the twelve tribes, their memory is no more than a lovely legend which tells of their eventual return at the end of days.

The Kutim and Samaritans who concentrated their spiritual activities on Mount Gerizim in order to compete with the glory of Jerusalem, especially in the era of Ezra and Nehemiah, have receeded into the deep recesses of history and are no longer a factor in the spiritual life.

Jerusalem, the eternal City, has and will forever maintain a dominant position in the spiritual life of the Jews, while at the same time maintaining the position of authority as the capital of the State of Israel.

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The city is holy to Christianity as well. In Jerusalem, Jesus lived, preached and died on the cross. In Christian tradition, the sites linked with events in the life of Jesus and his disciples were invested with sanctity and, from the fourth century down to the present day -- and the historical visit of Pope Paul VI — Jerusalem has been the goal of Christian pilgrimages.

Christian reverence for the Holy Places inspired the construction of churches and monasteries and prompted the launching of the Crusades, a mass movement for the liberation of the Holy Places. But Christianity has placed its main emphasis on a spiritual Jerusalem, that mentioned in the " Epistle to the Galatians "(Chapter 4, verse 26): " But Jerusalem which is above is free, and is the mother of us all." Lesser importance is attached by Christianity to the earthly Jerusalem. " For here we have no eternal city, but we seek one to come "(Epistle to the Hebrews, Chapter 13, verse14).

The Church Fathers speak of the Christian Church in allegorical terms, referring to it as Jerusalem. They speak of Jerusalem as " our mother ", or " the bride of the Lord ", or "the city of the future", and "the homeland of the exiled". Christianity does, in fact, refer to the earthly Jerusalem, but merely as a rung in a ladder to the spiritual city.

Among the Christian Churches themselves we find differences of emphasis with regard to Jerusalem. The Catholic, Orthodox and Monophysite Churches sanctify specific sites in the city, whilst Protestants take a more diffused and general attitude to Jerusalem's spirituality.

Islan,has in Jerusalem,a central place of specific sanctity.The El-AKSA Mosque on the Temple Mount,which was built towards the end of the seventh century by the Caliph ABDUL MALIK IBEN MARWAN AMD According to some,by his son WALID IBEN ABDUL MALIK,at the beginning of the eighth century.

The El-AKSA Mosque together with the Mosque of Omar,represent the third holiest area for Islam,after the Mosques in Mecca and Medina. A prayer recited in El-AKSA is equal to twenty-five thousand prayers in another place,while a prayer recited in the Mosque in Medina is equal to fifty thousand prayers recited elsewhere. There are countless legends concerning the sanctity of the Haram-Sharif area.

The Moslems,according to a later tradition,associate holiness also with the Western Wall,AL BURAQ.According to a tradition,Mohammed on the eve of his ascension to heaven tied his horse BURAQ in that area.

The Jews are not enstranged to the fact that Jerusalem maintains place of great spiritual importance for other religions.

In the days of the temple,sacrifices were received from all peoples, supplications were recited at that place by all nations,as is stated "my house shall be a place of prayer for all the nations".

Rabbi Johanan,who edited the Jerusalem Talmud,sees Jerusalem as "a great Metropolis for all peoples. Despite the universality of Jerusalem,one must not overlook the special meaning of the city for the Jews.

Christianity indeed has Holy Places in Jerusalem,but it has sanctuaries in other parts of the country and elsewhere in the world as well.

For the Jew al of Jerusalem is a focal point of sanctity,and indeed,the holiness of this city is paramount to the sacredness of all other places.

Islam has many places of holiness,for them Jerusalem is only third in this hierarchy.

Historically,in all the periods of her existence,Jerusalem,while serving in the capacity of a capital,was the Capital of a Jewish State, or to be more exact, to the exclusion of perhaps of a short period during the Crusades.The Jews,in all the years of our being in the Holy Land,had

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no other capital except Jerusalem, to the exclusion of seven years during which David ruled in Hebron.

For a thousand years, Jerusalem served as the Capital of the Jewish State.

Jerusalem was never the capital of any Arab State. During the nineteen years of Jordanian rule, Amman was Queen, and Jerusalem no more than a city on the West Bank.

In Jerusalem the words of the Ramban in his Biblical Commentary became a reality. "And I shall lay waste the land". Israel shall lay in ruin in wait for the return of her children. Jerusalem has indeed been in mourning for one thousand nine hundred years, in wait for the return of the exiled.

It is now nearly one hundred and thirty years since the process of returning to Jerusalem has begun. During this entire period, the City has been populated by a great majority of Jews. ~~There are today approximately six two hundred and eighty thousand residents of whom two hundred ten thousand (75%) are Jews and seventy thousand Moslems, Christians and others.~~

The Bible in its first mention of Jerusalem, calls her by the name SHALAYIM, in Hebrew this word has a dual meaning: -

1. SHALAYIM - complete, whole, a unity and -
2. SHALOM - peace.

Peace for Jerusalem lies in her unity.

8.11.70 JERUSALEM POST

ofem. (N)

Notre Dame sale proceeds for work of Assumptionists

The Assumptionist Fathers, who built Notre Dame de France opposite Jerusalem's New Gate, are to devote the money obtained through sale of the hostel "wholly to the Fathers' work in the Holy Land."

The Fathers' General Council in Rome announced that this decision was taken out of respect for the intentions of the pilgrims whose donations made construction of the building possible. They did not say exactly how much they got for the building, but noted that it was "considerably less" than the figure of $800,000 quoted in the press.

The statement explained that the hostel was sold as there is no need for it as there is sufficient hotel-space for pilgrims.

(The massive building, badly damaged in the War of Independence, was purchased by a subsidiary of the J.N.F. and will be turned over in six months to the Hebrew University, for use as a dormitory and classroom buildings until 1975.)

17-18.1970

New York Herald Tribune

Digging In to Stay

Israelis Building a New Jerusalem

By George C. Wilson

JERUSALEM, Oct. 16 (WP).—Israel, disregarding the United Nations plea for a standstill in Jerusalem, is encircling the Arab part of the Holy City with new buildings for Jews.

Arabs, witnessing the furious construction pace on their former lands in East Jerusalem, complain that building in advance of a peace treaty ruins any chance of dialogue with the Israeli government.

Prime Minister Golda Meir, overriding both the United Nations and Arab objections, has decided to put in stone her pledge that the whole city of Jerusalem shall henceforth be the capital of Israel. In implementing this no-partition policy, Israel since the six-day war of 1967 has taken the following actions in East Jerusalem, where Arabs used to live under King Hussein:

- Over 4,000 acres of land has been confiscated, with 90 percent of that total coming from Arab owners.
- Huge apartment projects are being built on the land for Jewish families, with only one project, consisting of 150 units, so far slated for Arabs.
- The new buildings are being placed in a crescent around what used to be the eastern border of Jewish Jerusalem before the war.

Expanding City

Jerusalem's new master plan calls for a Jerusalem encompassing a large part of occupied Jordan. Towns to form the new perimeter, as stated in the master plan, are Ramallah on the north, Bethlehem on the south, Neve Ilan on the west and Anatot to the east. This would outline a city of 324 square miles.

Confiscating Arab land is the most controversial action in the expansion. Zeev Sharef, Israeli Minister of Housing, declined to be interviewed on the land expropriation—stating through an aide that "the less said the better."

The Jerusalem mayor's deputy in charge of Arab affairs in the city, Meron Benvenesti, opposed confiscating Arab lands for Jewish housing. But there is no sign of a letup.

The United Nations General Assembly, on Nov. 29, 1967, declared that Jerusalem was to be "a *corpus separatum* under a special international regime." On July 4, 1967, the UN registered its displeasure over the changing status of the Holy City and called on Israel "to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem."

A Changed City

Now, three years after that protest was made, Jerusalem is indeed a changed city in the occupied area. The new housing has become a focus of Arab protest against Israel at a time the government here is talking about improved chances for dialogue in the wake of the Jordanian civil war.

"You passed through Ramat Eshkol (one of the housing projects) in coming out here," said Hamdi Kana'n, former mayor of the Arab city of Nablus and still a political activist. "How would you believe they (the Israelis) want peace in looking at that. They are building more things in three years on occupied lands than has been built in hundreds of years. And do you think they are going to give all that up?... The Israelis are not interested in making peace. They want to stay as they are."

In fairness, it should be stated that Israel is not building in the occupied West Bank territory of Jordan, including Kana'n's city of Nablus. But Jerusalem is another matter.

Ramat Eshkol, planned to include 2,500 units on 150 acres, is indeed permanent looking. High apartment buildings, made of stone, have sprung up from the rocky hills of East Jerusalem—not far from where King Hussein was building a summer palace before the six-day war.

Arab Owner

Anton J. Jaser is a prosperous Arab owner who lives in the shadow of Ramat Eshkol. "The Israelis say they have a democracy," Mr. Jaser said in an interview in his comfortable home in East Jerusalem. "Yet they are breaking the spirit of the law in expropriating all this Arab land. The philosophy of the law of expropriation is to obtain property for the benefit of the public. But the Israelis, in expropriating one individual's land for the benefit of another individual, are violating the spirit of that law."

Mr. Jaser said Arabs cannot take compensation for the land expropriated from them or go to court to stop the confiscation without acknowledging Israel as their recognized ruler. So the Israelis are taking the land and keeping money for it on deposit. Noting that Jewish families emigrating to Israel are the ones moving into Ramat Eshkol, Mr. Jaser complained that Arab land was confiscated for apartments "for families who are not even Israelis."

Officially Israelis refrain from brushing aside Arab objections with "they lost the war." But that sentiment is often expressed by Israelis outside government offices. And the construction of Ramat Eshkol and other projects like it, with Arab laborers laying the stone, makes the United Nations resolution a lost cause.

ירושלים

3-9-1970

הפקעת קרקעות בירושלים

1. בישיבתה ב - 30.8 החליטה הממשלה להסמיך את שר האוצר להפקיע באמצעות מנהל מקרקעי ישראל שטחים באזור ירושלים המסתכמים ב - 12.000 דונאם בקרוב.
השטחים מצויים באזורים הבאים: המרכז המסחרי בירושלים, צפון וצפון מערב ירושלים, אזור הגן הלאומי בשמאעה, רמת רחל, דרום מערב ירושלים ודרום מזרח ירושלים.

2. להלן נתונים מדוייקים שקבלנו ממשרד השיכון. אפשר להשתמש בהם בשיחות במידת הצורך אך אינם לפרסום.
סה"כ הופקעו 12.280 דונאם, מהם 10,300 השייכים לערבים, 1405 השייכים ליהודים 575 השייכים למדינה.
בעלי הקרקע הערבים מונים כ - 1800 נפש, חלקם מחוץ לישראל, יש 700 בעלים יהודיים.

3. בקרקעות שהופקעו נמצאים 235 מבנים בבעלות יהודית בהם מתגוררים כ - 2700 נפש ונמצאים 300 בתי עסק. לעומת זאת נמצאים רק 20 מבנים בבעלות ערבית שבהם מתגוררים 120 ערבים ואין שם בתי עסק. מבחינה זאת הפגיעה הישירה היא חמורה בהרבה כלפי יהודים. יודגש גם שהמבנים היהודים נמצאים כולם במרכז המסחרי הישן, רובע מגורים צפוף, ומשמשים כאמור לדיור ועסק בעוד שקומץ המבנים הערביים רעוע ומפוזר בשטחים המופקעים.

4. ההוצאה לרכישה ופיצויים של הקרקעות במרכז המסחרי הישן, כ - 100 דונם מתוך כלל הקרקעות, מהם 40 דונם השייכים ליהודים ו - 60 השייכים למדינה. באמדת ב - 60 מליון ל"י בעוד שכל יתר הקרקעות המופקעות מוערכות אף הם בסכום זה.
מכאן שגם מבחינת שווי הקרקע הפגיעה ביהודים חמורה יותר.

5. צו ההפקעה פורסם בילקוט הפרסומים ב - 30.8 הוא מתבסס על החוק המנדטורי מ - 1943 השריר בישראל הנקרא:
LAND (ACQUISITION FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES) ORDINANCE NO. 24,1943

הנחיות הסברה

6. לפי שעה לא הגיעו הדים מיוחדים מהבירות ואף לא מירדן. מוצע שבשלב ראשון יימנעו הנציגים מליזום הסברה אך יהיו מוכנים להשיב על שאלות.

7. ככל איזור עירוני בעולם גם איזור ירושלים חייב בתכנון מראש למטרות פיתוח. תכנית האב לפיתוח ירושלים הושלמה ביובי השנה. בעיות הפיתוח בירושלים חמורות במיוחד:

א. ישנן שכבות רבות בירושלים הסובלות מתנאים של תת דיור. לפחות 5000 משפחות ערביות ו - 4000 משפחות יהודיות גרות בתנאים של תת דיור והן מהוות ציבור שיש לתת קדימות לבניית דיור עבורו.

ב. כמו כן יש לחץ של תושבים מחוץ לירושלים המבקשים להשתכן בעיר.

ג. מאות צעירים בני ירושלים עוזבים את העיר בגלל מצוקת הדיור.

ד. ירושלים נחשלת בפיתוח תעשייתי. אולם במרכז ירושלים כמעט ולא נותרו שום רזרבות אדמה לבנייה תעשייתית.

8. מטרת ההפקעה היא לאפשר לגורמים הנוגעים בדבר לפתח את אזור ירושלים בצורה הדרגתית. הפיתוח נועד לשרת את מכלול תושבי העיר - ערבים ויהודים גם יחד.
ההפקעות מבוצעות בהתאם לחוק הקיים בישראל. חוק שמטרתו זהה - קיים גם בירדן.
כל בעלי השטחים יקבלו פיצויים וייקבעו קריטריונים ליברלים לתשלום.

9. מרבית השטחים נושאים אופי של טרשים, לא מיושבים ולא מעובדים.
השטחים בבעלות ערבית כוללים בסך הכל לא יותר מ - 20 בתים. השטחים בבעלות יהודית כוללים(במרכז המסחרי של ירושלים) מגורים של 350 משפחות ועסקים של 300 יהודים.
אדמות חקלאיות אינן נכללות בהפקעה. השטחים אינם כוללים שום אדמות וקף, מקומות קדושים ורכוש ציבורי.

10. עיקרי תכנית הפיתוח:

במרכז המסחרי של ירושלים: א. שיקום משפחות עוני.

ב. שיקום איזור תעשייתי מבוון.

ג. יקום מרכז מסחרי חדיש ליהודים ולערבים.

בצפון ירושלים: א. הקמת אזור תעשיתי שיהיה בשולי העיר. איזור זה יכלול מפעלי תעשיה יהודיים וערביים וכן מפעלים יהודים - ערבים משותפים. צפוי שהתעשיות יקיפו קשת נושאים כולל טכסטיל, כימיה עדינה ואלקטרוניקה.

ב. מרכזי מסחר ליהודים וערבים.

אזור שמאעה (במערב ירושלים): מיועד לגן לאומי.

דרום מזרח ירושלים ודרום מערב ירושלים ורמת רחל:

א. אזור מגורים ליהודים וערבים.

ב. אזור מלונאות.

ג. איזור שירותים ליהודים וערבים.

11. מכל הנקודות לעיל יש להדגיש במיוחד:

א. שההפקעות נוגעות ליהודים וערבים כאחד ונועדות לשרת ערבים ויהודים.

ב. שמספר היהודים הגרים בשטחים המופקעים עולה פי כמה וכמה על מספר הערבים.

ג. במידה ותישאלו בדבר העיתוי תוכלו לומר שאין חוזר אין לעיתוי שום משמעות מדינית והוא קשור בתהליכי תכנון ופיתוח של אזור ירושלים.

* * * * *

שמור

ירדן

התנגשויות חדשות בין המשטר למחבלים
(עדכני לבוקר 2.9)

ראשית ההתנגשויות

התקריות בין צבא ירדן לארגוני המחבלים החלו ב-26.8 ומתמשכות מאז בתדירות. מרכז ההתנגשויות - ברבת-עמון וסביבותיה.
הגורמים הלוקחים חלק פעיל בתקריות ובליבויין הינם בעיקר ארגוני המחבלים הקיצוניים ביחסם העוין את המשטר ההאשמי. בראשם, ארגון "החזית העממית הדימוקראטית" בהנהגת נאיף חואתמה. ואלו פת"ח, הלוקח אף הוא חלק בהתנגשויות, עושה זאת יותר מתוך הגררות ותגובה - במגמה להציג עצמו בפני דעת הקהל כמגן 'המהפכה הפלשתינאית'.

אופי צעדי הצדדים:

שלא כבמשבר יוני, הרי עומדים עתה לרשות הצדדים גופים שנקבעו במהלך המשבר דאז. המדובר בעיקר ב"ועדה המרכזית" של ארגוני המחבלים, בראשות יאסר ערפאת, העושה מאמצים לאיתור התפשטות ההתנגשויות, תוך נסיונות לדחוק הארגונים הקיצוניים, ובפרט זה שבהנהגת חואתמה, מלשמש גורם להתנגשויות נוספות.
מאז ה-29.8 ואילך, קיימו הצדדים השונים פגישות ביניהם ובנפרד, כאשר "בועדה המרכזית", שנפגשה ב-30.8 נמשכו מאמצי ערפאת לרסן את הארגונים הקיצוניים.
בסקביל לכך, יצא חוסיין בנאום תקיף לאומה ב-29.8, בו הדגיש את סביעי ירדן לקבלת היזמה האמריקאית ודחה את טענות ארגוני המחבלים כאילו בדעת שלטונות ירדן לדכאם.
צעד נוסף הנקט ע"י המשטר הוא במסגרת מסע הסברה יומי, עליו מנצח משרד הפנים בראשות סולימאן אל-חדידי, ובו מסבירים השלטונות את גרסתם הם על המאורעות.
בצעד זה יש משום חידוש לעומת דרך ההסברה של השלטונות במשבר הקודם, בו הוצגו ע"י המחבלים כבושאים באחריות ההתנגשות. יצויין כי השתלבותו של שר הפנים אל-חדידי (הידוע בתמיכתו המלאה במחבלים בעבר) לצד השלטון רומז על ריכוך

משרד החוץ

ירושלים, א' אלול תש"ל
2 בספט' 1970

3852

א ל: כל הנציגויות

מאת: ס/מנהל הסברה

ירושלים

הנדון: **ההפקעות בירושלים**

הנני מעביר אליכם להלן כמה נתונים על ההפקעות בירושלים. אין, כמובן, ליזום פעולות בענין זה. החומר הוא לידיעתכם ולשימוש במידה ותתבקשו לתת פרטים.

	המקום	השטח בדונם	ליהודים	למדינה	לערבים	בעלים ערבים ומשוערים	שטחי עיבוד
.1	נוה יעקב	470	55	15	400	100	--
.2	בית איכסא-ליפתא	4,840	5	35	4800	600	400
.3	ארמון הנציב	2240	240	—	2000	400	800
.4	שרפאת-מלחה	2700	325	375	2000	400	600
.5	קלנדיה (אזור תעשיה)	1200	60	40	1100	300	400
.6	שמאעה (פארק לאומי)	130	80	*50	--	--	--
.7	המרכז המסחרי הישן (ממילא)	100	40	60	--	--	--
.8	רמת רחל	600	600	--	--	--	--
		12,280	1,405	575	10,300	1,800	2,200

* בהפקעה בשכונת שמאעה כ-24 דונם לכנסיות.

א. מיהודים הופקעו 1,405 דונאם, ממדינה הופקעו 575 דונאם, בסה"כ 1,980 דונאם.

ב. ב-12,280 דונאם שהופקעו מתגוררים כ-120 ערבים ב-20 מבנים רעועים.

ג. באדמות שהופקעו מתגוררים 450 משפחות יהודיות שהם כ-2,700 נפש.

ד. 450 המשפחות ו-300 בתי העסק נמצאים ב-235 מבנים.

ה. האדמה שהופקעה מיהודים נמצאת בידי כ-700 בעלים יהודים.

ו. התוצאה לרכישה ופיצויים במרכז המסחרי הישן מוערכת ב-60 מיליון ל"י.

ז. התוצאה לפיצויים לבעלי שאר הקרקעות המופקעות מוערכת ב-60 מיליון ל"י.

ב ב ר כ ה,

דוד קטריבס

העתק: לשכות
מחלקות המשרד

Jerusalem Moslems complain of plans for land take-over

J. Post 1/9/1979

Jerusalem Post Arab Affairs Reporter

The Moslem Council in Jerusalem yesterday sharply criticised the Government decision to permit acquisition of 12,000 dunams in and around the city. In a statement issued following an emergency session, the Council said the authorities were aiming at "creating facts by burying the Arab and Islamic character of East Jerusalem."

Ever since the revival of Dr. Jarring's mission, the Israel "occupation" authorities have been working day and night to implement planned aggressive schemes to change the character of the Holy City, the statement claims. It went on to charge that the authorities do not want peace.

Scenes from the No-Withdrawal meetin dais. Speaking: Dr. Haim Yahil. Seated, Halevy (partly hidden), Moshe Nissim, Rabbi Moshe Zvi Neriya, and Asser Harel. ing the strategic dangers of any Israel crowd.

erve the historical homeland, he said, "we'll rely on ourselves, our soldiers, and our God." He sarcastically declared that "rich, capitalist America wanted an Israel Government dominated by the Mapam view."

The many climaxes in Mr. Begin's speech were accompanied by chants of "Be-gin" from a small section of the crowd.

Speakers preceding Mr. Begin were Messrs. Haim Yahil, and Surkiss M.K,

Hollie Financiale on

J. Post. 31/8/1970

Treasury given power to take over 12,000 dunams of waste land in Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Cabinet yesterday took a major step forward in the development of Jerusalem, when it authorized the Finance Minister to expropriate some 12,000 dunams of land within the Capital's enlarged boundaries — most of it uninhabited and uncultivable rocks — against what is said to be "liberal financial compensation."

With the master-plan for Jerusalem's systematic development completed two months ago, the aim is to promote slum-clearance, put up modern housing quarters, provide more tourist facilities and parklands, and give a big boost to the city's industrial development.

The 12,000 dunams (3,000 acres) are part of the united city's 110,000-dunam area. They lie in the old (Mamilla Road) commercial centre, in north and north-west Jerusalem beyond Ramat Eshkol; in south-west and south-east Jerusalem astride Government House; near Ramat Rahel; and in the proposed Sham'a quarter national park along the Hinnom Valley.

The expropriation procedures, it is learned, will follow an Israel law, which is identical with a Jordanian law (since both are based on Mandatory legislation). Compensation will be fixed by a newly-established inter-departmental committee, headed by a Treasury representative, and including the Municipality. Since the entire expropriation project is due to proceed over several years, and the technicalities are long drawn out, the size of the budgets allocated for compensation is unknown. It is unlikely that many expropriations will take place during the current budgetary year.

The 12,000 dunams, it is learned, will not include any cultivated lands, and will include very little occupied land, save for the old Commercial Centre north of the King David Hotel. The dwellings of some 350 Jewish families, and the businesses of some 300 Jewish families, will be expropriated there. Some 20 buildings inhabited by Arab families will be expropriated. No lands of any public institutions, or of any religious bodies are said to be affected. A considerable proportion of the overall properties involved is Jewish-owned.

In the old Commercial Centre — now one of Jerusalem's shabbiest slums — the idea is to rehabilitate disadvantaged families, while also enabling the construction of modern industrial and commercial premises. North Jerusalem is slated to have a modern industrial zone, with plants for Jews and Arabs jointly as well as separately. Textiles, light chemicals and electronics are all envisaged. The Sham'a area is part of the National Park to run from Scopus in the north-east to Kidron in the south-east, parallel to the Old City walls. South-east and south-west Jerusalem, as well as Ramat Rahel, will have residential areas for Jews and Arabs, and hotel development areas.

Some of the problems the planners have in mind are: to relieve the housing pressure, in part caused by the presence of at least 5,000 Arab and 3,000 Jewish families in sub-standard housing in the city, to stem the drain away from the Capital of young Jerusalemites who need homes; to cater for the demand from people outside Jerusalem who want to "move up"; and to raise the industrial manpower ratio of 17 per cent in Jerusalem, closer to the ratio of 45 per cent which obtains in Tel Aviv, by providing more factories.

Our Arab Affairs Reporter adds that several Arab landowners have apparently been approached over the past two months, to sell their property, and have declined. Three East Jerusalem notables declined to comment on the Cabinet decision last night, saying they preferred to clarify the facts further first. *The Jerusalem Post* learns that a number of East Jerusalem communal figures plan to consult together on the issue this morning.

"Al-Kuds," the Arabic language daily, complains in an editorial this morning that the expropriation infringes upon the rights of the individual and obstructs the current peace talks in which Israel is taking part. The paper writes: "What is the sense of a military standstill at a time when Arab lands are being massively confiscated?"

CHOLERA

2 new cases; J'lem school kitchens being disinfected

Jerusalem Post Staff

Two more cases of cholera were confirmed yesterday, one Arab and the other Jewish. This brought the total to 28, of which some have meanwhile been discharged. The Arab patient, a man, was a resident of Hebron who had spent the past week in Jerusalem. The other was a 70-year-old man of the Mahanayim quarter in north-west Jerusalem.

The former was admitted to the Hebron hospital, and the latter to Shaare Zedek.

The Health Ministry said the condition of both was satisfactory. It said their families and direct contacts were under constant medical surveillance.

The Ministry also announced that the 10-day-old quarantine at the Anata Arab refugee camp near Jerusalem was lifted yesterday. Israel's first case of cholera came from there.

The Ministry's daily bulletin reported that sanitation inspectors in their continued tour of Jerusalem eating houses yesterday inspected restaurants in East Jerusalem, some for repeat visits.

The opening of school kitchens and dining halls in the Jerusalem area will be postponed five days in order to take precautionary steps against cholera.

A municipal education official said that all kitchen workers and the kitchens themselves will be disinfected before they reopen next Sunday.

In addition, soap is being distributed for the first time to all school lavatories, and parents are being asked to supply their children with personal towels. School nurses have also been asked to supervise the general cleanliness of the buildings.

ASHDOD PRECAUTIONS

The Health Ministry yesterday began issuing anti-cholera inoculations to all crew members of all ships — Israel and foreign — leaving Ashdod port. The port [illegible]

Negev looks to its cleanliness

By H. BEN-ADI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — Although Beersheba has been cholera-free so far, it is taking no chances. Local and Government authorities are stepping up preventive measures, and the town's cleanliness and its citizens' health should benefit as a result.

Dr. Viola Toeroek, head of the Negev department of the Ministry of Health told the press yesterday that, as far as available manpower and budget allow, everything possible is being done to improve sanitary conditions and to keep a lookout for suspicious cases.

The two medical crews who work with the Beduin have been recalled from their vacation. On their rounds they tell every Beduin what to do and how to keep clean. Contrary to the belief of some people, Beduin take great care over personal cleanliness.

There are 3,000 water wells in the Negev and it is impossible to examine all of them, but the main wells are constantly checked. The Beduin Sheikhs requested a meeting with Dr. Toeroek to receive instructions and the Military Government of Gaza also helps in instructing the Beduin.

Sanitation in Beersheba is a different story. Dr. Toeroek believes that it will take at least another generation before everybody is fully aware of the need for sanitation, but, she said, "after seeing a TV programme about sanitary conditions in Jerusalem, I lost my inferiority complex.

"The Beersheba municipality could do much more about cleanliness, but it is handicapped by shortage of manpower and a tight budget. But it intends to increase its sanitation patrols and to be firmer with transgressors."

We asked the doctor if her department and the municipality take offenders to court. "We have brought hundreds of cases, and fines from IL100 to IL3,000 were imposed. But we are not permitted to report these cases to the press. I expressly asked my superiors for permission, but I was refused. In addition to this I was told that the press is not interested in such cases."

ירושלים

משרד החוץ

שמור

ירושלים, כח' באב תש"ל
30 אוג' 1970

3844

א ל: כל הנציגויות

מאת: מחלקת ההסברה

הנדון: הפקעת קרקעות באזור ירושלים - הנחיות הסברה

להלן תוכן מברק מנהל הסברה בנדון:

1. לפי החלטת ממשלה, שכנראה תתקבל היום, יוסמך שר האוצר להפקיע באמצעות מינהל מקרקעי ישראל שטחים באיזור ירושלים המסתכמים ב-12 אלף דונאם בקירוב. שטחים אלה מצויים באיזורים הבאים: המרכז המסחרי בירושלים, צפון ירושלים וצפון מערב ירושלים, אזור הגן הלאומי בשמאעה, רמת רחל, דרום מערב ירושלים ודרום מזרח ירושלים.

2. ככל אזור עירוני בעולם גם איזור ירושלים חייב בתכנון מראש למטרות פיתוח. תכנית האב לפיתוח ירושלים הושלמה ביוני השנה. בעיות הפיתוח בירושלים חמורות במיוחד:

א. ישנן שכבות רחבות בירושלים הסובלות מתנאים של תת-דיור. לפחות 5,000 משפחות ערביות ו-4,000 משפחות יהודיות גרות בתנאים של תת-דיור והן מהוות ציבור שיש לתת קדימות לבניית דיור עבורו.

ב. מאות צעירים בני ירושלים עוזבים את העיר בגלל מצוקת הדיור.

ג. כמו כן יש לחץ של תושבים מחוץ לירושלים המבקשים להשתכן בעיר.

ד. ירושלים נחשלת בפיתוח תעשייתי. אולם במרכז ירושלים ולא נותרו שום רזרבות אדמה לבנייה תעשייתית.

3. מטרת ההפקעה היא לאפשר לגורמים הנוגעים בדבר לפתח את אזור ירושלים בצורה הדרגתית. הפיתוח נועד לשרת את מכלול תושבי העיר - ערבים ויהודים גם יחד. ההפקעות מבוצעות בהתאם לחוק הקיים בישראל. חוק שמטרתו זהה - קיים גם בירדן. כל בעלי השטחים יקבלו פיצויים וייקבעו קריטריונים ליברלים לתשלום.

2./.

4. מרבית השטחים נושאים אופי של פרשים, לא מיושבים ולא מעובדים. השטחים בבעלות ערבית כוללים בסך הכל לא יותר מ-20 בתים. השטחים בבעלות יהודית כוללים (במרכז המסחרי של ירושלים) מגורים של 350 משפחות ועסקים של 300 יהודים. נעשה מאמץ שלא להכליל אדמות חקלאיות בשטחים המופקעים. אם יוכח שאדמה שהופקעה היא חקלאית היא תשוחרר מהפקעה.

השטחים אינם כוללים שום אדמות וקף, מקומות קדושים ורכוש ציבורי.

5. באותם שטחים שהינם מיושבים יישארו התושבים במקומותיהם עד לבינוי. מאחר והתכנית היא לשנים רבות, יהיה הטיפול בנושא זה תהליך איטי וייעשה הכל על מנת למנוע סבל מהתושבים ולפצותם בצורה נאותה בעוד מועד.

6. עיקרי תכנית הפיתוח:

<u>במרכז המסחרי של ירושלים:</u>

א. שיקום משפחות עוני;

ב. שיקום איזור תעשייתי מנוון.

<u>בצפון ירושלים:</u>

א. הקמת אזור תעשייתי שיהיה בשולי העיר. איזור זה יכלול מפעלי תעשיה יהודיים וערביים וכן יהודיים-ערביים משותפים. צפוי שהתעשיות יקיפו קשת נושאים כולל טכסטיל, כימיה עדינה ואלקטרוניקה.

ב. מרכז מסחר ליהודים וערבים.

<u>אזור שמאעה</u> (במערב ירושלים):

מיועד לגן לאומי.

<u>דרום מזרח ירושלים ודרום מערב ירושלים ורמת רחל:</u>

א. אזור מגורים ליהודים וערבים;

ב. אזור מלונאות;

ג. אזור שירותים ליהודים וערבים.

7. מכל הנקודות לעיל יש להדגיש במיוחד:

א. שההפקעות נוגעות ליהודים וערבים כאחד ונועדות לשרת ערבים ויהודים.

ב. שמספר היהודים הגרים בשטחים המופקעים עולה פי כמה וכמה על מספר הערבים.

ג. במידה ותישאלו בדבר העיתוי תוכלו לומר שאין חוזר אין לעיתוי שום משמעות והוא קשור בתהליכי תכנון ופיתוח של אזור ירושלים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

בנימין נבון

העתק: לשכות
מחלקות המשרד

פיצ/ר

1. המרק שמעל לקו הכפול העליון מיועד למחלקת הקשר.
2. המיועד להברקה יכתב בשטח שבין הקווים הכפולים בלבד.
3. כותב המברק ירשום מתחת לקו הכפול התחתון את התאריך והנושא.

משרד החוץ

טופס מברק צפון

מס' המברק	
נרשם ע"י	מועד הקבלת
העתקים	סווג־בטחוני	המפיץ
מועד המשלוח	
מספר המשלוח	מספר הקבוצות

ירושלים

התוכנה:

אל: ממישראל וושינגטון, ניו-יורק, אוטבה, לונדון, פאריס, בון, בריסל, האג, שטוקהולם, רומא, אתונה, אנקרה, טהראן, טוקיו, ניירובי

ריו דה ג'נירו

ליה בין דקסיקו

מאת: המשרד | סווג־חדחיפות | מיידי | הסווג־הבטחוני | שמור

הפקעת קרקעות באזור ירושלים. הנחיות הסברה.

1. לפי החלטת ממשלה שכנראה תתקבל היום יוסמך שר האוצר להפקיע באמצעות מינהל מקרקעי ישראל שטחים באזור ירושלים המסתכמים ב-12 אלף דונאם בקירוב. שטחים אלה מצויים באזורים הבאים: המרכז המסחרי בירושלים, צפון ירושלים וצפון מערב ירושלים, אזור הגן הלאומי בשמאעה, רמת רחל, דרום מערב ירושלים ודרום מזרח ירושלים.

2. ככל איזור עירוני בעולם גם איזור ירושלים חייב בתכנון מראש למטרות פיתוח. תכנית האב לפיתוח ירושלים הושלמה ביוני השנה. בעיות הפיתוח בירושלים חמורות במיוחד:
   א. ישנן שכבות רחבות בירושלים הסובלות ממצאים של תת-דיור. לפחות 5000 משפחות ערביות ו-4000 משפחות יהודיות גרות בתנאים של תת-דיור והן מהוות ציבור טיש לתת קדימות לבניית דיור עבורו.
   ב. מאות צעירים בני ירושלים עוזבים את העיר בגלל מצוקת הדיור.
   ג. כמו כן יש לחץ של תושבים מחוץ לירושלים המבקשים להשתכן בעיר.
   ד. ירושלים נחשלת בפיתוח תעשייתי. אולם במרכז ירושלים כמעט ולא נותרו שום רזרבות אדמה לבנייה תעשייתית.

3. מטרת ההפקעה היא לאפשר לגורמים הנוגעים בדבר לפתח את אזור ירושלים בצורה הדרגתית. הפיתוח נועד לשרת את מכלול תושבי העיר - ערבים ויהודים גם יחד. ההפקעות מבוצעות בהתאם לחוק הקיים בישראל. חוק שמטרתו זהה - קיים גם בירדן. כל בעלי השטחים יקבלו פיצויים וייקבעו קריטריונים ליברלים לתשלום.

2/.

תאריך | הנושא

אשור מנהל המחלקה

אשור המנכ"ל

השולח

250×100 נ (2.70)

. החלק שמעל לקו הכפול העליון מיועד למחלקת הקשר.
. המיועד להברקה יכתב בשטח שבין הקווים הכפולים בלבד.
. כותב המברק ירשום מתחת לקו הכפול התחתון את התאריך והנושא.

משרד החוץ

טופס מברק צפון

מס' המברק

נרשם ע"י מועד הקבלה			
העתקים	סווג בטחוני		המפיץ
מועד המשלוח			
מספר המשלוח		מספר הקבוצות	

התבוצה:

אל:

תאת: סווג־הדחיפות ..... הסווג־הבטחוני .....

4. מרבית השטחים נושאים אופי של טרשים, לא מיושבים ולא מעובדים. השטחים בבעלות ערבית כוללים בסך הכל לא יותר מ-20 בתים. השטחים בבעלות יהודית כוללים (במרכז המסחרי של ירושלים) מגורים של 350 משפחות ועסקים של 300 יהודים. נעשה מאמץ שלא להכליל אדמות חקלאיות בשטחים המופקעים. אם יוכח שאדמה שהופקעה היא חקלאית, היא תשוחרר מהפקעה.
השטחים אינם כוללים שום אדמות וקף, מקומות קדושים ורכוש ציבורי.

5. באותם שטחים שהינם מיושבים יישארו התושבים במקומותיהם עד לבינוי. מאחר והתכנון הוא לשנים רבות, יהיה הטיפול בנושא זה תהליך איטי וייעשה הכל על מנת למנוע סבל מהתושבים ולפצותם בצורה נאותה בעוד מועד.

3

6. עיקרי תכנית הפיתוח:
<u>במרכז המסחרי של ירושלים</u>: א. שיקום משפחות עוני;
ב. שיקום איזור תעשיתי מנוון.
<u>בצפון ירושלים</u>: א. הקמת אזור תעשייתי שיהיה בשולי העיר. איזור זה יכלול מפעלי תעשיה יהודיים וערביים וכן מפעלים יהודיים-ערביים משותפים.
צפוי שהתעשיות יקיפו קשת נושאים כולל טכסטיל, כימיה עדינה ואלקטרוניקה.
ב. מרכזי מסחר ליהודים וערבים.
<u>אזור שמאעה</u> (במערב ירושלים)
מיועד לגן לאומי.

3/.

תאריך ..... הנושא .....

אשור המנכ"ל ..... אשור מנהל המחלקה ..... השולח .....

250×160×3 (2.70)

החלק שמעל לקו הכפול העליון מיועד למחלקת הקשר.
המיועד להברקה יכתב בשטח שבין הקווים הכפולים בלבד.
כותב המברק ירשום מתחת לקו הכפול התחתון את התאריך והנושא.

משרד החוץ

טופס מברק צפון

סוג המברק

נרשם ע"י מועד הקבלה			
העתקים	סווג בטחוני		המפיץ
מועד המשלוח			
מספר המשלוח		מספר הקבוצות	

הנוצה:

סווג הדחיפות ..... הסווג הבטחוני .....

<u>דרום מזרח ירושלים ודרום מערב ירושלים ורמת רחל</u>

א. אזור מגורים ליהודים וערבים.
ב. אזור מלונאות.
ג. אזור שירותים ליהודים וערבים.

7. מכל הנקודות לעיל יש להדגיש במיוחד:
א. שההפקעות נוגעות ליהודים וערבים כאחד ונועדות לשרת ערבים ויהודים.
ב. שמספר היהודים הגרים בשטחים המופקעים עולה פי כמה וכמה על מספר הערבים.
ג. במידה ותישאלו בדבר העיתוי תוכלו לומר שאין חוזר אין לעיתוי שום משמעות מדינית והוא קשור א בתהליכי תכנון ופיתוח של אזור ירושלים.

8. הנחיות אלה ייכנסו לתוקף עם פרסום ההודעה על ההלטת הממשלה עליה עוד נבריק אליכם.

הראבן

30.8.70 ..... הנושא ..... ריך

אלוף הראבן ..... אשור מנהל המחלקה ..... אשור המנכ"ל

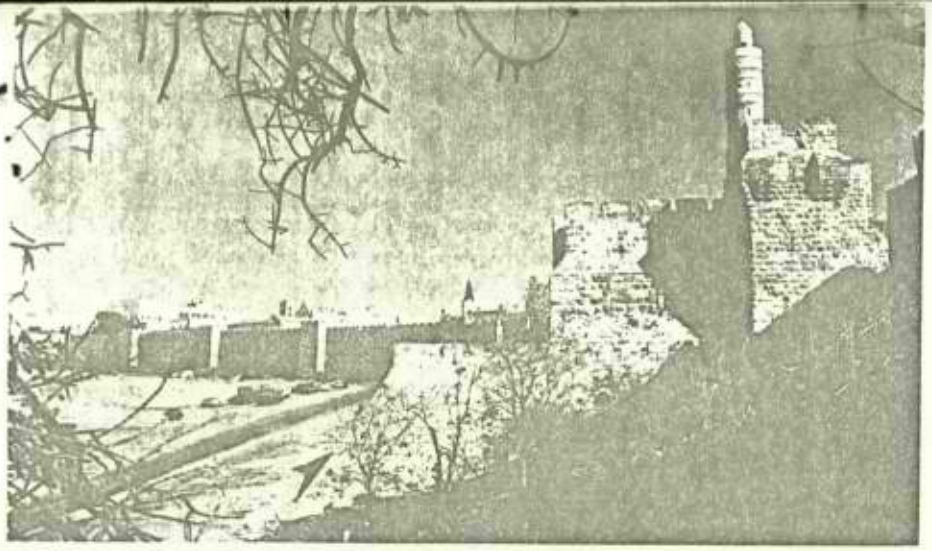
השולח

250x190x3 (2.70)

TUESDAY, JUNE 30, 1970—20 CENTS

THE FREE METHODIST

"As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Spirit" John 20:21, 22



Famed walls of Old City of Jerusalem get face-lifting—landscaped gardens planned for extensive area adjacent to walls.—Photos, courtesy Chicago Consulate General of Israel.

Hasidic Jew asks directions of Israeli policeman.

JERUSALEM: Center of the World?

From "Israel Tourist News" (1-13-69)

MEDIEVAL TRADITION held that Jerusalem was the true location of the center of the world. While the tradition may not meet with acceptance by contemporary man, well-schooled in a geography that teaches the world is round, no one will question the fact that Jerusalem is central in the hearts and minds of the followers of three faiths: Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. Jerusalem's traditions are rooted deep in the history of man, and though she is physically small, the dimensions of her significance defy measurement.

The history of Jerusalem is so well chronicled in the Bible that it has become a part of the history of us all. Through this pageant of the past, events have molded belief, and belief has molded events, until it seems that every square inch of the city has its own story. In many locations the significance is tamped down in layers, and each period—Prebiblical, Biblical, Roman, Byzantine, Crusader, and Turkish—is flattened out in pancakes of interest below the streets and houses of living Jerusalem.

Jerusalem today is a Renaissance city. The date of the new beginning is June 1967. The man with the greatest responsibility in this contemporary Renaissance is Mayor Teddy Kollek. Jerusalem is united under Jewish administration after a break in continuity that lasted nearly 2,000 years.

The natural color of Jerusalem is a pale rose-pink. It is the color of the limestone formation on which the city is built. It is also the color of the stone buildings. Dust blown in from the desert puts a haze in the summer sky and settles in a thin, dull patina on all that is beneath. The dominant rose-pink is matched with the browns and greens of gardens and trees.

Long rows of newly-planted trees march up the main roads of the city. Small parks, patches of emerald and tan, are spotted in quiet corners of the city. Oleander and cyprus, olive and bouganvillia—all have a place in the plan which has one goal: To give Jerusalem a physical beauty which will match the image cherished by its people.

The largest gardening project of all those planned is the landscaping of the newly-cleared areas surrounding the walls of the Old City. International experts have consulted with Israeli architects in efforts to find a plan which will complement the soaring stone walls, and at the same time provide a place where a man may rest away from the stark Mediterranean glare. Work has already begun on the gardens and repair of the walls. It is a laborious, time-consuming project that calls for the removal of damaged stones individually and their replacement with new stone matching in texture and size. Eventually, hanging gardens will grace the tops of the turreted walls. The Citadel of David is a landmark site in Jersalem. Its tall minaret rises dramatically from the walls of the Old City. Through the years it was used as a military fortress, but today it has been rededicated as an archaeological museum. It was used last year for the opening performance of the Israel Festival of Music and Drama.

The restful exterior of the Old City is only one of several projects planned. Within the walls there is today a teeming population of Moslems and Christians. Over the years to come an attempt will be made to reduce the cramped conditions by offering more attractive accommodations beyond the walls.

The effective use of light is making Jerusalem a city that pulses with activity at night. Giant lamps shed a soft glow on the outside wall of the Old City, on the government buildings to the west, on the churches of the city, and on Israel's magnificent Parliament Building. A tour by night is a breathtaking experience.

The hidden vitality of Jerusalem is spiritual. Hints of it are seen in the totality of the Jewish Sabbath, the sound of the Moslem mezzuin calling the faithful to prayer, the bells of the churches of Jerusalem ringing out on Sunday morning. The wakening is a part of the passionate discussions of its citizens as they mingle in a mixture of language and custom. The Renaissance is a part of an emergence from provincialism, characteristic of both parts of Jerusalem before June 1967; to an awareness of their power to shape Jerusalem's destiny.

In Hebrew it is written, "From Zion will come the law, and from Jerusalem the word of the Lord."

If history and the will of a people are an indication of what will be, vital, awakened "Renaissance Jerusalem" will continue to secure its place in the center of our thoughts.

February, 1970

CHRISTIANS IN GREATER JERUSALEM

1. The "Christian presence" in the area of Greater Jerusalem (Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramalla), in which is concentrated the majority of important holy place for Christianity in Palestine, is composed of two elements: churches, monasteries and institutions under their control (manned mostly by foreigners); the local population, primarily arabic speaking (though there are minorities speaking other languages: Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, and Copts).

2. The very existence and prosperity of local Christian communities form a natural hinterland for the Christian presence in the Holy Places which is a clearly Christian interest, an interest which is common to all the churches.

3. The status of these communities is today a troubled one - troubled in part because of objective and in part because of subjective developments. The following is a compendium of the main factors that influence this status:

a. The development of an Arab nationalist movement with a clearly Moslem character which has developed for itself anti-Western political and cultural tendencies - tendencies directed even against the local Christian population which is considered to be the "Western representative".

b. The Arab nationalist movement in Palestine and the Arab countries bears a unifying assimilatory character and is not forgiving and forbearing towards the existence of groups with a special character within the general nationalistic picture. The thrust of this movement is stronger in relation to minorities that do not have a territorial or geographic concentration and are without separate political nationalistic ambitions (Greek Orthodox in Syria as opposed to Druse in Horan, Copts in Egypt as opposed to Maronites in Lebanon).

c. The radical social change today encouraged by the Arab nationalist Governments results in the development of atheist pseudo-socialist economies. The Christian minorities who are fulfilling important duties in the middle strata are particularly hurt by it.

d. The reduction of the political, economic, and cultural presence of the West in this region, accompanied by the decrease in political, economical and cultural prestige of the West, influences the status of Christians who are considered to be the preferred representatives of the West in the area.

e. The Western education prolifically given by foreign institutions (mostly affiliated with the church) to the children of the urban Christian groups particularly prepared the Christians for emigration to the West (often for study abroad followed by settlement). These schools by reason of language, culture and professional knowledge prepared their pupils spiritually for the West while they were still in the East. The disappearance of Mandatory Governments and the economic and social framework that accompanied the new regimes hit hard at the employment of graduates of these schools and strehgthened their tendency towards emigration.

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f. The relatively higher level of education of the Christians and their greater acceptance of Western culture brought about a decrease in the birthrate of Christians compared to that of the Moslems.

g. The higher standard of the Christians, their economic employment and the relative weakening of their Arab nationalistic identification brought about a greater flow of emigration as a result of political and military tensions.

4. Conditions created in the area since the Six Day War increased the tendency for emigration of Christians from Greater Jerusalem.

The following are ideas for a framework of policy intended to fight these developments:

a. Education in Christian institutions should encourage consciousness of the existence of a Christian population in the Holy Places as a socio-religious aim and perhaps even as a political aim.

b. Christian education must prepare the pupils to carry out their natural duty in the new circumstances that have been created: development of Christian social and economic life in close contact with Israeli and Arab society. The schools must provide the necessary knowledge that helps fuller participation in local life (including instruction in Hebrew).

c. The churches must transfer the emphasis from welfare activities to constructive economic, social, and cultural enterprises that will absorb the educated Christian youth:

1. Christian tourist enterprises.
2. Manufacture of souvenirs and "Holyland" products.
3. Creation of a higher institute of Christian learning devoted both to religious and secular studies.
4. The construction of housing for young people who are prepared to commit themselves to building their future in Greater Jerusalem.
5. General encouragement of economic enterprises.

d. The churches must encourage the local Christian sects to develop their contacts with the emigrant Arab communities in North and South America. There should be encouragement for the feeling of homeland among them, campaigns should be held for the erection of public projects for the organisation of economic projects in which they can invest with the intention of returning to settle in the country in their old age (for example the construction of apartments for tourists). There should be published in Bethlehem or Jerusalem an Arabic language paper (with supplements in Spanish and English) in order to strengthen this contact.

e. Efforts must be made to strengthen the Christian population of Bethlehem and Ramalla in order to prevent the blurring of their Christian character. This could be done by means of creation of economic enterprises, schools, and new Christian residential areas in these towns.

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f. For the purpose of carrying out this policy cooperation between the various churches must be strengthened. The economic and political strength of the churches does not stand in direct relationship to the size of their local communities and therefore cooperation is essential.

g. The climate that will be created as a result of this positive policy is likely to assist in formulating a Christian awareness and may even help in the strengthening of trends towards moderate policies - which will, without doubt, aid in cooling tempers and reducing emigration.

Mr. Pragai

2:6:70

Mr. Arthur Lourie

Michael Comay

Jerusalem

I would draw attention to the fact that the Jordanian Note to the Security Council of 28 May 1970, quotes from the Economist of 21 March 1970, that, inter alia, "a master ~~plan~~ plan has been published for 'metropolitan Jerusalem', including Ramallah and Bethlehem." The context is an attack on Jewish settlement in Hebron and other examples of Israel creating new facts in occupied areas, at the expense of the local Arab population. In this connection, the Jordanian Note also mentions that "a scheme has recently been announced to double Jerusalem's Jewish population by a crash programme of bring all the new immigrants to Israel to the area."

The reference to the master plan bears out the need to treat this matter with caution.

Michael Comay

cc. Mr. M. Pragai
Maum "B"

Mr. Arthur Lourie
Michael Comay

Jerusalem

I would draw attention to the fact that the Jordanian Note to the Security Council of 25 May 1970, quotes from the Economist of 21 March 1970, that, inter alia, "a master plan has been published for metropolitan Jerusalem", including Ramallah and Bethlehem." The context is an attack on Jewish settlement in Hebron and other examples of Israel creating new facts in occupied areas, at the expense of the local Arab population. In this connection, the Jordanian Note also mentions that "a scheme has recently been announced to double Jerusalem's Jewish population by a crash programme of bring all the new immigrants to Israel to the area."

The reference to the master plan bears out the need to treat this matter with caution.

Michael Comay

cc. Mr. M. Prozal
Annex "B"

With the Compliments

of the

Mayor of Jerusalem

Jerusalem

May 20, 1970

Charles Angell,
Editor,
The Lamp/ A Christian Unity Magazine,
23 East 26th Street,
New York, New York,
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Angell:

The editorial entitled "A Partisan Abuse of Scripture" appearing in the March, 1970 issue of your magazine was brought to my attention. The quotation attributed to me was taken entirely out of context and therefore misleading.

In my discussion with the dozen Protestant and Roman Catholic editors I stated that Jerusalem has always assumed a place of utmost historical importance for the Jewish people as their capital. This does not mean that we disregard the holiness of Jerusalem for other religions. During the past three years we have persisted in maintaining and enhancing the universal character of the city by assisting in repairing and renovating Christian and Moslem religious institutions. For example, directly after the war the Municipality's special development funds paid for urgent repairs to the Dormition Abbey, the Y.M.C.A. in East Jerusalem and other buildings.

Even more important, today, contrary to the period of Jordanian rule, holy places throughout Jerusalem are accessible to all worshippers. In fact, immediately after reunification the El Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, undamaged due to the personal risks taken by Israeli soldiers during the Six-Day War, were returned to Moslem administration. This is an outstanding example of the Israeli attitude toward religious autonomy in Jerusalem.

With all this in mind, I believe that Jerusalem is still of greater importance to us than to other religions as this is our only holy place. For thousands of years Jews all over the world have prayed three times a day for the return to Jerusalem. Of all the nations which have ruled Jerusalem we are the only ones who made it our capital. Jordan, instead of choosing Jerusalem, chose Amman as its capital establishing its first university there. This was deeply resented by Jerusalem's Arabs.

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It is written in our Declaration of Independence that Israel " will guarantee freedom of religion and conscience, of language, education and culture" for all its citizens. We hope that if we are successful, new ideas will once again emanage from Jerusalem for the benefit of the entire world.

Sincerely,

Teddy Kollek

Secret

26:4:70

Mrs. Tamar Eshel

Michael Comay

Master Plan for Jerusalem

I attach some comments dictated in English to Pauline over the Chag. There has been no opportunity to dictate them in Hebrew or have them translated.

Michael Comay

cc. HaMankal
Mr. A. Lourie
Mr. M. Pragai

SECRET 26 April 1970.

The Master Plan for Jerusalem

The comments of the Foreign Ministry have been requested on a draft English translation which includes a preface by Mr. Amikam Yaffe, the City Engineer, and a general introduction by the planning team headed by Professor Hashimshoni.

The Plan has been under discussion by public bodies for about a year, but has not as yet been endorsed even in principle by the Municipality or by the Government Ministeries and agencies involved (Prime Minister's Office, Housing, Transport, Interior, and Lands Authority). The problem here is to satisfy the need for long-range planning of the city and its environs without arousing adverse political and public relations reactions abroad. It is true that the proposals were submitted in Hebrew to the Professional Management Group at the end of 1968, and discussed in the Israel press; but undoubtedly their translation in English will attract fresh attention to them, and increase the political risks. Unless there are overriding reasons to the contrary, it would be undesirable to give the Plan undue publicity at this preliminary stage, when no decisions have been taken on it. If it is nevertheless circulated in translation, its text must be carefully considered in the context of the special sensitivity of the Jerusalem question, and particularly in its territorial aspect.

As regards East Jerusalem, the relevant Security Council decisions forbid measures which would "alter its status." The "status" concerned is that of Occupied Territory, and the "measures" which are forbidden are those that exceed the authority conferred on an Occupying Power under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and by international law. That is the position not only of the Security Council but also of the United States and other friendly governments. It follows that the municipal unification of Jerusalem and the imposition of Israel law in East Jerusalem unilaterally carried out after the Six-Day War, are not recognized as valid by the United Nations or by any outside government.

As the City Engineer explains in his preface, the planning team was set up in 1964. In the first phase of its work, until June 1967, it concentrated on West Jerusalem, but assumed the possibility of functional co-operation in the future between the two halves of the city on either side of the "green line". From June 1967, the planning has proceeded on the assumption of a single unified city, constituting the capital of the State of Israel. Despite the position taken by the outside world, as above, it is not suggested that the Plan should obscure this working assumption. I would suggest, though, that the text stress more clearly the need to take into account ~~xhethxx~~ whatever special arrangements may be made with the faiths concerned, regarding their holy places and religious interests in Jerusalem.

I am more unhappy about the references in the document to adjacent Arab areas. It is permissible to assume for the future that there will be free movement west of the Jordan, and that Jerusalem will have reciprocal relations with the surrounding area, as regards residence, work, shopping, recreation and so forth. But it should be made clear that these premises are adopted for purely technical planning reasons, without prejudice to any political settlement that may be reached, including the establishment of State boundaries.

DECLASSIFIED 26 Jan 1970.

The Master Plan for Jerusalem

The components of the Master Plan have been presented in a draft English translation which includes a preface by Mr. Arieh Sharon, the City Engineer, and a general introduction by the chapter team headed by Professor Yehezkel Kaufmann.

The Plan has been under discussion by public bodies for about a year, but has not yet been approved even in principle by the Municipality or by the Government Ministries and regional bodies involved (Prime Minister's Office, Interior, Transport, Interior, and Lands Authority). The problem here is to satisfy the need for longrange planning of the city and its environs without arousing adverse political and public reactions against the Plan. It is true that the proposals were submitted to Rabbi Maimon, the Religious Affairs Group of the and of 1969, and discussed in the Israel press; but we undoubtedly their inegration in English will attract attention to them, and increase the political risks. Unless there are overriding reasons (I do not know any), it would be undesirable to give the Plan undue publicity at this preliminary stage, when no decisions have been taken on it. If it is thought advisable nevertheless to translate it, it must be carefully edited in the context of the special sensitivity of the Jerusalem question, and particularly in its territorial aspect.

As regards East Jerusalem, the relevant Security Council resolutions (which are those which would "alter its status", the "status" concerned is that of Occupied Territory, and the "measures" which are resolution are that annex and/or authority conferred on an Occupying Power under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and by international law. That is the position not only of the Security Council but also of the United States and other friendly governments. It follows that the municipal administration of Jerusalem and the imposition of Israel law in East Jerusalem unilaterally carried out after the six-day war, are not recognised as valid by the United Nations or by any outside government.

As the City Engineer explains in his preface, the planning team worked in haste in the first phase of its work, until June 1967. It concentrated on Western Jerusalem, but assumed the possibility of unofficial co-operation in the future between the two halves of the city on either side of the "green line". From June 1967, the planning has proceeded on the assumption of a single unified city, constituting the capital of the State of Israel. Thereafter the position taken by the outside world, as above, it is not suggested that the Plan should observe this working assumption. It would appear, though, that the last stages more clearly the need to take into account whatever special arrangements may be made with the Arab inhabitants, regarding their holy places and religious interests in Jerusalem.

I am more unhappy about the reference in the introduction to additional Arab areas. It is premature to assume for the future that the re-drawing of the Israel boundaries in the Jerusalem area will have consequential relations with the surrounding Arab areas, and that Jerusalem will have economical relations with the surrounding Arab areas, as regards residence, work, shopping, recreation and so forth. But it would be unwise that the proposals are adopted for merely technical planning reasons, without prejudice to any political settlement that may be reached, inter alia for the establishment of State boundaries.

A confusing variety of terms is used in the present document without clear definitions, and the impression may be given that an expansion of the city is contemplated, encroaching into what are now occupied territories administered by the military government. The terms used include the following :

" Greater Jerusalem "
" Commuting boundaries "
" Jerusalem "
" The City "
" Jurisdictional area"
" Metropolitan area "
" Built-up area "
" The city and suburbs "
" The city and its hinterland "
" The city and its surroundings "

Some of these terms appear to include the whole area from Ramallah to Bethlehem.

In the proposals for development of the Jerusalem area, the document suggests two alternative approaches: (a) a large municipal suburb to the north of the city to include Shu'afat, Bet Hanina, Neve Ya'acov and Atarot, together with the rapid development of Ramallah; or (b) three satellite communities at Anatot, Neve Ya'acov and Hirbet beit Kik, together with the restrained development of Ramallah.

Again, it is assumed that areas presently lying outside the Municipality of Jerusalem must be integrated into its development.

The territorial ambivalence of the document is heightened by the rather enigmatic reference to maps in the preface by the City Engineer. He states that no authorized maps are available, owing to "restrictions" which have been imposed; and that the interim report has used maps drawn up on the background of the former "unrestricted" map.

In view of the political implications already mentioned, and the international suspicion of Israel's alleged annexation intentions (no doubt increased by recent developments in the Hebron area), I would urge that further thought be given to the territorial aspect of the document, before it is finally drafted for translation in English. I have not suggested a re-draft, since I am not qualified to consider the substantive problems that are involved. The planning team should be asked to consider their text in the light of the above comments. This Ministry could then express its opinion on a revised text. At this point, I would only suggest that the term "Greater Jerusalem" be dropped.

Michael Comay

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק יוצא

בלתי מסווג

מס:ח/643

אל: מהדאן אבקדה בומבייי סינגפור לאגוס פורט לאמי ביאמיי
דקאר במקו אדיס אביב'אן דאס ווטינגטון ניו יורק לונדון
פאריס יאונדס ונאדונו

נשלח: 26.3.70

מאת: המשרד

החלטות ועידת שה"ח המוסלמים:

א. פעילות משותפת למען הבעיה הפלסטינית והצלת ירושלים:

1. הודגשה ההחלטה הנחושה לפסגה בדגאם לדחות כל פתרון לבעית פלסטין שימנע מירושלים להבות ממעמדה הקודם לפני ה-5 ביוני.

2. הודגשה זכות העם הפלסטיני למאבק לשחרור והמדינות התבררות בקראות לתמוך בעם פלסטין מבחינה מדינית, חמרית ומורלית במאבק השחרור ולהקל על הקמת נציגות של תנועת השחרור הפלסטיני במדינות האיסלאמיות.

3. ה-21 באוגוסט, יום שריפת אלאקצה נקבע כיום סולידריות עם מאבק עם פלסטין.

4. קוראים למדינות המשתתפות לפעול במישור הבינלאומי למען עם פלסטין ומאבקו הצודק לשחרור מולדתו והמקומות הקדושים.

5. שגבים הציונות בשל היותה גזענית, תוקפנית ומהווה סכנה מתמדת לשלום העולמי.

6. דורשים שמועצים תשא באחריות ותנקוט צעדים תקיפים כדי שהחלטותיה בדבר אלאקצה ירושלים והמצב במזה"ת תכובדנה.

7. המדינות האיסלמיות תעשנה מאמץ קולקטיבי להבעת האום לנקוט פעולה תקיפה.

8. נדרש מהמדינות ובעקר מהמעצמות להכפיל המאמצים להביא לנסיגת ישראל.

9. הומלץ להשקיע מאמצים לפתוח שת"פ כספי ותרבותי עם המדינות האיסלאמיות כדי לסכל נסיונות ישראל להסתנן אליהן.

ב. הקמת המזכירות הכללית: (מהחלטות אלו הסתייגו מצרים לוב סודאן אלגיריה ערביה)

1. הועידה תכונס אחת לשנה לעקוב אחר החלטות ולקביעת ועידות פסגה איסלאמיות.

2. תוקם מזכירות כללית שבראשה מזכ"ל שימונה לשנתיים (מלאזיה בתבקשה לבחור מזכל).

3. המושב הזמני של המזכירות יהיה בג'דה עד לשחרור ירושלים.

4. הפגישה הבאה תתקיים בפקיסטאן.

חקר- מזת"ים

תפוצה: א'

מב/צו

משרד החוץ

מ ז כ ר

סיווג

אל: מר מיכאל פרבאי

מאת: המשנה למנהל הכללי

אל:

מאת: ירושלים

תכנית אב לירושלים

לידיעתך קטע מה"אקונומיסט"
מה-21.3, עמוד 25 :-

..."A master plan has been published for "metropolitan Jerusalem", including Ramallah and Bethlehem, and a scheme has recently been announced to double Jerusalem's Jewish population by a crash programme of bringing all the new immigrants to Israel to the area".

בברכה,

א. לוריא

24.3.70

חתימה	תאריך	חתימה	תאריך

10.68 - 500×100

22.3.70

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מר א. לוריא, משנה למנכ"ל
המועצה על עניינים כנסייתיים

ירושלים - כללי

הנדון: תכנית האב לירושלים

לאחר עיון בנוסח האנגלי מנ"ל, תוך שימת-לב בלעדית, לאספקטים המדיניים של התכנית, הרי מספר הערות:

1. מרשים שונים של תכנית זו ידועים זה כמה: חלקים ממנה פורסמו, לא רק בעתונות אלא גם בצורת חוברות מיוחדות.

עם זאת הרי פרסום חדש ומקיף של תכנית-האב, ומה גם בשפה שוות-לכל-נפש בחו"ל, תעורר חשומת לב רבה. נוסף לעצם עובדת הפרסום יהיו רבים, - ידידים כאויבים, - שיחלו פרושים מיוחדים במועד הפרסום וייחסו לו משמעות.

כדי להמעיט ככל האפשר הדים ופרושים בלתי רצויים לנו שיקושרו לפרסום התכנית ומועדו, הריני מציע כי יודפס על התכנית תאריך שחלף זה כבר, כגון "1968" (זהו, אגב, התאריך הרשמי של המסמך).

2. הנחת היסוד של התכנית העוברת כחוט השני בכל פרק-משנה ובכל נושא כללי הנוגע לעיר, היא כי האחוד הינו עובדה קיימת ומציאות-קבע אשר לא משתנה. (במקום מסוים מציינים מחברי התכנית כי יהיו המתרונות המדיניים של עמיר העיר אשר יהיו - העיר הישאר לעולם מאוחדת).

איננני סבור כי יש מקום להסתייגות לגשתין אני רק מציין את ההדגשה הרבה של הנחת-יסוד זו.

3. גבולות העיר - לפי המיתאר הזה - התרחבו וההכנית כוללת את כל האזור מרמאללה ועד ביה-לחם (כולל שתי ערים אלו). להרחבה זו ניתנים המברים שונים (ומשכנעים ביומר, לדעתי), ברם המעיין העוין יוכל לעשות משעמים מעוברה זו של "התפשטות העיר". (פעמים אחדות מופיע המושב " Greater Jerusalem ").

4. העובדה כי בירושלים חיות בעיקרן שתי אוכלוסיות יהודית וערבית, והשקפות עובדת-חיים זו בתכנון העיר ושילוב חלקיה מובלעת בתכנית. המיתאר הוא כוללני, ז"א הוא תופס את העיר כמקשה גיאוגרפית אחת. במקום אחד (ע' 25) מוסברת הערובלמטיקה של בעיה זו, ברם אין בתכנית השקפה ברורה לגבי המתרון. כישראלי הקורא את התכנית - הרי התרשמות היא כי החברה היהודית תגביר את הדומיננטיות שלה בעתיד. ערבי, או זר שיעיין במיתאר עשוי להגיע לסקנה כי המרובר בהשתלטות חברת/ אוכלוסיה אחירה תוך שמשוש-תחומים בין מרכיבי-חברה זו; לשון אחרת: בעיני זר ועויין התרש התכנית כמבקשת לסחוק את האופי הערבי של מזרח העיר.

קם זאת אין להתעלם מן הזהירות והקפידה בה ניגשים המתכננים לשמירת האתרים ההיסטוריים-מקודשים.

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<u>ולסכום:</u>

זוהי תכנית פרשיפה ביותר שבולטת בת הגישה המקצועית הרציגית.

איני רואה מקום למנוע ערסופה (תוך המלצה הקדמת האריך ערסופה, כנ"ל, בהערה מס. 1), ברם יש להניח כי ערסופה יגרור אותנו למערכת-הסברה. לדעתי אין מנוס מכך.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

מיכאל פרנאי

[illegible]

22.3.70

מר א. לוריא, משנה למנכ"ל

המפונה על ענינים כנסיתיים

תנדון: תכנית האב לירושלים

לאחר עיון בנוסח האנגלי הנ"ל, תוך שימת-לב בלעדית, לאספקטים המדיניים של התכנית, הרי מספר הערות:

1. מרחבים שונים של תכנית זו ידועים זה כמה; חלקים ממנה פורסמו, לא רק בעתונות אלא גם בצורת חוברות מיוחדות.

   עם זאת הרי פרסום חדש ומקיף של תכנית-האב, ופה גם בשפת שוות-לכל-נפש בחו"ל, תעורר השופת לב רבה. נוסף לעצם עובדה הפרסום יהיו רבים, - ידידים כאויבים, - שיחלו פרושים מיוחדים במועד הפרסום וייחסו לו משמעות.

   כדי להמעיט ככל האפשר הדים ופרושים בלתי רצויים לנו שיקושרו לפרסום התכנית ומועדו, הריני מציע כי יודפס על התכנית תאריך שאלף זה כבר, כגון "1968" (זהו, אגב, התאריך הרשמי של המסמך).

2. הנחת היסוד של התכנית העוברת כחוט השני בכל פרק-משנה ובכל נושא כללי הנוגע לעיר, היא כי האחוד הינו עובדת קיימת ומציאות-קבע אשר לא תשתנה. (במקום מסוים מציינים מחברי התכנית כי יהיו המחרוזות המדיניים של עתיד העיר אשר יהיו - העיר תישאר לעולם מאוחדה).

   איננני סבור כי יש מקום להסתייגות למשהו; אני רק מציין את התדגשת הרבה של הנחת-יסוד זו.

3. גבולות העיר - לפי המימאר הזה - ההרחבה והתכנית כוללת את כל האזור מרמאללה ועד בית-לחם (כולל שתי ערים אלו). להרחבה זו ניתנים המבנים שונים (ומשכנעים ביותר, לדעתי), ברם המעיין העוין יוכל לעשות משעמים מעובדת זו של "התפשטות העיר". (מעמים אחדות מופיע המושג " Greater Jerusalem ").

4. העובדה כי בירושלים חיות בעיקרן שתי אוכלוסיות יהודים וערבים, והשקפות עובדה-חיים זו בתכנון העיר ושילוב חלקיה מובלעת בתכנית. המימאר הוא כוללני, ז"א הוא תופס את העיר כמקשה גיאוגרפית אחת. במקום אחד (ע' 25) מוסברת הפרובלמטיקה של בעיה זו, ברם אין בהכנית השקפה ברורה לגבי הפתרון. כישראלי הקורא את התכנית - תריהתרשמות היא כי החברה היהודית הגביר את הדומיננטיות שלה בעתיד. ערבי, או זר שיעיין במימאר עשוי להגיע למסקנה כי המדובר בהשתלטות חברת/ אוכלוסיה אחידה תוך ששטש-תחומים בין מרכיבי-הברה זו; לשון אחרת: בעיני זר ועויין התשרש התכנית כמבקשת למחוק את האופי הערבי של מזרח העיר.

   עם זאת אין להתעלם מן הזהירות והקפידה בה ניגשים המתכננים לשמירת האתרים ההיסטוריים-מקודשים.

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ב ב ר כ ה ,

מיכאל מרגאי

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

בלתי מסווג

מברק עבנס

ירושלים

מס' 148

נשלח 17.2.70

אל: המשרד

מאת: רושיבגטון

מצפא

לשלבו 147.

להלן הפרק על המזרח:

THE MIDDLE EAST

"... A PEACE WHICH SPEAKS NOT ONLY ABOUT THE INTEGRITY OF NATIONS, NUT ALSO FOR THE INTEGRITY OF INDIVIDUALS."

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN NEAR EAST REFUGEE AID, OCTOBER 21, 1969

"...THE PEACE THAT IS NOT SIMPLY ONE OF WORDS BUT ONE WHICH BOTH PARTIES WILL HAVE A VESTED INTEREST IN MAINTAINING."

WELCOMING REMARKS TO PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL, SEPTEMBER 25, 1969

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TANGIBLE THAN ARAB COMMITMENTS TO LIVE AT PEACE -- COMMITMENTS WHOSE NATURE WOULD BE TESTED ONLY AFTER ISRAEL HAD RELINQUISHED THE BUFFER OF THE TERRITORIES.

-- FOR THE ARABS, A SETTLEMENT NEGOTIATED DIRECTLY WITH THE ISRAELIS WOULD REQUIRE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL AS A SOVEREIGN STATE EVEN WHILE ISRAELI TROOPS STILL OCCUPY TERRITORY TAKEN IN 1967 AND WHILE ARAB REFUGEES REMAIN HOMELESS.

-- FOR BOTH SIDES AND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, JERUSALEM IS A SPECIAL PROBLEM INVOLVING NOT ONLY THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL CONCERNES OF TWO STATES BUT THE INTERESTS OF THREE GREAT WORLD RELIGIONS.

A POWERFUL LEGACY OF FEAR AND MISTRUST MUST BE OVERCOME IF THE PARTIES ARE TO BE WILLING TO SUBJECT THEIR INTERESTS AND GRIEVANCES TO THE PROCEDURE OF COMPROMISE. UNTIL THEN, NO FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES, AND NO NEUTRAL DEFINITION OF "A FAIR AND REASONABLE SETTLEMENT," CAN GET VERY FAR.

HOWEVER, A SETTLEMENT SHOULD STILL BE SOUGHT.

THIS ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTIONS DEFINE THE MINIMAL CONDITIONS THAT MUST PREVAIL ON THE GROUND IF A SETTLEMENT IS TO BE ACHIEVED. WE HAVE PERSISTENTLY URGED THE PARTIES IN THE AREA AS WELL AS THE OTHER MAJOR POWERS TO DO ALL POSSIBLE TO RESTORE OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE.

ONCE THOSE MINIMAL CONDITIONS EXIST, WE BELIEVE A SETTLEMENT CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE GIVE AND TAKE OF NEGOTIATION BY THOSE INVOLVED, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE. THAT IS WHY THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS PRESSED THIS VIEW IN A SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS WITH LEADERS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND

משרד החוץ

SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS ON JERUSALEM, 9.12.1969

BY EMPHASIZING THE KEY ISSUES OF PEACE, SECURITY WITHDRAWAL AND TERRITORY, I DO NOT WANT TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT OTHER ISSUES ARE NOT EQUALLY IMPORTANT. TWO IN PARTICULAR DISERVE SPECIAL MENTION - THE QUESTIONS OF REFUGEES AND OF JERUSALEM.

THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE WITHOUT A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM OF THOSE PALESTINIANS WHOM THE WARS OF 1948 AND 1967 HAVE MADE HOMELESS. THIS HUMAN DIMENSION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT HAS BEEN OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS. DURING THIS PERIOD THE UNITED STATES HAS CONTRIBUTED ABOUT 500 MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE SUPPORT AND EDUCATION OF THE PALESTINE REFUGEES. WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE GENEROUSLY ALONG WITH OTHERS TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM. WE BELIEVE ITS JUST SETTLEMENT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DESIRES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE REFUGEES AND THE LEGITIMATE CONCERS OF THE GOVERNMENTS IN THE AREA. THE PROBLEM POSTED BY THE REFUGEES WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY SERIOUS IF THEIR FUTURE IS NOT RESOLVED. THERE IS A NEW CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE YOUNG PALESTINIANS WHO HAVE GROWN UP SINCE 1948 WHICH NEEDS TO BE CHANNELED AWAY FROM BITTERNESS AND FRUSTRATION TOWARDS HOPE AND JUSTICE.

THE QUESTION OF THE FUTURE STATUS OF JERUSALEM, BECAUSE IT TOUCHES DEEP EMOTIONAL, HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS WELL-SPRINGS IS PARTICULARLY COMPLICATED. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR REPEATEDLY IN THE PAST TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT UNILATERAL ACTIONS BY ANY PARTY TO DECIDE THE FINAL STATUS OF THE CITY. WE BELIEVE ITS STATUS CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY THROUGH THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED, WHICH IN PRACTICAL TERMS MEANS PRIMARILY THE GOVERNMENTS OF ISRAEL AND JORDAN, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WE DO, HOWEVER, SUPPORT CERTAIN PRINCIPLES WHICH WE BELIEVE WOULD PROVIDE AN EQUTABLE FRAMEWORK FOR A JERUSALEM SETTLEMENT. SPECIFICALLY, WE BELIEVE JERUSALEM SHOULD BE A UNIFIED CITY WITHIN WHICH THERE WOULD NO LONGER BE RESTRICTIONS ON THE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS AND GOODS. THERE SOULD BE OPEN ACCESS TO THE UNIFIES CITY FOR PERSONS OF ALL FAITHS AND NATIONALITIES. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIFIES CITY SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF ALL ITS INHABITANTS AND OF THE JEWISH, ISLAMIC AND

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES. AND THERE SHOULD BE ROLES FOR BOTH ISRAEL AND JORDAN IN THE CIVIC, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE CITY.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT AGREEMENT ON THE KEY ISSUES OF PEACE, IT IS OUR HOPE THAT AGREEMENT ON THE KEY ISSUES OF PEACE, SECURITY, WITHDRAWAL AND TERRITORY WILL CREATE A CLIMATE IN WHICH THESE QUESTIONS OF REFUGEES AND OF JERUSALEM, AS WELL AS OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CONFLICT, CAN BE RESOLVED AS PART OF THE OVERALL SETTLEMENT.

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מר פרצאי

ירושלים

מ ש ר ד ה ח ו ץ

3652

ירושלים, כ"ג בסלו תש"ל
3 דצמבר 1969

אל: כל הנציגויות

מאת: מנהל הסברה

הנדון: ירושלים - תגובת שר החוץ למזכל האום

רצ"ב אגרת שה"ח למזכ"ל האו"ם בתגובה לאגרתו של הנ"ל.
הפרטים ביתנים לניצול רחב במקרה של שאלות ופולמוס אנטי ישראלי.

איננו מציעים לפרסם המסמך במלואו לפי שעה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

ישעיהו ענוג

בב/ב

27 November 1969

My dear Secretary-General,

In response to your Note of 15 October 1969 to the Permanent Representative of Israel, referring to the Security Council Resolution of 3 July 1969, I wish to clarify further the present situation in Jerusalem and my Government's attitude to the universal interest in its Holy Places.

The division of Jerusalem arose out of illicit armed action by Jordanian forces in 1948, in defiance of Security Council cease-fire appeals. Similarily, this division was terminated by hostilities initiated by Jordan in 1967. The circumstances under which the Jordanian regime came to an end were described in my letter to you of 10 July 1967, as follows:

> "On 5 June 1967, the Jordanian forces launched a destructive and unprovoked armed assault on the part of Jerusalem outside the walls. This attack was made despite Israel's appeals to Jordan to abstain from hostilities. Dozens of Jerusalem citizens were killed and hundreds wounded.
>
> "Artillery bombardment was directed against synagogues, the Church of Dormition, hospitals, centres of secular and religious learning, the Hebrew University and the Israel Museum. Intensive fire was directed against institutions and residential centres from positions in and near the Holy Places themselves, which were thus converted into military positions for shelling Jerusalem."

The nineteen years during which the city was divided by a military demarcation line were a sombre episode in its long history. It is inconceivable that Jerusalem should be torn apart again, or that any international interest can be served by pressing for the city to be dismembered. Jordanian control in East Jerusalem arose exclusively out of military conquest and had no other international authority.

Jerusalem has been the focus of Israel's faith and nationhood for three thousand years, and has been Israel's centre of government for nearly two decades. At the same time we are deeply sensitive to universal interests. These are based on the Holy Places of three great montheistic religions. For the first time since 1948, the

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shrines of all faiths have been open to access by those who hold them sacred. Israel has ensured that the Holy Places be administered under the responsibility of the religions concerned. Places of worship and religious institutions destroyed or damaged in the assaults of 1948 and 1967, have been or are being restored. I reiterate my Government's willingness to work out agreements with the representative bodies of the three religions, to ensure that the universal and sacred character of the Holy Places is appropriately expressed, and free access to them guaranteed. My Government has initiated and maintained contact with all such bodies that are willing to discuss with us these matters of common concern.

Apart from these universal associations, Jerusalem is a living, secular city with 200,000 Jewish and 70,000 Arab inhabitants. Municipal and social services and public utilities have been extended to the eastern part of the city, and are being steadily improved. Normal movement and visit, residence, business activity and employment, are open to all citizens in all parts of the city. Its economic welfare is being advanced and plans are taking shape to enhance its dignity and beauty. The participation of over 7,000 Arab residents in the recent municipal elections in Jerusalem demonstrates their positive interest in the day-to-day administration of the united city.

The progress of the city during the past two years stands in sharp contrast to the situation which prevailed from 1948 to 1967 in the Jordan-occupied section. After its occupation in 1948, the Jewish Quarter of the walled Old City was practically destroyed, and scores of synagogues in it were laid waste. The ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives was desecrated and partly demolished. Despite a solemn obligation in the armistice agreement, no Jews in Israel or anywhere in the world were allowed access to their most sacred shrine, the Western (Wailing) Wall, or to any other place in Jordanian hands associated with Jewish history, religion and tradition. Even the Moslem Arab citizens of Israel were not allowed by Jordan to reach their Holy Places. Outbreaks of fighting, bloodshed and tension were frequent across the armistice lines which ran through the heart of the city.

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International opinion has every reason to regret that the Security Council remained completely indifferent to the destruction and sacrilege carried out against Jewish houses of prayer, residence, and burial grounds, and against the principle of free access to the Holy Places. It would be incongruous for a body which did nothing to prevent Jerusalem's violent division to work now against its peaceful union, or to censure measures taken to ensure the livelihood of all its inhabitants, and to maintain public law and order despite occasional terrorist attacks upon the civilian population - attacks organized, directed and financed by the very Jordanian authorities which showed such callous disregard for Jerusalem's peace and sanctity on many occasions during the past twenty years. The sacred associations which are evoked by Jerusalem should not become the object of political and religious incitement, without regard for the genuine interests of the city and its inhabitants, as was the case during the unfortunate Security Council debate.

As I stated in my letter of 10 July 1967, the Government of Israel is confident that world opinion will come to welcome the new prospect of seeing this ancient and historic metropolis thrive in unity, peace and spiritual elevation. Our policy is to work for the city's welfare in the interests of all its inhabitants; and when the final peace is established it should embody agreements with the appropriate Christian and Moslem authorities to ensure express of the universal religious interests involved.

As I said in my statement to the General Assembly on 19 September 1969:

> "Israel does not claim exclusive or unilateral jurisdiction in the Holy Places of Christianity and Islam in Jerusalem and is willing to discuss this principle with those traditionally concerned. There is a versatile range of possibilities for working out a status fro the Holy Places in such a manner as to promote Middle Eastern peace and ecumenic harmony. In the meantime our policy is that the Moslem and Christian Holy Places should always be under the responsibility of those who hold them sacred. This principle has been in practical effect since 1967."

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I request that this letter be circulated as a United Nations document.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely,

(Abba Eban)

His Excellency U Thant
The Secretary-General,
The United Nations,
New York, N. Y.

ירושלים

משרד הפנים

15. X. 1969

אל:

IKOLOF

ג'רוסלם פוסט

Mayor tackles churches' complaints

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A IL500,000 road is to be built to link Mt. Zion and Dung Gate outside the Old City by-passing the stretch now in use which runs alongside the St. Pierre in Gallicante church.

This was stated by Mayor Teddy Kollek yesterday morning at his semi-annual meeting with representatives of 29 Christian churches and orders in Jerusalem.

He was replying to a representative of the church which has been pressing for the alternate route in order to restore the present road to the private use of the convent. The new route will partially run through land provided by St. Pierre's. Work will start after the winter rains and a sum of IL300,000 has already been allocated for the purpose, Mr. Kollek said.

He also announced that the Western Wall bus from Jaffa Gate will be re-routed, after completion of technical arrangements, to avoid the present road to Mt. Zion. From Dung Gate, the bus will in future turn left towards Damascus Gate. The present large Egged buses on this route will be replaced by the end of the year by five mini-buses ordered from Belgium.

Mayor Teddy Kollek addresses representatives of church institutions in Jerusalem yesterday morning at a regular semi-annual meeting held to discuss practical problems such as roads, sanitation and parking facilities.
(Barzilay photos)

OUTDATED WALL

A security wall erected by the Jordanians on the street between Damascus Gate and the Spafford Children's Hospital is to be removed, Mr. Kollek said. He was replying to an application by Mrs. Anne Lind, secretary-treasurer of the hospital, who complained that the wall, for which "thank God, there is no longer any reason," had become a garbage dump and that nurses had been accosted there.

Asked by Mrs. Lind whether there was any truth to the rumour that the neighbourhood was to be evacuated shortly, the Mayor replied in the negative. He noted, however, that of the 1,000 dunams inside the walled city, about half belonged to various institutions, leaving 35,000 persons living on about 450 dunams. Unesco had several years ago suggested that the walled city be less densely populated, he said. Sixty-four flats were now being built in Wadi Joz and the projected building of another 300 flats in the area would help to gradually transfer families while keeping them near their sources of livelihood. However, the problem was not regarded as urgent and there were no immediate plans for a large-scale project.

Notre Dame de Zion convent in the Via Dolorosa complained of bad smells and suggested drainage be improved. To this the reply was that the municipal engineer had found the problem was caused by the use of the street as a urinal. The Mayor, however, undertook, in response to the request of a nun representing the convent, to visit the site with a municipal engineer and see what could be done. He noted that drainage was a problem generally in the Old City, although the Municipality had already replaced some sewage pipes.

The Greek Catholic church asked whether a small graveyard at the entrance of Mt. Zion, which had been fenced off and maintained, could again be used by the church after having been out of bounds to them for the 19-year period of the divided city. The reply was that this would have to be discussed with the planning authorities. If it was found the graveyard could not be expanded, an alternate site would be provided to the church, possibly in the area of the Mt of Olives.

Other replies were:

To the Rumanian Church in Rehov Shivtei Yisrael: Efforts are being made to find an alternative site for the washing and greasing facilities of a petrol station near the church.

Garden Tomb: The track to the Tomb is being surfaced. The transfer of the nearby central Arab bus station to a more suitable site is under consideration.

Ethiopian Orthodox Church: The street lights in the road will be raised to provide a wider area of illumination.

Ratisbonne Convent: Arrangements will be made to allow traffic to reach the convent on the Sabbath when the road to the nearby Yeshurun synagogue is closed.

The Mayor also announced that specially designed tiles will soon be posted to direct visitors to sites of religious interest.

The following Churches and Institutions were represented at the meeting:

Dormition Abbey; Hospice St. Vincent de Paul; Ratisbonne Convent; Ecce Homo Convent, Rosary Sisters; St. Joseph Hospital; Frère's College; St. Pierre en Gallicante Convent; Notre Dame de France; Saint Isaie House; French Archaeological School; Y.M.C.A.; Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jaffa; Ste. Anne Convent; Maison d'Abraham; Hôpital St. Louis; Soeurs de St. Joseph; Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate; Ethiopian Orthodox Church; Ste. Claire Monastery; Maronites Convent; Syrian Catholic Patriarchate; Chaldeans Vicariate; Lutheran Church; Spafford Children's Hospital; Anglican School; Schmidt Girls' College; Franciscan Sisters and Garden Tomb Association.

talked but did little to encourage a higher birthrate. He proposed tax cuts for large families, easy housing terms for young married couples and free schooling until the age of 18.

Gahal Minister Menahem Begin in Kiryat Ekron, said Israel must draw the attention of the democratic member-states of SEATO to the reported possibility of

proving that the late Premier Eshkol and Prime Minister Meir are fully aware that most leaders of the Palestinians in the territories are ready to sign a separate peace with Israel."

Speaking in Assifiyeh yesterday, Deputy Premier Yigal Allon said geography and history "compel the Jews and Arabs to live together in peace, even if they do not want to. If they fail, they will bring disaster upon themselves."

He sharply attacked the New Communists "whose leaders speak Hebrew and Arabic, but whose meaning really is Russian." He said that after the elections the Labour Party would admit the Druse to membership and whoever else of the minorities was serving in the armed forces.

FIVE AIR CRASH VICTIMS BURIED

Four of the soldiers killed in an air crash over Sinai on Monday were buried yesterday at the military section of the Kiryat Shaul cemetery. Volleys were fired over the graves of Rav-Torai Shmuel Yassan, 20, of Holon; Turai Moshe Fuchsman, 19, of Petah Tikva; Segen Eliahu Epstein, 23, of Ramat Gan; and Segen Yigal Keish, 22, of Tel Aviv.

The fifth victim of the crash, Seren Yehonatan Schley, was buried at Kibbutz Ramat Yohanan, in the presence of the O/C Air Force. *(Itim)*

Terrorist suspect found insane

LYDDA — One of the six accused before a military tribunal here has been declared of unsound mind and legal proceedings against him have been halted. This followed a psychiatric report on the man, Abdul Muntalab Abu Ramila ("Abu Hald") and a visit to him in Ramle jail by the judges, prosecution and defence.

The trial continues against the remaining five accused on charges of membership in a hostile organization, arson, and being in possession of arms. The charges are in connection with arson at three shops in East Jerusalem last year and the throwing of two handgrenades in the Street of the Jews eight months ago.

EXPLOSION AT EMPTY BUILDING NEAR GAZA

GAZA. — An exlosive charge went off about midnight on Monday at the former police station of Jebeliyeh, north of here. No one was injured.

The unused building was last in use as a police station about six months ago. It has since been turned over to the local welfare and employment agencies for use as a kindergarten, and is currently undergoing repairs.

tain how the rules apply in their own case, the press officer told *The Post* yesterday.

Under the new interpretation it was unlikely that any American holding citizenship of another country would lose his U.S. citizenship unless he formally renounced it or demonstrably injured Amer-

Godik TV show for Friday nights

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — An agreement for the production of a regular weekly hour-long entertainment television show has been reached between Mr. Giora Godik and the Israel Television management, the former has announced. The show will be screened on Friday evenings, and is scheduled to start in early November.

Mr. Godik has left for London and New York, to finalize arrangements for bringing a chief TV director and TV set designer. While in New York he will coordinate the aspects of cooperation with C.B.S. Meanwhile, preparations have been launched by British director Margorie Sigley and Israel director Yoel Silberg. The programme is envisaged as including a large orchestra, a ballet troupe, actors, singers and performers from abroad.

EL AL FLIGHT 237 left for Athens at 1 p.m. yesterday, four hours late, after ground crews removing the ramp prior to departure damaged the left wing tip, requiring repairs.

מ ש ר ד ה ח ו ץ

ירושלים., י"ט בתשרי תש"ל
1 באוקטובר 1969

אל : נציגויות ישראל בחו"ל
מחלקות המשרד

מאת: הממונה על ענינים כנסייתיים

הנדון: התבטאויות רשמיות על ירושלים,
המקומות הקדושים

לאחרונה התבטאו שני הגורמים הנוצריים המרכזיים, הוותיקאן ומועצת הכנסיות העולמית, בשאלת ירושלים - המקומות הקדושים.

התבטאויות רשמיות אלו מרוכזות להלן ואנו מצרפים לכך שלוש התבטאויות של שר-החוץ.

א. הוותיקאן

ב-24/9 ט.ז. פרסם הוותיקאן קטעים מרכזיים של שדר האפיפיור פאולוס ה-6 אל חסן, מלך מרוקו, לרגל כינוס הפיסגה המוסלמית ברבאט.

יושם לב כי גם בהתבטאות זו אין מוזכר הבינאום, כשם שאינו מוזכר זה כמה בהתבטאויות האפיפיור.

REPONSE DUPOPE PAUL VI AU ROI HASSAN DU MAROC

Rome, le 24 Sept.1969

"NOUS TENONS A ASSURER D'ABORD VOTRE MAJESTE QUE NOUS AVONS PRIS ACTE AVEC JOIE DE L'ASSURANCE DE SON ENVOYE SUR LES INTENTIONS DE HAUTS PERSONNALITES QUI VONT SE REUNIR AUTOUR D'ELLE A RABAT. NOUS APPRECIONS NOTAMMENT LEUR PROPOS DE PROMOUVOIR DES METHODES PACIFIQUE DANS LE REGLEMENT DU PENIBLE CONFLIT QUI FOURNIT LE MOTIF DE CETTE REUNION ET DE S'INSPIRER DE LA CROYANCE EN DIEU POUR TROUVER UNE ISSUE A LA SITUATION ACTUELLE DANS LA JUSTICE ET DANS L'HONNEUR.

SI EN EFFET LE RECOURS A LA VIOLENCE EST PARTOUT DEPLORABLE, IL N'EST PEUT ETRE PAS D'ENDROIT AU MONDE OU IL FASSE PLUS INJURE A DIEU QUE SURE CETTE TERRE BENIE DE LA PALESTINE OU SE TROUVENT

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ב. מועצת הכנסיות העולמית:

מושב הועדה המרכזת של מועצת הכנסיות פרסם ביום 20/8 ש.ז. הצהרה על המזרח התיכון (פרטים על כך מופצים בנפרד).

סעיף מס. 8 מוקדש לנושא ירושלים:

" 8. RECOMMENDS THAT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN BY THE APPROPRIATE DEPARTMENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES TO INITIATING DISCUSSIONS WITH CHRISTIANS, JEWS AND MOSLEMS AS TO THE GUARDIANSHIP OF THE HOLY PLACES, THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM AND THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY."

ג. ישראל

מתוך נאום שר החוץ במליאת העצרת ה-24 של האו"ם, 29/9 ש.ז.

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HOLY PLACES SHOULD ALWAYS BE UNDER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE WHO HOLD THEM SACRED. THIS PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN IN PRACTICAL EFECT SINCE 1967."

(2) מתוך נאום שר החוץ במליאת העצרת ה-23 ביום 8.10.1968:

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(3) מתוך איגרת שר החוץ אל מזכ"ל האו"ם מיום 30.4.1968 (מסמך או"ם S/8567):

"WHILE I HAVE SPOKEN OF JERUSALEM'S SPECIAL AND UNIQUE PLACE IN ISRAEL'S HISTORY, WE ARE DEEPLY AWARE OF THE UNIVERSAL INTERESTS WHICH ARE CONCENTRATED IN THE CITY. THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE HOLY PLACES; AND HOUSES OF WORSHIP; THE ASSURANCE OF FREE ACCESS TO THEM; THE DAILY INTERMINGLING OF JERUSALEM'S POPULATION IN PEACEFUL CONTACT; THE REMOVAL OF THE OLD MILITARY BARRIERS; THE CARE OF ANCIENT SITES; THE REVERENT DESIRE TO REPLACE THE OLD SQUALOR AND TURMOIL BY A HARMONIOUS BEAUTY - ALL THESE CHANGES ENABLE JERUSALEM TO AWAKEN FROM THE NIGHTMARE OF THE PAST TWO DECADES AND TO MOVE TOWARDS A DESTINY WORTHY OF ITS LINEAGE, I REAFFIRM ISRAEL'S WILLINGNESS, IN ADDITION TO THE STEPS ALREADY TAKEN FOR THE IMMUNITY OF THE HOLY PLACES, TO WORK FOR FORMAL SETTLEMENTS WHICH WILL GIVE SATISFACTION TO CHRISTIAN, MUSLIM AND JEWISH SPIRITUAL CONCERNS. ISRAEL, UNLIKE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS IN THE CITY, DOES NOT WISH TO EXERCISE EXCLUSIVE AND UNILATERAL CONTROL OVER THE HOLY PLACES OF OTHER FAITHS. ACCORDINGLY, WE ARE WILLING, AS I STATED TO YOU ON 10 JULY (A/6753), TO WORK OUT ARRANGEMENTS WITH THOSE TRADITIONALLY CONCERNED, WHICH WILL ENSURE THE UNIVERSAL CHARACTER OF THE CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM HOLY PLACES AND THUS ENABLE THIS ANCIENT AND HISTORIE METROPOLIS TO THRIVE IN PEACE, UNITY AND SPRITUAL ELEVATION."

ב ב ר כ ה ,

מיכאל פרגאי

מ ש ר ד ה ח ו ץ

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ירושלים., י"ט בתשרי תש"ל
1 באוקטובר 1969

אל : נציגויות ישראל בחו"ל
מחלקות המשרד

מאת: הממונה על ענינים כנסיתיים

הנדון: התבטאויות רשמיות על ירושלים,
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בברכה,

מיכאל פרגאי

Consulat Général de Turquie

No:

Jérusalem 17th July 1969

Your Grace,

I received your kind invitation to the inauguration of the Helen & E.Mardigian Museum and Exhibition of the treasures of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem on Monday, July 21st. 1969.

With much regret I ask Your Grace to excuse Mrs. İleri and myself for not attending the inauguration Ceremony at this date due to a previous engagement. But you must be assured that we will make a pleasure and duty to visit it as soon as possible on the following day.

Presenting with much respect to Your Grace once more our sincere regrets we wish you every success.

Always praying for your good health,

I remain,

Yours Sincerely
Ali Refik İleri

Consul General

CONSULAT GÉNÉRAL DE FRANCE
A JÉRUSALEM

République Française

Jérusalem, le 17 Juillet *19* 69

Béatitude,

Nous sommes très sensible Madame d'Halley et moi-même à l'aimable invitation que vous nous avez adressée à l'occasion de l'inauguration de l'exposition des Trésors arméniens du Patriarcat et nous vous en remerciens vivement.

Nous aurions beaucoup souhaité pouvoir y répondre favorablement, mais l'invitation lancée conjointement avec M. Teddy KOLLEK, pour qui nous avons la plus grande estime et qui n'est pas personnellement en cause, nous contraint de la décliner en raison des décisions adoptées par l'Organisme des Nations-Unies depuis le 5 Juin 1967 en ce qui concerne le statut de Jérusalem.

Nous formons les voeux les plus sincères pour que cette exposition obtienne un grand succès.

Daignez agréer, Béatitude, les assurances de ma très haute considération.

J. d'Halley

Sa Béatitude
Elisha II DERDERIAN
Patriarche Arménien
Jérusalem.-

CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Jerusalem
July 16, 1969

His Beatitude
Elisha the Second
The Armenian Patriarch
Jerusalem

Your Beatitude:

I thank you very much for your kind invitation to the opening of the exhibition, Treasures of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, on Monday, July 21, 1969, but regret that I shall be unable to attend.

With best wishes for the success of the exhibition.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen J. Campbell
Consul General

גלוי

משרד החוץ • מחלקת ההסברה

ידיעות לנציגויות ישראל בחו"ל

אל: _____ תאריך 13/8

ירושלים, י"ז באב תשכ"ט
1 באוגוסט 1969

י.נ. 2872

הנדון: רשימת פרסומים על ירושלים

בהמשך לנאמר בי.נ. 2842 אנו שולחים לכם רצ"ב, לשמושכם בעת הצורך, רשימה מקיפה של הפרסומים על ירושלים שהוצאו או הופצו ע"י מחלקת ההסברה מאז אחוד העיר ב-1967.

החומר מורכב מרשימה ראשית, המכילה חוברות, תדפיסים, סטנסילים ומפות, ומארבעה נספחים, כדלהלן:

נספח א'	-	יוד-נונים וחוזרים
נספח ב'	-	מכש"בים
נספח ג'	-	פרסומי מאו"ם ב'
נספח ד'	-	ספרים ואלבומים המצוים במדור הפרסומים

נודה לכם על הערותיכם לגבי רשימה זו. הצעות להשלמת הרשימה יתקבלו בברכה. במידה ויתעורר הצורך לעדכנה בתאריך מאוחר יותר, נעשה זאת ונוציא דף השלמות.

ב ב ר כ ה,

יוחנן בהן,
מנהל המחלקה

INDEX OF PUBLICATIONS ON JERUSALEM AVAILABLE AT MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUMMER 1969

No.	Name	Form	Languages										Publishers	Date of Issue
			Eng.	Stock	Fr.	Stock	Sp.	Stock	Ger.	Stock	Others	Stock		
1	Jerusalem - One and Eternal	P	/	x	/	-	/	x	/	x	Dutch	-	Information Div., Foreign Ministry	1967
2	The Hike to Jerusalem (Israel, No. 11)	A	/	x	/	x	/	x	-	-	-	-	Jerusalem Artists	Spring 1969
3	Jerusalem and the Holy Places (E. Lauterpacht)	P	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	University of Cambridge	October 1968
4	Jerusalem	P	/	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	The Municipality of Jerusalem	October 1968
5	Jerusalem - The Heart of the People	P	/	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Israel Information Service, N. Y.	July 1967
6	Israel Today No. 37 (Jerusalem)	P	/	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Israel Digest	December 1968
7	Reunited Jerusalem	P	/	-	/	x	/	-	-	-	-	-	Jerusalem Post	December 1967
8	Barbed Wire Shall Not Return to Jerusalem	P	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y. Tekoah, Israel Information Service, N. Y.	
9	Jerusalem And Its Holy Places	S	/	x	/	x	/	x	/	-	-	-	Information Div., Foreign Ministry	1967/68

Symbols: P = Pamphlet, R = Reprint, S = Stencil, M = Map, A = Article

/ = issued, x = available, - = out of stock

No.	Name	Form	Languages										Publishers	Date of Issue
			Eng.	Stock	Fr.	Stock	Sp.	Stock	Ger.	Stock	Others	Stock		
10	Jerusalem by J. Haezrahi	S	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		January 1968
11	Cette Année A Jerusalem, Par M. Lebesane	P	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Information Center, Paris	December 1967
12	Jerusalem - P.E.N.D. (Centre de Israël)	P	-	-	/	-	/	-	-	-	Italian	-	P.E.N.D.	1966
13	Jerusalem: Where to Go and What to Do	P	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	-	-	Ministry of Tourism	July 1968
14	At Peace in Jerusalem	R	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Jerusalem Post	9 December 1969
15	Chatoic Days in East Jerusalem	R	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Jerusalem Post	6 June 1969
16	Loi 1967 - Protection des Lieux Saints	S	/	-	/	-	/	/	-	-	-	-		
17	Jerusalem	P	/	/	/	-	/	-	/	/	Dutch	/	Ministry of Tourism	
18	Jerusalem Municipal Map	M	/	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ministry of Tourism	
19	A Map of Jerusalem	M	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		1969
20	Churches Speak Out for Jerusalem	S	/	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-		
21	Jerusalem	P	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	The Municipality of Jerusalem	Spring 1968

No.	Name	Form	Languages										Publishers	Date of Issue
			Eng.	Stock	Fr.	Stock	Sp.	Stock	Ger.	Stock	Others	Stock		
22	Christian News from Israel	P	/	-	/	/	/	/	-	-	-	-	Ministry of Religious Affairs	June 1968
23	Ariel No. 23	P	/	/	-	-	-	-	/	/	-	-	Cultural and Scientific Relations Div. Foreign Ministry	Winter 1969
24	Jerusalem (Poster)		/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ministry of Tourism	1969
25	Old City of Jerusalem	P	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	The Municipality of Jerusalem and Ministry of Interior	1969
26	Desecration	P	/	-	/	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	Information Div., Foreign Ministry	December 1967
27	East Jerusalem Census of Population and Housing 1967	P	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Jerusalem Municipality and Central Bureau of Statistics	1968
28	Jerusalem, the Holy City, in Jewish Hands (World Press, No. 19)	R	/	/	/	/	/	/	-	-	-	-	Information Div., Foreign Ministry	January 1969
29	Unjust and Hypocritical (World Press No. 30)	R	/	/	/	/	/	/	-	-	-	-	Information Div., Foreign Ministry	July 1969
30	מדריך במזרח ירושלים, ראשי פרקים על מקומות קדושים, אתרים היסטוריים ומוסדות (בעברית)	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hebrew	-	מאו"ר	

No.	Name	Form	Languages										Publishers	Date of Issue
			Eng.	Stock	Fr.	Stock	Sp.	Stock	Ger.	Stock	Others	Stock		
31	Israel and Jerusalem - Excerpt from an Address by A. Eban	P	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Israel Office of Information	September 1949
32	The Peace of Jerusalem (Text of Addresses)	P	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Israel Office of Information	November 1949
33	Memorandum on the Question of Jerusalem	P	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Delegation of Israel to the U.N.	May 1950
34	Jerusalem and the U.N.	P	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Israel Office of Information	1955

Symbols

P = Pamphlet / = issued

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S = Stencil - = out of stock

M- Map

A - Article

נספח א' - רשימת יוד-נונים וחוזרים
הדנים בנושא ירושלים

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מס' הי.נ.	התאריך	סוג	התוכן
2255	12.6.67	גלוי	הודעות בדבר ירושלים
2272	26.6.67	"	פגיעות ירדניות המקומות קדושים ליהודים
2274	27.6.69	"	טיפונים על מעמד ירושלים
2276	30.6.67	"	הצעת חוק בכנסת 27.6.67 שמירה על מקומות קדושים
2284	6.7.67	"	חילול מקומות קדושים
2289	10.7.67	"	כלכלת הגדה המערבית
2294	17.7.67	"	אחוד ירושלים
2296	19.7.67	"	מפת ירושלים העתיקה וסביבתה
2299	24.7.67	"	מסירת ארמון הנציב בירושלים לרשות נציג או"ם
2340	8.10.67	"	דברי טעון נגד בינאום ירושלים
2344	10.10.67	"	ירושלים המאוחדת
2349	29.10.67	"	ירושלים (מבדק דעת הקהל בארה"ב)
2385	19.11.67	"	לקט התבטאויות של אנשי כנסיה על אחוד ירושלים
2415	1.12.67	"	המשך לי.נ. 2340 - ירושלים
2430 (*)	7.12.67	"	לקט התבטאויות של אנשי כנסיה על אחוד ירושלים (המשך לי.נ. 2385)
2443	13.12.67	"	דברי טעון נגד בינאום ירושלים. קטעים מדברי שה"ח וגופים בינלאומיים (המשך לי.נ. 2340)
2454	17.12.67	"	כיבוש ירושלים
2487	29.1.68		INTERNATIONALISATION OF FERUSALEM FROM "CHRISTUS EN ISRAEL"
2488	30.1.68	"	סקירת ראש העיר ירושלים לדיקולק
2508	18.2.68	"	ירושלים - החקיקה
2526	4.3.68	"	מכתבי תודה לראש עיריית ירושלים
2577	17.4.68	"	THE CHURCHES SPEAK OUT ON JERUSALEM
2438(*)	11.12.67	"	אוכלוסיית ירושלים

2./..

מס' הי.נ.	התאריך	סווג	התוכן
2580	18.4.68	גלוי	צוי רכישת קרקעות בנוה יעקב ברבע היהודי, בעיר העתיקה וברחבת הכותל המערבי
2585	24.4.68	"	דו"ח על ירושלים המאוחדת
2597	29.4.68	"	ראשי הכנסיות בירושלים על שמירת המקומות הקדושים
2608	9.5.68	"	בית החולים הלותרני על הר הצופים בירושלים
2612	12.5.68	"	מכתבים למערכת אודות המצעד בירושלים
2613	14.5.68	"	ראשי הכנסיות בירושלים על שמירת המקומות הקדושים
2623	23.5.68	"	מצעד יום העצמאות בעתונות העולמית
2639	7.6.68	"	החלטת מועצת הבטחון על ירושלים
2641	16.6.68	"	זכויות תושבי מזרח ירושלים
2667	18.7.69	"	פליטים בירושלים באספקלריית מיפקד מזרח ירושלים
2672	25.7.68	"	הרוב היהודי בירושלים
2677	11.8.68	"	חוקי ירושלים
2678	15.8.68	"	ECUMENISM IN JERUSALEM
2684	21.8.68	"	ביקור דיין במזרח ירושלים
2726	11.11.68	"	היחס הערבי למקומות הקדושים בירושלים
2748	15.12.68	"	AT PEACE IN JERUSALEM
2815	30.3.69	"	LETTER FROM JERUSALEM
2820	25.4.69	"	אוכלוסיית ירושלים
2853	29.6.69	"	תלונות ירדן במועבים
2858	11.7.69	"	המלחמה על העיר
2859	15.7.69	"	מקומה של ירושלים ביהדות ובאיסלאם

3./..

2. חוזרים

מס' החוזר	התאריך	סווג	התוכן
516	18.12.67	גלוי	חומות ירושלים ושעריה
517	8.1.68	"	JERUSALEM THE HOLDEN
532	5.3.68	"	הספר "חומת ירושלים" מהדורה אנגלית
597	1.11.68	"	JERUSALEM AND THE GOLY PLACES
656	25.2.69	"	דו-שיח יהודי ערבי שנערך בירושלים
662	3.3.69	"	מפת ירושלים בהוצאת אמיר מפת ירושלים של משרד התיירות בהוצאת כרטא
663	3.3.69	"	החוברת ירושלים מס' 37 בסדרה "ישראל כיום"
687	16.5.69	"	JERUSALEM ARAB BUS DRIVERS WIN SOCIAL BENEFITS THROUGT HISTADRUT
689	21.5.69	"	REJOICE WITH FERUSALEM

נספח ב' - רשימת מכשיבים הכוללים
חומר על ירושלים השלמה

מספר המכש"ב	תאריך	סווג	התוכן
89	20.7.67	גלוי	טעון בעניין ירושלים השלמה
16/מ	11.9.67	סודי	ביקור טאלמן
12/מ	27.7.67	סודי	מגעים עם הותיקאן בדבר המקומות
92	14.9.67	גלוי	אגרת שה"ח למזכ"ל בדבר ביקור טאלמאן
106	19.1.68	גלוי	רכישת קרקעות ע"י הממשלה במזרח ירושלים
109	8.2.68	"	מלחמת אגרות ערביות מאו"ם בנדון
112	29.2.68	"	אגרת ירדן למזכ"ל או"ם
113	29.2.68	"	תגובת ישראל לאגרות ירדן
114	14.3.68	"	גרוס רוחי אל כטוב ראש עירית ירושלים לשעבר
121	25.4.68	"	אגרת המזכ"ל בענין המצעד בירושלים
122	7.5.68	"	מועביט על המצעד בירושלים
123	18.5.68	"	המערכה במועביט
123	"	"	יום השנה לאיחוד ירושלים
124	23.5.68	"	המערכה במועביט ההחלטה תגובת שה"ח
130	4.7.68	"	ההפקעות בעיר העתיקה
137	22.8.68	"	פעולות טרור בירושלים והפרעות ביהודים
157	19.12.68	"	הרכוש הלותרני (ביה"ח אוגוסטה ויקטוריה)
158	26.12.68	"	האפיפיור על ירושלים (23.12.68)
168	14.2.69	"	חלוקת ירדן על חוק סדרי מנהל בירושלים

נספח מס' 3

פרסומי נאו"ם על ירושלים

The Peace of Jerusalem

Texts of Addresses presenting the position of the Government of Israel on the Future of Jerusalem.

Israel Office of Information, N.Y.

(1969)

Memorandum on the Question of Jerusalem

Submitted to the Trusteeship Council of the U.N. Seventh Session

Israel Delegation to the U.N.

(May 1950)

Jerusalem and the U.N.

First edition, July 1953.

Second edition,

Israel Office of Information, N.Y.

ספרים ואלבומים על ירושלים
שניתן לרכשם במדור הסרסומים

1. Historical Site of Israel אלבום מאת משה פרלמן ויעקב ינאי. (עמ' 27-11 ירושלים) הופיע ב-1969 בשפה האנגלית מחירו לנציגות 16.75 ל"י הוצאת מסדה.

2. Jerusalem - A History אלבום ערוך ע"י Jacques Boudet בהוצאת G. P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y. הופיע ב-1967 בשפות אנגלית צרפתית. מחירו לנציגות -.40 ל"י.

3. Jerusalem - Sacred City of Mankind - A History of Forty Centuries אלבום מאת סדי קולק ומשה פרלמן. הופיע ב-1967 בשפות עברית אנגלית וצרפתית. המחיר לנציגויות; צרפתית -.36 ל"י, אנגלית 19.25 ל"י עברית -.15 ל"י. אנגלית וצרפתית הוצאת סטימצקי. העברית - הוצאת מעריב.

4. Jerusalem the Living City מאת מאיר רוזן. הופיע בסוף 1967 בשפה האנגלית בלבד. מחיר לנציגות -.20 ל"י. הוצאת ארמון.

5. Jerusalem אלבום בעריכת פרופ' מ. אבי-יונה. הופיע בשנת 1960 בשפה הצרפתית בלבד. מחירו לנציגות -.20 ל"י. הוצאת Sequoia פאריס.

NEW YORK TIMES
JUL 2 1969

Right to Jerusalem

To the Editor:

It would be interesting and important to know whether Harry G. Dorman Jr., in his July 15 letter, speaks officially for the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. He recalls that churchmen have made "very clear . . . that any expansion by force of arms cannot be condoned, and second, that Israel's unilateral annexation of the Jordanian portions of Jerusalem cannot be approved."

If this implies that the National Council or the World Council of Churches did approve Jordan's unilateral annexation of portions of Jerusalem, when and by what authority did this occur? If it implies that the American churchmen condoned Jordan's expansion by force of arms, by what moral or theological principle was this justified?

The moral basis of Israel's actions in Jerusalem is crystal clear. The city—not "portions" of it, but the entire, strategically indivisible city—was Jewish by a two-to-one preponderance of population at the time of its enforced partition, and has had a Jewish majority for about a century. Not its unification, as Mr. Dorman pretends, but its division "completely discounts the rights and desires of the people of the city."

Mr. Dorman's plea on behalf of the "people of the city" is based on the unspoken assumption that, in Jerusalem at least, Jews have no rights and are not entitled to any consideration of their desires, and thus may be completely discounted in any weighing of popular opinion there. He apparently does not consider it "cultural imperialism," let alone an expression of theological odium, if the traces of Jewish attachment to the center of their universe are deliberately obliterated.

The Romans attempted to keep Jews out by sowing the land with salt, the Christian Crusaders by bloodshed, the Moslems by burying Jewish shrines in dung. Only when the Jews plan to restore space and beauty to the holy places does the Christian conscience of the American churchman rebel.

This is the kind of reaction which has shocked many Jews since the Six Day War. If it is not official, nor characteristic, it would be essential for any restoration of an ecumenical spirit that it be repudiated or corrected by an official, representative voice.

BENJAMIN HALPERN
Prof. of Near Eastern Studies
Brandeis University
Waltham, Mass., July 15, 1969

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pacecraft on the moon. They
won with Luna 9, a capsule
hat took pictures from a height
of two feet above the lunar
urface.

For the first time, the Luna
pictures revealed the parti-
les that make up the lunar
hroud. Although most of the
articles are of microscopic
ze, some were found to be
veral inches across.

Shroud of Particles

The Luna 9 pictures showed
at the lunar surface is com-
ex and that there will be
portant scientific observa-
ns to be made by the as-
onauts.

The United States retaliated
the scientific competition
th five successful landings of
e Surveyor spacecraft and
ve successful Lunar Orbiters.
From the Surveyors we
arned that the lunar shroud
fine particles is typically

NEW YORK TIMES
JUL 14 1969

Jerusalem's Status

To the Editor:

Congratulations on your perceptive July 1 editorial on Jerusalem. The tacit U. S. acceptance of Israel's annexation of Arab Jerusalem has weighed heavily on me as an American who knows the deep reverence and affection the Arabs have for Jerusalem, as a student of history who is aware of the basic Arab nature of Jerusalem, and as one thus convinced that peace in the Middle East is unattainable as long as the future status of Jerusalem remains "non-negotiable."

If our foreign service officers in Arab lands, particularly Jordan and Egypt, are at all attuned to the people in those countries, the State Department and White House must have been informed by now that a just resolution of the Jerusalem issue is essential if there is to be peace. To be sure, the U. S. has said it supports a peace settlement that does not "reflect the weight of conquest." At the same time, as you pointed out, we have abstained from U. N. resolutions calling on Israel to rescind its measures affecting the annexation of Arab Jerusalem.

One wonders if this is due to complete U. S. insensitivity to Arab rights in Jerusalem, to downright incompetence in failing to recognize that peace cannot be secured if Israel's annexation of Arab Jerusalem is allowed to stand, or to a genuine lack of interest in altering the status quo in the Middle East.

Whatever the reason for the U. S. position, The Times has served the cause of peace in pointing out this serious deficiency in U. S. policy. It is to be hoped that our Government's policy-makers will take notice.

CAROL E. JENSON

La Crosse, Wis., July 6, 1969

7/14/69

imperative voice, the importan

Why make the effort? the r
ders in turn. Why undertake a b
not to convey admiration, con
session, passion, insight, opinio
sion and conclusion? Why devot
to providing answers for which
no questions, as Mr. Unterecker
in "Voyager"? I suppose the ans
be: to compile the record, to
mirror of life for scholars and
gaze upon.

Nothing Weeded Ou

For a slavish simulation of Ha
life is certainly what "Voyager"
It has no organization at all. It b
Crane's birth in Garrettsville, Ohi
21, 1899, and simply plows its
by year, to his suicide 33 ye
Nonselective, it includes frag
thousands of letters to and from
the poet, and endless scraps of r
by his many friends and acqu
Nothing, no matter how repeti
relevant, has been weeded out.

Any thesis that might impos
Mr. Unterecker's study is nipp
bud. "Too much . . . can be ma
scenes," he comments after

Yale Law Appoints Negro To an Administrative Post

James A
ff, mo

הקונסוליה הכללית של
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30 ביולי, 1969
קמד 9/877

אל : מר כ. פרגאי

מאת: דוד אריאל, ניו-יורק

הנדון: בין נוצרים פרו ערבים לבין כולל הנוצרים
בכנסיות הפרוטסטנטיות

מצ"ב מכתבי ידידינו אקהרדט ובילהיימר למערכת ה"ניו-יורק טיימס" בימים 26 ו-28 ביולי, 1969 בתגובה למכתבו של דורמן הזכור לך.

מכתבו של בילהיימר משקף את הקו שאמץ לעצמו בשנתיים האחרונות עקב מגעיו עמנו בארץ ומן, דהיינו כי על "מועצת הכנסיות" לשקף אינטרסים והשקפות של נוצרים אמריקנים ולא לענות אמן אחרי כל מוצא פי התועמלנים הערבים.

זו פעם ראשונה שדורמן הועמד בפומבי מעבר לגדר. מחיחת קו זה בתוך הכנסיות בין הפרו-ערבים לבין הכלל היתה שאיפתנו כל הזמן. דומני, שלאורך ימים עשויה ההשפעה התעמולתית הערבית בכנסיות להעצר שוב ושוב בקו זה אם נסייע לידידינו בכנסיות.

בברכה

דוד אריאל

העתק: מר א. לוריא, משנה למנכ"ל
מר א. בן חורין
מצפ"א
הסברה
השגרירות, וושינגטון
הקונסול הכללי, כאן

W S T

Jerusalem's History

To the Editor: July 20, 67

In his letter (July 15) Harry G. Dorman Jr. identifies Israel's reunification of Jerusalem as "expansion by force of arms." He hides crucial facts of history.

Had the Arab world agreed, as did the Jewish leaders, to the U.N. partition of 1947, Jerusalem in its entirety would have become an internationalized city. Jordan repudiated that decision and waged war upon the infant nation of Israel.

Against bitter opposition from all other Arab states, Jordan conquered and annexed, among other areas, the eastern part of Jerusalem.

Even today, Jerusalem would be in Jordan's hands had that Government honored Israel's guarantee of nonbelligerency in 1967 and refrained from hostilities. Instead, Jordan shelled West Jerusalem, killing and maiming hundreds of people and forcing Israel to fight back.

Jerusalem has never been the national capital of any people save the Jews. It is deceiving to contend that East Jerusalem is "Arab Jerusalem." In point of fact, until the late nineteenth century Jerusalem meant essentially the Old City. For longer than the century that culminated in the rebirth of the State of Israel, Jews were the largest population in Jerusalem, and particularly the Old City. When the Jordanians seized East Jerusalem they destroyed the Jewish quarter and evicted its people, killing many of them.

If Mr. Dorman expects that his self-identified "overseas ministry" will be advanced through manipulating history and by political complicity, he may end with a Pyrrhic victory. The real threat to the Christian communities in the Middle East comes from the Arab-Moslem alliance and the encouragement Western Christians give to Arab "aspirations" and to extremist forces in that alliance. The irony of this campaign is that religious life and freedom for Christians are flourishing in Israel and suffering in Arab nations.

In citing the declamations against Israel by a national and a world church body, Mr. Dorman naturally fails to advise us that these charges would have been impossible without a confederacy of partisans for the Arab cause.

Statements by "churchmen" are not necessarily Christian. As a Christian clergyman, I protest Mr. Dorman's attempt to employ his office in the church as a device to further the interests of certain nations committed to politicide against another people.

Perhaps it is too much to expect that "churchmen" will cease using the name of the church as a means of derogating Jews. This has been, after all, a dominant policy among "churchmen" for almost 2,000 years.

(Rev.) A. Roy Eckardt
Bethlehem, Pa., July 17, 1969

W S T • July 28, 67

Policy on Middle East

To the Editor:

In response to Prof. Benjamin Halpern's July 21 letter on the Jerusalem situation, I wish to state that Dr. Dorman wrote in a personal, and not an official capacity. An official representation of the full views of the National Council of Churches would need to take into account not only the July 1967 resolution (to which Dr. Dorman refers), but also the now authoritative policy statement of the General Board, adopted last May.

On behalf of the President and the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, may I state that this policy statement deals with the focus of Christian concern in terms of the fundamental human needs and rights of Palestinian Arabs and Jews in the Middle East, it identifies the principal dangers in the present situation, and, with reference to the tasks of the Christian community at the present time, it states, among other things:

"It is essential that the Christian community transcend partial sympathies with the Israeli or Arab sides and concentrate its attention upon the great elements of human need in the area.

"The Christian community in the United States should encourage urgently the United States Government:

"To use United States influence to keep the Great Power conflict in the Middle East to a minimum.

"To use United States influence to discourage violence by any party to the conflict.

"To use United States influence to strengthen and set forward efforts, whether by the United Nations, or within the context of the United Nations, to secure compromise, and thus to accomplish the purposes of the Security Council Resolution of Nov. 22, 1967.

"To use United States resources to increase the rate of development throughout the area, particularly through United Nations or other multilateral agencies."

We believe that the United Nations Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, provides the framework within which peace should be sought. No one element in it should be isolated from the others in any effort to move toward the agreements which will be fundamental to the establishment of an enduring peace.

Robert S. Bilheimer
Director
Dept. of International Affairs
Nat'l Council of Churches
of Christ in the U.S.A.
New York, July 22, 1969

ירושלים

(מ)

תיבדק מחדש שאלת מעמדם של הקונסולים הזרים במז. ירושלים

בעקבות החרם שהטילו על התערוכה הארמנית. בגלל אי הכרתם באיחוד העיר * הבישוף הארמני: התערוכה — לא אקט פוליטי

מאת כוסר מעריב בירושלים

שאלת מעמדם של הקונסולים הזרים בירושלים עומדת, כנראה, להיבחן ע"ת מחדש, לאור אי־ההכ"רה מציינים בעובדת איחו"רה של העיר, אשר הופגנה שוב בימים אלה בהחרמת טקס הפתיחה של תערוכת ארצות הפטריארכיה הארמ"נית.

הקונסוליות — ובתוכן של ארה"ב, אנגליה, צרפת, ספרד ותורכיה — מקיימות שני מ"שרדים, בחלקה המערבי וב"חלקה המזרחי של העיר, תוך שמירה על ה„סטאטוס קוו" שלפני מלחמת ששת הימים.

כפי שנודע, שלח הקונסול הצרפתי מכתב לפטריארך ה"ארמני, ובו הודיע כי לא יו"כל להשתתף בפתיחת התע"רוכה, הואיל והיא נערכת ב"שיתוף עם מוזיאון ישראל וההזמנה היתה התומה על ידי הפטריארך וראש העיריה מר סדי קולק. נודע, כי קונסול נוסף שלח מכתב דומה. ה"אחרים הודיעו בעל־פה על אי־השתתפותם מאותן הסי"בות, ואמנם איש מבין ה"קונסולים הזרים לא נכח ב"פתיחת התערוכה.

הדבר שוב עורר את ה"שאלה אם ייתכן לסבול מצב אנומלי זה. הוגי הפטריאר"כיה הארמנית בירושלים ה"ביעו מורת־רוח מהפגיעה זו של מאורע תרבותי לפסים פוליטיים על ידי הקונסוליות.

בתגובה על פניית סופרנו, אמר הבישוף הארמני, מר שאוא אג'אמיאן, כי הוא הו"פתע מעמדה זו „אשר פירשה את ההזמנה לתערוכה בחתי"מת הפטריארך וראש העיריה מר סדי קולק, כנוגעת ב"מעמדה של ירושלים. העוב"דה היא, כי נציגי כל הקהי"לות הדתיות בירושלים הש"תתפו בטכס הפתיחה. ואכן התערוכה היא מאורע תרבותי וחינוכי".

הבישוף אג'אמיאן הוסיף כי „ההזמנה היתה משו"תפת לפטריארכיה והעי"ריה, הואיל ורעיון התע"רוכה ומטרתו הן תולדות התלהבותו ויוזמתו של ראש העיריה, מר קולק, אשר, ממנו, רוצה כי ירושלים תהא מרכז של הנהגה רוחנית ויצירה תר"בותית. כל נסיון לפרש את הקמתו של מוזיאון ארמני בירושלים, כסיוע של מוזיאון ישראל וה"עירייה, כצעד פוליטי הוא רחוק מהמציאות ומדרך מחשבתנו".

מעריב

29.7.69

N

J.P.

CONSULAR ANOMALY

MAYOR Kollek and the Armenian Bishop have expressed their regret that the various Consuls functioning in Jerusalem decided to boycott last week's impressive opening ceremonies of the Exhibition of Armenian Treasures now on display at the Armenian Museum in the Old City of Jerusalem. Presumably acting on orders from their respective governments, the Consuls have turned their attendance at a cultural event in the life of United Jerusalem into a political issue. They were concerned to demonstrate that their governments do not recognize the unification of Jerusalem.

The occasion and manner in which they did so, publicly slighting an important leader of the Church in Jerusalem, has again raised the entire question of their status, two years after the Six Day War. For many years Israel lived with a situation unique in the annals of international law, by tacitly accepting the fact that the Consuls operating in Jerusalem never presented their credentials to any Israeli representative. At least one of them was formally accredited to the defunct Palestine Conciliation Commission. Until 1967 they dealt with the Jerusalem District Commissioner, an official of the Israeli Ministry of the Interior. To keep things even, they never recognized the Jordanian claims over East Jerusalem from 1948 until the June War.

Israel always found good reasons to allow this situation to continue. There were valid arguments for not making a major issue of this problem in order to avoid antagonizing important powers and friends of Israel. This certainly applied to the Consulates General of France, Britain and the United States. There are special ties with Turkey and there was no inclination to raise the problem with Spain, a country with which Israel maintains no diplomatic relations. The Consuls fulfilled a function in protecting their nationals and performing other roles a Consulate normally carries out. They were always independent of their respective embassies in Tel Aviv.

Things have changed radically since the Six Day War. Jerusalem has been united and very few governments can now believe in the possibility of this fact being reversed again. One embassy has made the move from Tel Aviv to the Capital and those who this week attended the Independence Day celebration given by the Ambassador of Liberia, were very much aware of the significant step taken by his government. Yet hardly anything has moved on the Consular front. The Consuls did begin to deal with the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but they still do not present their credentials. Last week they snubbed the Armenian Bishop and the Mayor of Jerusalem.

The time has finally come to examine the entire issue thoroughly. The problem is not one of pure formality, but reflects primarily upon our sovereignty. These are sufficient grounds for any state to enter into discussions concerning the future of these representatives. They enjoy immunity under Israel law, and this calls for some reciprocity on behalf of their governments. Perhaps a careful examination of the Consular problem in Jerusalem will lead to serious diplomatic implications for Israel. The government should be ready to face them and deal with them fimly.

The unification of Jerusalem has raised many issues of great importance to Israel and among these the actions of the Consuls do not rank very high. Nevertheless, it cannot drag on indefinitely in a political limbo. The Foreign Ministry together with other government departments concerned should now give due consideration to this entire complex and make its decisions known. Last week's discourtesy should not be repeated.

talks—'Les Echos'

By JACK MAURICE
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

PARIS. — The French financial daily "Les Echos" said yesterday that the Soviet Union would be bound eventually to agree to direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs in order to reach a Middle East settlement. The newspaper commented: "By decreeing a war of attrition President Nasser is simply trying to improve the morale of his army and people and to exhaust Israel's patience. By refusing to yield the Israeli Government intends to force its Arab adversaries towards the only solution which it considers acceptable, direct negotiations."

"Les Echos" stressed that both Americans and Russians now agreed on the need for a cast-iron agreement between both sides which would bind them reciprocally. The newspaper concluded: "This is only one step away from recognising that this agreement must be negotiated between the parties concerned, and the Soviets will certainly be obliged to take this step some day."

Tidal wave in Taiwan as typhoon kills 40

TAIPEI (UPI). — A massive typhoon-induced tidal wave smashed into southern Taiwan on Monday, driving thousands of persons from their homes, according to reports received here early yesterday.

Typhoon Viola now is reported to have taken a toll of at least 40 dead and 39 injured or missing in a three-day sweep through the Philippines and Taiwan. The tidal wave, whipped up by the powerful winds of the typhoon, was described as the worst in at least 50 years in southern Taiwan. It left thousands of persons marooned in waters that reached a depth of more than four feet over a wide area. Property damage was estimated at several million dollars.

Viola, now downgraded to a tropical storm, was located over the mainland of China yesterday morning.

Science teaching aid agreement with U.N. signed

The U.N. Development Programme (UNDP), through UNESCO as its Executing Agency, is to assist the National Science Teaching Centre of Israel in the development of its improvements for science teaching in Israel schools.

The plan of operation for this project was signed yesterday morning at the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Deputy Director-General of UNESCO, Mr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, had previously signed the document at UNESCO House in Paris. Yesterday, Deputy Education Minister A. Yadlin, Mr. Yaacov Saphir, Director of the Technical Assistance Department of the Prime Minister's Office, and Professor Alexandra Poljakoff, the Israeli Director-designate of the Centre, signed for Israel. Mr. J.-P. Ross, Resident Representative in Israel of the UNDP, signed on behalf of Mr. Paul Hoffman, the Administrator of UNDP.

The project calls for an allocation from the UNDP Special Fund of $384,400 to the Centre over a period of three years while, at the same time, the Israel Government will make a counterpart contribution of $594,600. UNDP will provide international specialists in such fields as curricula development in physics, chemistry and biology; science curricula for teacher training schools and technical schools, educational testing; programmed learning; educational television and production of science teaching films and other teaching aids.

In addition, fellowships will be granted to Israelis for advanced studies abroad, while a substantial amount of technical equipment for the project will be provided by the UNDP.

New deans of students at Bar-Ilan U.

JP 30/2/19

Consuls shun Armenian show; Kollek: 'It's their loss'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem said yesterday the refusal of the consuls-general in the city to attend the opening of an "an unusual and remarkable cultural event," at the Armenian Museum in the Old City last week, was their loss and nobody else's." He added: "It does, however, reflect the absurd and anomalous position in which these gentlemen continue to find themselves."

Mr. Kollek issued the statement following a press report which said the question of the position of the eight consuls-general in Jerusalem had once again arisen following their absence from the exhibition opening.

They include the consuls of the U.S., Britain, France, Spain and Turkey who maintain offices both in the eastern and western parts of the city, perpetuating the *status quo* of the Six Day War period.

It is understood the French Consul-General informed the Patriarchate he would not attend because the invitation was signed jointly by the Armenian Patriarch and Mayor Kollek which he regarded as being contrary to the U.N. resolutions on the status of Jerusalem. Other consuls expressed their regrets for not being able to attend.

Bishop Shahe Ajamian, of the Armenian Patriarchate, in charge of the exhibition, last night told *The Post:*

"We do not exactly see the connection between an exhibition of art and political and international involvements. All the Christian communities and Patriarchates to whom we sent invitations attended without exception. This project was jointly realized by the Patriarchate and the Israel Museum. The invitations were sent in the name of the Patriarch and of Mr. Kollek because the Mayor was the [illegible]ving spirit behind the project and [illegible]d made it possible."

The Bishop said the exhibition was attracting thousands of visitors daily. He said it would remain open for three months and then would close down because the church vessels were in use during Christmas services, and for Easter.

He said the Patriarchate "approved" of the Mayor's idea to "rebuild Jerusalem as a spiritual centre for those in search of religious guidance by such activities as exhibitions and educational functions."

A Foreign Ministry spokesman, replied in the negative when asked yesterday whether the Ministry was now dealing with the status of the eight consuls-general.

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Our diplomatic correspondent adds:

Foreign Minister Eban, replying to a debate in the Knesset last May on a Diplomatic and Consular Immunities and Privileges bill declared that the Government was not indifferent to the problem of the eight Consuls-General in Jerusalem, who had never submitted their credentials.

This situation derived from the attitude of the eight countries to Jerusalem, as the Capital of Israel — and to Israel's status in Jerusalem. He said then that to demand the eight consuls' departure would serve neither the interests of Israel nor the interests of Jerusalem. They had been sent to Jerusalem while it was under temporary Jordanian conquest.

He noted that since June 1967 these consuls functioned through the Foreign Ministry, instead of through the District Representative as previously.

. Exhibition: Marc Chagall, by Henry from the Mu- Hours: Week- Fri. and Sat.,

: Ramat Aviv, n; (2) Kadman eum; (3) Cera- (4) Museum of l Folklore; (5) ce and Techno- Quasile Excava- 10 a.m.-8 p.m. es., Thurs. — Fri. — 10 a.m.-1 a.m.-2 p.m. 26

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דוד בן גוריון

The exhibit by the Armenian Patriarchate of the literary and artistic treasures accumulated by the Patriarchate over many centuries was an unusual and remarkable cultural event.

The refusal of the consuls to attend such an occasion is their loss and nobody else's. It does however reflect the absurd and anomolous position in which these gentlemen continue to find themselves.

TEDDY KOLLEK

29. 7. 1969

העתק נאם הנ"ל לכתבי:

ב"מעריב" 29/7/69

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תיר

ירושלים

ירושלים, כ"ה בתמוז תשכ"ט
11 ביולי 1969

י.נ. 2858

הנדון: המלחמה על העיר

... רצ"ב מאמרו של שמואל שניצר בעתון "מעריב" מ-4.7.69.
לטיונכם ולשימושכם.

בברכה,

יוחנן כהן,
מנהל המחלקה

מעריב
של שבת

4.7.69

שמואל שניצר

המלחמה על העיר

עתונים מלאים ידיעות על קרבות אווי־ריים, על הפגזות, על פשיטות, על פי־צוצי חבלה, על מכוניות תופת. ולאו דווקא בישראל — כל העולם עוקב אחר מחול־השדים המזרח־תיכוני, רושם לפניו כל איום וכל דבר הרתעה, ומצפה בחרדה לבאות.

ואולם במה עוסקת מועצת הבטחון — מוסד האו"ם הממונה על שמירת השלום בעולם? היא עוסקת ברשיונותיהם של הנוו־גים ערביים בירושלים המזרחית. הפגזים והראקיטות, המוקשים ומטעני הנפץ, ההרו־גים ומרוסקי האברים, אינם מעניינים אותה. היא רוצה לדעת מי הסמיך את ישראל להחיל את חוקי מדינה על ירושלים כולה ולעבור בה „עובדות", היא דורשת להקפיא כל קידמה וכל שיקום בעיר, ולקרוא בה דרור לאלימות ולרצח, ולהמנע בה מכל צעד העלול להתפרש כהשלטת חוק וסדר.

והיא המיכת־דעים עד מאד. בשום שאלה כן השאלות הבוערות של עולם חצוי ומפורד אינה מפגינה אחדות כזאת. אם אמנם מס־רתם של הירדנים וידידיהם באו"ם היתה, להוכיח פעם נוספת כי בשאלת ירושלים עומד העם היהודי לבדו, ללא שותפים ובעלי ברית, הרי השיגות במלואה: מזרח ומערב, קתולים ופרוטסטנטים, ופראבוסלאווים ו־מוסלמים, שמאל וימין, הכל חברו יחד כדי לקבוע הלכה בינלאומית שירושלים צריכה להיות קרועה־לגזרים, אכולת־שנאה, ומופס־רת לשלטון הטרור. בשם השלום, כמובן, ובשם הצדק והתגינות ביחסים בינלאומיים.

כי כך כתוב, כנראה, במגילת האו"ם, ש־כאשר הערבים מבקשים להפוך את ירושלים לקן של רוצחים, היהודים כונעים מהם את הדבר; כאשר הערבים אינם נרתעים מפיצוץ מקומות קדושים, והיהודים כופים עליהם את כיבוד החוק, הרי היהודים ראויים לגינוי המוד, בליווי אזהרה ש„העולם הנאור" יענים אותם אם לא יסתרו לחזור למוטב.

* * *

וכולאים מיליוני יהודים בארצם, בתנאים של רצח רוחני, ועם זאת משימים עצמם פוסקי־הלכות בעניני מוסר. ומכל שכן ש־הורגלנו לראות את הערבים שוים רשת של כזבים — וסופם שהם נלכדים בה בעצמם.

אבל לא הורגלנו לראות אומות דמוקר־טיות, המתימרות להיות על פי אידיאלים של צדק, מצטרפות אל מסע־השמצה בינ־לאומי זדוני בצדם של שקרנים פאתולוגיים, ופוסקות, יחד עמם, שעיר אשר בה היהודים מהורים מיעום — יש לקיים בה את שלטון הרוב; ואילו עיר אשר בה היהודים רוב — יש לקרוע אותה לגזרים, ובלבד שלא יהיה בה שלטון של רוב.

לא ראינו את הדמוקרטיה מתבזה כך, משתבשת כך, מסתאבת כך למן שנות ה־שלושים של המאה, כאשר בהתרפסותה לפני אלימים ובנסיונותיה להשביע חיות־טרף בינ־לאומיים בנתחים מאדמות הזולת, המיטה חורבן על העולם וכליה על ששה מיליון יהודים.

לורד קרדון, הנציג האנגלי במועצת ה־בטחון, ודאי לא הרגיש כי הדברים שהוא אומר על הרדת ארצו לשלום ועל זכותה של אנגליה לתתור למציאת הסדר הרף התנגדותה של ישראל, נשמעים כהד לדברים שאמרו צ'מברליין וחבריו לפני שלושים שנה, כאשר תלמו, בשם השלום, והסגירו את צ'כוסלובאקיה בידי הנאצים, במרמה בין ארבע המעצמות, עבו תרצו את גורלה של אומה קטנה בלי לשאול את פיה.

לורד קרדון ודאי גם שכח, בשעה שטען לזכותה של בריטניה לפעול למען השלום, באילו הישגים גדולים יכולה ארצו להתברך בתחום הזה; הוא שכח איך קיימה את ה־שלום בארץ ישראל בשלושים שנות שלטונה כאן, ומה השאירה אחריה באמתה; ואיזה שלום הורישה להודים, לקפריסאים, לסודא־נים, לניגרים. הוא שכח, קרוב לוודאי, את סרמוכה של בריטניה עם מפרד בקשר לגינ־ראמה, ואת סירובה העקשני לקבל את הכר־עות האו"ם בשאלה זו. ודאי גם שכח את ה־דברים שהוא עצמו אמר אחר שעצרת האו"ם הכריעה נגד בריטניה, שהחלטת ה־או"ם „אינה בת ביצוע ולא הבוצע" ושבריט־ניה לא הסגיר את תושבי הצוק לספרד בניגוד לרצונם. ומן הסתם גם שכח את סירובה של בריטניה לציית לסידרה שלמה של החלטות האו"ם בענין עומאן, ובשאלת רודסיה, ועוד בכמה ובמה ענינים.

היתודים נרמסו? אולי יסביר לנו למה האינ־סרס של „הקהילה הבינלאומית" מתעורר רק בשעה ש היהודים שולטים בעיר הקדושה, אבל הוא נעלם ואיננו כאשר הערבים שולטים בה? אולי ילמדנו מדוע „הקהילה הבינלאומית" יכולה לראות בשוויון נפש איך יהודים נרצחים בירושלים, ואיך משתו־ללת בה מלחמת־הרמה, ואיך מחריבים בה את הרובע היהודי, ואיך מנהגים בה בתי כנסיות, אבל אין היא יכולה להשלים עם קיומם של חוק וסדר על ידי יהודים?

אולי יבהיר לנו למה ירושלים יכולה להיות של חורכים־בלבד, ושל אנגלים־בלבד, ושל ירדנים־בלבד, אבל אין היא יכולה להיות של יהודים־בלבד?

מפני שבימי התורכים היו היהודים מופק־רים בה להתעללות, ובימי האנגלים נערכו בה פוגרומים, ובימי הירדנים הרסו בה כל שריד יהודי; ואילו בימי היהודים יכולים הכל לחיות בה בכבוד ולעבוד בה את בוראם על פי דרכם?

מפני שהתורכים והאנגלים והירדנים היו בה כובשים ושליטים זרים, שמעולם לא היו יותר ממיעוט מבוטל מאוכלוסיה, ואילו ה־יהודים בני בית הם בה ורוב מדורי־דורות?

* * *

„ניו יורק טיימס" טוענת סעות המורה אם סבור הוא ששלטון יהודי בירושלים יוליד קונפליקט־לדורות. ורק שלטון אחר, ערבי או בינלאומי, עשוי להוליך אל השלום. האמת היא הפוכה: אם יש תקוה לשלום בירושלים, בשלטון יהודי מקורו, ואילו שלטון אחר לא יקום ולא יתקיים אלא בשפיכות־דמים.

או שמא סבורים בניו־יורק שדי היה ב־כמה נאומי־הסתה, ובכמה כובי־תעמולה, ו־בקצת גידופים, ובהחלטה של מוסד מנוון שכל חבריו נוהגים בו זלזול, כדי להוציא את ירושלים מידי יהודים?

אם כן, מוטב שיתזרו ויקראו את תולדות מלחמותיה של ירושלים, מימי היבוסים וה־בבלים והרומאים ועד ימי הירדנים, וילמדו איך לוחמים יהודים על העיר שהיא יחידה להם בעולם, ומצית כל חלומותיהם, ופתח כל תקוותיהם.

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בעצת הבטחון יודעת שהיא סומכת את ידה על עלילת־שקר: לא ייתכן שאינה יודעת. ירושלים היא חלון הראוה של מדינת ישראל. היא פתוחה לכל, וכל הרוצה יכול לבוא ולסייר בה, או אפילו לשבת בה. אי אפשר לעשות בה מעשים הסמויים מן העין. כל המתרחש בה גלוי וידוע. הכל יודעים איך חיים בה מאז נפלו מחיצות השנאה; הכל חשים איך באה לת פריחה חדשה ונוספה לה קדושה חדשה. הכל יכולים להוכח שאין מדכאים בה את חופש האזרח; הכל יכולים לראות במו עיניהם שמעולם לא היו הערבים שבה בני חורין יותר להביע את דעותיהם. הכל יודעים שאמצעי הבטחון שנקטו נועדו ל־הבטיח את שלום האוכלוסים, התיירים וה־צליינים; ושום צעד דראסטי לא נעשה בה שלא היה מלווה בחינה מדוקדקת, ויכוח ציבורי, וליבון יורידי. הכל יודעים שיש בסיס חוקי לכל מה שנעשה בה, ושאפילו מי שרואה בירושלים המזרחית „שטח מוחזק" לפי אמנת ז'נווה, לא יוכל למצוא דומי באמצעים שננקטו.

יתר על כן, הכל יודעים, ששקר גם הוא כי ירושלים העתיקה נשאה כאז ומעולם „אופי ערבי", ועלילה נתעבת היא לטעון שהיהודים רוצים לגרש את הערבים מן ה־עיר העתיקה; כל המכבד את האמת, יגדע ששנים רבות לפני היות הציונות היו רוב תושבי ירושלים יהודים, והערבים הם שגירשו את היהודים מן העיר, והחריבו את בתי התפילה שלהם, והפקיעו את מעונותיהם, וירשו את רכושם, והיללו את קברות אבותיהם. הכל יודעים שבמאות השנים שבהן היתה ירושלים נתונה לשלטון מוסלמי, היתה עיירה נידחת ומוזנחת: ש־לפני מאה שנה היו בה בקושי עשרת אל־פים תושבים לא־יהודיים, נוצרים ומוסלמים גם יחד; ששום מוסלמי לא ראה בה קדושה או חשיבות דתית עד שהיהודים לא החלו חוזרים אליה בהמוניהם; שעד כדי כך זלזלו במעמדה, שאיש לא העלה על הדעת להפ־עיל בה הספקת מים סדירה; וגם כביש ומסילת ברזל לא נבנו בין השפלה והעיר, אלא כאשר עמדו לבקר בה שליטים אירו־פיים והתורכים התביישו בעזובתה.

וגם זאת הכל יודעים, שכאשר במלחמת העולם הראשונה עברה ירושלים משלטון מוסלמי לשלטון נוצרי, שום מוסלמי בעולם לא ראה בכך אסון, או חילול־קודש, או ענין שצריך להתרגש ממנו.

ורק בשעה שהיהודים שולטים ב־ירושלים, מתעוררים פתאום „הרגשות הד־תיים" של המוסלמים ומתגבשת החזית ה־מאוחדת של כל הדוגלים בכזב ובצביעות ובסילוף העובדות ובקלקול המידות הבינלאו־מיות, ויוצא גזר־דין־השקר מלפני מועצת הבטחון: „זאת לא! מוטב תעלה ירו־שלים בלהבות, וישתולל בה הדינאמיט, ו־יירצחו בחוצותיה עולי רגל תמימים, ובלבד שלא יושלט בה סדר־של־יהודים.

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כבר הורגלנו לראות את השקר דוחק את רגלי האמת ביחסים בינלאומיים. כבר הסכנו לראות את הניאו־נאצים של מוסקווה דורסים אומות קטנות ואונסים את החרות

הוא שכח כל מה שלא נוח היה לזכור; והתעלם מן העובדה שמה שהוא אינו רוצה לזכור, אחרים אינם יכולים לשכוח. וכאשר הוא בא עתה לטעון לזכותה של אנגליה לעשות שלום על חשבון הזולת, אי אפשר שלא להזכיר לו איך פעלה הנוסחה הזאת בפעם הקודמת, בשנת אלף תשע מאות שלושים ושמונה, במינכן.

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„ניו יורק טיימס", העתון שיש לו יותר קוראים יהודיים מכל עתון אחר בעולם, ראה צורך להרים תרומה משלו לוויכוח. ערב פתיחת הדיון במועצת הבטחון פרסם מאמר ראשי המתקיף את הנציגים האמריק־ניים באו"ם, אשר בכל הדיונים הקודמים על ירושלים אמנם דיברו נגד ישראל, אבל לא הצביעו נגדה. העתון דורש עמדה ברורה — אנטי־ישראלית, כמובן.

„ניו יורק טיימס" איננו, בדרך כלל, בעד ערבוב עניני דת בענייני מדינה. אילו ביקש מישהו לקבוע עובדות מדיניות על פי שיקו־לים דתיים בארצות הברית, היה ה־עתון הזה (ככל שאר עתוני ארה"ב), מסתער עליו בשצף־קצף. אבל מה שפסול בתכלית באמריקה, כשר בתכלית בארץ ישראל: „לאו־מות המאוחדות — כותב העתון — אינטרס מיוחד בירושלים בגלל משמעותה העמוקה בעיני מאמיני שלש דתות עולמיות. עתידה של ירושלים איננו ענין שבין ערבים וישרא־לים. הוא ענין בינלאומי ממדרגה ראשונה".

במלים אחרות, בכל מקום אחר בעולם צריך להפריד הפרדה גמורה בין הדת והמדי־נה. ולגבי כל שאלה אחרת, צריך האו"ם לעסוק ביחסים שבין אומות, ולא בעניינים שבין דתות. אבל לגבי ארץ ישראל נוהגים עקרונות אחרים. כאן צריכה הדת לשמש בסיס למעמד המדיני, והאו"ם צריך ליהפך מארגון של מדינות — לארגון של כנסיות, כדי להתיצב מול היהודים — בשם המוסלמים והנוצרים.

אמנם, לדעת „ניו יורק טיימס" יש ליהודים בהחלט זיקה לירושלים, אבל אין היא עדיפה מזיקתם של אחרים: הערבים — וה„קהילה הבינלאומית". שלטון יהודי בירושלים, אומר העתון, פירושו — סכסוך־לדורות. ואילו אמ־ריקה חייבת להבחיר שהיא דוגלת ב„פתרון המכיר בזכויות הערבים ובהתענינות הקהילה הבינלאומית בעיר־מריבה עתיקת־יומין זו".

גישה אובייקטיווית. לא כן? שקולה. מאו־זנת, מושתתת על דאגה כנה לשלום, וחדורה אחריות בינלאומית עמוקה.

אך אולי יסביר לנו „ניו יורק טיימס" למה הוא שתק עד יוני 1967, כשירושלים היתה נתונה לשלטון־כיבוש ירדני, וזכויות

JERUSALEM

ITS PLACE IN ISLAM AND ARAB HISTORY

by

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JERUSALEM

Its Place in Islam and Arab History*

— I —

When in A.D. 638 the second Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khattāb accepted in person the capitulation of Jerusalem, the city had, for centuries, been first Roman and then Byzantine in character. Exactly five centuries earlier, Hadrian had obliterated the last vestiges of Jewish life in the city. It was in fact completely destroyed and the site ploughed up. In its place rose the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina, with an altar to Jupiter where the last Temple once stood. The Jews were forbidden, under pain of death, to enter it.

Following the adoption by Constantine of Christianity as the state religion, and as a result of his and his mother's zeal, the city was covered with Christian monuments, including the Church of the Resurrection, better known as the Holy Sepulchre. It was by Helena's orders that Roman pagan monuments in Jerusalem were dismantled. But it was on scriptural authority that no new building on the site of the old Temple was allowed. According to Matthew XXIV, 2, Jesus spoke thus to the disciples as He was leaving the Temple: "Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." And according to Luke XIX, 43–44, Jesus prophesied a similar fate for Jerusalem itself: "For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies... shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another..."

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* This study is based on original sources and official documents. While it is written from an Arab and Muslim point of view, special care has been taken to ensure factual accuracy. In the hope of its reaching a wider circle than a few specialists, I have dispensed with footnotes as distracting attention. But a few of my sources are listed at the end.

It is asserted, however, that Constantine relaxed the Hadrian ban on the Jews. Once a year, it is claimed, on the anniversary of the destruction of the last Temple, those who paid a fee were allowed in for lamentation, apparently on the Mount of Olives overlooking the site of the Temple. The number of Jews who survived successive disasters in Palestine was a few thousands, mostly in Galilee. They saw a flicker of hope in the Persian invasion. Not only did they welcome the invaders, but helped them as scouts and volunteers. In A.D. 614 the Persians captured Jerusalem, massacred thousands of its Christian inhabitants and plundered and destroyed its churches. Fourteen years later Heraclius drove the invaders out and recovered the land and the city. He wreaked a terrible vengeance on the Jews.

Meanwhile, in Mecca, Muḥammad was preaching the new monotheistic religion of Islam, as God's last prophet and messenger to mankind. He preached the divine message piecemeal, as and when it was revealed to him. It is remarkable that the Byzantine discomfiture in Palestine was specifically mentioned in the divine revelation with a forecast of the reversal of fortune (the Koran, XXX,1):

> "The Byzantines have been vanquished in the nearer part of the land: and, after their vanquishing, they shall be the victors in a few years."

More important is the allusion in Chapter II, 143, to Jerusalem, in the direction of which Muḥammad and the early Muslim community used to turn their faces in prayer. It was by divine command that the direction was changed to Mecca.

A still more specific and fundamental mention of Jerusalem in the Koran occurs in the first verse of Chapter XVII, and is in connection with Muḥammad's miraculous "Nocturnal Journey" to Jerusalem and his ascension therefrom to heaven:

> "Glory be to Him, who carried his servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*), the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show him some of our signs."

The interpretation of this verse and the explanation of this miraculous experience are to be found in the standard commentaries on the Koran, in collections of prophetic traditions, and in the nearly contemporary biography of Muḥammad by Ibn Hishām. According to these sources, the experience was either through the body or the

spirit. Its main features are as follows: Escorted by the angel Gabriel and mounted on a mysterious winged animal called Burāq, the Prophet was carried by night from Mecca to Jerusalem. On arrival at the 'Further Mosque,' the Burāq was tethered at a spot which still bears its name and is commemorated by a mosque. Then, on the site of the old Temple close by, Muḥammad led former prophets in prayer. According to some commentators it was at this moment that verse 44 of Chapter XLIII of the Koran: "Ask those of our Messengers We sent before thee – Have We appointed, apart from the All-merciful, gods to be served?" was revealed.

Later on Muḥammad with his escort ascended to heaven, by means of a celestial ladder. The ascent was made from a rock over which now stands the Dome of the Rock. Muḥammad was led by stages to the seventh heaven, until he finally experienced the supreme delight of the Beatific Vision. The descent and return to Mecca were accomplished during the same night, before dawn.

Readers with spiritual insight and poetic imagination need no reminder that this is symbolism refined to the highest degree. Small wonder that some of the unlettered Arabs were incredulous when Muḥammad related his experience. More educated and perceptive generations later enriched the story with details of exquisite virtuosity and fine poetic imagery. (According to a Spanish priest, who was professor of Arabic at Madrid University, the Islamic story, with its vivid description of paradise and hell, served Dante as prototype for his *Divina Commedia*.)

— 2 —

Such was the established Christian character of Jerusalem, and such was the place it had newly acquired in Islam when, after winning a decisive battle against the Byzantines, the Arabs appeared before its walls. After a prolonged siege, the Patriarch Sophorius offered to surrender the city, but only to the Caliph himself. 'Umar was then in Syria conferring with his military commanders at al-Jābiyah in Jaulān. But mindful that Jerusalem deserved special consideration, and anxious himself to visit the city, 'Umar acceded to the Patriarch's request. The encounter between the two men was dramatic and conclusive. The coarse raiment of the Caliph contrasted sharply with

the splendid vestments of the Byzantine prelate. But in an age of intolerance and cruelty the terms of surrender were generous and humane:

> "In the name of Allah, the Merciful the Compassionate. This is the covenant which 'Umar, the servant of Allah, the Commander of the Faithful, granted to the people of Aelia. He granted them safety for their lives, their possessions, their churches, and their crosses...they shall not be constrained in the matter of their religion, nor shall any of them be molested. No Jew shall live with them in Aelia. And the people of Aelia shall pay the poll-tax...Whoever leaves the city shall have safe conduct for his person and his property until he reaches his destination..."

'Umar's next concern was to identify the places hallowed by the Prophet's Nocturnal Journey. Reluctantly Sophronius guided him to the desolation at the site of the old Temple which by then, had no traces of its Jewish or pagan past. For this reason it was very difficult to locate the Rock, which, after a diligent search, was found concealed under a dunghill. 'Umar himself led the Muslims in uncovering it, but directed that no prayers be held on or near it until the place had been washed by rain three times.

The Caliph led the Muslims in prayer on a clean spot to the south, approximately where the Maghāribah Mosque now stands. The call to prayer was sounded by Bilāl, the Prophet's muezzin. Since the death of his master he had ceased to perform the function out of respect for his memory. But at the express order of the Caliph, Bilāl made an exception for this occasion.

A large number of the Prophet's Companions were in 'Umar's entourage. Two deserve special mention, as indicating the place Jerusalem was to occupy in Islamic learning. The first was 'Ubādah Ibn aṣ-Ṣāmit, who had already been sent to Syria as 'judge and teacher.' 'Umar regarded any Muslim who held high office as a teacher, and therefore charged him to teach in addition to exercising his usual functions. 'Ubādah was now made the first *qāḍi* (Judge) in Jerusalem and died while holding that office. The second was one of several of Muḥammad's Companions who were to take up residence in Jerusalem from religious motives. He was Shaddād Ibn Aus, renowned for his piety and knowledge of prophetic traditions. He, too, died in Jerusalem.

Before leaving Jerusalem, 'Umar caused a 'mosque' to be erected on the spot where he led the Muslims in prayer, close as it was both to the Rock and to the place where the Burāq had been tethered. The structure was very primitive, little more than what its Arabic name originally meant—a place for prostration in prayer.

From this humble beginning to the rise, some fifty years later, of the great monuments of Muslim architecture, Jerusalem's place as the third Holy City in Islam was finally established. Its Roman name was dropped and it became al-Bait al-Muqaddas (the Holy House), in apposition to al-Bait al-Ḥaram (the Sacred House), the appellation of Mecca. A variant of the name was Bait al-Maqdis or simply al-Quds (the Holy City). Later still it became al-Quds ash-Sharīf (the Holy and Noble City).

Jerusalem's association with the Prophet and 'Umar was no doubt in Mu'awiyah's mind when he had himself proclaimed Caliph there rather than in Damascus, his capital. For some time under his successors the city became virtually the religious capital, since Mecca and Medina were in the hands of a rival. 'Umar's makeshift mosque gave way to the Aqṣā Mosque, the building of which gave reality to the figurative name used in the Koran. The Dome of the Rock, commonly but incorrectly known to Europeans as the Mosque of 'Omar, rose over the traditional site of Muhammad's ascension. The spacious area over which the two monuments rose became known as al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf (the Noble Sanctuary), and will henceforth be referred to as the Ḥaram.

These magnificent buildings owe their rise to Abdul-Malik Ibn Marwān, the fifth Caliph after Mu'āwiyah. Much has been made of Abdul-Malik's political motives, but in this case both the motives themselves and the action had deep religious roots and rested on excellent religious authority. In asking his subjects to pray and perform the pilgrimage at Jerusalem, instead of Mecca and Medina, while these Holy Cities were in the hands of a rival, the Caliph invoked the authority of the Prophet. In a well-known tradition, Muḥammad named three places of *equal* merit to which the faithful could 'journey' for prayer and pilgrimage: Mecca, Jerusalem and Medina.

Even after the end of the emergency, when Mecca and Medina came under their control once more, the Umayyad Caliphs continued to pay equal respect to Jerusalem. Thus Sulaimān, the son of the builder of the Dome of the Rock, had the ceremony of his investiture with the caliphate performed in Jerusalem, rather than Damascus,

Mecca or Medina. He was moreover, very fond of Palestine, for he made ar-Ramlah his second capital, building there a magnificent palace and a new mosque.

The eighth Umayyad Caliph, who, because of his piety and uprightness went down in history as 'Umar II, held the Dome of the Rock so sacred that he ordered all governors who had held office under his predecessor to give account on oath of their stewardship at this place.

Nor did the Abbasid Caliphs pay less regard to Jerusalem, from their distant capital in Baghdad. At least three of the early Caliphs of this dynasty visited Jerusalem as pilgrims. Al-Manṣūr the true founder of the dynasty, visited it twice. On the first occasion he went first to Mecca, then to Medina and then to Jerusalem; on the second he went directly to Jerusalem. Al-Mahdi visited the city specially to pray in the Aqṣā Mosque, presumably accompanied by his son, the illustrious Hārūn ar-Rashīd. The name of al-Ma'mūn is even more closely associated with Jerusalem, since it was by his orders that major restorations were made in the Dome of the Rock, which led enthusiastic and obsequious courtiers to ascribe to their master the building of the whole structure. Al-Ma'mūn's brother, who was to succeed him as al-Mu'taṣim, was then viceroy in Syria, and he took a personal interest in the works of restoration.

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In the wake of the Caliphs the flow of pilgrims continued to increase from the days of 'Umar onwards. State functionaries apart, commentators on the Koran, students of prophetic traditions, mystics, and pious men and women, of all kinds, repaired to the city for pilgrimage, prayer, study or residence. Those who chose to reside in the city from religious motives were legion. A Muslim historian of Jerusalem fills thirty pages with their names. Of particular interest is the little known fact that among them were two remarkable women. The first was Umm ad-Dardā, who refused the hand of Mu'āwiyah and used to spend half the year in Damascus and the other half in Jerusalem "comforting the poor." The second was the renowned mystic Rābi'ah of Basra, who came to Jerusalem and lived there a life of piety and meditation until her death.

Equally significant was the flow of Christian pilgrims since the days of St. Helena. This flow was not interrupted when the Holy Land fell under Muslim rule. The story that Hārūn ar-Rashīd sent the keys of the Holy Sepulchre to Charlemagne may be fictitious, but it was by the Caliph's grace and with Charlemagne's patronage that hostels for pilgrims were established in the Holy Land and nuns sent to serve at Jerusalem.

By the time of Hārūn ar-Rashid, Islamic law had been codified and the administration of the empire ordered accordingly. An important element in this order was the special tolerance accorded to "the People of the Book," the Christians and Jews. It is little appreciated nowadays that, in an extremely intolerant age, Islam did not seek to eliminate its predecessors. Far from practising suppression, its avowed policy was one of coexistence.

An assertion has gained currrency in recent years that under Islam non-Muslims were "second class citizens." This is fallacious, in the first place because it projects into the distant and very different past the comparatively modern notions of citizenship and equality before a secular law, and in the second place because it does not relate the principle of Islamic tolerance to the theory and practice of its own times, stained as they were with fanaticism and persecutions.

The Koran insists that Islam is the last divine message to mankind, sent down to complete previous messages. This being so, absolute religious equality, which even in our own times is still a goal seldom reached, was contrary to divine ordinance. But far from resenting its application, the Christians and Jews who benefited from the principles of Islamic tolerance wlecomed it as heaven-sent. There is ample evidence in the early history of Islam in Syria and Palestine that the Christians and Jews welcomed the Muslims as deliverers from injustice and persecution.

Under the new order, freedom of worship, inviolability of existing places of worship, safety of person and property, and above all, communal autonomy, were all guaranteed in return for the single obligation of paying poll-tax. It is an established historical fact that it was the tolerance, not the sword, of Islam that swelled the ranks of believers in Syria and Palestine and resulted both in the Islamising and Arabicising of the majority of the population, and in the survival of sizable Christian and Jewish minorities.

To these minorities, as well as to foreign Christian and Jewish pilgrims, the Islamic state, with remarkably few individual lapses,

guaranteed religious freedom and free access to shrines. What but Muslim tolerance could have gradually and informally relaxed the strict ban on Jews in 'Umar's covenant with Sophronius? It is a fact that a trickle of Jews was gradually allowed to reach and live in Jerusalem. But there is no evidence in the standard works by Muslim historians, jurists and others, of any Jewish place of worship in the city. So far as can be discovered, the earliest mention of such a place is by a Persian traveller who visited Jerusalem some fifty years before the Crusades.

The Christian and Muslim Holy Places, however, are abundantly described by pilgrims and diverse authors. To the Muslims and to the Arabs the passage of time served only to enhance Jerusalem's position in their tradition and history. An appreciation of that position is best seen through the eyes of two or three Muslim authors who wrote during the century preceding the Crusades.

The first quotation is from Ibn Ḥauqal, a merchant and traveller, who flourished in the golden age of the caliphate, the tenth century. He describes the Ḥaram area and the relative positions in it of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque. Of Jerusalem itself he says: "The Holy City is nearly as large as ar-Ramlah...[but] greater than its Mosque there is none in all Islam."

It is appropriate that the second quotation should be from al-Muqaddasi who, as his name indicates, was a native of Jerusalem. His family was among the first Arabs to settle in the city after its conquest. His love and veneration of it are clear from these words:

> "As to her being the finest city, why, has any seen elsewhere buildings finer or cleaner, or a mosque that is more beautiful? ...And as to the excellence of the city, why, is not this the place of marshalling on the Day of Judgment?...Verily, Mecca and Medina have their superiority by reason of the Kaabah and the Prophet, but, in truth, on the Day of Judgment, both cities will come to Jerusalem, and the excellencies of them all will be united."

The third quotation is from the Persian traveller Nasir-i-Khusrau, who visited the city in A.D. 1047. He confirms that in Syria and the neighbouring regions Jerusalem was known as al-Quds (the Holy City) and writes:

> "The people of these parts, if they are unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, will go at the appointed season to Jerusalem and there perform their rites, and upon the feast day slay the sacrifices, as is the custom at Mecca on the same day. There are years when as many as twenty thousand people will be present at Jerusalem during the first days of the pilgrimage month."

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Khusrau also mentions Christians and Jews who came to Jerusalem to visit "the church (*kalisa*) and the synagogue (*konisht*) that are there." He describes in great detail the Church of the Resurrection, but says nothing about a synagogue or any other Jewish place of worship. As we have seen, there was no such place at the time of the Arab conquest. It is true that the ban on the Jews in the terms of the city's surrender to 'Umar was gradually and informally relaxed, but so far as can be discovered, Khusrau is the first Muslim author to mention the "synagogue." His reference to it, no matter how cursory, raises a legal puzzle which is very difficult to solve.

Under Islamic law no *new* synagogue was allowed. This was a more fundamental question than permitting the Jews to visit or even to live in Jerusalem. The silence of Muslim sources on this subject suggests, if Khusrau's statement is to be accepted, that the Jews may have used a dwelling-house for purposes of assembly or communal worship, since canon law prescribes ten as the minimum for such worship. It is important, however, that neither Khusrau nor any of his predecessors made any mention of Jewish lamentation at the exterior of the western wall of the Ḥaram, known later as the Wailing Place or the Wailing Wall.

No mention of either a synagogue or wailing at a wall is made by al-Ghazāli, who visited Jerusalem some fifty years after Khusrau, and occupied quarters in the Ḥaram area within a bowshot from the wall in question. But al-Ghazāli's pilgrimage is of such supreme importance that it requires more than a passing mention. He had been the principal of the Niẓamiyya, the highest educational institution in Baghdad, when he resigned his post, donned the garb of a mystic and proceeded to Jerusalem on the way to Mecca and Medina.

From the first days of Islam the pursuit of learning was regarded

as a religious duty, the more so since all learning was, to start with, religious. Just as it is true to say that the first textbook in Islam was the Koran, so is it true to say that the first school was the mosque. Naturally the mosques of the three Holy Cities were from the beginning seats of learning. In them preachers and teachers offered education to all those who frequented their circles.

The Aqṣā Mosque was a particular seat of learning. In enumerating the merits of his native city, al-Muqaddasi says that in his time it had "all manner of learned men" who delighted the hearts of all intelligent students. Scholars coming from distant lands had for their reception special quarters, the upkeep of which was ensured by religious foundations. Most of these quarters were near the Ḥaram, and the most common type was the *zāwiyah*, properly a retreat for meditation and prayer by mystics, but also a hostel and an educational institution.

It was in such a place, on the eastern side of the Ḥaram area, that al-Ghazāli took up residence in 1095, and here at the Aqṣā Mosque that he began the writing of his *magnum opus* which was to perform in Islam a function analogous to that performed by the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in Christendom. The place was over the Bab ar-Raḥmah, the Gate of Mercy, which later tradition associates with the gate "in the inward thereof is mercy," mentioned in the Koran. (LVII, 13)

Al-Ghazāli's discourse at the Aqṣā Mosque had so impressed the worshippers that they begged him to write for their benefit a concise exposition of the Islamic creed. This he did, and called it the *Jerusalem Tract*, a composition unique in its insight, clarity and comprehensiveness. It has recently been my task to publish an annotated edition of this tract with an English translation and introduction, under the auspices of the Islamic Cultural Centre in London.

Four years after al-Ghazāli's pilgrimage, "the greatest calamity befell Islam" with the loss of Jerusalem to the Crusaders in 1099. This is not the place to dilate upon the Crusades. Their barbarity is one of the darkest chapters in human history. As a holy war it began in Europe with assaults on and massacres of the Jews, and it celebrated its victory in the Holy City by the wholesale and indiscriminate massacre of the Muslim population, men, women and children; even those who took refuge in the Ḥaram and its mosques, which were desecrated and their treasures plundered. The few Jews who had not

escaped before the city was besieged assembled for safety in their "synagogue" which the Crusaders burnt over their heads. Thus all the non-Christian inhabitants of the city were wiped out, their property looted and their houses occupied by the invaders. The entire Ḥaram area was confiscated and handed over to a new order of knights. The anguish that pervaded the then disunited and weakened lands of Islam was depicted by Abi-Wardi in a long poem of which the following lines are representative:

Our blood we have mixed with overflow of tears
When our line of defence was no more.
A man's worst weapon is tears to shed
When war is waged with cutting swords.
Of ye sons of Islam, behold
Onslaughts on all sides!
How can you close your eyes
To a calamity that awakes the sound asleep?
How long will Arab heroes endure such injury,
And submit to disgrace from the barbarian?

The injury had to be endured for some 90 years, until Saladin reconquered the city in 1187. About 20 years earlier a Spanish traveller, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, visited Jerusalem and wrote an account of his journeys containing a brief description of the city, its Holy Places and its inhabitants. He mentions no Muslims among them, but says that there were about two hundred Jews, some of whom operated a tannery which they rented from the King. Some ten years after Benjamin another Jewish traveller, Rabbi Petachia of Regensburg, found only one Jew in Jerusalem, a dyer.

There is no mention in Benjamin's account of any synagogue. The one reported by Khusrau, whether actually a synagogue or a house of assembly, was probably the same building as that which was set on fire by the Crusaders over the heads of the Jews. Benjamin erroneously ascribes the erection of the Dome of the Rock, then used as a church and called by the Crusaders *Templum Domini*, to 'Umar Ibn al-Khattāb. He says that opposite the Dome to the west was one of the walls of the ancient Temple, that it was called the Gate of Mercy,

and that "the Jews" resorted to it for devotion. (The Gate of Mercy was of course on the *eastern* side.)

It is clear that Benjamin's topography is faulty. But his language does not mean that "the Jews" were actually permitted by the Crusaders to pray at the threshold of what was then a church. Nor does he say that he himself prayed there. Indeed, his factual errors suggest that he never actually visited the area, but obtained his information second-hand.

Nevertheless Benjamin is significant as one of the earliest sources to mention devotion at what became known as the Wailing Place or Wailing Wall. Pious Jews continued to mourn the disappearance of the Temple, and since the days of Constantine had done so intermittently in Jerusalem or on the Mount of Olives overlooking the old Temple area. But this was not a Jewish religious duty, individual or communal. Whether inspired by legend and tradition, or based on historical and archaeological evidence, an assumption grew up among devout Jews that a portion of the massive lower structure of the Western walls of the Ḥaram was a remnant of the walls of the old Temple.

It is difficult to establish when the custom of individual Jews resorting to the exterior of the western walls of the Ḥaram for devotion assumed a more formal or communal character. Most probably the transition was gradual and, to the Muslim authorities, imperceptible. The restoration of some Jewish life in Jerusalem after 1187 was due entirely to Saladin. In his empire, wrote the well-known Jewish historian Graetz, the Jews found "a safe asylum from persecution." The decline of their numbers in Jerusalem to a single inhabitant under the Crusaders was followed by a gradual increase under successive Muslim rulers. From the period of the Crusaders down to our own times the movement of Jewish refugees has been from Christian Europe to the lands of Islam, Palestine and Jerusalem receiving a small fraction of these refugees.

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Saladin was no less generous or humane even to his enemies who had butchered the Muslim population of Jerusalem. To the successors of the "chivalrous" knights who, according to their historian,

waded knee-deep in the blood of Muslim women and children, Saladin guaranteed safety of life, property and passage to the coast on payment of a moderate ransom. He exempted aged men and women, and gave gifts to widows and orphans. He answered the pleas of women, both noble and common, whose men were in captivity, by setting them free. His brother al-'Adil, with Saladin's consent, freed a thousand captives without ransom.

The recovery of Jerusalem by Saladin figures larger in Islamic history than does its first acquisition by 'Umar five and a half centuries before. That Saladin's entry into the city fell on Friday 27 Rajab 583 A.H., the anniversary of the Prophet's Night Journey, was regarded by Muslims as providential. But it was too late that day to perform the ritual and communal midday prayer. The Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque had first to be cleansed of defilement. For a whole week noble and learned men took part with humble folk in washing the floors seven times with water, thoroughly cleaning the walls and liberally sprinkling the buildings with rose water.

On the following Friday, Saladin with his victorious army and a large number of ulema and notables, gathered from all over the land for the midday prayer in the Aqṣā Mosque. The usual sermon was preceded by a much longer oration delivered by the Qāḍi of Damascus, appointed for the occasion by Saladin himself. After dwelling on the exalted status of Jerusalem in Islam by recounting in detail its place in the Koran, Islamic history and tradition, the orator cautioned and exhorted the Muslims in these words:

> "Oh servants of God! Let Satan not deceive you into believing that this victory was due to your swords, for by God, victory comes only from Him...Beware lest you disobey Him who has honoured you with this victory...Fight in His Way! Obey His commandment and He will give you further victories...Eradicate the enemy and purify the land from his filth..."

Saladin was the first to obey the call, but military duties did not prevent him from attending to the tasks of peace. He ordered a complete restoration of the Ḥaram area to its pristine condition. The fact is to this day inscribed on beautiful tiles inside the cupola of the Dome over the Rock. The city also had to be repeopled by Muslims, at least to the same extent as before the Crusades. Where no relatives or descendants claimed Muslim houses now vacated by

the Franks, Saladin deliberately assigned them to clans from well-known Arab tribes.

He was particularly anxious to restore to the city its character as a seat of Islamic learning. Apart from the resumption of normal worship and study at the Aqṣā Mosque, many new educational and charitable institutions were established in the precincts. Saladin himself endowed a new *madrasah* (School for higher religious studies) two hostels for scholars and mystics and a hospital. Two of his lieutenants followed his example by establishing similar institutions.

To his successors and their lieutenants goes the credit for a number of monuments, two of which, in the Ḥaram area, deserve special mention. In 1193, Saladin's son, al-Afḍal, built the Maghāribah Mosque in the south-west corner of the area near the gate by that name, and dedicated the land outside the gate as *waqf* (religious foundation) for the mosque and pilgrims and scholars from North Africa. The choice of this site for the mosque and the foundation had excellent reasons. Tradition had long associated the ground outside and inside the Maghāribah Gate with Muḥammad's nocturnal journey. Hence the Gate is also called the Prophet's or Burāq's Gate, and the spot where the Prophet's mount was tethered is commemorated by a chamber in the Ḥaram wall inside the Gate to the left, which is often called the Burāq Mosque.

Another monument dating from Saladin's era is also in the Ḥaram area and connected with the Prophet's nocturnal journey. In 1200 the governor of Jerusalem had the Dome of Ascension completely rebuilt on the spot which tradition identifies as the place where Muḥammad prayed before his ascension to heaven.

Saladin himself was responsible for yet another measure that raised the status of Jerusalem still higher. Seeing that the vandalism of the Crusaders had swept away a number of the graves of famous men who had died in the city, he ordered the burial of the heroes of his campaign near the walls of the Ḥaram, by the Gate of Mercy. The ground was named "the cemetery of the holy warriors." This place had already been the burial ground of famous men and women. Here were buried the two Companions of the Prophet, 'Ubādah and Shaddād, mentioned above. Here, too was buried Fāṭimah, the daughter of Mu'āwiyah. Certain famous men who died elsewhere were by their wish buried in Jerusalem. This was the case of two rulers of Egypt and Syria before the Fatimids, one of whom died in Cairo, and the other in Damascus.

The restoration of Jerusalem to the fold of Islam brought to it a greater stream of pilgrims and scholars. It inspired numerous books on the city, its Ḥaram and their place in Islam. The original historical facts and traditions were re-interpreted not merely to stress the sacred character of Jerusalem but to extend this character to Palestine, and indeed to the whole of Syria (ash-Shām).

A representative list of these works is before me as I write. The mere recurrence of the word *fadā'il* (virtues) in the titles is noteworthy, for it is used in reference to Jerusalem, or the Aqṣā Mosque, or Syria as a whole. The earliest work in this class is by a contemporary of Saladin; its author is Ibn 'Asākir, the s[illegible] and editor of the famous historian. One of the latest is by Abdul-Ghani an-Nābulsi, the mystic and theologian who died in the first half of the eighteenth century. A number of these works, including Ibn 'Asakir's, were written in Jerusalem or delivered as lectures in the Aqṣā. All of them extol the pilgrimage to the city.

Like the pilgrimage to Mecca, the visit (*ziyārah*) to Jerusalem was now made in accordance with prescribed rites to be performed at the Dome of the Rock, the Aqṣa Mosque and other spots, sanctified by tradition, in or near the Ḥaram area. But unlike the pilgrimage to Mecca, the visit to Jerusalem is not on a fixed date, and if performed in the same year as the former it may precede or succeed it according to the pilgrim's circumstances.

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The Crusades continued long after the reconquest of Jerusalem by Saladin. But he kept the city open to Christian pilgrims, even those coming from enemy territory. He also kept it open to the Jews, travellers as well as refugees. For the Crusades, even before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, drove Jewish refugees to the lands of Islam extending from Morocco to Syria. Under Saladin and his dynasty, as under Mamluk and Ottoman sultans, these lands afforded refuge for persecuted Jews.

Most of those who reached Palestine were destitute, particularly those who chose to live in Jerusalem on the charity of their kinsmen abroad. A few wealthy European Jews visited the city and wrote accounts of their visits which are remarkable for their brevity and

vagueness, in contrast to similar accounts by Christian or Muslim pilgrims. This was perhaps inevitable, since s Christian or a Muslim found much to write about while a Jew had little more than memories.

Thus when the Spanish Cabbalist Isaac Ben Chelo visited Jerusalem about 1334 he merely reproduced Benjamin of Tudela and said so. He mentions no synagogue, nor does he say that he visited or prayed at the Wailing Place or the Western Wall. About a century and a half later two rabbis visited the city separately and wrote brief accounts of their visits. In 1481 Meshullam Ben Menahim of Volterra reported the existence of 250 Jewish house-holders in the city, but said nothing about a synagogue or his praying anywhere. His reference to the Ḥaram, which incidentally corrects some of Benjamin's errors, is worthy of note:

> "The Temple, may it be restored speedily in our days, is still surrounded by a wall, on the east side are the Gates of Mercy...The Gates are closed, and on both sides of the Gates are Muslim graves."

Some ten years later the Italian Rabbi Obadiah Jaré da Bertinoro reported the existence of about seventy Jewish families in Jerusalem. He says that he "made enquiries" concerning the Temple, which suggests that, like his predecessors, he did not go near it. Nor does he say that he prayed at the Wailing Place or the Western Wall, which he describes as "composed of large, thick stones." But he specifically mentions a synagogue — "large, narrow and dark, the light entering it only by the door...quite close to it stands a mosque."

This statement is confirmed by a Muslim contemporary, Mujīr-ud-Dīn, who later became the Qāḍi of Jerusalem and author of a learned book on it. As we have already suggested, and as Obadiah's description indicates, the building must have been used as a synagogue surreptitiously. The three hundred or so Jews lived, according to Mujīr, in a quarter separated from the walls of the Ḥaram by purely Muslim quarters, including that of the Maghāribah (North Africans) along the western walls. The mosque mentioned by Obadiah was continguous to, not simply near the synagogue.

Hence in 1473 the existence of the synagogue was challenged before a Shāfi'i judge. The judge ruled that, as Jewish property, the building could be used as a dwelling house or shop but that its use as a synagogue was an unlicensed innovation. Certain zealots misinterpreted this ruling and proceeded to demolish the building. The Jews

appealed to the Sultan Qaitbai in Cairo, who was angry with the zealots for taking the law into their own hands. Not only did he punish some of the suspected instigators, but also, after legal consultation, sanctioned the rebuilding of the synagogue, despite an anonymous accusation he received from Jerusalem that the Jews had paid money into his treasury to secure the concession. (The *Jewish Encyclopaedia* confirms that "a large sum of money" was actually paid.)

The concession was clearly made by a confident sovereign for the assurance of a powerless and very tiny religious minority. The evasion of the law by a few hundred Jews was condoned by him, probably because the local authorities must have for some time already tolerated the existence of a synagogue next door to a mosque. But it is singular how a tiny minority, entirely dependent on the goodwill and hospitality of Muslim rulers, could so stealthily contravene Islamic law and obtain advantages therefrom!

This episode is yet another example of Arab and Muslim tolerance. It was by the grace and favour of Arab rulers that the terms secured by Sophronius from 'Umar banning the Jews from Jerusalem were gradually relaxed. It was also by the grace and favour of Muslim rulers that the Jews, completely eliminated by the Crusaders, were re-admitted. These favours were now crowned with the supreme indulgence over the question of the synagogue.

Nevertheless, the concession was very unpopular, and the Ḥanafi judge delegated by the sultan to execute his order went down in history as "the judge of the synagogue." To the best of my knowledge this was the earliest occasion since the Arab conquest that a synagogue was authorised in Jerusalem.

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Qaitbai was by all accounts a pious Sultan, and Jerusalem was an object of his special attention. In 1475 he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and before returning to Cairo visited Jerusalem and performed the prescribed rites. He sat in the Aqṣā Mosque and, according to ancient custom, listened to complaints against his officials. The controversy about the synagogue was still raging. To conciliate religious opinion he ordered the re-establishment on a grand scale of a school, al-Madrassah al-Ashrafiyyah, inside the Ḥaram, close to

the Aqṣā Mosque. According to Mujīr, the school building was "a third jewel" in the Ḥaram area. Its endowment provided for a staff of jurists and sufis as well as quarters for scholars.

Nor were other Mamluk Sultans less generous patrons of learning in Jerusalem or less assiduous in adding to or embellishing its religious and public buildings. They filled the city with endowed schools and hostels for scholars and mystics. They enriched the Ḥaram area with four minarets and added more cloisters around it. They certainly deserved the honorific titles they assumed as "servants and guardians" of the holy places in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. It was they who checked the Mongols in a decisive battle in northern Palestine, and achieved the final expulsion of the Crusaders from their last stronghold in the Holy Land.

As champions of Islam, the Ottoman Sultans were worthy successors. Syria and Palestine were conquered by Salīm I, who, on entering Damascus, ordered the building of a shrine over the tomb of the mystic Ibn al-'Arabi. And, before joining his army which had advanced along the coast as far as Gaza, he made a special detour to Jerusalem, performed the rites of pilgrimage, and took formal possession of the city. By the end of January 1517 his army had entered Cairo, where he received a delegation from the Sharifs of Mecca. Salīm had thus succeeded to the titles of the Mamluks as the "servant and guardian" of the holy places of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.

Salīm's successor, Sulaimān the Magnificent, gave Jerusalem substantially all the superstructure of its present walls, a new water supply, and five fountains in or near the Ḥaram area, and carried out extensive repairs in the area and in the Dome of the Rock. He continued the practice of his Muslim predecessors by establishing a hostel for mystics and a religious school.

It is not necessary to enumerate the pious acts of successive Ottoman Sultans. These are recorded in the religious court in the city and inscribed, where appropriate, on the buildings in the Ḥaram area and elsewhere. But it must be recognised that, coinciding with a decline in Ottoman power, anarchy crept into provincial administration and educational establishments, and some foundations were neglected to such an extent that many of the schools actually disappeared.

The Ḥaram itself was never neglected. The Sultans who erected magnificent mosques in Constantinople never forgot the ancient mosques of Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina. The maintenance and

embellishment of the mosques in Jerusalem were a source of pride to successive Sultans. It is sufficient here to refer only to those who reigned during the nineteenth century, when major restorations were undertaken by Mahmūd II and his two successors, 'Abdul-Majīd and 'Abdul-'Aziz. So extensive were these restorations that they amounted in places to complete rebuilding. The last named Sultan is known to historians for his extravagance, and few if any of them give him credit for his lavish spending on the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque.

Greater attention was paid to Jerusalem, together with Mecca and Medina, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when Ottoman Sultans began to emphasize their role as Caliph. None of them was more assiduous in cultivating this idea than 'Abdul-Ḥamīd II. He completed the work of restoration begun by his predecessors and had the floors of the two mosques completely covered with valuable Persian carpets.

Under these four Sultans radical if gradua' changes took place in Jerusalem. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the city was still within the walls. Except for monks and guardians of Holy Places, Franks had not been allowed to reside in it, even as diplomatic representatives, since the days of the Crusades. Pilgrims and travellers were, indeed, admitted, but only for limited periods at certain times of year. An exception was made in favour of Jewish refugees, who at first came mainly from Spain, and rather later from Central and Eastern Europe. Most of them lived in abject poverty, huddled in a small quarter. Many were old people who came to die in the city, and many others were perpetual students of the Talmud who, like most of the other Jewish inhabitants, lived on the charity of their kinsmen in Europe.

As a result of the Egyptian occupation of Palestine and Syria in 1831, the slow process of change was accelerated. Lawlessness was stamped out, and the country was opened to European merchants, missionaries and travellers. The Egyptian administration was particularly tolerant towards Christians and Jews. A British consulate, the first of its kind, was opened in Jerusalem. Among its tasks was the "protection" of the Jews. An Anglican bishop was installed in the city with the mission of converting the Jews to Christianity. Great Britain exerted great pressure on the Sultan until he allowed the building of a new Protestant church just inside the city wall near the citadel.

When exactly did the Muslim authorities allow the Jews to pray outside the western wall of the Ḥaram is very obscure. It must have come about gradually and imperceptibly, without formal authorisation, as in the case of the synagogue described above. Evidently it was by the same Muslim indulgence, which had sanctioned a synagogue next door to a mosque, that the Jews were permitted to wail and pray at the threshold of the third Holy Place in Islam.

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During the Egyptian occupation there were two main Jewish communities in Jerusalem, hostile to each other. The Sephardim, who came principally from Spain, formed the vast majority, and were Ottoman subjects. By careful use of adjacent buildings they converted the only synagogue into four, but under one roof. One of their rabbis was recognised by the Turkish authorities as the spokesman of the community, and was later promoted to the official post of Chief Rabbi.

The other community, the Ashkenazim, were recent arrivals from Prussia, Austria, Poland and Russia, and formed a small minority. Most of them retained their foreign nationalities, and under the system of capitulations were virtually beyond the reach of Ottoman law. A further complication was introduced by the instructions to the newly opened British consulate "to afford protection to the Jews generally." Accordingly many European Jews who were not British subjects sought and received British consular protection.

Exploiting the advantage of foreign protection, European Jews employed elaborate stratagem to secure permission to acquire immovable property, to erect a new synagogue, and most ambitious of all, to gain a prescriptive right over a sacred Muslim property. Under Ottoman law foreigners were still debarred from acquiring real estate anywhere in the Empire. And the Egyptian administration, though established a a result of a rebellion against the Sultan, recognised him as the legal sovereign, and upheld his laws as well as Islamic law in general. Hence Muḥammad 'Ali had no hesitation in refusing permission to foreign Jews to buy land in or near Jerusalem. (Other Jews, the vast majority, were, as Ottoman subjects, free to do so.)

More cunning was the attempt in the autumn of 1839, by Jews

under foreign protection, to acquire a vested interest in the Wailing Place. A British consul approached Ibrāhīm Pasha, the Egyptian commander-in-chief, with the news that a British Jew had made a votive offering for the paving of the Wailing Place, and requested that his protégés be permitted to undertake the work. Ibrahim himself gave a favourable reply, but when the proposal was laid before the consultative council which he himself had set up in the city, a firm refusal was recommended. The recommendation was supported by a vehement protest from the Shaikh of the Maghāribah.

It will be recalled that the land outside the Maghāribah Gate of the Ḥaram, including the ground of the Wailing Place, had been dedicated as a Muslim religious foundation (*Waqf*) by Saladin's son. In the course of time the area became the exclusive resort of Maghāribah (North African) pilgrims, divines and scholars. In 1303 a *zāwiyah* was founded on the land under a new bequest. A more important foundation, with a *zāwiyah* and dwelling houses on the original *waqf* land, was established in 1320 by Shu'aib Abū Madyan al-Ghauth, himself a Maghribi. So close had the association of north African Muslims with the Ḥaram and its precincts become that the Sultan of Morocco, 'Ali Ibn 'Uthmān al-Mirrini, wrote the whole Koran on parchment with his own hand and, in 1352, sent the copy to the Aqṣā Mosque, with another Abū Madyan as guardian. In 1630 the land and its amenities were re-registered as a *waqf* in the Muslim religious court.

Thus the North Africans had been in possession, under the terms of three bequests, for over six centuries when, in 1839 they were shocked by Jewish pretentions. The Shaikh of the Zāwiyah of Abū Madyan wrote on behalf of his community that their quarter was adjacent to the walls of the Ḥaram, where the Prophet's mount, al-Burāq, had been tethered. He conceded that the Jews had been allowed to visit a section of the wall, as long as they conducted themselves in a seemly manner, without raising their voices. In the last few years, however, they had been coming in greater numbers and caused annoyance by raising their voices as if the place was a synagogue. Now, he concludes, they wish to pave the ground "preliminary to their ultimate aims."

The consultative council substantiated these statements and added in its report that the Wailing Place was a narrow lane leading to and ending with the *Zāwiyah*, which, together with the neighbouring houses and the lane itself, were embraced by the Abū Madyan Foun-

dation. All the papers were referred to Muḥammad 'Ali in Cairo. The result of a thorough examination is embodied in an order to the governor of Jerusalem dated 24 Rabi' I, 1256 (= 26 May 1840):

> "The deliberations of the consultative council in Jerusalem show that the place the Jews asked for permission to pave adjoins the wall of al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf as well as the place where al-Burāq was tethered, that it forms part of the *waqf* (foundation) of Abū Madyan (of blessed memory), and that the Jews have never repaired such things in that place. It has also been found that the petition is inadmissible under the *shar'* (Islamic law). Therefore the Jews must not be allowed to pave it. They must be warned against raising their voices and other ostentations, and must be forbidden to do so. They are only allowed their visits as before."

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As far as can be ascertained this was the earliest occasion for an authoritative statement of the conditions under which the Jews were permitted to resort to the wall of a Muslim holy place for devotional purposes. Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century the Jews, particularly those under foreign protection, benefited from the liberal reforms introduced by two imperial decrees. Thus in 1854 the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem, with the support of the British consul, sought permission to "rebuild" a ruined place which they claimed was an ancient synagogue.

I have seen no mention of such an ancient synagogue in the accounts of Christian, Jewish or Muslim travellers and other writers on Jerusalem. The fact that the document submitted by the Ashkenazim described the place as a *dair* (monastery) raises serious doubts as to its real past. Furthermore, the dates and the language of these documents raise further doubts as to their authenticity. But the matter was not for historians to decide. The same British ambassador who, a decade earlier, had exerted great pressure to obtain a permit for a new Protestant church, was now able to extract a permit for what was represented as merely the rebuilding of an old synagogue.

Thus each of the two main Jewish communities now had its

own authorised synagogue. But there were other places of worship which required no formal authority. These were strictly places for the study of the Talmud, but their premises, no matter how poor and unhygienic they were according to contemporary eye-witnesses, served also for assembly and prayer.

The number of Jews then in Jerusalem cannot be ascertained. Official Turkish statistics are lacking, and the Jews themselves, on religious grounds, (vide I Chron. XXI, 1 sqq) resisted the attempts to hold a census of even such a distinguished Jew as Sir Moses Montefiore in 1849. Hence different sources give widely different estimates. In 1874 the British consul estimated their number at three thousand. Much higher figures had been given two or three decades earlier. One explanation of the difference is that both immigration and emigration were periodic, depending on Jewish circumstances abroad and their means of livelihood in Jerusalem.

Be that as it may, most of the Jews who had hitherto come to Jerusalem were destitute. Their aim was purely religious: to end their days in the Holy City. A radical change in the character and aims of immigrants began to appear after 1881, following Russian legislation and pogroms.

This is not the place to give even a brief account of the origins of Zionism. Suffice it to state that, before Zionism gave a *political* colour to Jewish immigration, the Turkish government and the Arab population had for centuries continued the traditional practice of affording asylum for persecuted Jews. The foregoing pages will have shown the great lengths to which the Muslim authorities went in order to facilitate Jewish worship and devotion, even at the threshold of the third Holy Place of Islam.

And yet, despite the political character of Zionism, the first change in this attitude was not strictly political. On the part of the Turkish government it was due to the influx of Russian subjects who sought and received foreign consular protection; on the part of the Arab population of Jerusalem to the competition of a new type of Jewish immigrant: craftsmen, pedlars and shopkeepers. Gradually both the government and the local population began to resent and suspect the exclusiveness and separate existence which Jewish immigrants very studiously maintained, often under foreign protection.

In 1887 the Ottoman government issued orders which, while allowing European Jews to enter the country as pilgrims or visitors, forbade their settlement, particularly in Jerusalem, where the Jewish

quarter was overcrowded and unhygienic. Similar orders were issued banning such Jews from acquiring land in Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine. The British consul was the first to protest against these measures, although he had the smallest number of protected Jews on his list, as compared with his Russian and Austrian colleagues.

The measures were, however, ineffective, more because of an inefficient administrative machinery than as a result of foreign consular opposition. Foreign Jews did, in fact, continue to settle and buy land. Within a decade their presence caused an economic crisis in Jerusalem, from which the Muslim population suffered most. In 1891 they sent a formal protest to the Grand Vizier. That no energetic action was taken during the next two decades is clear from a debate in the Chamber of Deputies in Constantinople in 1911 on "the storm of Zionism."

The year 1911 was also significant in the history of Jerusalem in another way. Since the official ruling of 1840 concerning the Wailing Place and the pavement in front of it, the number of Jews had greatly increased in the city, and correspondingly greater numbers visited the Wailing Place. Gradually individual devotions at the place led to what might be called communal prayer, which, at any rate, needed no more than ten persons.

All attempts to bring to the place certain articles such as chairs, were invariably followed by protests from the guardians of the Abū Madyan Foundation, and orders from the Turkish authorities to maintain the old practice unchanged. But the Jews persisted in trying until the matter was once more covered by an authoritative decision similar to that of 1840. On 12 November, 1911 the Administrative Council submitted the following decision to the governor of Jerusalem for ratification:

"The guardian of the Foundation of Shu'aib Abū Madyan al-Ghauth (of blessed memory) has submitted a petition to the effect that members of the Jewish community who have been accustomed to visit the wall of al-Burāq outside al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf to the west, provided they remained standing during the visit, have lately begun, contrary to custom, to bring chairs to sit on during the visits. Since the Burāq is the property of the above mentioned Foundation, and is in a blind alley, the guardian has asked for this development to stop, lest in future the Jews claim ownership of the place.

"This petition has been considered by His Eminence the Mufti, the Department of Religious Foundations, and the Religious Courts, and they have pointed out that this particular property belongs to the dwelling houses adjacent to the wall of the Noble Aqṣā Mosque on the western side, that it is a blind alley within the property of the foundation in question, that according to Islamic law it is absolutely illegal to place there chairs, or a screen, or any such articles, or to introduce any innovation which might lead to a claim to possession of the wall of the Noble Aqṣā Mosque, and that steps must be taken to prevent the Jews from introducing the innovation.

"After deliberation the Council has decided not to allow the placing of any articles that might be construed as evidence of ownership, either at the said property of the Foundation or at the wall of al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf, so as to give no opportunity for anyone to introduce such articles, but strictly to maintain the ancient custom."

This was the position on the eve of the outbreak of the First World War which led to the end of centuries of Muslim rule and the beginning of British occupation.

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The above is an essentially factual account of the place of Jerusalem in Arab and Muslim history. Little attempt has been made to describe the city's place in the hearts of Muslims, or to portray its evocative and emotional associations in the mind of Arabs, be they Christians or Muslims. To do so, history would need to borrow from religion its deepest feelings, and from poetry her sweetest tunes. But these, alas, have no place in the scheme of this essay.

Although clearly not concerned with the place of Jerusalem in Jewish tradition, a great deal of space has been allocated to Jewish association with the city during thirteen centuries of Muslim rule interrupted only by the Crusades. The facts speak for themselves, and no fair-minded historian can fail to observe that successive Muslim governments of the land continued to play host to Jews persecuted elsewhere. Even when, occasionally, the Jews abused the hospitality afforded them, they were treated with patience and tolerance. From the episode of the first synagogue at the end of the fifteenth century to the repeated attempts to change the *status quo* at the Wailing Place in our own times, the Jews were merely corrected, not punished for their abuse of hospitality.

A great change took place after 1914. In that year the number of Jews in all Palestine was variously estimated at between sixty and eighty thousand. A sizable majority of them lived in Jerusalem.

During the 1914–18 War both the Arabs and the Zionists secured certain British promises. The Arabs, who rose in revolt against the Turks and allied themselves with Britain, were promised independence in the McMahon Letter of 25 October, 1915, which they always understood to include Palestine. In the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917, the Zionists were promised "a national home in Palestine" which they always intended to convert into a national state.

Various means, including appeals to religious sentiment, were used by the Turks to counteract the Arab revolt. Having lost Mecca to the Arabs, and with Medina besieged by them, the Sultan-Caliph controlled only the third Holy City, Jerusalem. Here Jamal Pasha, the Commander-in-chief, had the religious school established by Saladin revived as a centre of Islamic propaganda. He was no doubt aware that the Indian Muslims were not sympathetic to the Arab revolt on religious grounds, and that they had protested against a series of articles in *The Times* which described the British advance in southern Palestine as a crusade.

Jamal Pasha tried to wean the Arabs from British alliance, not simply by offering political terms, but also by appealing to common religious sentiments. The British army, he wrote, would not have been on its way to Jerusalem, the city secured for Islam by Saladin, had the Arabs and Turks remained united in the defence of their heritage. So pained and embarrassed was the Sharif of Mecca, the leader of the Arab revolt and the staunch ally of Britain, that he refrained from sending congratulations on the capture of Jerusalem, much to the disappointment of the British government. But he, too, was disappointed by their failure to invite his son Faiṣal, who had commanded the Arab army in Trans-Jordan, and protected the right flank of the British advance, to be present on the occasion of the British entry into the city.

A proclamation, carefully prepared by Lord Curzon and approved by the Cabinet, with a view to allaying the fears of Indian Muslims, was read in the presence of General Allenby, the Commander-in-Chief, on his formal entry into the city. The following is one of the most important paragraphs in it:

> "I make known to you that every sacred building, monument, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer, of whatsoever form, of the three religions, will be maintained and protected according to existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred."

It is now for the first time possible to reveal, on the basis of official and hitherto secret British documents, how the Jews, and the Zionists in particular, sought to nullify the solemn British promise to maintain the *status quo* in the Holy Places in Jerusalem.

Even while half of Palestine was still in Turkish hands and final British victory still a year ahead, the Zionists began to challenge, both secretly and openly, the spirit and the letter of Allenby's proclamation. They persuaded the British government to accept a token detachment of two battalions in the British army in Palestine. And one of the first acts of this detachment on its arrival early in 1918 was to hold a "public service" at the Wailing Wall on 30th March. Ten days later the Zionist Commission under Weizmann did likewise.

On its way to Palestine the Commission was made aware of the political and religious apprehensions of the Arabs and Muslims. The Sultan of Egypt expressed to the British authorities Muslim fears that the Jews had designs on the Ḥaram in Jerusalem. Dr. Fāris Nimr, the Christian Arab Lebanese who edited the pro-British *al-Muqaṭṭam*, conveyed the same fears to the British liaison officer with the Commission who, however, dismissed them as anti-Semitic propaganda. This is belied by Weizmann himself. He sought "authority to deal with this question as soon as possible" in a letter he wrote to Balfour from Tel-Aviv on 30th May 1918:

> "THE HANDING OVER OF THE WAILING WALL. We Jews have many holy places in Palestine, but the Wailing Wall — believed to be a part of the old Temple wall — is the only one which is in some sense left to us. All the others are in the hands of Christians or Moslems. It is surrounded by a group of miserable, dirty cottages and derelict buildings, which make the whole place from a hygienic point of view a positive danger, and from the sentimental point of view a source of constant humiliation to the Jews of the world. Our most sacred monument, in our most sacred city, is in the hands of some doubtful Moghreb (sic) religious com-

munity...We are willing to compensate this community very liberally, but we should like the place to be cleaned up; we should like to give it a dignified and respectable appearance." (p. 10, item 3 in the letter)

Ronald Storrs, the military governor of Jerusalem, undertook the very delicate task of sounding Kāmil al-Ḥusaini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, regarding a purchase of the land and houses adjacent to the Wall, but apparently he said nothing about the Wall itself which Weizmann wanted to be "handed over" to the Jews.

Storrs' approach met with the reply that was to be expected: No property of a Muslim religious foundation, especially this particular one, connected as it is with the third Holy Place in Islam, can be sold for any amount of money, even to a Muslim. How then could it be sold to the Jews, who had shown that they had designs on the western wall of the Ḥaram? Storrs used all manner of inducements, and even pressure, without avail. The Zionists themselves made another move directly. A Moroccan Jew was sent to the Shaikh of the Abū Madyan foundation with handsome offers of money.

According to an official British report, this move caused "something like a panic" among the Muslims. Storrs had to suppress two attempts at public demonstration, but agreed to receive written protests. One was signed by 'Arif Pasha Dajāni and fourteen dignitaries representing leading Muslim families. They quoted Allenby's proclamation and hinted that, since the Jews were involved, there was "a particular objection." The other protest was made on behalf of three educational societies, the only organizations allowed by the military authorities. This protest, too, refers to Allenby's proclamation but adds more explicitly that "we, with all the Muslims, will not allow the exchange (for money) of such a holy place."

All the papers were referred to London with a warning to Balfour from Allenby's chief political officers that, since the Muslims now feared attempts on the Ḥaram itself, it was "dangerous" to proceed. The Foreign Office issued instructions for the matter to be dropped. But the damage had been done; Arab antagonism to Zionism assumed a religious as well as a political character.

But the Zionists were not deterred. On the first anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, not content with an indoor celebration, they insisted on a public procession in Jerusalem. Once more the British military authorities, who sanctioned this Zionist demonstration,

banned, and threatened to stop by force, any Arab counter-demonstration.

To make matters worse, the behaviour of the two Zionist battalions in the British army had become so increasingly provocative during their visits to Jerusalem and the Wailing Wall, that the military authorities placed the city out of bounds to them. The order was disobeyed by an officer who marched his men into the city in the direction of the Wall. They were of course court-martialled, and fifty-eight were sentenced, and the Zionist detachment itself disbanded.

In April 1920 the first major clash between the Arabs and Jews occurred in Jerusalem, with loss of life on both sides. A few days later shots were fired at the house of the Mufti of Jerusalem. The Chief Military Administrator believed that the culprits were members of the disbanded Zionist detachment. Accordingly, he wrote to the Zionist Commission asking, in vain, for their co-operation in the apprehension of the offenders.

When, later in April, the mandate for Palestine was assigned to Britain, and the government nominated a British Zionist, Sir Herbert Samuel, as High Commissioner, there was alarm in the Arab camp and increased aggressiveness in the Zionist and Jewish camp. The Chief Military Administrator wrote to the Foreign Office of "disquieting portents." On 16 May he received a letter from Weizmann's deputy, in which he said that "the Wailing Wall was a possession of the Jews throughout the world." On 30 May he received another letter from the Chief Rabbi, in which he asked "the government to entrust the Wall to the care and control of the representatives of Jewry."

This was an inauspicious beginning to the British mandatory regime: a tiny minority of about eight per cent of the population claiming, with the protection of British bayonets, not only political dominance over the vast Arab majority, but also possession of part of a Muslim Holy Place.

— 11 —

Under a mandate of the League of Nations, Britain assumed responsibility for maintaining the *status quo* in the Holy Places, and subject to the approval of the Council, for appointing a commission

to "define and determine the rights and claims" of the different religious communities. In the meantime the question of the Holy Places was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the courts in Palestine, the duty of giving rulings on any claims devolving on the British High Commissioner, subject to directions from London.

With a favoured position under the British mandate, the Jews resumed, with great assurance, their attempts on the Wailing place, which they had furtively begun in the later years of Ottoman Turkish rule. They tried to bring to the Wall such articles as chairs, benches and screens. Every time they did so, the guardian of the Abū Madyan Foundation complained to the Mufti of Jerusalem, who in turn made representations to the government. On two important occasions in 1925 and 1928 the government issued rulings forbidding the introduction of such articles, and in 1928 did in fact authorise the police to remove them when introduced in defiance of orders.

On this occasion the Jews, and in particular the Zionists, raised a storm of protest at this "interference" with Jewish religious worship. Zionist propaganda in Palestine and abroad was such as to remove the matter from the domain of religion to that of politics. Until political Zionism gave it a national twist, Jewish interest in the Western Wall had been religious, limited, in the main, to orthodox and devout Jews. An indication of this limited appeal may be seen in the fact that *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, published in 1901, does not include an article on the Wall under its Hebrew or other names. But *The Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia*, published in 1939, after the matter had become a major political issue, carries an entry of a tendentious nature under "Wailing Wall," and the Hebrew name is mentioned only in the text.

Indeed, photographs of the pre-Zionist period show the votaries as predominantly elderly, clad in flowing oriental robes or caftans and fur-trimmed hats. The "emancipated" young Jew, in ordinary European clothes, is conspicuous by his absence. And yet most of the postwar agitation was led precisely by this type of nationalist who eventually drew in the orthodox Jew. The question was no longer one of ensuring the ancient custom of access to and devotion at the Wailing Place, but also of gradually extending Jewish claims to the extent of physical possession of the ground, if not also of the Wall.

It was this possibility that the Muslim Arabs genuinely feared. Accordingly, as President of the Supreme Muslim Council, the Mufti of Jerusalem warned the Palestine government of the grave

consequences of the Jewish and Zionist campaign, conducted as he stated,

> "with a view to influencing the British and other governments, as well as the League of Nations, in order to take possession of the Western Wall of the Aqṣā Mosque known as the Burāq, or to raise claims over the place..."

Let us note that the phrase "take possession" in the Mufti's protest is precisely the same as that used by the responsible Jewish and Zionist authorities in their secret demands quoted above. The Mufti was thus neither misrepresenting the real Jewish and Zionist designs nor even exaggerating them. He cited twelve previously submitted written protests against attempts to change the *status quo* by the Jews. The history of the case traced above confirms his reminder that the Jews had converted "a mere favour" into a right, not merely of access but also of ultimate possession.

While their representations to the British government remained secret, the Zionists made bold to deny, as indeed they publicly denied their plan for a Jewish state, any designs on the Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. But they said nothing in their denial about the Western Wall and the ground in front of it, the immediate subject of dispute. The Council of the Jews in Palestine issued a similar denial, re-affirmed their right of worship at the *Kothel Maaravi* (the Western Wall), as if this was in dispute. The two official bodies thus left open the question of the Wall itself and the pavement in front of it.

In November 1928, the British government issued a White Paper endorsing the action of the local authorities in removing the articles introduced by the Jews at the Wall as contrary to the *status quo*. Because of the vehemence of Jewish and Zionist protests, however, the Palestine government, early in 1929, invited the two parties to submit documentary evidence in support of their points of view. The Supreme Muslim Council returned a prompt reply, supported by documents, including those of 1840 and 1911 cited above, but the Chief Rabbinate failed to reply, despite repeated reminders.

By the summer of 1929, as a result of press campaigns among both Arabs and Jews, in which religion and politics became hopelessly entangled, feelings were running high on both sides. As the Chairman of the Council of Jews in Palestine told the Officer Administering the Government in August, Jewish feeling was "getting worked up over the Wailing Wall." The sixteenth Zionist Congress was then sitting

at Zurich. It passed a resolution that the *Kothel Maaravi* was "the place of prayer sanctified by an unbroken tradition of centuries," and that "it is the unalterable right" of the Jews in that place to comply with their religious ordinances.

In plain language, this compliance meant an insistence on bringing to the Wall the articles forbidden by the legal government of the country. Plainer language was used in English by the *Palestine Weekly*, and plainer still in Hebrew by the right-wing *Doar Hayom*, which called upon all Jews inside and outside Palestine not to rest "until the entire Wall has been restored to us... Those of us who are here will not rest until that relic, which has always been ours...has been restored to us."

Two days later, the eve of the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple, some six thousand members of the *Hagana* and other smaller para-military organisations demonstrated in Tel-Aviv, and passed a resolution calling for "the redemption of the Wall." Three days later still, a few hundred youths from Tel-Aviv arrived in Jerusalem with the declared intention of holding a demonstration, with or without official permission, at the Wailing Wall. The demonstration had to pass through Arab and Muslim quarters. At the Wall, the Zionist flag was hoisted, the Jewish national anthem was sung and cries, such as "the Wall is ours," were raised.

Needless to say, this caused a great stir among the Arabs. The following day was a Friday, and the eve of the Prophet's birthday. After the midday prayer, the shaikhs of the Aqṣā Mosque led the worshippers to the Wall and back in a protest demonstration. The Mufti fulfilled a promise to the government that he would restrict the demonstration to that route and not let it pass even through purely Arab and Muslim quarters.

On 23 August widespread disorders broke out in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine. The Shaw Commission came to investigate the disorders later in the year and visited the Wailing Place. Their report states that the ground on which the Jews had been accustomed to stand for their devotions in front of the Western Wall of the Ḥaram was eleven feet in width and its total area 120 square yards. The ground was surrounded on the other three sides by dwelling houses belonging to the Abū Madyan Foundation. The Jews had access to the ground only from the north side, through a narrow lane. In 1929, before the disturbances broke out, the Abū Madyan Zāwiyah on the south side, between the Wailing Place and the Maghāribah Gate

of the Ḥaram, was restored, and a new doorway gave access through it and the Gate to the Ḥaram area. On the western side of the eleven-foot wide Wailing Place there were two doorways leading to houses inhabited by the beneficiaries of the Abū Madyan Foundation.

With the political recommendations of the Shaw Report we are not directly concerned. The commissioners, however, regarded the Wailing Wall question as of such importance as to urge, in anticipation of their report, the early appointment of an *ad hoc* commission, as provided for in the Mandate, to determine the rights and claims.

Accordingly, the appointment of an international commission under the chairmanship of Eliel Lofgren, a former Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, was approved by the Council of the League of Nations. The commission heard evidence from Arabs and Jews in Palestine and submitted its report in December 1930.

It is important to note that the Jews formally asked the commission to recommend measures to be taken for the evacuation of the inhabitants of the Maghāribah quarter and their settlement elsewhere. Without specifically saying so, the Jews repeated in 1930 the offer made by Weizmann in 1918 to "buy" an inalienable land, the property of an ancient religious foundation. The Commission made no such recommendation but insisted on the imperative necessity of banning all speeches and political demonstrations at the Wall. On the main issue they reached two conclusions:

1) The Western Wall was an exclusively Muslim *waqf* property and part of a Muslim holy place, al-Ḥaram ash-Sharif area. The pavement in front of the Wall and between it and the Maghāribah quarter was also a Muslim *waqf* property and formed part of a legally constituted religious foundation.

2) The Jews have the right of access to the Western Wall for devotions on the pavement, and should be permitted, on specified occasions, to bring specified articles pertaining to acts of Jewish devotion.

These conclusions confirm the Muslim legal right of ownership and the Jewish customary right of access. But they limited the former by extending the latter, in that they recommended permitting the Jews to bring to the Wall certain articles which they had tried for decades to introduce. However, the acceptance of the Commission's report, with these conclusions, by Britain and the League of Nations,

made it legally binding as an international document. By an Order-in-Council of 1931, it became law in Palestine.

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No sooner had the question of the Wailing Wall been adjudicated than the fears of the Arabs of Palestine for their political future were aroused to a greater extent than at any time since 1917. Following the rise of the Nazi party in Germany there was an alarming increase in Jewish immigration. An average of nine thousand per annum during the first decade of the mandate rose to nearly sixty-two thousand in 1935. The Arab leaders saw that at this rate a Jewish majority, and all that it entailed, was a real possibility in some fifteen years' time. With no constitutional safeguards against eventual subjugation to Jewish rule, the Arabs rose in a revolt which lasted nearly three years and required two divisions of British troops for its suppression.

A belated British attempt to do justice to the Arabs was defeated by the combined forces of Zionism, influential British politicians, including Winston Churchill, and powerful pressure groups in the United States. Post-war attempts were even less successful, since Zionism had now become more powerful, following its adoption of the United States instead of Britain as the guardian of its interests. Thus a scheme for the partitioning of Palestine was strongly supported by the United States, and it was largely due to American influence that the partition plan was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in November 1947. Under the partition scheme, Jerusalem and Bethlehem and their environs were constituted an international enclave to be placed under a High Commissioner appointed by the United Nations.

But this was not to be. Immediately the scheme of partition was adopted, the Arabs and Jews became locked in a deadly struggle, the former to prevent and the latter to enforce partition. It is to the discredit of those who honour Jerusalem that they did not shrink from making it a battlefield. Their failure in this matter recalls the action of the much maligned German Emperor, William II, who, on perceiving in 1917, that the British advance on Jerusalem could not be beaten off, expressed a wish to the Turkish High

Command that the Holy City might be spared the horrors of war. It was largely to gratify this wish that the Turks retired without fighting in or near Jerusalem.

In the spring of 1948, when the scale of Arab-Jewish hostilities convinced the United Nations that partition could not be carried out peacefully, the idea of a trusteeship for Palestine as a whole was suggested. Simultaneously, in response to world concern for the Holy Places in Jerusalem, the Security Council adopted a unanimous resolution calling for a truce. But the representative of the Jewish Agency refused to accept the call unless it was without prejudice to the Assembly's resolution on partition and the establishment of a Jewish state.

He declared that without the "enforcement" of partition, the Jews would have to "defend" Jerusalem lest it should fall "under the tyranny of the infamous and impious Arabs." This was said when most of the city outside the walls, including purely Arab areas, was in Jewish occupation, and when about seven hundred members of the *Hagana* and terrorist groups were entrenched inside the walls in the Jewish quarter, which had been cleared of all except a few civilians. Seen in the light of these facts, the Jewish refusal to accept the truce concealed an intention to attack the Arab parts of the city inside the walls, where all the Holy Places were located.

The Arab League, on the other hand, issued a statement accepting the truce in Jerusalem and undertaking to safeguard the Holy Places within the walls and to extend the truce to the Mount of Olives as well. The statement called attention to the past Arab record in recognising and safeguarding the Holy Places of all faiths in Jerusalem.

But in the meantime, the balance of military strength in Palestine was shifting in favour of the Jews, who proceeded to "enforce" the establishment of the state even while the country was still under British control, and the Arab states unable to interfere. From the first week in April, the Arabs in Palestine began to lose the initiative, largely owing to the panic which the Jews created among the civilian population. It was enough to dynamite an Arab village here, and to massacre the entire population, including women and children, of another village somewhere else, to cause dislocation and to start a stream of refugees.

Thus before the end of the mandate, while Britain still had sovereign rights and the duty of maintaining law and order, many Arab lands and villages, outside the boundaries assigned by the

United Nations for a Jewish state, were occupied by the Jews. Small wonder that their leaders turned a cold shoulder to the British High Commissioner who was actively trying to negotiate a truce with them. Moreover, they rejected out of hand the Red Cross suggestion that the old city of Jerusalem should be converted into a hospital.

When the British mandate came to an end on 15 May 1948, the expected Jewish attack on the old city began immediately on three fronts, in a determined effort to link up with those entrenched in the Jewish quarter and to take the city by storm. This was prevented in the nick of time by the intervention of Trans-Jordan. Apart from national and political considerations, King Abdullah was deeply involved on religious and personal levels. No one knew better than he, the son of the Sharif of Mecca, a descendant of the Prophet, the place of Jerusalem in Islam. Indeed, the Sharif himself, who died in exile as King Husain of Hijaz, was by his own wish buried in a special chamber in one of the cloisters on the west side of the Ḥaram.

If Jerusalem, and the old city in particular, became a battlefield, it was not by Abdullah's choosing. He came to the rescue after, not before, the Jewish attack and the Jewish refusal of a truce. The besieged Jewish garrison fought his army desperately even from the main synagogue. They surrendered only after it had been destroyed over their heads. This fact needs emphasising, for Zionist propaganda blames the Arabs for the destruction of this synagogue. (It must not be forgotten that during the British mandate the police discovered what was virtually an arsenal in the basement of the great synagogue in Tel-Aviv.)

Those who show such scant respect for their own places of worship can scarcely be expected to behave better towards those of other communities. Thus, after the proclamation of Israel, the Ḥaram was repeatedly attacked with mortar, machine gun and rifle fire. Sixty bombs fell on the area in a single attack. As a result of these attacks, four worshippers were killed and five wounded, including one of the shaikhs of the Ḥaram. The Dome of the Rock was hit in several places, and some of the matchless mosaic and the stained glass in the windows was destroyed. The Aqṣā Mosque, on a lower level than the Dome, was less exposed to direct hits but nevertheless sustained material damage. One bomb made a hole in the roof and several windows were broken.

Nor did the Holy Sepulchre and other Christian Holy Places escape unscathed. In their attempt to seize the Holy City, the I

spared none of the Christian and Muslim Holy Places, nor indeed their own places of worship.

When the armistice lines were agreed, the old city remained in the Jordanian sector, but as subsequent events proved, the Zionists never ceased to entertain the ambition of one day taking old Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine. The opportunity came on 5 June 1967, when Israel began a simultaneous surprise attack on three Arab states, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. At eight minutes past 8 a.m. an official Israeli communique, in characteristic Zionist style, misrepresented the facts to the world in the following manner:

> "Since the early hours of this morning there has been fierce fighting against armoured units and the air force of Egypt which attacked Israel. Our troops went into action to repulse them."

How different the truth turned out to be is now common knowledge. The communique said nothing about Jordan or Jerusalem. But according to Randolph Churchill, a notorious pro-Zionist, who was permitted to reproduce the official Israeli military diary of events in Jerusalem on 5 June,

> at 0800 air-raid alarms were sounded by the order of General Narkis.
> at 0910 Narkis spoke on the telephone with the mayor of the Israeli sector, and told him; "It is war. . .You may well be mayor of a united Jerusalem."
> at 0911 "Amman Radio announced that Jordan was being attacked."

Churchill's story, based entirely on Israeli military sources, confirms that the Jordanians fought like lions against overwhelming odds outside the city walls, but did not fight inside the old city where all the Holy Places were located. He also confirms that the Muslim quarter in the old city was shelled, and that Israeli aircraft went into action when no resistance was being offered. The Jordanians in 1967, like the Turks in 1917, retired before superior force out of respect for the holiness of the city.

On reaching the Wailing Wall on 7 June the Israeli Minister of Defence repeated the old Zionist cry "the Wall is ours." A few days later a sign in Hebrew was placed at the foot of the Wall reading

Meanwhile the United Nations called for a cease-fire, but Israel was bent on exploiting the initial advantage of surprise attack by occupying more and more Arab territory before complying. As regards Jerusalem, no time was lost by Israel in proclaiming its annexation, despite warnings from friendly countries that this would prejudice the chances of a peace settlement. On 4 July, therefore, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution by a majority of 99, with 20 abstentions, declaring Israel's measures in Jerusalem invalid and calling on her to rescind them. When this resolution was ignored, another was passed on 14 July, viewing with deep concern Israel's neglect to comply, repeating the previous call and asking Israel to refrain from taking any measures changing the status of Jerusalem.

Israel did not even attend the meeting. It is noteworthy that there were no votes against either resolution, and that the United States abstained on both occasions. All the other major powers voted for the resolution. And in addition to the Arab states, all the Islamic states, including secular Turkey, voted for it. Before the Assembly session closed, the Secretary General reported that Israel had ignored the resolutions and declared, moreover, that its measures were irrevocable and that the annexation of Jerusalem was not subject to negotiation.

The two resolutions by the General Assembly adopted in July, 1967, were supported by a similar one taken by the Security Council on 21 May, 1968. But Israel treated the Council no less contemptuously than it had treated the Assembly: it refused to respect any of the resolutions of either.

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Thus by force of arms Israel wishes to impose her sovereignty over the Christian and Muslim Holy Places. Zionist propaganda has now made the Western Wall of the Ḥaram, confirmed by the League of Nations as the third Holy Place in Islam, a main pivot of Israel's claim to a city overwhelmingly Christian and Muslim Arab in population, and containing only Christian and Muslim, and no Jewish Holy Places.

The assault on the Ḥaram by the Chief Rabbi of the Israeli army, and his holding of a public Jewish prayer not at the Wailing

Wall, but inside the Ḥaram area, was perhaps no more than a feeler. But it confirmed the worst fears of the Muslims: First prayer at the Wall, then the Wall itself, and finally the restoration of the old Temple!

A more concrete assault was made by the government of Israel on the area to the west of the Wailing Wall, an area hallowed by the Prophet's Night Journey, and thrice dedicated as a Muslim religious foundation, the first time by the son of Saladin. This is precisely the inalienable *waqf* property which the Zionists had done their utmost to obtain possession of since 1918. Now the inhabitants, beneficiaries of such ancient Muslim religious foundations, have been forcibly removed, their houses raized to the ground and the land confiscated "with compensation." Never before has Islam been flouted in Jerusalem, and never before has an inalienable property of a Muslim religious foundation in it been confiscated, since the days of the Crusades.

To the modern Crusaders, even more than to the old, "might is right." They have never forgiven the tenacity of the Maghāribah since 1840. Their shaikh then felt that the Jews had "ultimate aims." Despite repeated denials time has proved him right, and his successors and their families have had to pay the maximum penalty for their resistance to Jewish encroachment.

In conclusion, I cannot help recalling a lone voice raised at the Foreign Office in London in 1919. Like the shaikh of the Maghāribah, the head of the Middle East section saw the ultimate consequences of the Zionist policy of the British government. The occasion was a recommendation by Balfour of a certain course of action favourable to the Zionists. One civil servant minuted that the proposal would put the Jews in a privileged position from the start. But the head of the section who had already called attention to this without effect, now wrote in despair:

"Take action as required... I understand that the Zionist wolf and the anti-Zionist lamb have decided to lie down together in the fat pastures of Jordan, and whether the lamb finishes inside the wolf is no concern of ours."

The lamb was, of course, *forced* to consort with the wolf, and ended where foreseen. The wolf, brought up by Britain, and declared to have come of age by the United Nations, has since shown no gratitude to the former and little respect for the latter. No member state owing its legal existence to the United Nations has more repeatedly disregarded its resolutions than Israel. No other member state has

to its discredit so many Security Council resolutions condemning its conduct.

As regards Islam and Muslim religious foundations, Israel has since 1948 shown no respect for religious or even international law. By occupying Palestine the modern crusaders have earned the enmity of all Arabs; by seizing Jerusalem that of all Muslims. Are the modern crusaders bent on forcing history to repeat itself?

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THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM

Evan M. Wilson

AFTER the June War of 1967, Israel declared the entire City of Jerusalem, divided between itself and Jordan for about twenty years, to be a part of its own territory.

It is the opinion of this writer that the present situation in Jerusalem does not represent a solution of its problems, and this article will attempt to explain why some form of international solution would seem to be called for. This statement is made in full knowledge of the fact that the government of Israel has stated that the problem of Jerusalem is not negotiable, and that in the past both Israel and Jordan, the two states most immediately affected, generally have shown, to say the least, a lack of enthusiasm for internationalization.

The Holy Places

The essential point to be borne in mind is that just as Palestine is the Holy Land of three world religions, so is Jerusalem the Holy City of each of the three. Their interests are focused in a rather dramatic form on one particular site, which happens to be, tradition tells us, where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac, Solomon built his Temple, Our Lord taught, and Muḥammad departed for his journey to Heaven. This one spot, the Temple Mount or the *Haram al-Sharīf*, as it is variously called, epitomizes the whole problem of Palestine and of the Holy Places. It is sacred to Jews because it occupies a central place in Jewish religious tradition and because of the "Wailing Wall," actually the western wall of the *Haram al-Sharīf*, or Noble Enclosure. To Christians, there is no other spot (except possibly the Mount of Olives) so closely associated with the life of Jesus, from childhood to death. And to Muslims, the site of Muḥammad's ascent into Heaven is so sacred that Jerusalem is their third holiest city, after Mecca and Medina. In fact, the great mosque which is called the Dome of the Rock has become a place of pilgrimage for Muslims from all over the world. Before the June War hundreds of thousands used to come there each year to pray from as far away as Morocco or Indonesia.

While the Temple area illustrates in the most vivid terms the way in which the interests of the three religions are intermingled in Jerusalem, a glance at a map of the Holy Places [see cover] will show that they are scattered throughout the city in such a way as to make their physical separation an impossibility.

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It is this which has led to the rivalry and conflicts which have been characteristic of the Holy Land for so many centuries, with the added element that, for the past fifty years or so, religious beliefs and practices have become a prime factor in the growth of militant nationalism in this part of the world. Indeed, so violent, so intense have been the passions and emotions aroused over this issue that it can be said that possession of the city and its Holy Places by any one of the three conflicting interests will be contested by the other two. And that is what is happening now.

The conflict over the Holy Places is far from new. It will be recalled that the Crimean War had its immediate origins in a dispute between France and Russia over protection of the Christian shrines in the Holy Land. Both the Turks and the British found that their task of administering Palestine was complicated by the dissensions and jealousies both between Christians, Muslims and Jews and among the Christian sects—dissensions which have continued to the present day. One has only to cite the conflict between Muslims and Jews over the Wailing Wall during the days of the Mandate, or that between the Christian communities at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The dispute over the Wailing Wall led to violent clashes and to the appointment eventually of a British Commission. The denial by the Jordanians of Jewish access to the Wall for the 19 years that Jordan held the Old City of Jerusalem, from 1948 to 1967, exacerbated the dispute.

The sordid squabbles between the Christian sects caused the Ottoman Sultan as far back as 1757 to issue a *firman* dividing the Christian shrines between them. The *status quo* governing the Holy Places which was the result of this measure is, with some modifications, still in effect, although the different sects are still quarreling as to its interpretation. Arguments as to which portion of which church was assigned to each sect, who should clean which steps and which door, and the like, have at times led to pitched battles between clerics. As recently as Easter-time of 1967, there was a near-riot at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Several people were injured by flying stones, some thrown by the Patriarchs themselves. It was because the quarreling between the sects in this church was so fierce that the Turks always stationed a Muslim doorkeeper there to preserve order.

The jealousies between the ecclesiastical leaders in Jerusalem are traditional. For some years a proposal which a well-known American foundation put forward for the cleaning (badly needed) of the mosaics at the Church of the Nativity has been hanging fire because the Patriarch chiefly involved became suspicious of the fact that the sponsors of the project had approached the other two Patriarchs as well. When it became clear that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (damaged by an earthquake in 1927 and for many years propped up by scaffolding erected during the British mandate) was in danger

of collapse, it took seven years of tortuous negotiations, from 1954 to 1961, to get agreement among the religious communities to carry out the necessary repairs.

These examples are cited to underline the point that the conflicts and potential conflicts over the Holy Places in Jerusalem are so deep seated that the shrines should not be left to the sole care of those immediately involved, and that some form of outside presence is required. Events during and after the June War have served to increase the anxieties of the Christians and Muslims as to what will happen if their Holy Places remain in the sole control of Israel.

Anxieties of Christians and Muslims

Immediately after the war, the Israeli government pledged that it would respect all the Holy Places and guarantee free access to them. The Muslim and Christian shrines were placed under the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which is dominated by Orthodox Jewish elements. This led to a protest by the Muslims and their sites were taken out of the control of this Ministry, but the Christian shrines remain under its supervision. With the opening up of the two halves of the city following the Israeli government's extension of its municipal administration to the Old City, thousands of Israelis flocked to the Old City. Their dress and behavior in mosques and churches were not always decorous and the Israeli authorities received so many protests about this fact that they had to station guards at the principal churches and mosques to insure that proper standards of conduct were met. Some churches were closed by the Christian authorities to prevent further friction.

The Christian and Muslim inhabitants of the Old City were unhappy when the Chief Chaplain of the Israeli Armed Forces, Rabbi General Goren, conducted prayers at the Haram al-Sharīf itself, and when the Minister of Religious Affairs spoke in an address of rebuilding the Temple on this site. They were also concerned at the falling-off in the Christian and Muslim pilgrimage traffic, which before the war had been such an important source of revenue for the Old City. It soon became clear that, regardless of the assurances given by the government with respect to freedom of access, Christian and Muslim visitors from abroad were simply not coming to the Holy Places. Under present circumstances it is hardly to be expected that, say, a Muslim pilgrim from Saudi Arabia or a Christian Arab from Lebanon would visit Jerusalem—for political reasons, because their Holy Places are in Israeli hands.

There are other factors to cause concern. Just as the Jews resented, and for good reason, their being denied access to their Holy Places and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries and other sites which undoubtedly took place under Jordanian occupation, so do the Christians and Muslims feel uneasy at certain incidents which have taken place under Israeli occupation. After the war it was found that the Armenian Church of St. Savior, and several Christian cemeteries,

all lying on Mount Zion in an area that was closed off for many years by the Israeli military, had suffered severely. The tombs of the Armenian Patriarchs, in the courtyard of the church, had been broken into and the bones scattered about. A valuable mosaic floor was missing from the church. The cemeteries nearby had been allowed to fall into disrepair, with thick vegetation and opened graves. The tower of the Dormition Abbey in the vicinity, commanding an excellent view into the Walled City of Jerusalem, had been used for years by the military as a well-fortified strongpoint—a fact which led to its being one of the first objects of Jordanian bombardment on the morning of June 5, 1967.

An incident which took place in the spring of 1967 and which involved the denial of access to a Christian Holy Place also gave rise to concern. This was in the same Mount Zion area. It happens that Mount Zion is one of those Holy Places which are sacred to all three religions. To Christians, it is the reputed site of the Cenacle, that is, of the Lord's Supper. To Jews and Muslims, it is sacred as the site of David's tomb, David being one of those Old Testament figures revered by both religions. An announcement by the Ministry of Religious Affairs that Mount Zion would henceforth be closed on the Sabbath had the effect of preventing Christian pilgrims from visiting the Room of the Last Supper on Saturdays. More alarmingly, it was reported that the Israeli authorities had plans for opening up a newly found tomb, reportedly that of Solomon, in a chamber immediately next to the Cenacle. Since the only means of access to this second chamber was through the Cenacle, this would have turned the Room of the Last Supper into an anteroom for a non-Christian shrine and according to Christian authorities in Jerusalem would have produced an impossible situation. Fortunately the protests of the Christian authorities led to the reopening of the site on Saturdays (for Christian pilgrims) and the plan for opening a new tomb was dropped.

In addition, Christians in Israel have not been happy at certain aspects of their treatment at the hands of the authorities. They have encountered various bureaucratic obstacles, for example, difficulties in obtaining entry visas for new or replacement personnel, and virtually all of the Christian schools in Israel have been closed.

The Muslims for their part are concerned at instances of desecration by the Israelis of Muslim sites—notably the Mamillah cemetery in the New City, most of which was converted into a public park some years ago, and the mosque at Ain Karim west of Jerusalem, which was allowed to fall into a sad state of disrepair, and was often used as a latrine by residents of the area.

In summary, the Christians and Muslims are restive and unhappy, regarding both the present situation and the immediate past. It is the firm belief of this writer that the problem of Jerusalem is an international one, transcending purely local issues, and that the Christians and Muslims of the world will not acquiesce indefinitely in Israeli occupation of the Holy Places and control of

all means of access thereto. The answer, as already indicated, would seem to lie in the direction of internationalization, but before proceeding to a discussion of various alternative solutions it may be well to sketch in the background regarding previous proposals for an international régime for the city.

Past Proposals for Internationalization

It should be conceded at the outset that the question of the internationalization of Jerusalem is a highly recondite one, with which relatively few people are familiar. One is reminded of the nineteenth century Prime Minister of Great Britain, Lord Palmerston, regarding the Schlesvig-Holstein problem. Palmerston is said to have commented that there were really only three persons who had understood this problem: the Prince Consort Albert, who was dead, a university professor, who had gone mad, and himself—and he had quite forgotten it. At all events, the different proposals for the settlement of the Palestine problem by partition, such as the Peel Report (1937) and the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (1947) recognized the need for giving some special treatment to Jerusalem, because of its unique character as the site of the Holy Places.

The resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations endorsing the majority report of UNSCOP (November 29, 1947) stated that: "The City of Jerusalem shall be established as a *corpus separatum* under a special international régime and shall be administered by the United Nations." Annexed to the resolution was a map showing the area to be included in the proposed international city. This comprised some 100 square miles, with a population of over 200,000, and included Bethlehem as well as other suburbs of Jerusalem. The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations was to draw up, within five months, a detailed statute for the administration of the city. This, however, was never put into effect. By that time there had been considerable fighting in Jerusalem between Arab and Jewish forces and the city was already divided (as it remained until June 1967).

In December 1948, the General Assembly passed a resolution setting up a Palestine Conciliation Commission and directing this Commission to prepare a plan for a permanent international régime for Jerusalem, with "maximum local autonomy." This plan came before the General Assembly in the fall of 1949 but failed to gain approval. It got caught in the cross currents that had begun to develop between the advocates of territorial and the advocates of functional internationalization.

By territorial internationalization is meant the placing of a specific piece of territory under international administration, as envisaged in the 1947 resolution, *i.e.* the *corpus separatum*. Functional internationalization, on the other hand, refers to the placing of the Holy Places under some form of international

protection, without creating an actual international area. Territorial internationalization was supported at the time by the Vatican, and hence by most Roman Catholic states, and by the Arab states with the exception of Jordan, which wanted no international régime at all for Jerusalem. Functional internationalization was supported by most of the Protestant states, and, at one stage at least, by Israel.

The PCC plan referred to above turned out to be neither fully territorial nor fully functional in scope. In any case, the supporters of territorial internationalization were in the majority in the 1949 Assembly. Neither the PCC plan nor a proposal put forward by the Netherlands and Sweden for functional internationalization won general acceptance. Instead, the Assembly reaffirmed its support for the concept of full territorial internationalization as provided in its resolution of two years before, and again instructed the Trusteeship Council to prepare a plan for the city.

The Trusteeship Council duly drew up a plan, which was a detailed blueprint for territorial internationalization but which neither Jordan nor Israel would accept when it was put to them. The Council therefore reported to the General Assembly that it was taking no further action in the matter. When the Assembly met in December 1950, neither a Swedish resolution calling for functional internationalization nor a Belgian one calling for territorial internationalization was approved and that was the end of the Assembly's consideration of the Jerusalem issue until after the June War.

By way of comment on this unsatisfactory outcome, it should be pointed out that as soon as the two halves of Jerusalem were physically separated it became extremely difficult to internationalize the city, particularly as each sector grew more and more economically linked either to Israel or to Jordan. Thus the 1949 resolution of the General Assembly, calling again for the full territorial internationalization of so large an area as the *corpus separatum*, and ignoring economic factors, was highly unrealistic. At that stage, functional internationalization would have been preferable, as it would have avoided taking the two sectors away from the jurisdiction of the two states involved. Today, however, the situation is quite different, as the city is again united.

Alternative Proposals for a Jerusalem Solution

It seems clear today that a basic assumption underlying any solution of the Jerusalem issue is that the West Bank of the Jordan would be returned to Arab control. If Israel is to remain in indefinite occupation of the whole of the West Bank there is no point in discussing any change in the present status with respect to Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, some arrangement can be worked out for Israeli withdrawal from at least a substantial portion of the West Bank and Arab reoccupation, the question of Jerusalem will

immediately arise. This is because of the close links between the Old City of Jerusalem and the West Bank, to say nothing of the broader issues involved.

While hopefully there would be no further partition of the city—no return to the barbed wire of 1948-67—Jordanian and Israeli interests in the city, and the interests of the Arab and Jewish inhabitants, would need to be protected; free access would need to be guaranteed to all the Holy Places for all pilgrims, and there would need to be full recognition of the international interest in Jerusalem.

By recognition of the international interest is meant the interest not only of the Christians and Jews of the world but also of the Muslims, both Arab and non-Arab, and of the United Nations itself. It will be recalled that during the 1967 crisis such Muslim countries as Morocco and Pakistan were vociferous in their defense of Muslim rights in the Holy City. It will also be recalled that almost from its inception the United Nations has had before it the problem of Jerusalem and that the city has been the center of important United Nations activities.

By free access for all pilgrims is meant the ability of pilgrims from all over the world, Jewish, Christian and Muslim, to visit their Holy Places in Jerusalem. As already pointed out, this condition does not obtain today as far as all Christian or Muslim pilgrims are concerned.

By protection of Jordan's interest in the city is meant not only the interest of Jordanian Muslims in the Haram al-Sharīf and other shrines but the economic ties between the West Bank (as well as the East Bank) and the Old City. The latter was the commercial center for the West Bank and an important source of revenue to Jordan through tourism.

By protection of Israel's interest in the city is meant the fact that Israel has established its capital there and attaches great importance to the question of access to the Wailing Wall and other Jewish shrines, in addition to Israel's historic ties with Jerusalem. It goes without saying that in any proposed solution the interests of the people of the city, Jewish as well as Arab, should be safeguarded.

These, then, are the assumptions on which any attempt at a solution of the Jerusalem question should be based: Arab return to the West Bank, no return to the barbed wire, protection of the interests of Jordan and Israel and of the inhabitants of the city, free access, and recognition of the international interest. We may now review the various alternative solutions which might be put forward and see how each one would meet the requirements of the basic assumptions.

1. *Continued Israeli Control,* perhaps with some sort of international advisory commission to represent international religious and other interests.

As already indicated, in the writer's view Muslim and Christian opinion would not be satisfied by a continuance of the present situation, nor would

Jordanian or Arab interests. A commission for the Holy Places would not be regarded as a sufficient safeguard, for the real issue to the Christians and Muslims is Jewish control of their Holy Places.

2. *Return of the Old City to Jordanian Control.* This alternative, while obviously acceptable to Jordan and to Jordanians, would be unacceptable on all other grounds. It would be impossible to get Israel and Jewish opinion to agree, after recent experiences, to put the Jewish Holy Places again under Jordanian control, even though the Jordanian government has offered to provide full access to the Wailing Wall and other Jewish sites if it were to get back the Old City. It would probably also be hard to get Christian agreement, since the Christians in Jordan were becoming increasingly unhappy with their treatment at the hands of the Muslim majority in Jordan prior to the war. They were concerned at a new Jordanian education law which by its requirement that every child, in whatever school, must be taught the religion of his parents had the effect of forcing the Christians to teach Islām to their Muslim pupils and also imposed a very narrow, rigid curriculum on their schools. They complained of various kinds of discrimination and many were talking of wanting to leave the country. Finally, to return the Old City to Jordan would mean that the city would again be divided and the barbed wire brought back—surely an undesirable development.

3. *A Condominium between Israel and Jordan.* It is hard to see how this type of solution would be acceptable to either party, given the past history of their relationship, or how it would be workable. Israel would certainly oppose a condominium over the whole of Jerusalem as this would involve sharing sovereignty over the New City, where it has established its capital. Arrangements could possibly be worked out under a scheme of this sort to assure free access, but a purely local solution of this kind would not provide adequate recognition of the international interest in the city.

Arguments for Internationalization

If we are to conclude that the foregoing three alternative solutions are not acceptable, this would leave the different variants of internationalization. In considering these it may be well to remind ourselves that now that the city is united again it should prove easier to treat it as a single unit than in the period following 1947: it is this writer's conviction as well that only through some form of internationalization can the unique character of Jerusalem be safeguarded. The variants of this type of solution can be reduced to three.

1. *Full Territorial Internationalization* of the area included in the 1947 partition plan (the *corpus separatum*). Ideally this solution has many attractions. It has the advantage of encompassing all of the Holy Places in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and it would certainly provide recognition for the international interest. The area is so large, however (100 square miles with a

current population of over 250,000), as to offer virtually insuperable administrative problems in terms of devising a form of government—as the United Nations learned during its lengthy consideration of the Jerusalem problem. After all the years when they divided the *corpus separatum* between them, both Israel and Jordan would certainly object to its being revived. It simply is not a practical possibility.

2. *Partial Territorial Internationalization* of an area smaller than the *corpus separatum* of the 1947 plan, with Israel and Jordan, respectively, controlling the remainder. This appears to be the most promising of the different alternatives, although manifestly it involves serious problems. As will be discussed in further detail below, it should prove possible to identify an area, such as the Walled City and the area immediately surrounding it, which would contain the most important Holy Places but which would be sufficiently compact as to be manageable in terms of international administration.

Such a solution should make it possible to meet the requirements of the international interest and the question of access, to the important shrines at least. The smaller the area to be internationalized and the greater the area left under Israeli or Jordanian administration, the less would be the problem of providing for Israeli or Jordanian interests in the internationalized area or for those of the Jewish or Arab population.

3. *Functional Internationalization* of the Holy Places only. This alternative has the advantage of not involving any decisions of a territorial nature, as well as the fact that—at one time at least—it appealed to one of the parties immediately concerned (Israel). What would presumably be attempted would be to draw up some arrangement under the United Nations for the functional internationalization of the Holy Places, with full guarantees of access, while continuing Israel in control of the whole of Jerusalem. In other words, this variant would not appear to differ in substance from the first alternative discussed above, continued Israeli control, and would be open to the same objections from the standpoint of satisfying Christian and Muslim opinion, or Jordanian and Arab interests.

* * * * *

A Plan for Partial Territorial Internationalization

It seems clear that any proposal for partial territorial internationalization should cover the Walled City of Jerusalem at the very least. The Walled City has the advantage that it is a finite area that can be identified readily and more easily administered than a larger area. It contains the most important shrines—notably the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Wailing Wall, and the Haram al-Sharīf with the Dome of the Rock.

There are, however, a number of shrines in the immediately surrounding area, particularly the Mount of Olives (sacred to Muslims as well as Christians),

the Garden of Gethsemane (Christian) and the Jewish tombs which like the Garden lie between the Walled City and the Mount of Olives. To the immediate southeast of the Walled City stands Mount Zion, which as already stated is sacred to all three religions. It is therefore suggested that Mount Zion on the one side and the Mount of Olives and the intervening area on the other be included in the proposed international sector. These, incidentally, are areas that were under Israeli or Jordanian control, respectively, before the June War and so counterbalancing concessions by each side would be involved.

A final site that might be included in the proposed international zone would be Government House (headquarters of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) and its surrounding United Nations enclave, with a connecting corridor. This might involve topographical problems in view of the fact that Government House is about a mile and a half from the Walled City, but there would be a psychological advantage in terms of maintaining a United Nations presence in the international zone. This would be especially true if it could be arranged (as some think advisable) to transfer to Jerusalem some major United Nations unit in addition to UNTSO and UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East). Conceivably UNTSO and UNRWA headquarters could be moved into the international zone but this would appear less desirable than adding the United Nations enclave to the zone.

These suggestions are put forward as illustrative only, as the actual boundaries of the international zone would have to be subject to negotiation. The main objective would be to obtain recognition of the principle of internationalization. Then only could the precise area be determined.

Supreme authority for the international sector would rest with the United Nations, which would appoint a Special Representative to embody its presence in the city. Day-to-day administration would be in the hands of a City Council, elected by the residents of the sector, which would have supervision over municipal services for the sector. The arrangements would include provisions for both Israel and Jordan to benefit from the revenues from tourism in the international sector. There would also have to be agreement with respect to customs and currency matters and to the citizenship to be held by the residents of the sector.

Access to all Holy Places within the area proposed for internationalization in 1947 would be guaranteed and there would be the greatest possible freedom of movement between the international sector and Israel or the West Bank, as the case might be, but under the control of each government. The Special Representative of the United Nations would be responsible for the protection of the Holy Places within the sector and for this purpose would have some sort of police force. The actual maintenance of the Holy Places, however, would

be in the hands of the different religious communities and every effort would be made to see that they carried out this responsibility—their failure in some instances to do so since the war has caused problems.

Israel would be permitted to retain the no-man's land, which it occupied in June 1967, aside from such portions of the Government House enclave and contiguous territory as might be included in the international zone. With the exception of Mount Zion it would not be asked to give up any territory formerly in the Israeli sector, and it would be able to continue maintaining its capital in the New City. This should make it possible eventually for those embassies which are now located at Tel Aviv to be moved to Jerusalem.

The Special Representative of the United Nations would of course have to be selected with great care. He should not be a person too closely affiliated with any one of the various religious denominations or sects having an active rôle in Jerusalem. His position would be like that of an American city manager. To give a voice to the various interests focusing on Jerusalem, an advisory board might be named to assist the Special Representative, composed of representatives of the different religious sects and other elements having an interest in the city.

Conclusion

The Muslim and Christian leaders of the Old City of Jerusalem have not been the only ones to raise their voices in protest over the present state of affairs. Since the June War, the Vatican has reaffirmed its support for the internationalization of Jerusalem, and the National Council of Churches in the United States has called for the establishment of an international presence in the city. King Fayṣal of Saudi Arabia, in his rôle of protector of the Holy Places of Islām, has stated that the Muslim shrines in Jerusalem must not remain in Jewish possession. Other religious leaders will no doubt be heard from in the future.

To bring about a solution of the Jerusalem problem under prevailing conditions will of course require a formidable effort. The Israelis hold a strong card in their physical possession of the Old City but the Arabs also hold a strong card in that their consent is necessary for any settlement of the overall problems at issue between the two parties. Israel might therefore acquiesce in a solution for Jerusalem along the foregoing lines if it were to develop that this would bring with it an overall settlement, which Israel presumably wants, and surely needs in order to prevent the threat of a new war. In this sense, Jerusalem could be the key to a solution of the overall Palestine problem.

While this may mean that a solution for Jerusalem can only be reached as part of an overall settlement, manifestly there would be distinct advantages if it could be reached before. Pressures now being felt in Israel for complete annexation of the Old City could be warded off, and the enhanced freedom of

movement for the Arab and Jewish population of the area that would follow would facilitate exchanges of all kinds and lead to greater understanding.

Advantages which Israel would gain from an early solution for Jerusalem of the type suggested would, in addition to continued access to the Jewish shrines, be as follows: (1) it could retain the New City as its capital and gain international recognition for this; (2) it could share in tourist revenues, which would greatly expand over the present level and (3) it could look to the elimination of a serious source of friction with Christian and Muslim opinion and with the international community in general. Indeed, so great are the potential benefits for the whole world from a solution of the Jerusalem issue that every effort should be made by our government and the others concerned to bring it about. How and when such a proposal would be put forward and how to bring in the various interested parties (not Jordan and Israel above but the wider interests, Christian, Jewish and Muslim and the United Nations itself) would have to be determined. But it seems clear that the two countries most immediately affected are going to need some outside assistance, and even outside pressure, if they are going to come to a solution regarding Jerusalem. And it seems equally clear that if they do not do so, the outlook is bleak indeed.

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Right to Jerusalem

To the Editor:

It would be interesting and important to know whether Harry G. Dorman Jr., in his July 15 letter, speaks officially for the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. He recalls that churchmen have made "very clear . . . that any expansion by force of arms cannot be condoned, and second, that Israel's unilateral annexation of the Jordanian portions of Jerusalem cannot be approved."

If this implies that the National Council or the World Council of Churches did approve Jordan's unilateral annexation of portions of Jerusalem, when and by what authority did this occur? If it implies that the American churchmen condoned Jordan's expansion by force of arms, by what moral or theological principle was this justified?

The moral basis of Israel's actions in Jerusalem is crystal clear. The city—not "portions" of it, but the entire, 'strategically indivisible city—was Jewish by a two-to-one preponderance of population at the time of its enforced partition, and has had a Jewish majority for about a century. Not its unification, as Mr. Dorman pretends, but its division "completely discounts the rights and desires of the people of the city."

Mr. Dorman's plea on behalf of the "people of the city" is based on the unspoken assumption that, in Jerusalem at least, Jews have no rights and are not entitled to any consideration of their desires, and thus may be completely discounted in any weighing of popular opinion there. He apparently does not consider it "cultural imperialism," let alone an expression of theological odium, if the traces of Jewish attachment to the center of their universe are deliberately obliterated.

The Romans attempted to keep Jews out by sowing the land with salt, the Christian Crusaders by bloodshed, the Moslems by burying Jewish shrines in dung. Only when the Jews plan to restore space and beauty to the holy places does the Christian conscience of the American churchman rebel.

This is the kind of reaction, which has shocked many Jews since the Six Day War. If it is not official, nor characteristic, it would be essential for any restoration of an ecumenical spirit that it be repudiated or corrected by an official, representative voice.

BENJAMIN HALPERN
Prof. of Near Eastern Studies
Brandeis University
Waltham, Mass., July 15, 1969

(N)

NEW YORK TIMES
JUL 2 1969

ירושלים

13.7.69

הארכיבישוף האנגליקני בירושלים:

„אדישות נוצרית" לגבי בעיית השלום במזה"ת

— מאת חזי כרמל —

הארכיבישוף האנגליקני החדש של אזור המזרח ה־תיכון, ג'ורג' אפלטון, הגיע למקום מושבו, ירושלים, לפני חודשים אחדים בלבד. אולם, מהרגעים הראשונים של בואו כבר חיכיח את התעניינותו העמוקה בבע־יות המזרח התיכון ופיתח תיאוריה חדשה, לפיה על הנוצרים לנקוט בעמדה אק־טיבית יותר בכל הקשור לפסיפס המזרח התיכון.

אמר הארכיבישוף אפלטון לפני כמה שבועות: „התעג־יינות מעין זו צריכה לדרבן אותנו הנוצרים בישראל לח־שוב על אחריותנו בענין ה־שלום. אין זה סוד שנמתחת ביקורת על הנוצרים בעולם בשל אדישותם לגבי המצב הנוכחי (במזרח התיכון). נוצ־רים בישראל נטו ללכת בדרך זו, אבל יותר ויותר ברור כי אין 'הנייטראליות האדוקה' מסוגלת לתרום תרומה כלשהי לשלום במזרח התיכון. אם צריכה להיות תרומה נוצ־רית כלשהי לשלום, הרי שיש צורך במחשבה נוצרית ובהת־בטאות נוצרית — באופן חיר־בי. למולנו דבר זה אפשרי בישראל".

ביוזמתו של הארכיבישוף החלו פרוייקטים ואנשי דת נוצריים מהנשת מחקרים שונים על המזרח התיכון. המחקר הראשון שהוגש ל־ארכיבישוף על־ידי מומר, שהוא גם פרוייקט, נושא את הכותרת: „הערות של פרוייקט על פתרון אפש־רי לבעיה הפוליטית של ירושלים".

במחקר זה טוען המומר, כי הבעיה המרכזית של ירושלים נובעת מן העובדה שהעיר נת־בעת בשלמותה על־ידי העם הישראלי והעם הפלשתינאי. בהתחשב בעובדה זו ובעובדה הדמוגראפית, שהאוכלוסיה הישר־אלית והאוכלוסיה הפלשתינאית שתיהן מונות בערך 2,5 מיליון אזרחים, טוען מחבר המאמר, כי לא יוכל להיות שלום באזור זה ללא פשרה פוליטית מלאכותית כגון חלוקת הארץ לשתי מדינות עצמאיות בע־לות זכויות שוות.

בהקשר זה מהווה ירושלים פרדוכס גדול, טוען המומר. בהיותה בירת הארץ הזאת היא משקפת את כל הבעיות של הארץ כולה — בעוצמה רבה יותר, למעשה. שתי התרבו־יות שלה קוראות לחלוקה צו־דקת לשתי ערים תאומות. אר־לם, שואל המחבר, האם תוכל ירושלים להיות מחולקת פעם נוספת?

על כן מציע המחבר ה־קמתן של שתי עירויות נפ־רדות לעיר המערבית ה־חדשה ולעיר המזרחית ה־חדשה. לעומת זאת הוא ממליץ על הקמת גוף פו־ליטי עצמאי שינהל את ענייני העיר העתיקה — המזוהה למעשה עם ירו־שלים שבין החומות.

בעוד שהעיר המערבית ה־חדשה עשויה לפי התכנית ל־שמש כבירת מדינת ישראל והעיר המזרחית החדשה כ־בירת המדינה הפלשתינאית, הרי שמינהל העיר העתיקה צריך להיות, לדעת מחבר ה־מחקר, מעין מינהל עצמאי שאמנם לא יהיה נתון לאפוט־רופסות בינלאומית, אולם יי־צג כביכול את האינטרסים של העולם כולו בירושלים. עם זאת הוא רואה את האפשרות שישראל וירדן יהיו שתיהן בעלות זכויות סובר־ניות על העיר העתיקה וכי הדגלים של ירדן וישראל יוכלו להתנוסף זה בצד זה בארבע פינות ה־עיר העתיקה.

סובר־ניות משותפת זו אינה פוגעת — לדעת המומר — ב־אפשרות של ממשל עצמי מר־ניציפאלי של העיר העתיקה. ממשל עצמי זה ינוהל על־ידי אזרחי העיר, בהתאם ל־חלוקה קבועה מראש. לדוג־מה: מועצת העיר תכלול עש־רה נציגים שארבעה מהם יהיו מוסלמים, ארבעה יהודים ושני נוצרים. נציגים אלה יוכלו להיבחר הן על־ידי התושבים עצמם והן על־ידי מוסדות ו־ארגונים דתיים שונים, שמר־שבם בירושלים.

מחבר המחקר סוטן גם שיש מקום ליצור רשות מוניציפאלית עצמאית ל־הר הצופים כך אפשר יהיה לחקים מעין קמפוס אר־ניברסיטאי בינלאומי ב־חפות אונסק"ו, שישמש מעין „אוניברסיטה עול־מית".

גם לגבעת ארמון הנציב רואה מחבר המאמר פתרון בצורת סטאטוס בינלאומי ב־חסות או"ם, שיאפשר למוסדות או"ם לקיים במקום פעילות ענפה למען השלום באיזור ובעולם.

עד כאן דברי המחקר. לאור המחקרים הרבים המופצים ב־אחרונה על ידי גופים שונים והעוסקים בבעיית השלום ב־ירושלים ובמזרח התיכון, ול־אור כל מיני יזמות פרטיות ופרטיות למחצה של אישים וגופים היוזמים פתרונות שלום מסוגים שונים, נשאלת השא־לה האם יש מקום שגם איר־גונים דתיים במהותם יתחילו לעסוק בחיפוש פתרונות פולי־טיים? אין ספק שכבל שיר־בו איר־גונים דתיים לעסוק במחקרים ובהצעת פתרונות ע־שויות הבעיות להתערבל וה־פתרונות להסתבך.

עירית תל־אביב-יפו

עירית תל-אביב—יפו מודיעה לציבור, כי לרגל

חגיגות 60 שנה לתל־אביב

יהיו המוזיאונים העירוניים פתוחים לקהל **ללא תשלום** בימים ובשעות המפורטים דלהלן:

קרית המוזיאונים ברמת־אביב

מוזיאון הזכוכית — טל' 415248

מוזיאון קדמן למטבעות — טל' 415244

מוזיאון הקרמיקה — טל' 415246

מוזיאון המדע והטכנולוגיה — טל' 415245

מוזיאון לאתנוגרפיה ולפולקלור — טל' 415247

פתוחים לקהל: במשך שבוע ימים
(מתאריך 16.7.69 — 23.7.69)

בימים: א' ב' ג' ה'	10.00—17.00
ביום ד'	10.00—20.00
ביום ששי	10.00—13.00
ביום שבת	10.00—14.00

תחבורה: אוטובוסים: דן — 25, 27; אגד — 79, 80.

חפירות תל־קסילה — טל' 415247 (קרית המוזיאונים)

הפלנטריום — טל' 415245 (קרית המוזיאונים)

זמני ההצגות:

בימים א' ב' ג' ה' ו'	11.15
בימים ד' ושבת	11.15 ו־19.00

המוזיאון לעתיקות ת"א־יפו — טל' 825375
רח' מפרץ שלמה 10, יפו

פתוח לקהל: במשך שבוע ימים
(מתאריך 16.7.69 — 23.7.69)

בימים: א' ב' ג' ה'	10.00—17.00
ביום ד'	10.00—20.00
ביום ששי	10.00—13.00
ביום שבת	10.00—14.00

תחבורה: אוטובוסים דן — 10, 7.

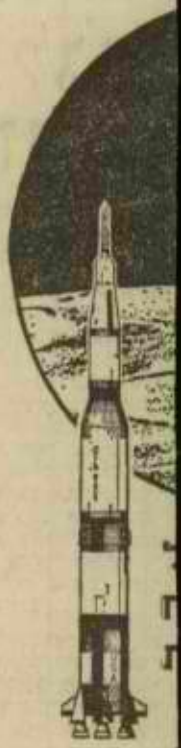
המוזיאון ההיסטורי לתולדות תל־אביב
טל' 615901, רח' ביאליק 26, תל־אביב

פתוח לקהל: במשך שבוע ימים
(מתאריך 16.7.69 — 23.7.69)

בימים א'—ה'	09.00—14.00
ביום ששי	09.00—13.00

בשבתות ובחגים סגור.

מוזיאון תל־אביב — בית דיזנגוף



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בנות והפעלה
בן-גבירול 68, טל. 266848

(N)

TORONTO TELEGRAM, 5.7.69

One Jerusalem

IT WOULD be hard to find a more unjust and hypocritical resolution in the record of the United Nations than the Security Council's censure of Israel for its actions in unifying Old and New Jerusalem.

This is the third resolution on the same theme since July, 1967, a refrain played by the Council's anti-Israel non-permanent members and calculated to arouse the fears and suspicions of Christians and Moslems that their rights in the city, sacred to three major faiths, are being violated.

But the promoters of this line will get no further with their most recent ploy than they did with previous ones. The record is clear: Israel's conduct on inter-faith matters has been unimpeachable, in contrast to that of the state of Jordan whose complaint produced Thursday's censure.

On this matter Jordan has come to the Security Council with sullied hands. For 19 years it held the Old City of Jerusalem, which fell to the Jordan Legion in the 1948 war, in defiance of a U-N resolution to permit all religions access to holy sites.

Not only did the Jordanians deny Jews such access but they destroyed synagogues, burned Scrolls of the Law and thousands of other sacred books, converted schools into stables, desecrated cemeteries and used tombstones to line latrines.

Since the Six Day War and the return of East Jerusalem, Israel has repaid such conduct by guarding Moslem shrines and opening them to visitors from all Arab lands.

As for the Christian sites, a commission of the World Council of Churches has attested to the Israeli regard for Jerusalem as a city of profound significance to those who trace their faith to the work and times of Jesus of Nazareth.

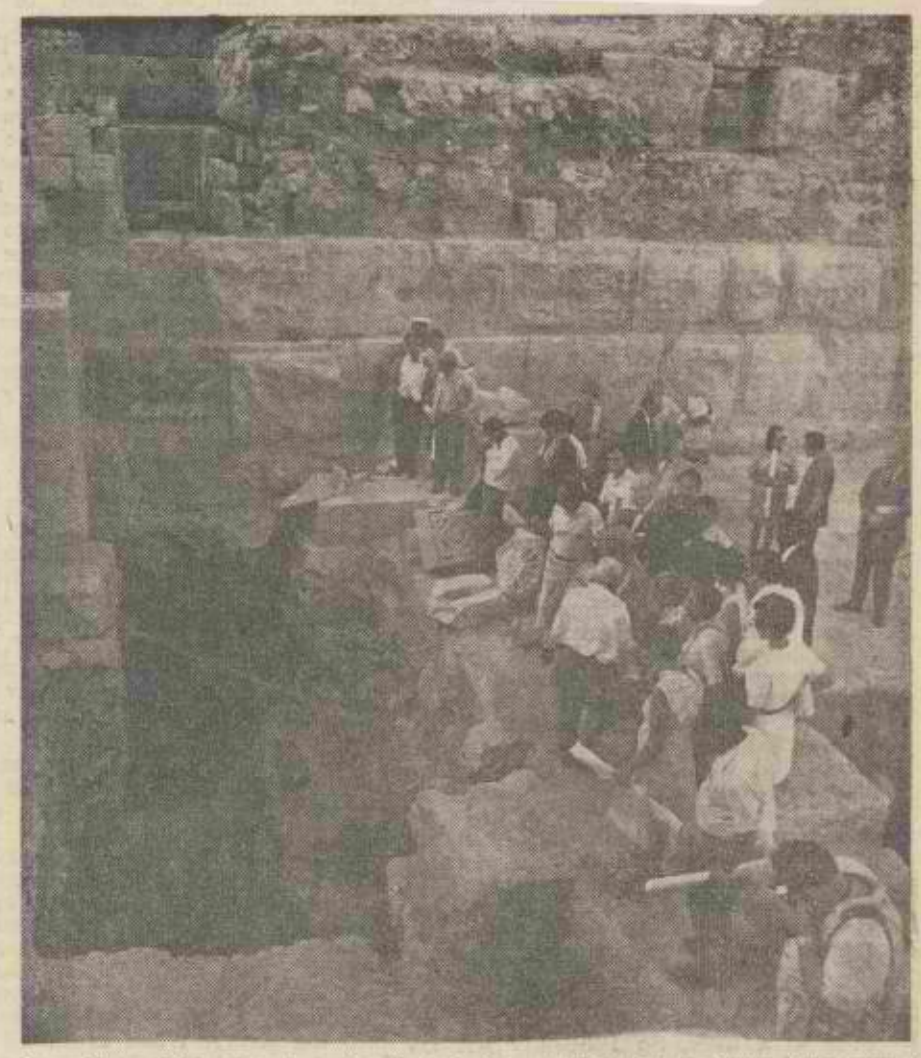
Jordan complains that Arab houses have been "bulldozed" and scores of Arab families "evicted." It fails to mention that compensation has been made and that in other jurisdictions such municipal acts would be called expropriation.

Israel has proposed that a commission of Christians and Moslems administer their own holy places to assure that the rights of all be protected.

This attitude is the surest way to an enduring victory over the religious hatreds that have for so long made a mockery of the principles professed by the three great religions that call Jerusalem their home. The fair-minded will appreciate this and will understand the hollowness of the Security Council's latest censure of Israel.

הוועדה של טדי קולק ירושלים

Mayor Kollek walks on Temple Mount with Wakf representative Mustafa Ansari, right. At left is Mr. Salah e-Din Jarallah, Deputy Clerk of the Jerusalem Municipality. (Emka photos)



Committee visits site of archaeological dig at the Western Wall. The foreign advisers urged that archaeological work in Jerusalem be pursued vigorously.

PUTTING THE GOLD INTO JERUSALEM

Last week, the morning after the Security Council called upon Israel to rescind all steps it has taken to make Jerusalem a united city, another international group called upon Israel to do exactly the opposite. After four days of provocative discussions here, eminent architects, churchmen and educators from 16 countries asserted that the task of making Jerusalem a living city was one which transcended all political considerations. But the foreign advisers — members of the newly formed Jerusalem Committee — were of several minds about building the New Jerusalem, AVRAHAM RABINOVICH reports.

THE gathering in the courtyard of Jerusalem's Khan bore the anticipatory air that marks the first night at sea aboard an ocean liner when the passengers assemble in the salon for their first good look at one another.

The people invited to the reception at the old Turkish inn last week were for the most part strangers to each other except by reputation, but they would be living together for the next four days. In one corner, wearing a "Nehru" jacket, sat a dark, inward-looking man with luminous eyes. "Tagore," someone whispered, a nephew of the great Indian poet. Eagle-eyed and dapper, Carlos Garcia — ex-president of the Phillipines and former guerrilla leader — moved towards the buffet table followed at a discreet distance by two aides, one of them carrying a dispatch case. An Anglican priest from Australia stood nearby, his elegant robes whipping in the breeze like a cavalier's cape. Isamu Noguchi, the Japanese-American sculptor, was there, his predominantly Caucasian features surprising those who had never seen him before. There were African churchmen, European scholars, an 81-year-old Frenchman who for two decades had been curator of Islamic monuments in Cairo. Mario Cravo, the Brazilian sculptor, looking like a student demonstrator with his sports shirt and bushy jaw-length sideburns, brushed past Dr. Ursala Niebuhr, the handsome woman who was chairman of Barnard College's Religion Department. In the centre of the courtyard, an urbane architect from Ceylon stood alone with a drink in his hand looking about him with an expression of amusement and interest. "Don't know anybody except for Tagore," he said. "I met him in the cab coming up here."

The 27-man group — drawn from every continent and widely diverse disciplines — had assembled at the invitation of Mayor Teddy Kollek for the first conference of the Jerusalem Committee, an advisory body designed to give the international community a voice in the physical and cultural development of a city which is the spiritual capital of much of the world. In his first address to them the morning following the reception, Mr. Kollek asked the committee members to carefully scrutinize the development programmes drawn up by the city's planners and to be outspoken in their comments. He need have had no fear on this point for the committee was to prove remarkably outspoken, offering up enough provocative suggestions for the planners to chew on for months to come.

Sculptor Isamu Noguchi

The mayor had said the most important plan to consider was the proposal for a 750-acre national park circling the Old City. But the committee, quickly gathering its own head of steam, paid scant attention to the park, devoting itself to the broader questions of how the built-up area of Jerusalem — particularly the Old City itself — should be developed.

Two camps

TWO camps soon emerged — the modernizers and the preservers. Getting in first crack for the modernizers was white-thatched Willem Sandberg, former director of Amsterdam's Municipal Museum and the first Adviser-Director of the Israel Museum. The destruction of the Jewish Quarter, he said, had been a calamity but it was also an opportunity because the quarter could now be rebuilt from scratch. Referring to the restoration work that has been carried out there so far, he said the architects involved had done a wonderful job... but "I have the feeling," he said, "that this quarter shouldn't be reconstructed as it had been. Jerusalem was destroyed many times during its life and was always rebuilt, but in the style of its own time. They didn't try to copy what had been before. When something was added to a Gothic cathedral in the 16th Century it was not added in Gothic style."

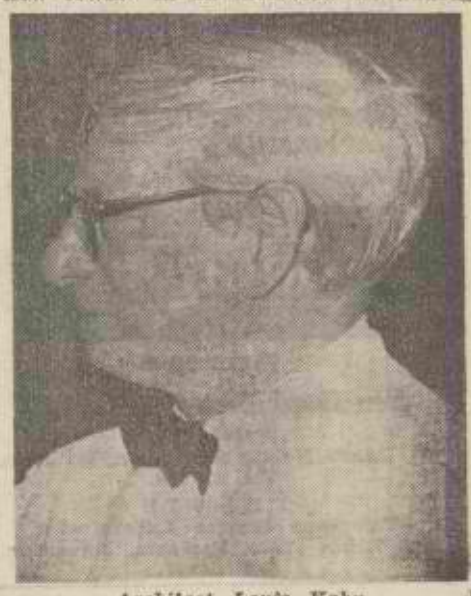
His theme was quickly amplified by a pipe-smoking Roman architect in a sensible lightweight suit — Prof. Bruno Zevi, whose incisiveness, wit and obviously well-thought-out opinions were to make him the dominant figure at the conference — after Kollek. Reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter should be stopped completely, he declared bluntly. "They're rebuilding lousy buildings that were lousy when they were built," said Zevi (who is a Jew). It might possibly be worthwhile to reproduce some huge monument like the Coliseum, he said, but it was impossible to reproduce minor architecture which grew not from some coherent design but from a unique rhythm of life. In refitting inconsequential structures that were little more than a century old with indoor plumbing and other amenities, the restorers were entering the realm of absurdity, he said. The desire to rebuild the picturesque — "tourist architecture" — while removing the dirt, struck Prof. Zevi as a sexually-frustrated Anglo-Saxon attitude.

Some people wanted to maintain the quarter's old character to preserve a link with the past, he noted. "But you offend the past of you copy it. You make it fake. You don't build old buildings today." Genuinely historic buildings such as the crusader structures recently uncovered should by all means be retained, he said, but the rest of the quarter should be developed "with the most modern and advanced architecture." Nor should any attempt be made to pay homage to the past by incorporating traditional motifs like the arch or dome. "You harmonize not by imitating the same style but by constrast, setting off the old by the new and the new by the old."

The new buildings need not even be of stone, Prof. Zevi maintained. "The alternative isn't plaster like in Tel Aviv. You could use concrete. There are even certain metals that are very warm. The Dome of the Rock, after all, isn't stone. It's ceramic."

Pointing to Venice (where he had taught history of architecture for six years), the professor said "Everyone thinks Venice is a wonderful town that shouldn't be touched; but this is a disaster." Crowded out of their narrow streets and subject to the "bathroom atmosphere" of the sewage-carrying canals, Venetians have been abandoning their picturesque city to the tourists and migrating to the mainland. The Old City could also become a ghost city, he warned, if it were turned into a "stage set."

Prof. Zevi's vigorous presentation drew an eloquent dissent from Enrique Fabregat, the courtly Urugayan history professor who served on the U.N. Commission for Palestine which decided in 1947 on the partition of the country into Jewish and Arab states. "Everything that comes from the past, from the human heart, comes from Jerusalem," he said. "I don't want to destroy the real image of Jerusalem. It doesn't come from empty space. It comes from the stones of Jerusalem... It is in the dreams of the people. They come to see that town, not a new town." In an interview he added:



Architect Louis Kahn

Any place to study: in a tank turret, a tent, or a bunker

right to study, unless their direct commander vouches for the fact that the "heat" of the front had prevented study.

It quickly became clear that the men in the field were thirsting for knowledge. Today, five months after the scheme started, over 700 soldiers are serving on the lines and studying in their bunkers.

Out in the field on the Suez Canal I met a few of these new model scholars. For instance, Samal Yosef Grossman, a tank commander aged 21 who came to this country with his mother after the 1956 campaign. By the age of 16 he had been at a variety of boarding schools, ending up at "Yemin Orde" near Haifa. Then he decided that the standard was too low for him and went to live at home with his mother and studied at the Ort Technicum in Givatayim. But money for this was scarce and Grossman took on night work at a locksmith's workshop. With school ending at four o'clock he used to rush home and grab some food and then hurry to work which went on until 10 o'clock at night. "Homework?", he says, "well I used to prepare it after work before I fell asleep." At the end of the seventh grade he had a bicycle accident and had to spend a month in hospital. It was then, when visiting him in hospital, that the school headmaster discovered that his pupil was working at night. He put forward the ultimatum "either work or study." But when he found out that it was the lack of money which drove the youngster to work at night he gave him a scholarship. With his technical certificate from Ort, Grossman joined the Army. "One day I heard that it was possible to study for matriculation through correspondence. Well, I borrowed somebody else's lessons and discovered it would 'go' even in a tank. So I quickly put my name down for a course in mathematics," he says.

SIMPLY JEALOUS

Before taking the course, the young blond soldier used to read books to fight boredom, "but it never drove away the tension.' Now, even during an alert, my free time is spent on finding answers to mathematical problems. I must succeed, and without help, just by myself. I know my friends in the tank sometimes laugh at me. But the truth is they're simply jealous."

Samal Ya'acov Borochovsky, 21, of Ramle, had no time for studies before going into the Army. "I was hell bent on having a good time and devoted myself to girls, not books," he says. But now all this has changed. "The greater the fear of death, the more one wants to live and finally one begins to think of what one wants to do while one is alive. I learned what life really is here on the line. For me it was the best school," he adds.

Before joining the Army he had gone to the Amal technical school to study electronics. During his last year of schooling he attended the Army's Communications Boarding School. He spent the Six Day War with the paratroopers, "but missed fighting in Jerusalem" and then joined the artillery out in Sinai. After a year-and-a-half of sand he decided to become serious. "I chose mathematics because I don't think I could study Bible or history under these conditions. That's stuff which you forget after a month, whereas with mathematics you do the problems and if you get the knack, well, it remains." Nowadays he begins work on lessons before dawn and appeared to be sending them back with machine-gun speed. He hopes to be able to complete the physics course during his remaining eight months service, as well as the mathematics and then study electronics at the Haifa Technion.

Segen-Mishne Mashiah Metzouyanim has 11 brothers and sisters. The family lives in Moshav Hodaya in the northern Negev and came here from Iran in 1948. "My father has the largest herd of sheep in our area and sent all his eight sons and four daughters to high school. I finished the 11th grade at the agricultural high school in Kfar Silver and then I went to Beersheba to study physical training. I might go on with that or else study biology, but it is clear that ,whatever happens I must get my matriculation, and of all the subjects that I still need to pass for it, I chose literature and Hebrew poetry under these conditions. Its a pleasant breeze in the tension," he says.

The Slotzover twins, Avi and Max are both 22. Their father is a doctor and the family came to this country just five years ago. Tall Avi can be found at the Hebrew University Medical school. "He's brilliant, he averaged 9.1 in the Medical School entrance exams — I can't do that," says his twin Max, who is on the Suez front and adds "I think my difficulty was Bible and Hebrew grammar." Max went to the Supply Corps School before going into the Army. When he joined up he in fact wanted to volunteer as a medic and remain in the family profession, but after his training this was impossible. "Now the chaps call me a 'vehicle doctor' instead, but I'll try and get into medical school when I get out of the Army," he says.

Meanwhile Max is attempting the two remaining matriculation examinations he has not yet passed. He has already completed 80 lessons in mathematics since he began on the course four months ago and has only ten more to complete. He has therefore begun on his second course—the 'Achilles' heel'—Hebrew grammar. "In fact I don't believe I'll be able to go at it at this rate when I leave the Army and get back to town. In town one is lazy. I began to think of my future only here on the front and realized I needed the matriculation certificate. Anyway on the banks of the Suez Canal even Hebrew grammar does not look all that difficult," he says.

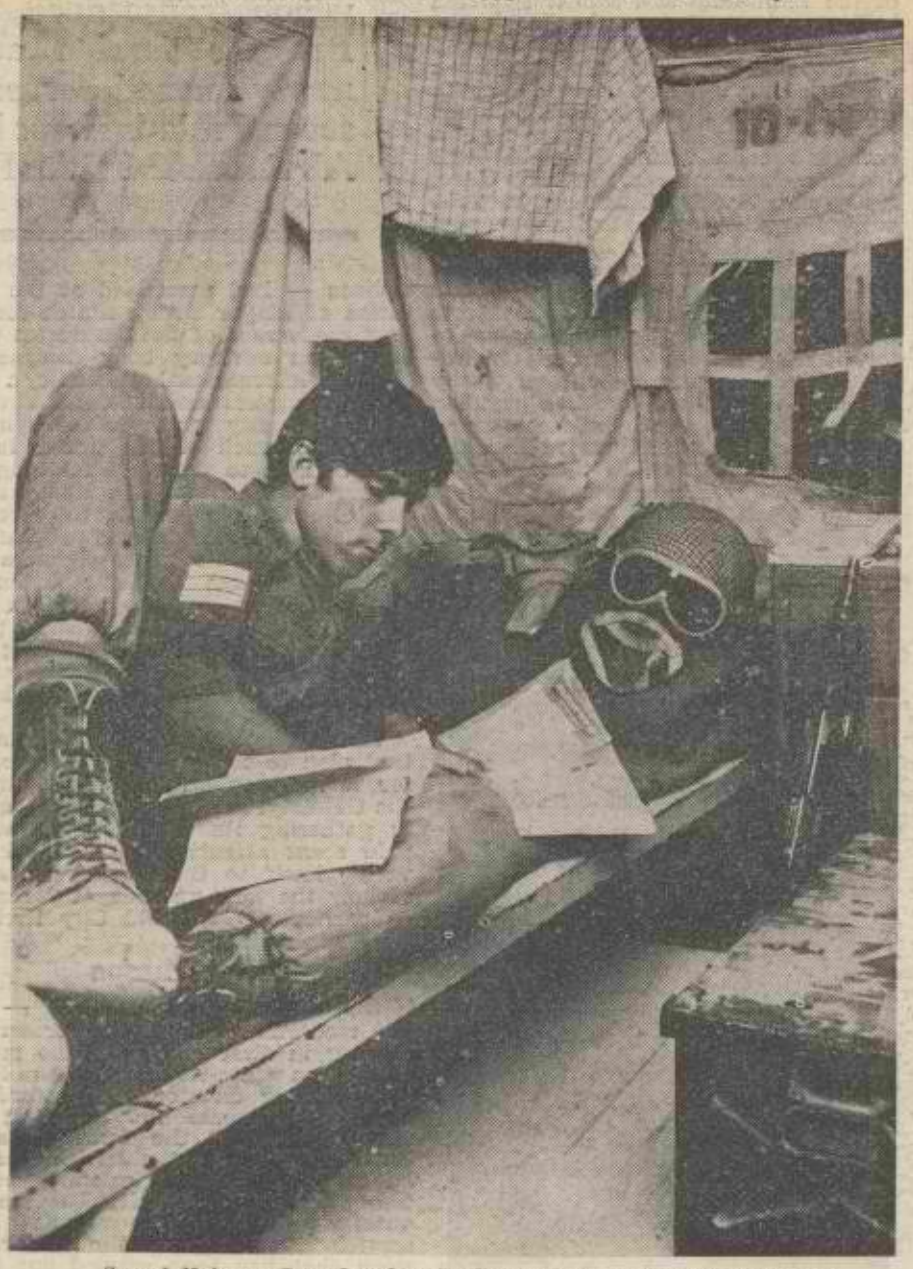
GUIDANCE NEEDED

Samal Dan Avidan, 22, of Jersualem, is a geography teacher, a graduate of Midreshat Ruppin. He had not been required to take the full matriculation exams, before being accepted by his seminary, but now after serving on the front he decided that teaching geography was not to be the end of the line. "I want to study biology at the Hebrew University." He says maths wasn't difficult, and expects more trouble with English."

Tall 22-year-old Segen Nahum says: "I always wanted to go on studying, and tried to do it myself with books, but found it impossible to cover all the problems. I used to ask friends who had taken their matriculation to help me but it just didn't go. It is difficult to study English and mathematics without guidance." When he heard of the correspondence courses, Nahum jumped at the opportunity. Now, despite carrying the duties of a deputy tank unit commander, he uses his tank as a classroom. When things are not too "hot" there's plenty of time to study, he says, but a commander has a lot of duties. "Our sector has incidents almost every day, and we hardly leave the tanks. It was very difficult. I saw my men who had already got their matriculation fooling around with my exercises like doing a crossword puzzle, but this time I decided I would not give up. I grab an hour and do an exercise then I run to the posts and in the middle of it all the Egyptians break in with an incident. Meanwhile my papers are in the tank and are getting dirty. Several days pass before I can find time to copy it all out cleanly. Now, I have finished five lessons and have no time to copy them. Perhaps in other units people manage more but in the Armoured Corps it is difficult."

By arrangement with "Yediot Aharonot."
Translated by Michael Guy.

Segen (Lieutenant) Nahum: The Egyptians sometimes interrupt.



Samal Ya'acov Borochovsky: Feelings about study have changed.

"If they want to make another city they can make it anywhere else in the world." He was all for modern architecture in Jerusalem, Prof. Fabregat said, but outside the walled city.

Argentinian writer, Ernesto Sabato, referring to Mr. Sandberg's remark about Gothic churches, asked: "If Notre Dame Cathedral had been damaged in the war, would you replace it with concrete?"

The South Americans were backed by voices from Africa and Asia. "It is not sufficient to give Jerusalem a tourist character," said His Eminence Diangenda of L'Eglise Kimbanguiste. He suggested that international religious institutes be set up in the various quarters of the Old City. Ex-President Garcia of the Phillipines, noting that 89 per cent of people in his country were Catholic, said Jerusalem's character as as a sacred city should be preserved as much as possible in any restoration work.

Stunning proposal

IF the traditionalists were shocked at the suggestion of modernizing the walled city they were struck silent by a suggestion that the city wall itself be torn down. It came from Mr. Tagore, who was endorsing a proposal made by former Premier David Ben-Gurion shortly after the Six Day War on the grounds that the growing together of the city was more important than esthetics. Walls, Mr. Tagore agreed, made ghettos and separated peoples. Perhaps sections of the city wall and some of the more beautiful gates might be preserved but the rest should be levelled. Jerusalem must be developed as the centre of "the new

President Shazar greets Mr. Carlos Garcia, former President of the Philippines.

humanism," the Indian said. He called for the establishment of an institute for the study of comparative religions to provide a central meaning to life to Jerusalem. (He did not suggest a name for it before the committee but in an interview he proposed that it be named after Mahatma Ghandi.) This most visionary of appeals came from a man who professed no faith in any revealed religion and was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India.

No one else proposed tearing down the city walls but there were suggestions that a couple of gates be gotten rid of. Historian Prof. Joshua Prawer of Hebrew University, one of the handful of Israelis on the committee, urged Mr. Kollek to "do something" about New Gate which he termed the ugliest in the city. Mr. Noguchi felt the same way about Dung Gate, urging that the city wall either be opened here — as at Jaffa Gate — or that the gate itself be rebuilt.

Lack of scale

THE Western Wall did not escape the committee's scrutiny, several members voicing their regret at the lack of scale in the area, particularly after the destruction of the last group of houses abutting the wall. "It looks too much like a parking lot," said Mr. Noguchi, in an interview. "There should be some separation between the plaza and the praying area and the praying area should have some sort of sanctity." The separation could be achieved, he suggested, by either depressing or raising the praying area and perhaps constructing a balustrade between it and the plaza.

A more dramatic solution was offered by American architect Louis Kahn — the reconstruction of the bridge from what is now the Jewish Quarter to the spring of Robinson's Arch near the southern end of the Temple Mount. The bridge served 2,000 years ago to carry royalty from the upper city to the Temple area but now it would serve to provide a sense of enclosure for the Western Wall, he suggested. Mr. Kahn, who drew up the bold plans for a giant new Hurva Synagogue in the Jewish Quarter, sounded as mystic as Mr. Tagore when he spoke of the opportunities created by the vast space in front of the Wall. "I see the space in front of the Western Wall," he said. "It can be beautifully handled. Now (after the recent demolitions) it is something else. This scale says something to the Jewish Quarter (which faces it) ... I see a composite order of concrete and stone in the Jewish Quarter... The wall being deepened gives an opportunity for strength and a statement of determined purpose. I see greatness."

The committee agreed that a final solution to the problem must await completion of the important archaeological digs in the area which might be five to 10 years away. But temporary solutions ranging from planting to the creation of a large, moveable screen behind the praying area were called for.

* * *

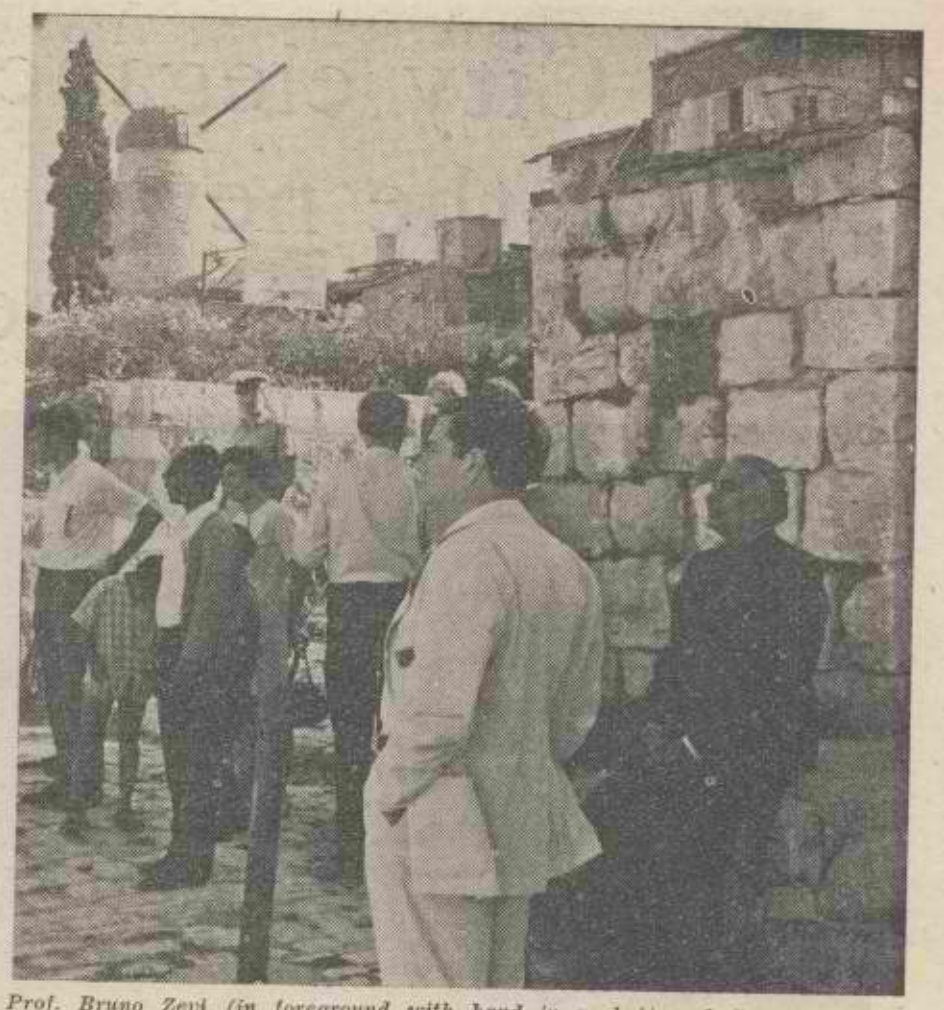
AS for the national park, the committee expressed its general approval but warned against permitting the greenbelt around the walls to cut off the Old City from the rest of Jerusalem and make it an acropolis rather than part of the living city. Mr. Kollek said it would not happen since the city's main commercial centre would connect directly to the Old City's market places at two points — Jaffa and Damascus Gates. The greenbelt itself would not be a sterile strip of green, he said, but would incorporate playing fields (probably on Mt. Scopus) and an amphitheatre. Prof. Zevi suggested that non-permanent structures of canvas or wood be set up in the park to house cultural activities.

Other proposals by individuals included knocking off the top of tall buildings inside the Old City so that they do not project above the walls and the provision of communal TV antennas within the Old City so as to do away with the forest of antennas presently visible. The Brazilian sculptor, Cravo, urged the establishment of an art centre in Jerusalem where foreign plastic artists could be invited to work for periods of at least five months, their products then being placed in appropriate locations. The most promising young artists in Israel should work side by side with the foreign masters, Mr. Cravo suggested. (Mr. Kollek pointed out that something of the sort is being planned for Yemin Moshe.) Despite his anarchic appearance, Mr. Cravo proved to be a builder rather than a knocker-down. He suggested the establishment of a small group of qualified Israeli architects in Jerusalem to work with the most distinguished architects from all over the world in developing the city.

Areas of accord

ALTHOUGH disagreeing strongly among themselves about the future shape of the Old City, the committee was of one mind about other aspects of Jerusalem. Its final resolution called for the avoidance of past mistakes "such as the construction of a hotel on the top of the Mount of Olives, the construction of a hospital on the ridge of the Mount of Olives (the new Moslem Charitable Hospital, not the old Augusta Victoria Hospital) and the construction of a church which blocks the beautiful view of the Kidron Valley from the bridge (at Gethsemane)."

Not even the modernizers would alter the city's basic character. Their leading spokesman, Prof. Zevi, noted in an interview that Jerusalem is, and should remain, a walled city with a unique blending of landscape and town.



Prof. Bruno Zevi (in foreground with hand in pocket) and Saumyendranath Tagore (right) during tour of Yemin Moshe.

He would preserve the city's intimacy and he warned against widening of streets outside the walls or the creation of broad "piazzas" that would dwarf Jerusalem's human scale.

Although they had been invited as individuals, many of the committee members spoke for a broad constituency. Ex-President Garcia said he had accepted the invitation so that the Catholics of the east could have a voice in the destiny of Jerusalem. The Rev. W. Brandful, president of the Christian Council of Ghana, represented a rural people for whom the word Jerusalem meant spirituality. "Some would be surprised if told that Jerusalem were situated on earth," he said. (Interjected Mr. Kollek: "After three days here I hope you agree with them.") The African members on the committee, in particular, called for consideration of the sentiments of local Arabs and the Moslem world in any planning for Jerusalem. "The claims of Zionism should be balanced with any other elements in the situation," the Rev. Mr. Brandful said.

Mr. Kollek said Arabs from East Jerusalem had declined his invitation to join the committee. In addition to these human constituencies, the humanists on the committee spoke for the eternal past, the visual artists for the vital present and Mr. Tagore for the visionary future.

Kollek at centre

AT the centre of all this was Mayor Teddy Kollek, balancing the divergent approaches with a consummate pragmatism which acknowledged equally the visions of a heavenly Jerusalem that were put forward and an awareness of the problems of garbage collection and other realities in the earthly Jerusalem. When a committee member suggested that the Moslem Charitable Hospital on the Mount of Olives be demolished since it was blocking the skyline, Kollek pointed out that it had been built by a Moslem religious institution with funds supplied by the Arab world. "Well, of course," said the committee member, "we'll have to build them a new hospital elsewhere if this one is demolished."

"You still don't understand," said Kollek. "The hospital is regarded by them as an important institution that they have established for themselves." He said the administration of the cramped. Arab hospital in the Via Dolorosa had been offered space in the Hadassah Hospital building on Mt. Scopus with modern facilities and almost double the number of beds. Even though they would have retained their own staff and management, Mr. Kollek said, they had refused. "You must understand the psychology, the human aspect of the equation," he said. "We have a framework of very delicate interests. It's like touching an open wound." Someday, the Arab administrators might decide on their own to move, he said, but they would not accept willingly Israeli interference, no matter how well intentioned. Aesthetics, he said, had nothing to do with it.

On the other hand it was aesthetics as well as the realities of the rent structure in Israel that prompted Kollek to advocate stone as required facing for all houses in Jerusalem. Under the present social system, he told the committee, rents are not sufficient to provide owners with an incentive to make improvements so that with a less hardy exterior, buildings would deteriorate as they often do in Tel Aviv.

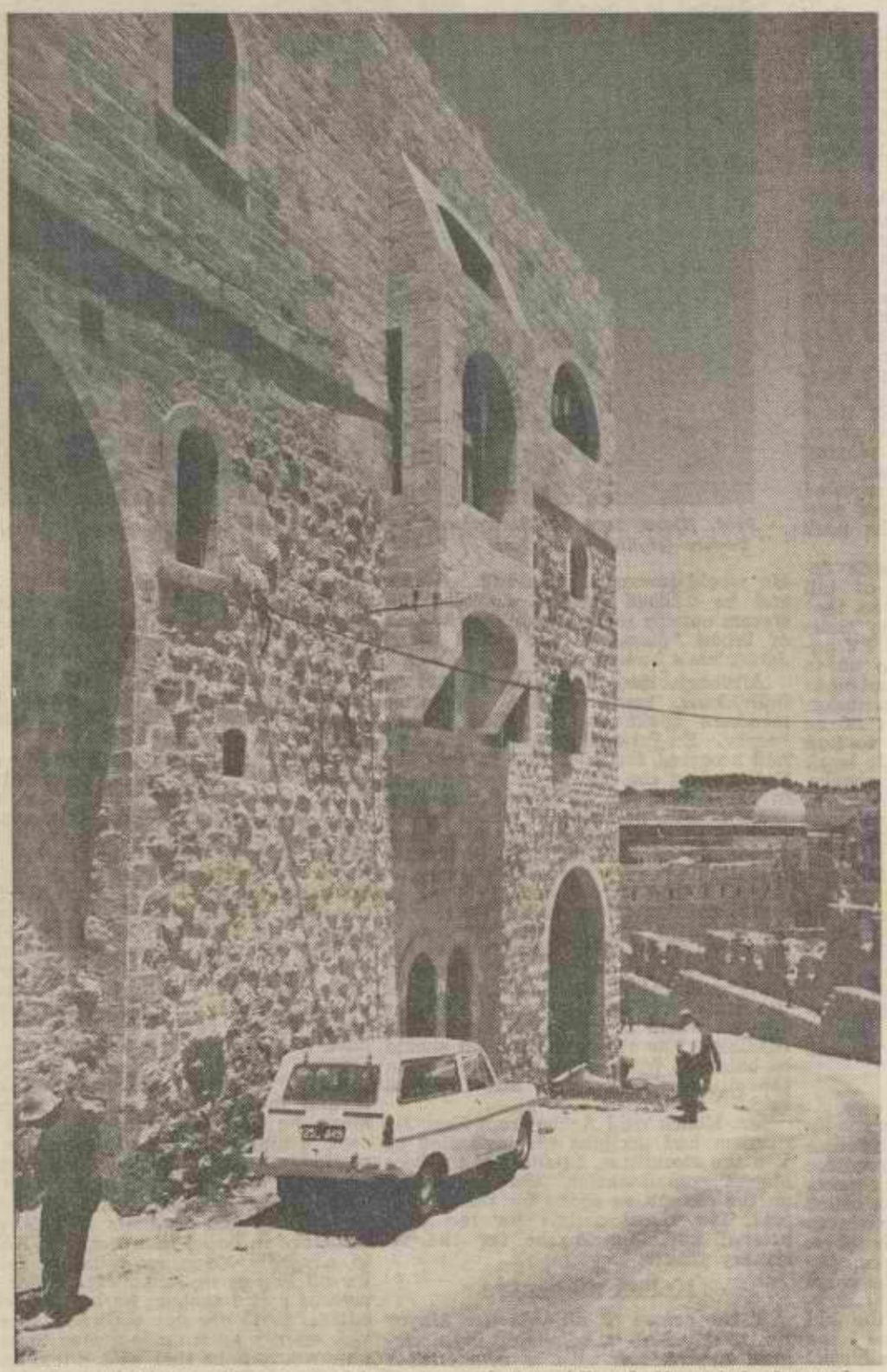
Kollek's pragmatism was not that of an administrator — simply interested in getting things done — but that of a politician interested in getting things done in order to get somewhere. When Mr. Tagore objected that the summary statement was too practical and did not appeal sufficiently to the higher emotions, Mr. Kollek replied: "I believe that all these practical things together amount to a value beyond the practical, an entirely different sphere."

The conference was held at a crucial point in Jerusalem's phyiscal development. As Israeli architect Anatol Brutzkus told the committee, Jerusalem had not developed under four centuries of backward Ottoman rule and had not been permitted to modernize by the British who were interested in preserving its character. "There are very few places in the world where it has happened like this," he said. In the post Six Day War period the city's development is inevitable but there still remains the choice of which direction it will take.

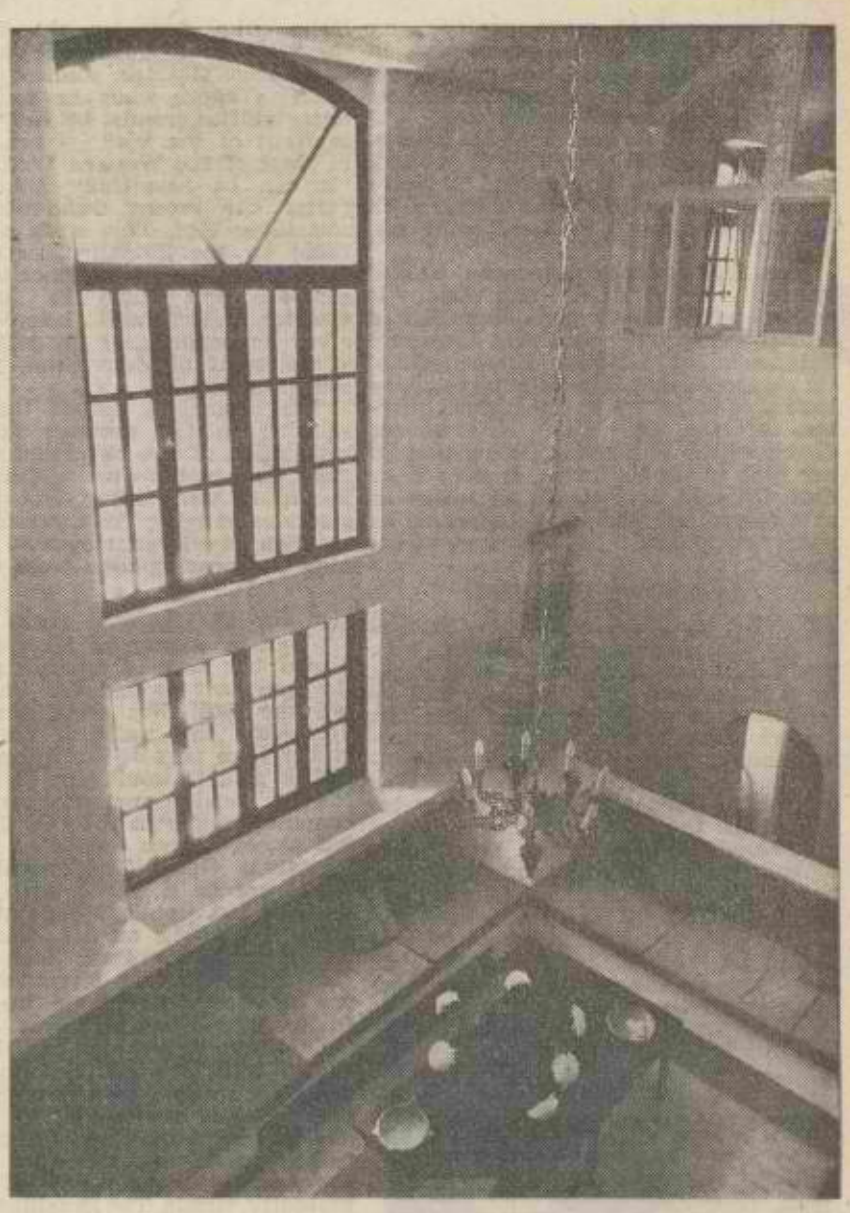
Perhaps the most eloquent statement of the message to be read in Jerusalem's stones and landscape — the message to be preserved — was made by the president of Hebrew University, Avraham Harman, in an address to the committee. "The past is all around us. The desert is all around us. Evidence that the preservation of human civilization is by no means inevitable — this evidence is piled up all around us. It stirs eternal questions."

Prof. Gaston Wiet, 81, of France (left), a former custodian of Islamic monuments in Cairo, chats with Willem Sandberg, former director of the Amsterdam museum, at the Armenian Patriarchate, where committee members dined one evening.

Old City elegance at the new official residence



Front of official residence in Jewish quarter, with view of Temple Mount in background.

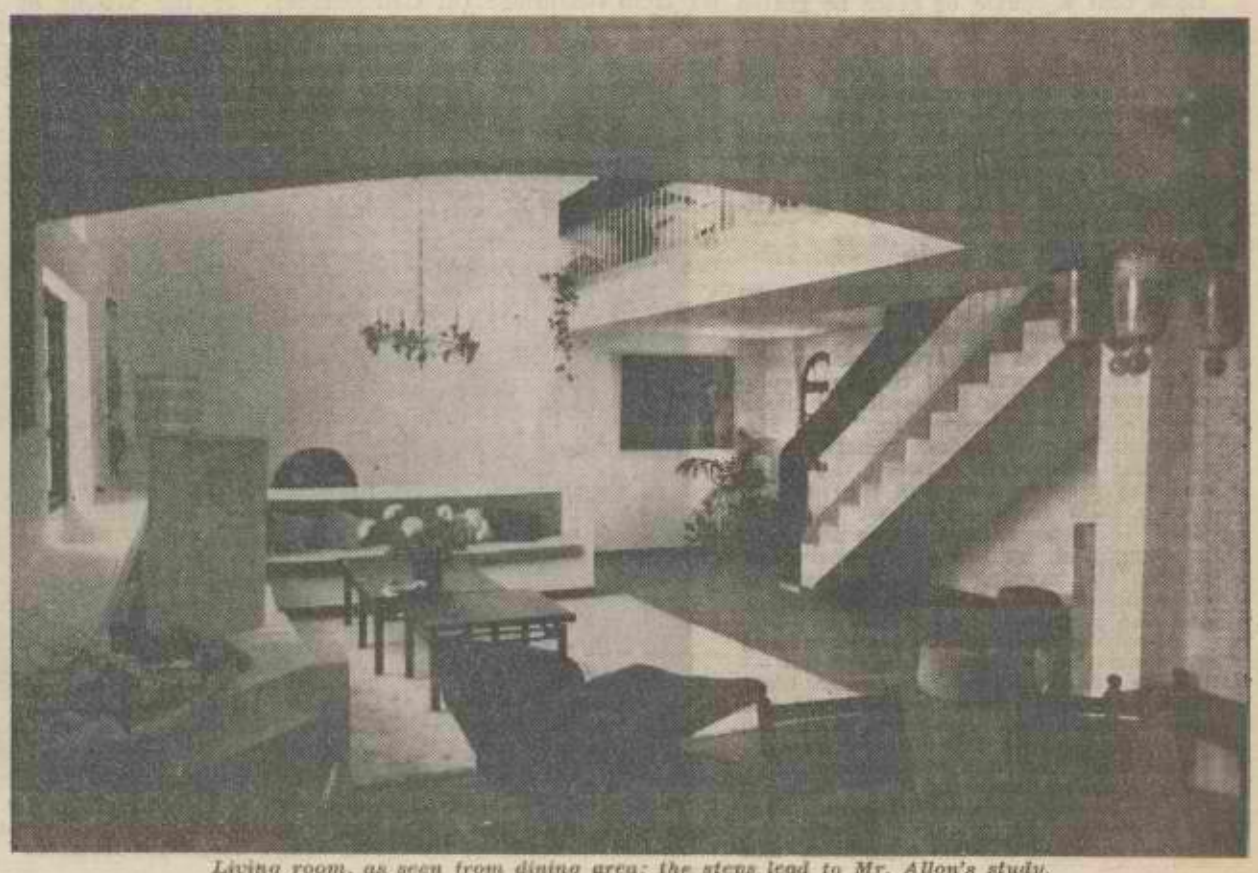


Chandelier compliments high-ceilinged living room.

Before restoration: the building as it looked in June, 1967.

Since the Six Day War planners have carefully picked their way through the rubble of the Jewish Quarter left by the War of Independence and two decades of occupation by Arab squatters. Last week a significant step in the return of life to the area was marked when Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon and his wife moved into a spacious three-storey house at the eastern end of the Batei Machse complex, which presently serves as the temporary home of the Yeshivat Hakotel.

Designed by architect Eliezer Frenkel, the apartment is built around a large living room in which Mr. Allon will be able to receive official guests. Steps lead downward from the living room to three bedrooms. Above the living room is Mr. Allon's study, its window facing towards Silwan and the Judean Desert. The walls are adorned with paintings by Israeli artists. The house is an official, state-owned residence.



Living room, as seen from dining area: the steps lead to Mr. Allon's study.

THE JERUSALEM DEBATE: WHAT JORDAN WANTS

By YA'ACOV BEN ISRAEL
POST U.N. Correspondent

NEW YORK. — JERUSALEM is too precious to leave unnoticed for any great length of time. This is a truth universally acknowledged around here, which explains why the Jordanian decision to kick up a verbal storm over Jerusalem at the Security Council this week, with charges of attempted larceny by Israel of the unique "Arab" jewel, came as no surprise to U.N. delegations.

The Israeli Mission has been expecting the Council debate ever since February, when Jordan was dissuaded at the last moment from pressing a complaint over the registration of Arab commercial enterprises in Eastern Jerusalem under Israel law. A debate was hardly necessary at the time, the Western powers told Jordan, because Israel had put off the date at which the new regulations were to go into effect. Even more important, they argued that an acrimonious polemic over a sensitive issue like Jerusalem could inflame passions and wreck the efforts of outside parties — Dr. Jarring, who had not yet called off his peace mission, and the Big Powers, which were then preparing to take a more active role in the game — and weren't these efforts of vital concern to Jordan, if it wished to avoid a direct confrontation, military or political, with Israel? Of course they were.

Similar arguments were marshalled by the Western powers, particularly by the U.S., last week, when Jordan declared its intention to call a Security Council meeting on Jerusalem after all, to protest Israel's absorption of the eastern city by "eviction, demolition and expropriation." This time the arguments fell on deaf ears.

Unification accepted fact

Jordan was still hoping to be bailed out by the powers, but on the issue of Jerusalem it felt that time was fast running out. Slowly but inexorably, the "city of peace" was slipping away from Amman's hold; the world at large was also coming to accept the unification of Jerusalem under Israel control as an accomplished fact.

Jordan's only recourse in the desperate effort to keep the situation politically fluid was to force the Western powers — all of them — to restate their official opposition to any "unilateral attempt" by Israel to alter the status of Jerusalem. Although the U.S. might favour the eventual retention by Israel of political control over the city, and the Soviet Union might, publicly speaking, insist that "Arab" Jerusalem rightfully belonged to Jordan, both were agreed — even if they were not agreed on anything else — that nothing should be done by Israel in or out of Jerusalem which could prejudice a final settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict.

The U.S. still thought that the problem of Jerusalem could not be logically treated except in the perspective of the Middle East as a whole, a stand Ambassador Charles Yost was to state in the Council. But it could not properly object — except by another abstention — to the reaffirmation by the Council of a resolution which had declared invalid all Israel actions tending to the annexation of Jerusalem.

But eliciting support for their campaign against Israel over Jerusalem was, in the view of observers here, by no means the only objective of the Jordanians. The very heat of the debate, they must have figured, would demonstrate to the world afresh the extreme "explosiveness" of the Middle East situation — the more so since they stated their expectation that what Israel was doing in Jerusalem today it would doubtless do to all the occupied territories tomorrow, unless kept in check by the Security Council.

Last, but perhaps not least, by focusing attention on the political battle in New York, King Hussein could divert his people's gaze from his efforts to put a tighter control on the commando organizations.

The campaign has some daring objectives. Muhammad el-Farrah, Jordan's representative, read out to the Council an outline of a draft which not only reaffirms the previous resolution, but asks in addition that the Council call for an immediate ban on arms supplies to Israel, and threatens Israel with economic sanctions if Jerusalem is not redivided within a fortnight.

Algeria and Pakistan, Jordan's trusted agents on the Council, doubtless were under no illusion that the arms ban would be acceptable to a majority on the Council. A resolution raising the threat of sanctions — or "further steps," in the local vernacular — might be anathema to only a few, and might get passage. The fact — well known to Jordan — is that this particular Security Council has probably the largest concentration of Arab supporters in the U.N.'s entire history, a result largely of the recent departure of Canada and Denmark, good friends of Israel and the election of Zambia, a distinctly pro-Nasserite African country, and Spain. Moreover, Jordan has taken pains to recruit an unprecedented number of allies for this political battle. Among them were some Moslem countries — Indonesia and Malaysia, for example — whose appearance before the Council was to prove how dear the 100m. Arabs and 600m. Moslems the world over hold Jerusalem.

In the years before June 1967, the world was periodically exposed to the grotesque spectacle of Jordan hauling Israel before the Security Council on charges of planting trees in Jerusalem's no-man's-land or holding an Independence Day military parade. Israel for its part gave up dragging the Jordanian invader into court for instituting in occupied Jerusalem a regime which violated solemn obligations contracted under the armistice agreement permitting access to the Western Wall.

Nevertheless, and despite the seemingly overwhelming pressures building up against Israel on the issue of Jerusalem, there is one powerful factor working in Israel's favour: Israel's policy on Jerusalem is clear-cut and unequivocal, and its determination is plain and unmistakable. Ambassador Yosef Tekoah put it clearly in a conversation with reporters last Monday, hours before the start of the debate: "To reject, smash and trample underfoot" any resolution directed against the peace and security of a unified Jerusalem.

The members of the Security Council are well aware of this. Some of them, to be sure, would not at all mind setting the Council on a collision course with Israel. But most of them, probably, would flinch from setting precedents, which might prove dangerous later on.

No Common Market

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT by LEA BEN DOR

MRS. Meir's more formal statements, like her report on the Prime Minister's office this week, follow a certain pattern. They are straightforward, systematic and delivered in a low, quiet tone that would scarcely reveal the occasional bomb-shell to a listener who does not understand Hebrew. Of course it is just a common Hebrew idiom to say that something will be repaid "sevenfold"; but when Mrs. Meir said that continued firing across the cease-fire line by the Jordanians would be replied to in this manner, it was not simple hyperbole, but possibly an accurate statement. We were now permitting the Jordanians to repair the Ghor irrigation channel — i.e., not shooting to interfere with the work — on the assumption that the Jordanian authorities would see to it that there were no further attacks in the area. This brief observation suggests both that there have been contacts on the subject and that these included clear warnings that the Ghor canal would not remain operational unless the Israel farmers on the other side of the Jordan and in the Beisan Valley could once more work in peace. This could be a most important precedent. She followed it up with an expression of hope that it might help the Arab farmers who have fled the region because of the shelling in both directions to return, and farmers on both sides to work in peace right up to the lines, in fact, a microcosm of the peace we want.

* * *

MRS. Meir's outspokenness on the subject of the Four-Power talks has unnerved not only Mr. Wilson, or so it is said, but also some members of her cabinet. These would prefer to avoid disagreements with the great and the powerful as long as there is a good chance that they may never agree on any plan to force down our throats. She puts this point also with almost brutal clarity: we have no right *not* to reject on principle talks held with a power that is hostile to us, that represents Arab interests, and with which others are trying to achieve a compromise. The result has not by any means been that Mrs. Meir is less well received abroad. It may prove in due course that this unequivocal stand now will prevent the reaching of any decision by the powers that would be clearly rejected by Israel and that might have involved conflict and prestige if we had appeared more malleable.

So far so good. Of policies for the administered areas she said only that we must aim to let the population of the areas manage their own affairs as far as possible, with which most people will agree, and that despite the security risks involved we had not cut off the populations of these areas from contact with Arabs either in Israel or in Jordan and beyond.

* * *

THIS theme was taken up at length by Mr. Haim Zadok (Labour) to a point that seems self-defeating. There could be no peace without the principle of direct talks, he said. Total developments in the area depend not only on us but also on others, mainly the Arabs. True enough. Therefore we should volunteer no maps for the future, and happily the government had not done so. The late Prime Minister, Levi Eshkol, did in fact discuss some tentative ideas on the subject, but since Mrs. Meir has been in office there has been less talk of maps.

Mr. Zadok continues that as the only government operating in the areas we are under an obligation to assure services and employment. Of a total of 40-50,000 persons seeking work in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, perhaps 12,000 were working in Israel, rather more than half of them legitimately, through the labour exchange. He does not think there is much real debate on what should be done, for nobody (read "even Mr. Sapir") thinks Israel should be sealed hermetically against the entry of Arab labour from the areas; nobody thinks that all control of movement should be ended, or that people should be free to move their domicile as they wish. Mr. Zadok looks on the dark side on this occasion. The more Arab labour we absorb into our economy, the more disruption there would be if security reasons should require a curfew, for instance. True. But except for a few hours that Arab workers disappeared from Western Jerusalem after the bomb in Mahane Yehuda Market, outside Arab labour has been remarkably little affected by the various incidents.

In the days of mixed labour 30 and more years ago, the two national sectors tended to separate nervously after any incident that caused tension. Now neither the legitimate, registered workers nor the "black" labour disappears from Tel Aviv if something has happened. The jobs are too good, and the Israel public's faith in police and security is strong. Police have found the perpetrators of an outrage so often that there is remarkably little inclination on the part of the public to take vengeance on the next Arab they meet. This lack of indiscriminate retaliation has become a major factor in making it possible for Arab labour to work in Jewish areas despite recurrent acts of sabotage, and both peoples should appreciate the contribution this has made to continued good personal relations. It is one of the major differences between the period of the Mandate and now, and essential for any permanent peace.

MR. Zadok continues that, of course, if we were to enter on another period of unemployment, these Arabs would be the first to be dismissed. In fact they provide only a partial solution to our labour problem at a time of full employment. Again this is true, for the injection of Arab labour has prevented a steep rise in labour costs liable to arise whenever there is even the smallest labour shortage. We have just been discovering that not enough labour is available in Israel to service industries for which investments, and markets, would be available, but, as Mr. Zadok says, labour from the areas is no permanent solution. But what is under discussion here is the employment problem in the areas, not labour costs in Israel. He would much rather see employment provided for them on the spot.

If we grow carrots, and they might do the packing, he would rather see the carrots sent to the areas, than the labour brought here; better still, let them also grow the carrots. "We should not look on the areas as markets for Israel. Let them produce for themselves, and also sell to Israel, and to the Arab countries. They could provide certain simpler products, carpentry and textiles, and leave us to concentrate on the more specialised industries and prepare ourselves the better for entry to the Common Market... even if they were to compete with Israel products, their total industrial output is only 1½ per cent of ours..." Who shall provide the capital for new industries? Preferably not Jews, he thinks, because then the money and the management would be Jewish and the labour Arab, and that is colonialism. Arab capital might seek to exploit its labour, but that is a frequent ill of developing countries, and the lesser evil. Then, having got this far, what shall we contribute to the development of the areas for which, Mr. Zadok considers, we have not done enough? We should set targets and fire the ambitions of the Arabs. This will be to the benefit of all if the areas stay with Israel, and will be appreciated if they return to Arab rule.

In geometry this method used to be known as *reductio ad absurdum*, meaning that it had been proved that this method was not possible. From the Prime Minister down, practically everybody is agreed that there can be no change in the status of the areas until there is full, contractual peace, and nobody believes such peace is round the corner.

* * *

INDEED few people believe that the present Arab governments will, or even can, suddenly repudiate all they have said for two or ten or 50 years and sit down to work out a peace treaty with us. One of the exceptions, one of the optimists, is Foreign Minister Eban, and Mrs. Meir also, sometimes, hopes that surely the Arabs must want peace as much as we do. Some ob-

(Continued on Page 5)

THE WISE MEN COME TO JERUSALEM

Mayor Kollek and Prof. Prawer of the Hebrew University stand at window of Intercontinental Hotel and point out Jerusalem landmarks Committee members. (Photo by Braun)

Forty-two of the world's leaders in town planning, architecture, the arts and philosophy came to Jerusalem this week for the first meeting of the Jerusalem Committee, a World Advisory Council formed by Mayor Teddy Kollek to advise on the restoration and building of the Holy City. Two delegates from the Far East, architect GEOFFREY BAWA of Ceylon and writer SAUMYENDRANATH TAGORE, discuss their views about Jerusalem with The POST's PHILIP GILLON.

Bawa

Tagore

TEDDY Kollek has done it again. While the Security Council discusses the status of Jerusalem and terrorists do their unsavoury business, the Mayor has taken a step of which all true lovers of Jerusalem will approve — he has formed a Committee of wise men to express the views of the international community on the future character of the Holy City.

The names of the members of the World Advisory Council of the Jerusalem Committee read like a "Who's Who" of the greatest creators of our day: here are listed the world's finest architects, town planners, philosophers, divines, writers, sculptors, artists, musicians, statesmen. The names ring like bugles: here are listed 60 people who have made mighty and imaginative contributions to the cultural treasures of mankind.

They take in a lot of territory as well as creative achievements: they come from the East and the South, as well as the West. Unfortunately, nobody from the Arab world is represented, although Mr. Gaston Weit, from France, is a world authority on Islam.

The Council had on its schedule a week in Jerusalem, visiting, examining, proposing, considering: it is hoped that out of their deliberations will emerge ideas of how to express in physical form the international spirit of a unique city.

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STANDING over six feet tall in his architect's shoes, Geoffrey Bawa, with his clipped, soft-spoken English accent and self-deprecating sense of humour, could easily be taken for a modern version of Sanders of the River: his dress, however is dashing and arty, and he sighs with relief when told that he can take off a necktie reluctantly donned to have tea in the Knesset. He has designed many buildings which now grace Ceylon and India: last year he was awarded the Pan-Pacific Award of the American Institute of Architects for "architecture of outstanding quality" in a vast area of the world. The prize was awarded, he presumes, because he has built a "few schools, hotels and so forth."

On his second visit to Israel, he believes that the character of building in Jerusalem should be a preservation, but not, by any means, a blind preservation.

"The whole project of rebuilding and embellishing the Old City is a superb one of international interest, although obviously it should not stop at the walls of the Old City, but should extend outwards as well. Steps should be taken now to prevent any permanent damage to the character of the whole city."

He talks of the "character" of the City: how would he define this?

"You have to keep to the stone, the olives, the slopes of the hills, the history, and the buildings of the past. On the other hand, you must build a functional city, one in which people can enjoy living, not just a picturesque town. This is only my second visit to Israel, and I certainly wouldn't presume to give advice at this stage: I must say that my impression is that the people who presented schemes to us are approaching matters with care, love and understanding."

The great problem, as a lay citizen of Jerusalem sees it, is that the Government or bodies close to it like the Hebrew University have to provide urgent accommodation for citizens and students at great speed and low cost. So they rush up emergency housing. For instance, some of the apartment houses built by the Ministry of Housing, and some of the temporary dormitories built by the University, seem to us to deface our precious hills. We used to think that real estate developers like Babbit were the offenders, but Governments also abandon aesthetics to save a dollar. Has he noticed these apparent atrocities?

"It is certainly true that nothing is as permanent as the temporary. I have not seen the dormitories yet, but at the entrance to Jerusalem I did notice high buildings which seem to mar the line of the hills unnecessarily. It is true that governments are as keen to save money as private developers: architects everywhere are forced by circumstances to look for the best possible solutions with the least possible money. Admittedly, the first need is to house people. But you must not put them in an ambiance which is unattractive. Just to have a roof over one's head is not enough, if no thought is given to beauty, and grace, and the nature of the environment. This applies especially in a city like Jerusalem. You have to make the best possible use of the materials available in the light of the climate and the character of the city."

Does this mean that he would intensify the insistence on Jerusalem stone? And would he object to modern building being interspersed among the spires, domes and minarets of Jerusalem?

"I am all in favour of stone and olive trees continuing to provide the dominant themes for Jerusalem. I would not approve of 'modern' buildings, if you use the word in quotation marks — but I would certainly approve of 'modern,' if it means using natural materials and spaces to fit contemporary life.

"The use of stone is very good, an excellent beginning, but it is not by any means a complete safety measure. The only real safety lies in using all materials with taste and knowledge."

We talked earlier of high buildings, and of modern architecture inserted among spires, minarets and domes. Does he think that rectangular matchboxes should be prohibited? Do not the slim fingers or curves of churches and mosques call for original designs like that of the Shrine of the Book or the University synagogue?

"It is a question of scale. Whatever is built should be subject to the scale of Jerusalem and should not overpower the city. As for the shape of the buildings, I don't like to see shapes that are just shapes for the sake of being shapes. In Ceylon, for example, we are going away from an international style so as to use natural materials suitable for the climate. But it varies with the building. The Israel Museum is a very good building, indeed, and the Shrine of the Book goes well with the whole complex. But I would not approve of all kinds of oddities for Jerusalem."

On the World Advisory Council of the Jerusalem Committee are serving some of the most brilliant men in the world. But their function is purely advisory. Does it worry him that all their ideas may be negated by an obstinate official or City Councillor, or by a headstrong Minister of Housing?

"I know myself how much I resent it when an outsider rushes in with advice. The result is often a compromise in which nobody believes. I see so much obvious intelligence around in Israel that I am quite sure good use will be made of any ideas we produce."

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THE stately, silver-haired gentleman in the dark clothes is obviously an Indian: going up to him and peering at the card in his label, I am thrilled to read the name "Tagore." This triggers thrilling memories of long-forgotten quotes from "Gitanjali," pored over with love long years ago — "I dive deep in the ocean of forms, trying to find the perfect pearl of the formless"; "like a flock of homesick cranes"; "In one last salutation to Thee, my God"... Tentatively I ask if he is related to the late Sir Rabindranath Tagore, perhaps the greatest of Indian poets. "I am a nephew." And is he also a poet and mystic? He laughs explosively. "Must everybody named Tagore be a poet and a mystic? I am a political writer." What party? "The Revolutionary Communist Party of India."

This seems to be a long way indeed from his uncle's mysticism: what is his religion? "I was born a Hindu, but that of course is not a religion but a people. I am not a religious man at all."

If he is not a mystic but a political writer, what then has brought him to serve on the Jerusalem Committee?

"I am deeply interested in the different peoples who make up this great city. Jerusalem is the most fascinating city in the world. In the first place, it is one of the oldest of cities: the only one that I think compares to it is Benares. Jerusalem is sacred to Judaism, Islam and Christianity: Benares is a holy city of Hindus and Buddhists. Its monuments go back 2,500 years.

"You have the same thing in Jerusalem, a city with a tremendous history, with monuments as old as time. I am fascinated by the problem of how to bring about unity among its diverse peoples. Unfortunately, politicians, I fear, will never be able to achieve it. Unity in Jerusalem will spring from the spirit, not politics.

"So I believe that an autonomous body of savants from all countries in the world should be created to work on a new *weltanschauung* for Jerusalem out of different religions and creeds. Once a year wise men from all parts of the world should gather in Jerusalem to give talks about comparative religion, to explain the fundamental unity which underlies universal humanism."

His thinking, I comment, seems to savour more of poetry and mysticism than political writing about dialectical materialism.

He brushes the comment aside impatiently. "The fact that I am myself a politician is irrelevant to Jerusalem. Indians, whatever their faith, are very interested in Jerusalem: what person concerned with world problems and the fate of humanity is not? It is a universal question.

"Here should be founded an institute named 'The Gandhi Institute of Universal Humanism.' You see, I have already worked out the name. No man is as much respected as a man of peace as Gandhi is. Since his death, his influence has been growing, not diminishing, while the influence of politicians fades away. All over the world his name is more and more revered. Making Jerusalem a centre of humanism would have a tremendous impact on world thought: this effect would be intensified by honouring the memory of Gandhi.

"So I am going to press for this idea in the Jerusalem Committee — the Gandhi Institute of Universal Humanism. It should help to bring peace to the city and the world."

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק יוצא - מסווג

ירושלים

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מס' 44

בשלח: 2.7.69

אל: ביו יורק

מאת: הס שרד

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שלך 3.

להלן הרהור הראשון.

אין לנו עניין להתפלמס על ועמד ירושלים, ובכוונה השארנו מערפלת את השאלה אם החקיקה הנוגעת לאיחוד ירושלים מהווה סיפוח מזרח ירושלים או לא. לכן אין אנו נכנסים לויכוח עם הצדדים התחרותיים והמיבהליים מאד משמעתם שיבוי סטאטוס. מאידך יהיה בלתי נוח לנו אם תופץ חוות דעת משפטית בנדון ממעם המזכל ויש לשקול איך יתרתיע אותו אם אפשר. מוסב שהמזכל ובאנץ יביבו מסך באורח אישי או באמצעות בציבים אחרים שלא כדאי להסתבך. בין היתר אפשר להצביע על התסבוכות הנאות.

א. היש למזכירות או ליועץ המשפטי סמכות מוכרת לתת ADVISORY OPINIONS על בעיות ביבלאומיות, להבדיל משאלות הנוגעות במישרין להפעלת הארגון עצמו? הסבילה לא מטילה תפקיד כזה על המזכל.

ב. אין אנו מקבלים הדיעה שהושמעה על ידי יוסם בדיון שהשלטון הישראלי במזרח ירושלים צריך להיות כפוף לאמנה הרביעית. אם המזכירות מצטרף לחוות דיעה בשאלה זו אזי ישתמע מזה שמזרח ירושלים היתה חלק משטח TERRITORY של ממלכת ירדן לפני שנכבשה כביכול על ידי ישראל ולכן מהווה שטח כיבוש בהתאם לאמנה. אפילו בשאלת תחולת האמנה על השטחים המוחזקים (להבדיל מירושלים) הגענו להבנה בלתי כתובה עם הצלב האדום להקפיא השאלה המשפטית ולשתף פעולה על בסיס פרגמטי.

ג. הנוכחות הירדנית במזרח ירושלים ב-1948 היתה מבוססת מעל כיבוש צבאי של מדינה מבחוץ הגושפנקא הביבלאומית היחידה בבעה ממשמר שביתת נשק שהתבסס על עובדת ההחזקה שאינבה קיימת יותר מאז 1967. אפילו אם הסכם שביתת הנשק עדיין קיים להלכה, כפי שטען המזכל, אין לדבר משמעות מעשית ואין לירדן יותר מעמד בירושלים כפי שטענת בנאומך. לכן אין יסוד לטענו שעדיין קיים סטאטוס מסויים מלפני יוני 1967 אשר יש חובה לשמור עליו. עכשיו קיימת עובדת ההחזקה

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הישראלית והחזרת איחוד העיר לקדמותו, אחרי תקופת חלוקה מלאכותית. יהיה קשה מאד למזכירות לטעון שחובתבו היתה לשמור על עיר מחולקת. בקיצור, על איזה יסוד ולפי איזה מועד מגדירים הסטאטוס כפי שהיה בתקופה המנדטורית? בהתאם להחלטות ביצאום שלא יצאו לפועל? על פי סיפוח ירדני בלתי מוכר? בהתאם להסכם שביתת הנשק? בהתאם להפסקת האש? על פי פסילת איחוד העיר ושלמותה?.

המזכל יכול לפי דעתי לנקוט עמדה לגיטימית ששאלת מעמד ירושלים מסובכת מאד, שמעורבים בה אספקטים היסטוריים ופוליטיים ולא רק משפטיים ושאיבבו חושב שמחובתו לפסור חוות דעת המזכירות בנדון.

אם בכל זאת תוגש חוות דעת כזאת נצטרך לשקול ולהתייעץ אם להגיב ואם כן באיזו צורה ואין צורך להחליט על כך כבר עכשיו.

קומיי

תפוצה א

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Jerusalem Post
1.7.69

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Jerusalem Committee meets on City's development

1/7/69

Jerusalem Post Reporter

African churchmen, a Swedish philosopher and a Ceylonese architect were among the 42 foreign advisors who began consultations here last night on plans for the preservation and development of Jerusalem. The visitors are members of the Jerusalem Committee, a "world advisory council" newly organized by Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek.

At a press conference yesterday, Mr. Kollek said the committee had been organized out of deference to world interest in the fate of this unique city. "We don't want to go into a large scale scheme (of development) without sounding out general public opinion," he said.

The distinguished committee members come from every continent and include Jews and Christians. Mr. Kollek said he had been unsuccessful in persuading an Indian Moslem as well as Arabs from East Jerusalem to participate, but he noted that the committee includes Prof. Gaston Wiet, whom he described as the leading French expert on the Moslem world. Twenty-one countries are represented.

The committee will receive an intensive three-day briefing on short and long range plans for Jerusalem and their comments and suggestions will be solicited. Mr. Kollek said the most important project that will be considered is the plan for the Jerusalem National Park which was made public just last week. Much of the committee's attention will be focussed on the Old City, particularly projects for the restoration of its wall, gates and ancient market places and the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter. Kollek said he hoped that the clean-up and restoration work in the quarter would some day be extended to the rest of the Old City.

Thirty other members of the committee were not able to attend but Mr. Kollek said most of them had written that they would come to Jerusalem within the next few months. The Mayor said steps to preserve the physical beauty of Jerusalem could not await a change in "the situation" in the area which, he said, might be hundreds of years in coming.

amazement. He then held his own service to make it 8-7.

Emerson started the final game with a double fault, followed it by an ace, but was then passed twice on service returns along the line. He saved one match point by forcing Drysdale to volley into the net, but then Drysdale fittingly unleased the shot of the match. With a driving double-handed backhand service return which barely let Emerson get off the base line Drysdale won the match to the delight of a cheering crowd.

SOCCER

THE Inter Soccer Club of Milan denied on Friday press reports that it had offered to hire Brazilian star Pele for $1.5m. after next years World Cup.

"This is a joke," club secretary Franco Manni said. "Apart from the fact imports of foreign players are frozen and no one knows when they will be allowed again, one must consider that Pele is 28 and after the World Cup he will be 30. Sincerely I can't see how a club could make an offer today for a 30-year-old player. Brazilian press reports said Pele, the "Black Pearl" of Santos and often described as the world's No. 1 soccer player, had been approached by both Inter and Juventus of Turin when his club came to Italy for a game versus Inter last week.

CRICKET

JACKIE Hampshire made history by becoming the first Englishman to

MAC
FIRS
TO

By PIERRE GILDESGAME
Chairman, Maccabi World Union and The International Maccabiah Games Committee

EVER since the Maccabiah Games were instituted in 1932, much has been heard and written about their importance and the vital need to promote and to increase their popularity in the ranks of Jewish sportsmen and sportswomen the world over. It is fair to state that despite its inadequate publicity budget the Maccabiah is better known in 1969 than it has ever been in the past.

However without the herculean efforts of the Maccabi World Union and of the International Maccabiah Games Committee, the image of the Maccabiah would have remained nothing more than a nostalgic memory. It should be remembered that 15 years elapsed between the second and third sets of Games, due to the S

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

בלתי מסווג

מברק נכנס

מס. 526

נשלח: 30.6.69

אל: המשרד

מאת: ניו-יורק

מיידי

קומיי, מאום ב', העתק רושינגטון.

להלן באורר של תקוע הירום במועצ"ים.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT ON THE VERY DAY THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS ON THE JORDANIAN COMPLAINT DIRECTED AGAINST JERUSALEM'S LIFE, TRANQUILITY AND DEVELOPMENT, ANOTHER MEETTING IS TAKING PLACE IN JERUSALEM ITSELF. SOME SIXTY INTERNATIONALLY OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES IN THE HUMANITIES, ARTS AND SICENCE, WHO HAVE AGREED TO SERVE AS MEMBERS FO THE''JERUSALEM COMMITEE'', INITIATED BY JERUSALEM'S MAYOR, ARE OPENING A CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER PLANS AND PROJECTS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE CITY'S HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND RELIGIOUS SHRINES. AMONG THESE ARE THE REVEREND TH. . HESBURGH, PRESIDENT OF NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY, THOMAS HOVING, DIRECTOR OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART IN NEW YORK, VITTORIO VEROUESE, FORMER DIRECTOR, GENERAL OF UNESCO AND CHAIRMAN OF THE ITALIAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THE REVEREND 2. BRANDFUL, PRESIDENT OF THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF GHANA, CARLOS GARCIA, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, DR. B. BETONCUR, CHAIRMAN OF THE WRITERS ASSOCIATION OF COLOMBIA, JORGE AMADO OF BRAZIL, SIR ROBERT MENZIES, THE SCULPTORS HENRY MOORE, JACQUES LIPCHITZ, ISONNA NOGUCHI, AMBASSADOR MARIETTA TREE, JOHN 0909-HENNESSY, DIRECTOR OF THE CITORIA AND ALBERTS MUSEUM, LONDON PASTEUR MARC BOEGNER, PAST PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, MANUEL AGUILAR, PUBLISHER, MADRID, PROFESSOR T. SEGERSTAEDT, RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA, SWEDEN, IGANZIO SILONE, REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS FROM AFRICA, ASIA AND LATING AMERICA.

IF ANY ILLUSTRATION IS REQUIRED OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ISRAEL'S ATTITUDE TO JERUSALEM AND THAT OF JORDAN IT IS TO BE FOUND IN THE JUXTAPOSTION OF THESE TWO MEETINGS CONVENED ON THE SAME DAY, ONE HERE BY JORDAN AND THE OTHER IN JERUSALEM, BY ISRAEL.

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TODAY, JORDAN HAS COME BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO PLEAD THE CAUSE OF ITS 1948 INVASION TO SPEAK WITH NOSTALIGA OF JERUSALE.'M'S PAST AMPUTATION, TO PUT FORWARD THE ABSURD SUGGESTION THAT THE RIGHTS OF THE POPULATIONS'S MAJORITY BE DISREGARDED AND VIOLATED.

LET THERE BE NO CONFUSION. JORDAN DOES NOT SPEAK EVEN FOR THE ARAB MINORITY OF JERUSALEM. TWO DECADES OF OCCUPATION OF THE CITY-'S EASTERN PART, ACHIEVED BY AGGRESSION IN DEFIANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS CANNOT BESTOW THAT RIGHT UPON THE GOVERNMENT/OF JORDAN. MOREOVER, THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT CAN SCARCELY BE REGARDED AS BEING SOLICITOUS OF THE WELFARE OF THE ARAB INHABITANTS OF EAST JERUSALEM OR THE WEST BANK. THE STAGNATION, THE OPPRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION WHICH CHARACTERIZED JORDANIAN RULE WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER HAVE NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN BY THE LOCAL ARAB POPULATION. A GOVERNMENT WHOSE REGULAR ARMY FORCES ARE EVEN NOW ARE CAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT ARMED ATTACKS AGAINST ARAB LOCALITIES, SUCH AS THE SHELLING OF THE ARAB TOWN OF JERICHO ON THE NIGHT OF 27-28 MAY AND OF THE ARAB DEVELOPMENT SOCIETYS FARM AND ORPHANAGE ON 14 AND 26 MAY, A GOVERNMENT WHOSE IRREGULAR SABOTEUR FORCES EXPLODE DYNAMITE CHARGES IN THE ARAB POPULATED STREETS OF EAST JERUSALEM OR THROW GRENADES INTO CROWDS IN GAZA OR NABLUS IS SURELY NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THE FATE AND WELFARE OF ARAB INHABITANTS.

THE PERIFYD OF THE JORDANIAN COMPLAINT IS ILLUSTRATED BY THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS IT RAISES.

FIRST THERE ARE THE REGULATIONS CONCERNING REGISTRATION OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISES IN JERUSALEM.

AN OLD PROVERB SAYS: ''MALICE SELDOM WANTS A MARK TO SHOOT AT.''

JORDAN AND OTHER ARAB STATES ARE OPENLY PURSUING WARFARE AGAINST ISRAEL. THERE ARE DAILY ACTS OF AGGRESSION ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL AND THE JORDAN RIVER IN VIOLATION OF THE VEASE FIRE. PRESIDENT NASSER HAS PROCLAIMED THAT THIS IN ONLY THE BEGINNING. THE JORDANIAN REGULAR ARMY AND THE IRAQI FORCES STATIONED IN JORDAN ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN TERROR

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ISRAELI VILLAGES ARE BEING SHELLED AND ISRAELI CITIZENS ARE MURDERED BY TERROR SQUADS WHOSE AVOWED AIM IS TO DESTROY ISRAEL, BUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS ASKED TO DEAL WITH THE REGISTRATION OF COMPANIES. ARAB GOVERNMENTS OPENLY FINANCE, ORGANIZE AND ENCOURAGE MILITARY TERROR OPERATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL IN BREACH OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL CEASE FIRE RESOLUTIONS, BUT JORDAN SUGGESTS THAT LICENCING REGULATIONS REQUIRE URGENT CONSIDERATION. PRESIDENT NASSER EXPRESSES PUBLIC APPROVAL OF THE TERROR ORGANISATIONS' REJECTION OF THE 22 NOVEMBER 1967 RESOLUTION, SYRIA REPUDIATES THE RESOLUTION, IRAQ DECLARES ITS OPPOSITION TO ANY PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT WITH ISRAEL, BUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS CALLED UPON TO DELVE INTO ADMINISTRATIVE FORMALITIES,. THE INTENSIFICATION OF JORDANIAN AND EGYPTIAN ARMED ATTACKS IS WIDELY CONDEMNED AS PREJUDICING THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO FOCUS ATTENTION INSTAED ON HOW BUSINESS PERMITS ARE GRANTED TO MERCHANTS.

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THE PRETEXT FOR JORDANS CALL FOR AN EMERGENCY MEETING IS A YEAR OLD LAW WHICH PROVIDES FOR THE ISSUANCE OF LICENSES AND PERMITS FOR THE EXERCISE OF COMMERCE AND PROFESSIONS. MODERN SOCIETY IS LARGELY DEPENDENT ON THE REGULATION OF ITS LIFE THROUGH THE PROCESS OF LICENCING. VEHICLES MUST BE REGISTERED AND THEIR MECHANICAL STATE CHECKED FROM TIME TO TIME. DRIVERS LICENSES MUST BE RENEWED. TAXES AND RATES MUST BE PAID. OF EVEN GREATER IMPORTANCE ARE SUCH ASPECTS OF DAILY LIFE AS FOR INSTANCES THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT ONLY RECOGNIZED PHARMACIES HANDLE MEDICAL PRESCRIPTIONS AND ONLY DIPLOMED DOCTORS PRACTICE MEDICINE. STANDARDS OF PRODUCTS AND CONSUMER GOODS AND OF CONSTRUCTION MUST BE ASSURED TO MEET REQUIREMENTS OF QUALITY AND SAFETY. IT IS A SIMPLE , FUNDAMENTAL RULE IN EVERY SOCIETY THAT NEW ENTERPRISES AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS MUST RECEIVE AUTHORIZATION BEFORE THEY START THEIR OCCUPATIONS. THE WELFARE OF THE POPULATION, JEWISH AND ARAB ALIKE, REQUIRES SUCH REGULATIONS AND THIS IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE PROVISIONS IN QUESTION. MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL -- THE

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NO FLIGHT OF IMAGINATION COULD PORTRAY THOSE REGULATIONS AS BEING INJURIOUS TO JERUSALEMS POPULATION.

THE JORDANIAN COMPLAINT MENTIONS ALSO DEMOLITION OF HOUSES AND IN PARTICULAR A NUMBER OF STRUCTURES ADJACENT TO THE WESTERN (WAILING) WALL. FOR JORDAN TO COMPLAIN ABOUT THIS IS TO ADD INSULT TO INJURY. FOR NINETEEN YEARS JORDAN HAD BARBARICALLY DESECRATED JUDAISMS HOLIEST SHRINES. THE TOMBSTONES OF THE ANCIENT CEMETEY ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES WERE COMPLETELY UPROOTED AND USED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF BARRACKS AND LATRINES FOR THE JORDANIAN ARMY OR FOR PAVING ROADS. ALL THE SYNAGOGUES IN THE OLD CITY WERE DESTROYED OR TURNED INTO STABLES, WAREHOUSES OR CHICKEN COOPS. THE WAILING WALL ITSELF WAS KEPT IN A STATE OF SHAMEFUL AND APPARENTLY INTENTIONAL NEGLECT AND FILTH. THE PAVEMENT IN FRON T OF IT WAS USED FOR STATIONING DONKEYS. ACCESS TO THE WALL WAS BARRED TO ALL JEWS. NOW JORDAN HAS THE AUDACITY TO OBJECT THAT TWO STRUCTURES, ONE OF THEM CONTAINING A PUBLIC LATRINE PURPOSELY CONSTRUCTED BY THE JORDANIANS TO DEFILE THE HOLIEST OF JEWRYS ANCIENT SITES WERE REMOVED SO AS TO RESTORE TO THE WALL ITS MAJESTY AND SACREDNESS.

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THE JORDANIAN REPRESENTATIVE HAS AL O REFERRED TO THE TRANSFER OF THE TENANTS OF FIVE SAMELL BUILDINGS IN A NARROW, 3 METER WIDE LANE LEADING TO THE WALL, TO PREMISES PROVIDED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES ELSEWHERE. SEVENTEEN FAMILIES WERE THUS RELOCATED. THE LANE IN QUESTION IS THE ONE IN WHIH SABOTEUR SQUADS FROM JORDAN SET OFF THE SABBATH EVEN OF 20 JUNE, THREE EXPLOSIVE CHARGES WITH THE CLEAR INTENTION OF CATCHING THE CROWDS ON THEIR WAY TO THE SABBATH PRAYERS AT THE WESTERN WALL. ONLY A CHANCE DELAY IN THE DETONATION OF THE CHARGES LIMITED THE CASUALTIES AND RESULTED IN THE WOUNDING OF THREE ARABS AND ONE ISRAELI AND IN CAUSING SEVERED DAMAGE TO SEVERAL ARAB HOUSES. ALL THREE OF THE CHARGES WERE PLACE INSIDE HOUSES SITUATED IN THE LANE. THE FOLLOWING DAY THE JORDAN BASED POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE ADMITTING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS DASTARDLY ATTACK. THE COMMUNIQUE WAS IMMEDIATELY DISSEMINATED BY THE OFFICIAL JORDANIAN MEDIA ON COMMUNICATION AND BROADCAST BY AMMAN GOVERNMENTAL RADIO. THE JORDAN GOVERNMENTS PARTICIPATION IN TERROR WARFARE WAGED FROM ITS TERRITORY AGAINST ISRAEL IS, OF COURSE, A MATTER OF COMMON KNOWLEDGE.

THIS WAS NOT THE FIRST JORDANIAN ATTEMPT TO SOW MURDER AT THE WESTERN WALL. ON 1 OCTOBER 1968 AND AGAIN ON 20 DECEMBER 1968 TWO SABOTEUR SQUADS ON THEIR WAY FROM JORDAN WERE INTERCEPTED BY THE ISRAEL DEFENCE FORCES. THE INTERROGATION OF THE SABOTEURS CAPTURED IN CLASHES IN WHICH SOME OF THEIR ACCOMPLICES WERE KILLED, REVEALED THAT THEY WERE DESPATCHED WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO PERPETRATE SABOTAGE ATTACKS AGAINST WORSHIPPERS AT THE WAILING WALL Z.

THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE WORLD AT LARGE WILL FOLLOW WITH INTEREST THE VIEW OF MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON SUCH OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULTS ON PEACEFUL WORSHIPPERS AT A HOLY PLACE IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM.

THE ATTEMPT AT MASS MURDER ON 20 JUNE LEFT THE ISRAEL AUTHORITIES WITH NO CHOICE BUT TO TAKE PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES TO PROTECT THE WESTERN WALL AND ENSURE THE SAFETY OF JEWS AND NON JEWS WHO FLOCK TO IT DAILY IN THEIR THOUSANDS. THE VACATED HOUSES WILL SERVE THESE SECURITY NEEDS. ONE OF THESE BUILDINGS HOUSED A SCHOOL ATTENDED BY TWENTY STUDENTS. NONE CONTAINED HOWEVER A RELIGIOUS COURT OR A MOSQUE AS FALSELY ALLEGED BY THE JORDANIAN REPRESENTATIVE.

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BY COMPLAINING ABOUT THIS STEP TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN ADOPTS AN ODD ATTITUDE

6.

IN ITS
VIEW THE KILLING OF ARAB AND JEWISH CIVILIANS AND THE WANTON DESTRUCTION OF ARAB HOUSES BY JORDANIAN SABOTEURS IS PERMISSIBLE, BUT MEASURES BY ISRAEL TO PROTECT JEWISH AND ARAB LIVES AND THE LIVES OF FOREIGN VISITORS ARE NOT. IS THERE NO LIMIT TO ABSURDITY? IF JORDAN WOULD ABIDE SCRUPULOUSLY BY THE CEASE FIRE AND REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS DESIGNED TO DISTURB THE PEACE AND SERENITY OF THE CITY, ISRAELI SECURITY MEASURES WOULD BE SUPERFLUOUS. JORDAN IS MISTAKEN HOWEVER IF ITS BELIEVES THAT HAVING BY FORCE OF ITS OCUPATION BARRED FREE ACCESS TO THE WESTERN WALL FOR NINETEEN YEARS IT WILL SUCCEED TO DO IT NOW BY MEANS OF SABOTAGE AND MURDER.

MR PRESIDENT, THE JORDAN REPRESENTATIVE HAS ALLOWED FANTASY TO DOMINATE HIS DESCRIPTION OF LIFE IN THE JERUSALEM OF TODAY. HOWEVER, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND WORLD PUBLIC OPINION ARE NOT DEPENDENT IN THIS MATTER ON MATERIAL FABRICATED IN AMMAN. ON ANY ONE DAY THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF FOREIGN VISITORS INTHE CITY, INCLUDING NUMEROUS REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS N INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PRESS. THEY WOULD ATTEST TOT THE FACT THAT JERUSALEM IS BASICALLY CONTENT AND FLOURISHING IN ITS INTEGRITY. NEW COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ARE SPRINGING UP ALL OVER THE CITY. THERE IS AN ECONOMIC BOOM, WITH A SHORTAGEOF MANPOWER. JOINT JEWISH ARAB COMMERCIAL VENTURES ARE MULTIPLYING. JOINT CULTURAL ACTIVITIES ARE ON THE INCREASE. JEWISH ARAB YOUTH CLUBS ARE DEVOTING THEMSELVES TO CREATING GREATER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES. A COMBINED ARAB JEWISH SONG AN D DANCE HAS ENSEMBLE HAS ALREADY TOURED EUROPE. NEARLY ALL ARAB WORKERS OF EAST JERUSALEM ARE MEMBERS OF HISTADRUT, THE ISRAEL FEDERATION OF LABOUR AND OF ITS MDICAL INSURANCE FUND. THEY NOW ENJOY THE SAME SOCIAL BENEFITS AS THEIR JEWISH COLLEAGUES. THERE IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT TO AND FROM THE ARAB STATES. THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS AND OTHERS FROM ARAB COUNTRIES VISITED JERUSALEM LAST SUMMER. MANY THOUSANDS HAVE ALREADY APPLIED AND ARE EXPECTED THIS YEAR. ONE CAN TAKE A TAXI OR A BUS
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ON 3 FEBRUARY 1969, THE WELL KNOWN LIBERAL AMERICAN WEEKLY THE NATION DESCRIBED DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED CITY AS FOLLOWS:

"EVERY MORNING BETWEEN 6:30 AND 9:00, HUNDREDS OF ARAB WORKERS FROM EAST JERUSALEM FLOW ACROSS THE OLD BOUNDARIES TO THEIR JOBS IN WEST JERUSALEM. SHOPS ON BOTH SIDES OF

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AS FAR BACK AS A YEAR AGO, ON 29 JUNE 1968,''THE CONOMIST'' OF LONDON WROTE:(CORRECTION -THE ECONOMIST OF LONDON):

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TODAY I SHOULD LIKE TO ADD A MORE RECENT TESTIMONY. ON 9 DECEMBER 1968 DR.G. DOUGLAS YOUNG, PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE HOLY LAND STUDIES, STATED:

"IT IS ALSO ERRONEOUS TO SAY'JERUSALEM HAS BEEN OVER-WHELMINGLY ARAB FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY UNTIL THE MODERN INFLUX...' HISTORICALLY THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE. THE JEWISH POPULATION HAS BEEN THE MAJORITY IN JERUSALEM FOR MANY, MANY YEARS, LONG BEFORE MODERN TIMES. TO UNIFY A JEWISH MAJORITY CITY AFTER 20 YEARS OF ITS BEING DIVIDED BY OTHERS IS SURELY NO CAUSE FOR ANTAGONISM ABROAD. OUR CHURCHES DAMAGED BY WARS SINCE 1948 ARE BEING REPAIRED BY ISRAELI COMPENSATIONS FUND. THE EXTREMELY STRINGENT LAWS PROTECTING HOLY PLACES AND WORSHIPPERS AT THEM HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY AND STRICTLY ENFORCED. WE FEEL AT PEACE AND AT EASE IN OUR UNITED CITY AS CHRISTIANS, WITH ACTUALLY LESS FEAR OF PERSONAL ASSAULT THAN IN OTHER CITIES IN WHICH WE HAVE LIVED ABROAD, SUCH IS THE FORCE OF ISRAELI LAW AND ORDER BEING MAINTAINED. THIS MAY BE SAID IN SPITE OF THE BORDER INCIDENTS AND OCCASIONAL ARAB TERRORIST ACTS."

TWO WEEKS LATER, CHRISTMAS WAS CELEBRATED IN JERUSALEM BY LOCAL CHRISTIAN INHABITANTS AND THOUSANDS OF PILGRIMS AND VISITORS FROM ABORAD. AMONG THEM WAS ANGELO CARDINAL ROSSI OF

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SAO PAULO, WHO ON HIS RETURN TO BRAZIL, EXPRESSED HIS GRATIFICATION WITH CONDITIONS IN THE CITY. THE TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC CHRISTMAS PROCESSION IN JERUSALEM WAS LED BY THE LATIN PATRIARCH ALBERTOGORI. SIMILARLY, THE EASTER HOLIDAYS LAST APRIL WERE CELEBRATED IN A SPIRIT OF TRADITIONAL PIETY AND CEREMONY.

AS FOR THE STATE OF MOSLEM RELIGIOUS LIFE, IT WOULD SEEM APPROPRIATE TO RELY LESS ON JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT APPOINTEES CITED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF JORDANAND MRE ONOBJECTIVE MOSLEM SOURCES.

THUS SHEIKH IBN ISSA, ADVISER ON MOSLEM AFFAIRS TOTHE PRESIDENT OF THE MALAGASY REPUBLIC STATED FOLLOWING A RECENT VISIT TO THE DOME OF THE ROCK IN JERUSALEM:

''ONE MUST COME TO ISRAEL TO SEE FOR ONESELF TO WHAT GREAT EXTENT PEACE AND TRANQUILITY REIGN THERE, AND HOW FALSE IS THE PICTURE DISSEMINATED BY ARAB PROPAGANDA.''

THE PRESIDENT OF THE ALL MUSLIM CONGRESS OF SIERRA LEONE BORADCAST THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE AFTER HIS VISIT TO THE EL - AOSA MOSQUE:

''TROM THIS HOLY PLACE I DECLARE FRANKLY AND WITH CONVICTION THAT PLACES HOLY AND CONSECRATED TO ISLAM, THE MOSQUES AND THE CHAPELS ARE PROPERLY GUARDED AND THERE IS NO VIOLATION OF THEM. THE GATES OF THE EL-GHAZAR MOSQUE AS WELL AS THE MOSQUES OF ALLL TOWNS AND VILLAGES ARE WIDE OPEN AND FILLED WITH WORSHIPPPERS WHO FULFIL THEIR RELIGIOUS OBLIGATIONS IN COMPLETE FREEDOM.''.

THE KADI(MUSLIM RELIGIOUS JUDGE) OF JAFFA, SHEIKH MUHMAD TEWFIQ ASBYA DECLARED ON 29 JUNE 1968:

''AS A KADI IN JAFFA AND A NATIVE OF THIS COUNTRY WHO HAS IN THE PAS FULFILLED VARIOUS RELIGIOUS POSTS IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL, I WOULD LIKE TO PUT YOUR MIND AND THE MINDS OF THE MUSLIMS OF YOUR COUNTRY AT REST BY ASSURING YOU THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IS ASSIDUOUSLY SAFEGUARDING ALL THE HOLY PLACES INCOUNTRY WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF RELIGION OR COMMUNITY...

''W YEAR HAS PASSED SINCE JERUSALEM WAS REUNITED AND I SHOULD LIKE TODECLARE THAT THOUSANDS OF MUSLIMS FROM JERUSALEM AND FROM OTHER TOWNS IN THI AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES VISIT THESE HOLY PLACES AND REGULARLY RECIT THEIR PRAYERS IN THEM

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WITHOUT ENCOUNTERING ANY INTERFERENCE WHATSOEVER.THE MUSLIM FESTIVALS HAVE BEEN CELEBRATED WITH THE USUAL POMP AND CEREMONY.''

''THOSE IN CHARGE OF THE MSLIM HOLY PLACES ARE MUSLIM NOTABLES AND DIGNITARIES WHO SEE TO IT THAT DECORUM AND CLEANLINESS ARE MAINTAINED THERE.

''THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL HAS APPOINTED GUARDS FOR THESE PLACES. THESE ASK VISITORS TO CONDUCT THEMSELVES IN A MANNER FITTING THE HOLY CHARACTER OF THE SITES. THE MANY MUSLIMS

LIVING IN ISRAEL HAVE FULFILLED ONE OF THE FIVE RUKN (PILLAR) OF ISLAM THIS YEAR BY MAKING THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA.

''FROM ALL THE FOREGOING YOU WILL SEE THAT THE COVERNMENT OF ISRAEL KEEPS A WATCHFUL AND SOLICITOUS EYE OVER ALL THE MUSLIM HOLY PLACES AS WELL AS OVER ALL THE HOLY PLACES BELONGING TOTHE OTHER RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.''

ONLY LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF JEWISH REVERENCE FOR JERUSALEM AND JEWISH RESPECT FOR RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHT COULD CRAT ANY DOUBT WHATEVER THAT THE ISR
EL GOVERNMENT IS
GUIDED IN ITS POLICIES AND ACTIONS BY THE WELFARE OF THE CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS AND BY A DETERMINATION TO GIVE FULL RECOGNITION AND PROTECTION TO THE UNIVERSAL INTERESTS IN IT.

DURING THE TWO YEARS INCE JERUSALEM WAS RESTORED TO LIFE, AND FREED FROM THE NIGHTMARE THAT HAD ENVELOPED IT FOR NINETEEN YEARS, THE SCARS OF TRAGIC BISECTION HAVE BEEN REMOVED, HOLY PLACES DESECRATED UNDER JORDANIAN OCCUPATION RESANCTIFIED, FREEDOM OF ACCESS AND WORSHIP GRANTED FOR THE FIRST TIME TO ADHERENTS OF ALL RELIGIONS, AND CO-EXISTENCE BETWEEN ARAB AND ISRAELI PROVED POSSIBLE.

FOR TWO DECADES JERUSALEM HAD BEEN A FRONTLINE TOWN UNDER THE MERCY OF ARAB GUNS, ITS PEACE MENACED AND VIOLATED AT THE WHIM OF THE JORBANIAN INVADER, ITS ECONOMY STULTIFIED BY ARTIFICAL BARRIERS, ITS MAJESTY TRAMPLED BY HATE, HOSTILITY AND FRATRICIDE.IT WAS A GRIM AND JOYLESS CITY, ITS ETERNAL GLORY SADLY TARNISHED, ITS NATRUAL SPLENDOR MUTILATED.

TODAY, THE CITY IS FREE FROM THE CHAINS OF DIVISION, DESTRUCTION AND DESECRATION ITS PEOPLE ENJOYAGAIN THE FULNESS AND INTEGRITY

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"FROM ALL THE FOREGOING YOU WILL SEE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL KEEPS A WATCHFUL AND SOLICITOUS EYE OVER ALL THE MUSLIM HOLY PLACES AS WELL AS OVER ALL THE HOLY PLACES BELONGING TOTHE OTHER RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES."

ONLY LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF JEWISH REVERENCE FOR JERUSALEM AND JEWISH RESPECT FOR RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHT COULD CAST ANY DOUBT WHATEVER THAT THE ISR

EL GOVERNMENT IS GUIDED IN ITS POLICIES AND ACTIONS BY THE WELFARE OF THE CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS AND BY A DETERMINATION TO GIVE FULL RECOGNITION AND PROTECTION TO THE UNIVERSAL INTERESTS IN IT.

DURING THE TWO YEARS SINCE JERUSALEM WAS RESTORED TO LIFE, AND FREED FROM THE NIGHTMARE THAT HAD ENVELOPED IT FOR NINETEEN YEARS, THE SCARS OF TRAGIC DISSECTION HAVE BEEN REMOVED. HOLY PLACES DESECRATED UNDER JORDANIAN OCCUPATION RESANCTIFIED, FREEDOM OF ACCESS AND WORSHIP GRANTED FOR THE FIRST TIME TO ADHERENTS OF ALL RELIGIONS, AND COEXISTENCE BETWEEN ARAB AND ISRAELI PROVED POSSIBLE.

FOR TWO DECADES JERUSALEM HAD BEEN A FRONTLINE TOWN UNDER THE MERCY OF ARAB GUNS. ITS PEACE MENACED AND VIOLATED AT THE WHIM OF THE JORDANIAN INVADER. ITS ECONOMY STULTIFIED BY ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS. ITS MAJESTY TRAMPLED BY HATE, HOSTILITY AND FRATRICIDE. IT WAS A GRIM AND JOYLESS CITY. ITS ETERNAL GLORY SADLY TARNISHED, ITS NATURAL SPLENDOR MUTILATED.

TODAY, THE CITY IS FREE FROM THE CHAINS OF DIVISION, DESTRUCTION AND DESECRATION. ITS PEOPLE ENJOYAGAIN THE FULNESS AND INTEGRITY

OF THEIR METROPOLIS. THEY CAN LIVE AND WORK IN PEACE, THEY CAN THINK OF CO-OPERATION NOT OF CONSTANT HOSTILITY AND WARFARE.

THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE IT OTHERWISE. JORDAN WOULD RATHER HAVE A CITY TORN APART AND PERMEATED WITH ENMITY, STAGNATIONAND TRAGEDY AS IN THE NINETEEN YEARS OF ITS OCCUPATION. JORDAN IS OBVIOUSLY MOTIVATED NOT BY JERUSALEM'S WELFARE BUT BY CONTINUED BELLIGERENCE AGAINST ISRAEL.

PERHAPS THIS SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISING. THOSE WHO WOULD NOT SHIRK FROM INFLICTING FURTHER ORDEALS ON THE HOLY CITY AND MORE SORROW ON ITS PEOPLE HAVE THEIR HANDS SOAKED IN JERUSALEMS BLOOD. THEY ARE THE ONES WHO TURNED THE CITY INTO A BATTLEFIELD IN 1948. IT WAS THEIR ARTILLERY THAT IN JUNE 1967 UNLEASHED THE MERCILESS BOMBARDMENT OF JERUSALEM'S RESIDENTAIL QUARTERS, CAUSING NUMROUS CASUALTIES AMONG THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND DELIBERATELY DAMAGING ONE OF THE FOREMOST HOLY PLACES, THE CHURCH OF DORMITION.

THE JORDANIAN ATTITUDE CALLOUSLY DISREGARDS THE BASIC PRECEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND MORALITY. JORDAN OCCUPIED THE EASTERN PART OF THE CITY IN A WAR OF AGGRESSION. ITS OCCUPATION HAD NEVER BEEN RECOGNIZED BY AN GOVERNMENT, NOT EVEN BY THE ARAB STATES, AS CONSITUTING MORE THAN A MILITARY PRESENCE. THE JORDANIAN ATTITUDE IS IN VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CITY'S POPULATION. JERSUSALEM IS INHABITED BY MORE THAN 200,000 JEWS, 60,000 ARABS AND 5,000 PERSONS OF OTHER NATIONALITY. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE CITY'S POPULATION CATEGORICALLLY REJECTS ANY JORDANIAN CLAIMS OR ATTEMPTS TO INTERVENE IN ITS LIFE. THIS APPLIES OBVIOUSLY TOTHE JEWISH INHABITANTS. IT A PPLIES TO THE OTHER NON-ARAB INHABIANTS. EVEN AS FAR AS THE ARAB CITIZENS ARE CONCERNED, AS I HAVE ALREADY OBSERVED, JORDAN CAN HARDLY CLAIM TO REPRESENT THEM MERELY BECAUSE IT HAPPENED TO BE THE OCCUPYING POWER FOR NINETEEN YEARS.

NATURALLY THERE ARE SOME WHO STILL ACT ON BEHALF OF JORDANIAN INTERESTS. THERE ARE STILL SOME WHO FOSTER DISCORD AND HOSTILITY. THEY ARE THE ONES WHO WOULD OBJECT TO SLUM CLEARING AND TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW HOUSING BY ISRAEL EVEN IF CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH JORDANIAN TOWN-PLANNING PROJECTS. THEY ARE THE ONES WHO WOULD LIKE JERUSALEM TODAY TO HAVE AT LEAST ASMANY DEMONSTRATIONS, INCIDENTS AND ARRESTS AS DURING JORDANIAN RULE.THEY ARE THE ONES WHO CANNOT ACCEPT THE THOUGHT THAT TODAYS SITUATION IS NO WORSE EVEN FOR THE ARABINHABITANTS AND GENERALLY MUCH BETTER THAN BEFORE THE REUNIFICATION OF T

13/..

THE CITY. THESE PEOPLE, HOWEVER, ARE NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ARAB MINORITY OF JERUSALEM.

A RECENTLY PUBLISHED SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ''THE ADMINISTRATION OF UNITED JERUSALEM'' EXPRESSES THIS A FOLLOWS:

''UNDER THE JORDANIAN REGIME, ABOUT FORTY MEMBERS AND EX-MEMBERS OF THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT LIVED IN AND AROUND JERUSALEM, TOGETHERWITH TEN CABINET MINISTERS AND EX- MINISTERS, AS WELL AS MANY RELIGIOUS LEADERS. THIS GROUP HAS NOW LOST MOST OF ITS INFLUENCE... WITH THE BLOW TO ITS STANDING, THERE IS ALSO A DETERIORATION IN ITS FINANCIAL STATUS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MAN-IN-THE-STREET, ON PASSING FROM JORDANIAN TO F ISRAELI RULE, SUDDENLY FEELS THAT HE IS IMPORTANT,THAT HE IS SOMEBODY.HE SEES FRREE COMPETITION IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, ANDHE BEGINS TO REALIZE THAT, IF HE IS TALENTED AND HARD-WORKING, HE MAY ONE DAY REACH A SOCIAL EMINENCE THAT HE NEVER DREAMED OF UNDER JORDANIAN RULE. HE BEGINS TO DOUBT WHETHER HIS FORMER LEADERS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BLINDLY IN THEIR HOSTILITY TO ISRAELI RULE.''

IN ANY EVENT, THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL DEMONCRACY CANNOT BE SUSPENDED IN THE CASE OF JERUSALEM. A SMALL MINORITY, IN FACT A GROUP OF FOREIGN APPOINTEES AND AGENTS CANNOT IMPOSE ON THE MAJORITY, DEMANDS CONTRARY TO REASON AND JUSTICE.

JERUSALEM'S UNITY AND INTEGRITY WILL NEVER AGAIN BE UPSET BY WANTON HATRED AND HOSTILITY. JERUSALEM WILL FOREVER BE UNITED. ITS CITIZENS CAN LOOK TOTHE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE AND CALM . ITS FRIENDS, THE WORLD OVER, CAN REST ASSURED. ISRAEL WILL MAINTAIN AND PROTECTTHE CITY'S GROWTH, WELFARE AND SECURITY. ISRAEL WILL MAKE CERTAIN THAT JERUSALEM HOLYTO SO MANY

EMAINS A SOURCE OF LIGHT AND PRIDE TO ALL RELIGIONS.

LET US, THEREFORE,TURN OUR THOUGHTS TO BRINGING JERUSALEM BLISS NOT GRIEF. LET US ADDRES

CORRECTION - PARAGRAPH REPEATED ASFOLLOWS):

LET US,THEREFORE TURN OUR THOUGHTS TO BRINGING JERUSALEM BLISS NOT GRIEF. LET US ADDRESSE OURSELVES TO THE WISHES OF ITS POPULATION, NOT TO THE DESIGNS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.'. LET US STRIVE FOR PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING WITHIN ITS WALLS, NOT CHAOS AND DISCORD. LET US REPEAT AFTER THEPROPHET:

14/..

''REJOICE YE WITH JERUSALEM, AND BE GLADWITH HER, ALL YE THAT LOVE HER, REJOICE FOR JOY WITH HER...THAT Y MAY DRINK DEEPLY WITH DELIGHT OF THE ABUNDANCE OF HER GLORY.''

AD KAN.

NAUM.

תפוצה:א
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לתיק ירושלים

ש מ ו ר

חוק הסדרי משפט ומינהל 1968

1. ב- 8.2.69 הגישה ירדן תלונה למועבי"ט ובה תבעה דיון על החלטת ממשלת ישראל להחיל את חוק רשום החברות על מזרח ירושלים.
לאחר שהממשלה החליטה על דחיית החלת החוק לשישה חדשים, ויתרה ירדן על הדיון.
עם התקרב המועד החדש להחלת החוק, הודיעו השידורים הירדניים על כוונתם לדרוש דיון.

2. בישיבת הממשלה ב- 27.4 הוחלט שהשרים הממונים על מתן רשיונות לעסוק במקצוע, במלאכה ובמסחר רשאים להאריך המועד להגשת בקשות לרשיונות ישראליים לתושבי מזרח ירושלים בעוד שישה חדשים מעבר ל- 23 במאי ש.ז.
שר המשפטים הוסמך להתקין תקנות לשעת חירום המכילות הוראות משפטיות שונות המקלות על הליכי הרישום והרישוי של חברות ושל עסקים במזרח ירושלים.

3. <u>לידיעתכם:</u>
א. ההחלטה הראשונה באה למנוע דיון בשעה זו במועבי"ט, אם כי אין ודאות שהירדנים אמנם יוותרו על כוונתם.
ב. כדי לפתור הבעיה המינהלית שבחיוב אזרחי מזרח ירושלים לנקוט בצעדים לרישום ורישוי עסקיהם, הוחלט מחד לאשר פרסום תקנות לשעת חירום המאפשרות רישום חברות ע"י שר המשפטים, ומאידך להסמיך את השרים הנוגעים בדבר לראות אוטומטית רשיונות המקצועות והעיסוקים שהוצאו על ידי הירדנים כרשיונות שלנו.

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ש מ ו ר

הצי הסובייטי בים-התיכון

1. תגבור

א. במשך השבוע האחרון בעשו מספר חילופים ביחידות הצי הסובייטי בים-התיכון, ש- 11 מיחידותיו עזבו את הים-התיכון דרך מיצר גיברלטר. לעומת זאת תוגבר צי זה ע"י יחידות מהים השחור, שכללו בין היתר את נושאת ההליקופטרים "לנינגרד", שערכה גם תמרוני בחיתה ליד כרתים. ע"י רוטציה זאת שומרים הסובייטים על עוצמתם הימים המתוגברת באזור.

ב. היחידות הימיות הסובייטיות עוסקות, לפי שעה, בעיקר במעקב צמוד ואינטנסיבי אחר תמרון "פטרול שחר" של צי נאט"ו. מעקב הדוק זה נעשה גם מטוח קצר ביותר בעזרת משחתות, ספינות ביון ומטוסי "טופולוב 16" עם סימני זיהוי מצריים, המאויישים, לפי ידיעות שונות, בצוותים סובייטיים.

2. הנימוקים הסובייטיים להצדקת נוכחות ציים בים-התיכון.

א. על רקע התפתחויות אלה שידר רדיו מוסקבה בפרוגרמה הראשונה שלו, ב- 20.4.69 כתבה המתייחסת לתגבור הצי הסובייטי והמנמקת את נוכחותו במימי הים-התיכון. הטעמים לנוכחות הצי הסובייטי, הם לפי סדר החשיבות, כפי שהוצגה בשדור, כדלהלן:

- הגנה על גבולות בריה"מ.
- סיוע ל"תנועת השחרור הלאומית הערבית".
- תגובה לצי הששי ולתמרון צי נאט"ו בים-התיכון ונוכח "המתיחות במזה"ת שאינה פגה".
- יש לציין עוד שהשידור הסובייטי כרך את נוכחות הצי בים-התיכון בדיוני ארבע המעצמות בחזרו על הטיעון המצרי בקשר לצורך בדיונים אלה ובהגדרת מטרתם. נאמר "שלמעשה אף אחד אינו מתכוון לכפות דבר על מישהו, אך חובת כל החברות העיקריות של מועבי"ט - אלה הן משתתפי ההתיעצויות בניו-יורק - לסייע בביצוע החלטת נובמבר 1967".

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משרד החוץ

Jer. Post.
24. 6. 1965.

Arts and sciences leaders to advise Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Some 60 internationally outstanding personalities in the humanities, arts and sciences, have agreed to serve as members of the "Jerusalem Committee," a world advisory council to the city. About half are due to take part in a conference initiated by Mayor Kollek to "consider plans and projects for the preservation of Jerusalem's historical monuments and religious shrines," a spokesman for the Mayor said yesterday.

The men of the humanities and arts and sciences were chosen on a non-sectarian, non-political basis. The conference will be held June 30 through July 4 and will draw up recommendations for the beautification and restoration of the city.

The projects to be included in the discussions, according to the spokesman, include the following:

The Old City, its historic gates and walls; the Old City, its *suks* and bazaars; restoration of the historic synagogue complex in the Jewish Quarter; landscaping around the Old City, including the Mt. of Olives; and the Yemin Moshe rehabilitation project.

Mr. Kollek will be host at the conference, whose Israel advisory board includes Justice Cohn, Prof. Yigael Yadin, and Prof. J. Prawer.

The members of the Jerusalem Committee are:

Mrs. David Bruce, New York; Prof. Nelson Glueck, President, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; The Reverend Th. M. Hesburgh, President, University of Notre Dame, Indiana; Thomas Hoving, Director, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Philip Johnson, architect, New York; Louis Kahn, architect, Philadelphia; Jacques Lipchitz, sculptor, New York; Lewis Mumford, author and urbanist, New York; Dr. Franklin Murphy, Chairman of the Board, "Los Angeles Times," Los Angeles.

Isamu Noguchi, architect, sculptor, New York; Reverend Dr. R. Ortmayer, National Council of Churches, New York; Ogden Reid, Congressman, former U.S. Ambassador to Israel, New York; Prof. Mayer Schapiro, art historian, Columbia University, New York; Ambassador Marietta Tree, New York; Edward Warburg, educator, New York; Elie Wiesel, author, New York; Sir Isaiah Berlin, President, Wolfson College, Oxford; Lord Chandos, London; Lord Goodman, Chairman of the Arts Council, London.

Henry Moore, sculptor, Hoglands; John Pope-Hennessy, Director, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Sir George Weidenfeld, publisher, London; Pasteur Marc Boegner, Past President, World Council of Churches, Paris; Prof. Gaston Wiet, Membre de l'Institute, Neuilly; Prof. Jaques Courvoisier, former Rector, University of Geneva, Geneva; Prof. Oscar Cullman, former Rector, Basle University, Basle; Manuel Aguilar, publisher, Madrid; Arne Jacobsen, architect, Copenhagen; Willem Sandberg, Former Director, Municipal Museum of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Prof. T. Segerstedt, Rector, University of Uppsala, Stockholm; Ignazio Silone, author, Rome; Vittorino Veronese, former Director-General UNESCO; Chairman Ital. Com. for Human Rights, Rome; Bruno Zevi, architect, Rome.

The Reverend W. Brandful, President, Christian Council of Ghana, Accra; His Eminence Diangenda, l'Eglise Kimbanguiste, Kinshasa; The Rev. Canon Sawyerr, Principal, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, Freetown; Mr. Tagore, Calcutta; Geoffrey Bawa, architect, Ceylon.

Carlos Garcia, former President of the Philippines, Quezon City; Pablo Casals, Sarturce; Sir Robert Menzies, past Prime Minister of Australia, Melbourne; Jorge Amado, author, Rio de Janeiro; Mario Crayo, sculptor, Prof. of Art, Rio de Janeiro; Luis Borge, author, Nobel Prize Winner, Buenos Aires; Ernesto Sabato, author, Buenos Aires; Dr. B. Betancur, Chairman, Writer's Association of Colombia, Bogota; Prof. E. R. Fabregat, Professor of History, Montevideo; Ramirez Vasquez, architect, Mexico City.

Justice Haim Cohn, Israel Supreme Court; Prof. S. Lieberman, Jewish Theological Seminary, Jerusalem and New York; Prof. B. Mazar, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Prof. J. Prawer, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Arieh Sharon, architect, Tel Aviv; Prof. Urbach, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Prof. Z. Werblowsky, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Dr. U. Niebuhr, Boston; Lady Gaitskell, London; William Paley, New York; Prof. Saap Bakema, Holland; Emanuel Rackman.

LASKOV TO SEE BECKER ON ASHDOD

Jerusalegm Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Ports Authority Council yesterday asked Mr. Haim Laskov, its Managing Director, to meet Mr. Aharon Becker, Secretary-General of the Histadrut, for clarification of the agreement the Histadrut had reached with the Ashdod Port stevedores on the establishment of a productivity Council. The Authority will reconvene to hear Mr. Laskov's report before passing a decision.

The Council met for three hours yesterday, discussing the terms of the agreement with the stevedores. The spokesman for the Authority said that it was the consensus that the Histadrut deviated to a large extent from the original "agreed prinicipies" of 1967, which the Authority still regards as binding in respect to productivity arrangements in Ashdod.

Members of the board stressed the board was not party to the Histadrut agreement. It was not consulted, nor was it informed of the progress of the negotiations.

If Mr. Becker can convince Mr. Laskov that the June 1969 agreement is little more than a re-interpretation of the basic agreement of December 1967, the dispute would be regarded as settled. "But not before," the spokesman said.

The Histadrut spokesman said that Mr. Becker would meet Mr. Laskov "any time." He went on: "It will be easy to show that what the Histadrut agreed with the stevedores is based solely on the December 12, 1967 agreed principles."

Ashdod dockers move on productivity body

ASHDOD. — A committee that is to pave the way for the election of five stevedores' representatives to the productivity council was elected yesterday. The election may be held this week.

Mr. Yehoshua Peretz, chairman of the stevedores' works committee, said yesterday he believes the five should be chosen from among the 15 members of the works committee.

Meanwhile, a new crisis is looming over the way port foremen are chosen. The stevedores committee believes that foremen should be chosen from their ranks. At present, foremen are chosen by an internal port tender and administration people are often given preference over stevedores because they have more education, the men complain.

Housing deters 'aliya' prospects from France

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Three hundred and thirty families are prevented from coming to Israel because the authorities here have not kept to schedule with housing. A delegation from Paris which arrived here ten days ago obtained only 20 flats. The situation may have repercussions by blocking the wave of immigration from France, the press was told here yesterday by spokesmen for the Association of French and Algerian Immigrants.

Reinsurance firm doubles premiums

TEL AVIV. — Premium income of Israel Reinsurance Company topped IL5m. in 1968, more than double the amount of 1967. The business retained by the company topped IL3m., 3½ times the volume of two years ago. Prospects for further growth are also considered excellent, reporters were told on the occasion of the company's annual general meeting yesterday.

Overseas business accounted for 40 per cent of the total premium income. The company re-insures about five per cent of the total business written by Israeli insurance companies, and hopes to increase its share gradually to at least 15 [illegible] Plans for increasing

משרד_החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס - מסווג

ס ס ו ר

אל : המשרד

מאת: ניו יורק

מס' 338

נשלח: 19.6.69

מ י ד י

קומיי העתק רבין(הועבר).

ירושלים.

מבאפס ב-19.

הקבוצה הערבית החליטה עקרונית לבקש כינוס מועצים כנראה בגמר הדיון על רודזיה. המצב בירושלים מדאיג ממעמאן. לשגארהב שם נאמר שירדן לא תוכל לדחות עוד תפלאת הבעיה באו"ם. האמריקאים מנסים להביא הירדנים אך חוששים שלא יצליחו. אלפארה הזכיר במעבותיו ענין חוק רישום חברות הריסת הבתים ליד הכותל והעברת משרדים ממשלתיים למזרח העיר.

תקוע

תפוצה א

אב/קל

מברק יוצא-משווג

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

ש מ ו ר

חוזם:1

אל:וושינגטון בון יורק לונדון פאריס בון גנבה
רומא שטוקהולם אדיס האג בריסל אנקרה מהרן.

נשלח:13.6.69

מאת:המשרד

מ י י ד י

ביום ראשון הקרוב עומדים לסלק חלק סגוש קטן של מבנים מוסלמים ליד שער המוגרבים שבכותל המערבי. המדובר במבנים רעועים המהווים סכנה לציבור. לא חוזר לא תיחסם הכניסה לשער ולהר הבית. הסילוק לפי צו מהנדס העיר וראש העיר ובהחלטת ועדת השרים לענייני ירושלים. המבנים אינם אתרים קדושים אם כי מוכרים כאתרי תרבות. מניחים שתהיה תרעומת. איננו מעוניינים כמובן לעורר העניין בציבור ביוזמתנו. חומר מלא בדיפ היום.

הלל-בן חורין

תפוצה א' דובר צהל

מס/רש

ד ח ו ף

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מ ש ר ד ה ח ו ץ

ירושלים, כ"ז סיון תשכ"ט
13 יוני 1969

ירושלים

א ל : כל הנציגויות

מאת : ש. הלל - א. בן-חורין

הנדון: דאר אבו-סעוד - הריסת מבנה ליד הכותל המערבי

בהתאם להחלטת ועדת השרים למקומות הקדושים מ-2.9.68, עומד משרד הדתות לסלק בימים הקרובים כשני שלישים מקומפלקס מבנים ערבי-מוסלמי, הסמוך לכותל המערבי ליד שער המוגרבים והידוע בשם "דאר אבו-סעוד". מבנים אלה מפרידים בין אזור התפילה בכותל לבין איזור החפירות בפינה הדרומית של הכותל המערבי. ע"י הסילוק ייחשף קטע נוסף של הכותל המערבי.

סילוק המבנים עשוי לעורר הדים בינ"ל שליליים. אין לנו ענין, כמובן, להעלות הנושא ביוזמתנו. ואולם במידה ותשאלו או יועלה הדבר ע"י אחרים - תוכלו להגיב כדלקמן :

המבנים הללו אינם קדושים. קדוש הוא הכותל המערבי אותו הם מכסים. המבנים הם במצב רעוע ומוזנחים ומביבם הצטברה זוהמה המחללת את קדושת הכותל. בין השאר, כדאי להזכיר את מבנה בית-השימוש השייך למבנים הנ"ל שהיה צמוד לכותל, וצנור השופכין שלו יורד בצמוד לכותל המערבי, מכערו ומטמאו. (בית שמוש זה כבר סולק על-ידינו לפני מספר חודשים).

המבנים אינם עתיקי יומין והוקמו לפני כמאה וחמישים שנה. נכון, שבעבר צויינו כאתרי תרבות אבל ברור שאין להשוות לכותל המערבי (שייחש, כאמור, ע"י ההריסה) הקיים אלפיים שנה וקדושתו היא קדושת נצח למבנה זה שאיננו קדוש וקיים, כאמור, רק כמאה וחמישים שנה.

המבנים הללו סמוכים אמנם להר-הבית, אולם ננקטו אמצעי בטחון מירביים להבטיח שלא יאונה מאומה לכותל המערבי עצמו שהוא כידוע החומה המערבית של הר-הבית. כמו-כן יש להדגיש שלא נעשתה כל פעולה ונגיעה בחוך הר-הבית. אם יטענו הטוענים שנפגעה ה"זאוויה" הפאחריה", יש להדגיש שהזאוויה נמצאת בתוך שטח הר-הבית ולא נפגעה לכן.

פעולת סילוק המבנים הנוכחית גם לא תפגע בכניסה להר-הבית הידועה כ"שער המוגרבים". (לידיעתכם בלבד - לקראת הריסת החלק הנותר של המבנים הנ"ל שתיעשה בעתיד, ננקטים הצעדים הדרושים להבטיח בכל עת מעבר סדיר להר-הבית באמצעות "שער המוגרבים").

המבנים הנדונים הינם רעועים ומהוים סכנה לדרים בהם ולצבור כולו. לפי-כך, הוציאו מהנדס העיר וראש העיר ב-5 למאי ש.ז. צו להריסתם למען "הגנת הדיירים והצבור". סילוק המבנים מבוצע, איפוא, בהתאם לחוות-דעת מקצועית וצו הריסה מוסמך בהתאם.

כפי שנהגנו בעבר לגבי פנוי מבנים אחרים בעיר העתיקה, כן גם במקרה זה אנו מוכנים לשלם פיצויים מלאים ולהבטיח שיכון נאות אחר למפונים. לידיעתכם בלבד - מו"מ ממושך שנוהל עם הדיירת האחת השוכנת במבנים הנ"ל למתן פיצויים לא הוכתר בהצלחה משום שהנ"ל, מתוך מניעים מדיניים-לאומניים סירבה לקבל מאתנו פיצויים. מאידך, הודיעה שתפנה הדירה. מתנהל עתה מו"מ עם בעל חנות למזכרות לפינויו. בשלב זה המבנה בו שוכנת החנות אינו עומד לההרס ונעשים כל המאמצים לפנותו מרצון תוך מתן פיצויים ושכון אחר.

כאמור, אין להעלות הנושא ביוזמתנו והנ"ל לשימושכם רק במקרה ותישאלו או תתבקשו להגיב.

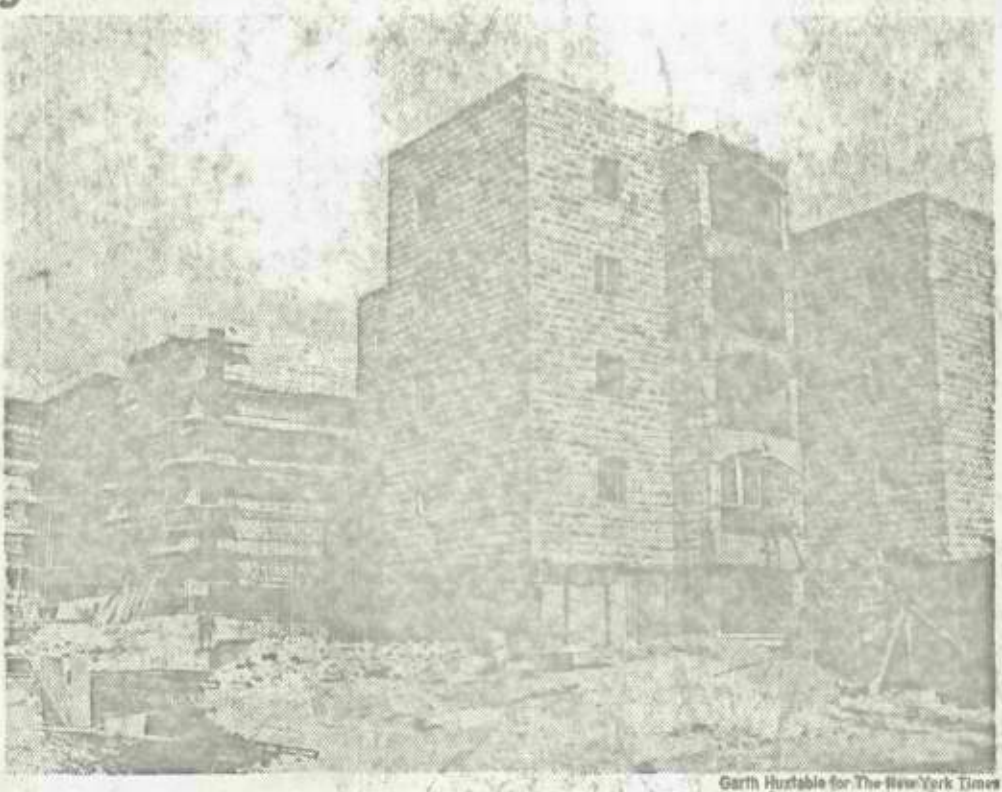
ב ב ר כ ה ,

ש. הלל א. בן-חורין

העתק: מנהלי המחלקות

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 12, 1969

Jerusalem: Vista of Two Worlds



Garth Hustable for The New York Times

Housing under construction in no man's land, 100 yards from Ammunition Hill, where some of worst fighting occurred. It is some of best housing municipality has produced.

By ADA LOUISE HUXTABLE

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 7—In the two years since the six-day war that made this one city again, the Israelis have been consolidating their territorial gains by one of the most permanent of means—the erection of buildings. The reunification of Jerusalem has been as much a physical as a political process.

This might be called political construction. It achieves the short-term aim of moving Israelis into the occupied areas in the most lasting fashion. It also has the broader objective of placing new construction within the framework of a master plan that is the long-term tool for the unification of land and services.

Jerusalem's master plan, drawn up in 1964, was meant to outline development for 50 years. According to the City Engineer, Amikan Yaffe, the planning team had clear instructions to take into account the possibility of ultimate reunification and to make provisions for "interconnection and integration" of the two sectors. The plan was in the last stages of preparation at the time of the six-day war.

A Biblical Landscape Adjoins Blocks of Horizontal Flats

Teddy Kollek, comments: "We always knew the city would be reunited eventually, but we did not expect it this way. We thought it would be by peaceful means."

Two Cultures Remain

Nonetheless, as the Mayor says, full integration is not the goal, and the Arab and Israeli settlements still stand on opposite sides of the no-longer-existent dividing line: two cultures, two landscapes and two worlds.

"We have no intention of mixing or unifying," Mr. Kollek explains. "We do not want to create a melting pot or a monoculture. There will be two cultures. But we will live better together."

There are 68,000 Arabs in East Jerusalem and 210,000 Jews in West Jerusalem, with only negligible numbers of Jews in East Jerusalem and correspondingly few Arabs in West Jerusalem.

The Arab world is a Biblical landscape. The war scars on the stony hills studded with cypress and olive trees are covered with green and sprinkled with poppies.

The Arab houses are small, clustered cubes and rectangles of rough, hand-dressed cream and ocher Jerusalem stone blocks, cut as they have been for thousands of years. They sit in stepped patterns against the hills without disturbing a contour or disrupting the scale of one of the most remarkable landscapes of nature and history.

Living conditions are often Biblical as well. But the quality of the landscape and the construction that is a part of it—the sweep of the entire eastern valley below the Mount of Olives, for example—is a demonstration in the marriage of architecture and topography.

On the Israeli side, an identical valley has an entirely different aspect. Slopes and cypresses are dwarfed by rows and blocks of horizontal flats that ring the edges or fill the hollows of the steeply terraced land.

They range from hastily erected, increasingly shabby two-story and three-story row housing, built under the pressure of extreme need at the time of the heavy early immigration, to the newest five-story blocks and eight-story towers of better quality and more sophisticated style.

The building pattern imposes a rigid geometry on the gentle profiles of the site. The houses are not Biblical in scale or style. They accommodate a galloping population on the basis of modern living standards. Their style is European because they were planned and designed by European immigrants whose models were the row housing of the nineteen-thirties.

Gardens Soften Dwellings

The dwellings sit insensitively on the Promised Land. Long, flat-walled, balconied blocks cut into and rise against the hills, partly obliterating them, creating the repetitive scalelessness that has brought a counterrevolution in housing in most cities of the world.

Close up, they are softened by gardens and incomparable views. The landscape is kind. Its fine-grained magnificence accommodates all but the most blatant violations.

The color of the hills is the color of the city. The great unifier is the Jerusalem stone, limestone from a variety of quarries and periods that grades from porous to marble-like and from beige to rose. On modern buildings or adaptations of antiquity, this stone is now used as a thin facing on concrete to cover a multitude of unoriginal sins. It has united the two cities as effectively as the Israeli Army.

The physical aspects of unification began immediately after the fighting stopped in June, 1967. Concrete walls, wire fences and tank obstacles were demolished and the paving of connecting roads began. Seven old roads were widened and planted with trees, and two new ones started. In addition, the water supplies of the two sectors were united and city services were amalgamated.

The old buildings that had attached themselves like barnacles to the outside of the Old City wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate were destroyed. Designs are being prepared for circling the wall with a national park.

Mayor Kollek looks at the peaceful green stretch that has been cleared between the Old City wall and the municipal offices and says: "This was the end of the world. Nobody moved here."

Housing had been built on the frontier earlier for security reasons. Now high priority has been given to the construction of 13 acres of housing in no man's land, about 100 yards from Ammunition Hill, where some of the worst fighting occurred.

Hotel Crowning Summit

There were violations of the landscape in the formerly Jordanian-held sector, too. The Israelis point to the Mount of Olives, now crowned by the recently built Intercontinental Hotel, and with a large hospital filling the saddle of its summit.

As for the Israelis, they have added two stories to the King David Hotel, which make that stolid building an increasingly obtrusive blockbuster in the city's panorama.

No one seems very disturbed by the most serious skyline violation of all. The two Moslem domes that dominate and virtually symbolize the Old City—the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Al Aksa—once had lead roofs covered with gold leaf; these were replaced by anodized aluminum in a restoration project about five years ago. They look exactly like anodized aluminum, and nothing could sabotage the ancient panorama more insistently.

On the other hand, there are many signs of increasing sensitivity to topography and local style on the part of the Israelis. The impressive Israeli Museum, come upon suddenly in one of those revelatory Jerusalem vistas of valleys and hills, is broken down into a series of units that rise and fall with the land. And there is the new housing, with clusters that have a "village" look and calculated irregularities of line and shape.

It has taken a while, but the Israelis are learning the lesson of the land.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1969

The New Y

The Old City of Jerusalem Is Getting a New 'Old' Look

An Arab workman matching new stone to old in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, being restored.

By ADA LOUISE HUXTABLE

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 5—One of the most dramatic restoration projects in the history of cities is forging ahead in the ancient walled area of Jerusalem. The reconstruction of the Jewish quarter of the Old City, lost to the Jews in the 1948 war, is one of the Israeli Government's priority projects.

The Jewish quarter, which consists of about 25 acres on the eastern side of the Old City, was confiscated by the Israelis on their entrance into the Jordanian-held sector immediately after the six-day war in 1967.

Right now it consists of about equal areas of the jumbled, picturesque building accretions of hundreds of years and the rubble of destruction. In the future it will be a meticulously restored historic enclave for 500 to 700 families and commercial enterprises, or 2,000 to 3,000 people.

Religious Symbolism

The rebuilding and reoccupation of the Jewish quarter has particular significance for the Israelis, for it represents more than the consolidation of geographic gains by settling Jews in the eastern part of the occupied Jordanian territory. It re-establishes a Jewish community in its ancient and traditional location within the Old City walls and thus carries a high degree of religious symbolism.

The restoration is being administered by a Government company, an independent agency set up like an authority or development corporation. Most of its funds are from the national Government.

The City of Jerusalem owns a 26 per cent share of the company, which gives it veto

Reconstruction and removal

power over plans. This year's budget is about $5-million; the work is substantially more expensive than new construction would be.

As preservation, the project is being carried out on the most sophisticated planning and design levels by a staff of fewer than 20 Israeli architects, engineers and administrators.

At least a fifth of the Arab population that took over the quarter when the Israelis lost it have left or been removed. Relocation is by compensation or cash payment. Crowded into what may be the world's most historic slum,

sometimes living 10 in a cavelike room, many are still in the area as the work goes on around them.

The chink of new stone being cut bounces across narrow streets. Donkeys carry materials and bulldozers clear paths. In one restored building that serves as the site office, architects, working surrounded by building models and drawings, piece together old photographs to study the area's former state. On-the-spot design decisions are made as rubble is removed and old structures are revealed.

One of the most important decisions has been the opening of a new route through the Jewish quarter to the Western or Wailing Wall. This, too, helps establish the Jews' religious claims and functions in the Old City.

In clearing the way, the bulldozer has stopped at ancient walls and arches, which will be kept as open, vaulted spaces to house traditional markets or modern shops. Through them a pedestrian way will lead past a rediscovered Crusader church to steps to the Wailing Wall, now fronted by a huge, open plaza.

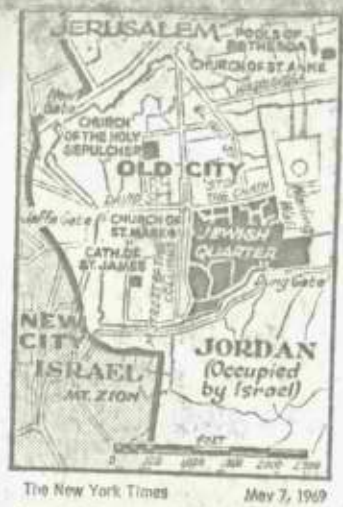
The project has four overlapping parts, to be carried out over a 20-year period: restoration of existing buildings, creation of open spaces, reconstruction on the basis of previous building patterns and the addition of new construction when necessary.

Roads Being Created

The two-year first phase has consisted of carting tons of rubble, working out a general plan and restoring a few key buildings. Roads and pedestrian routes are being created. Many will connect to existing narrow streets and alleys, where stone walls can be touched on either side and old arches sprout grass and flowers overhead.

The shape of this section of the city, dating from Roman times, will remain unchanged. Some open plazas will be added to connect the roads. A vehicular entrance under the old wall, with underground parking, is envisioned.

New housing will be put in destroyed areas and built on top of some of the restored structures. The new houses will not be copies of the old ones but will be sensitively



The New York Times May 7, 1969

keyed in design and materials to their scale and style.

Restoration is largely being done in impromptu fashion. One warren of single-room homes has just been rehabilitated as a structure of connected modern rooms. They are small, domed and vaulted milky spaces, stone-floored squares topped by white-plastered, arched roofs—the traditional Arab construction that leads to sunny courtyards and stairs and roofs like a series of miniature Byzantine building blocks.

This structure will serve as a hostel until families can be moved in.

Trenches are being dug to put all modern services — sewage, electricity, telephone and water — underground. At present the Old City is laced by overhead wires and served by a sewage system from Ottoman times.

The next two-year stage will see the construction of 80 to 100 dwellings — either rebuilt and adapted to modern needs or of totally new construction — and the last phases of general planning.

It will also see the completion of work on one of the most remarkable of the area's rediscoveries: four connected 16th-century Sephardic synagogues one level below the street, with their shells perfectly preserved and with touches of delicate carved detail.

Two years ago they were buried in debris. Now they are filled with wooden scaffolding as Arab workmen match new stone to old. Funds for this project are said to be from a prominent New York real-estate man.

A controversy is developing around another proposal — a new synagogue to replace the old Hurva, or main synagogue, of the quarter, now in ruins.

A monumental plan has been prepared by the American architect Louis Kahn. The debate centers on whether the immense scale of his undeniably handsome design is suitable environmentally to the Old City. It could be a third temple, which is what some Israelis seem to want, or it could be a catastrophe. It will dwarf and diminish the Old City that the preservation project so properly cherishes.

Today, Arab music wails from a workman's radio in the Sephardic synagogues under reconstruction. On the Street of the Jews, shops and businesses, from welding to sandal-making, fill small, dark caves of ancient plastered stone.

A one-eyed Ali Baba sells ices to children in a steep alley bounded by deserted, shuttered vaults. Small birds flick in and out of the ru The contrast of sun shadow is strong. Th trasts will be even grea the renewed old quarter.

p'8c 13' (N)

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 2, 1969

to Bert Gold CONFIDENTIAL

from Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum NOT FOR PUBLICATION

subject 1. Meeting of World Council of Churches - Jewish groups - Geneva
2. Meeting with Cardinal Willebrands and Rev. C.A. Rijk, Rome

This report will begin with a statement of the results and/or problems that emerged from the Geneva consultation, May 26-30, and the meetings in Rome, May 30-June 1. Background details on both meetings will then be added in a separate memo. I want to highlight the "results" or "problems" because several require immediate attention.

THE WCC-JEWISH CONSULTATION IN GENEVA

During these deliberations, the following was revealed:

I. Dr. Elfan Rees of the WCC staff told me privately that (a) progress was being made in the release of the Jews in Egypt, and that he was "pleased" with the way things were going there; (b) he was meeting this week (June 2) with Iraqi authorities in Geneva to explore the possibility of their allowing the 3,000 Iraqi Jews to emigrate together with 20,000 Iranians who were leaving Iraq shortly as a result of the Iraqian-Iranian tensions. He asked me to convey this information to Zach Schuster and said he would let him know if anything comes out of his conversation with the Iraqi authority (Minister of Social Welfare). During the general consultation, Dr. Rees informed the group, en passant, about these developments, but mentioned no details.

II. While the WCC-Jewish consultation was called for the ostensible purpose of trying to clarify theological and historical questions regarding the place of Jerusalem in Christian and Jewish traditions, I am persuaded that the WCC had an underlying political intention - namely, that of preparing the world Jewish community for a shift in position of the WCC toward a pro-Arab line regarding (1) a proposal for internationalizing the holy places in Jerusalem, and elsewhere in Israel - Hebron, Bethlehem, the Galilee, etc.; (2) the intended adoption of a pro-Arab League resolution focusing primarily on the Arab refugee problem in

Israeli occupied territory at a forthcoming WCC conference in Canterbury, August 1969, and a WCC Executive Board meeting in Cyprus, September 1969.

On the internationalization of holy places, Elfan Rees quite deliberately disclosed that the "Four Power" talks in New York had asked WCC for its position on the holy places in Israel, and the WCC was preparing to respond. Ideally, he said, the WCC would prefer an "inter-confessional" agreement regarding supervision of the holy places, but he knew that was not realistic in the forseeable future and therefore some formula would shortly have to be worked out involving "international agreements". He did not specify the contents of that formula as conceived by the WCC.

Dr. Rees, in his opening remarks, said that "The WCC has no right to pass judgement on the secular status of the city...the unity of Jerusalem cannot be ignored...we don't believe in divided cities...but we can speak on the holy places...". He added that he had recently met with the Israeli Minister of Religions, Dr. Zerach Warhoftig, and was given written assurances on (a) free access to the holy places; (b) their security; (c) their self-administration. Dr. Rees said that he was personally satisfied with these assurances but that "real politik" compelled the WCC to explore "international guarantees." In subsequent discussion, Dr. Rees and Dr. Lukas Vischer of WCC indicated that Arab Christian members of the WCC were bringing great pressure to bear on them, and Dr. David Hunter of NCC also stated that Jews are certainly aware of the meaning of such "political reality".

That the WCC is engaged in exploring some new international presence in Jerusalem was further underscored, at least to me, in the principal Christian paper delivered at the Conference by Prof. Denis A. Baly of Kenyon College, Ohio. Dr. Baly, who is a known pro-Arab apologist, wrote a pious and confused paper, but on the section on "The Future of Jerusalem," he said,

"An essentially neutral, probably international, administration of the area containing the Holy Places still seems to me to offer the greatest promise of peace in Jerusalem..."

Later on, Prof. Baly raises the question "of whether a sacred city ought also to be a political city, and whether Jerusalem ought to be anybody's capital city...(p. 15)...It is, therefore,

I believe, urgent that Jerusalem should become in some valid sense of the word, 'negotiable'. If it is to become altogether absorbed into the center of government of a particular country, and wholly identified in people's minds with that political system, I see very little hope for Jerusalem." He suggested, rather innocently, that "the Old City...be set aside as a sacred area, under a separate administration...(which) would certainly have to include the Old City, the Hill of Zion just outside it, the Mount of Olives, and probably also Bethlehem...Hebron and Galilee would have to be dealt with separately. The administration of the sacred area would certainly have to be neutral, though Jews, Muslims, and Christians would certainly have to be equally represented."

The significance of the above development can be understood only in relation to the past policies of the WCC and the Vatican. In July 1967, the WCC was the first international Christian body to speak out saying that it had no standing to discuss the reunification of Jerusalem because it was a political problem. Its primary concern, the WCC said, was with the protection of the holy places, and it was prepared to discuss that with Israel after the political problem was resolved. In the meantime, the WCC said it had assurances from Israel that all Christians and Muslims would have free access to their holy places, and the WCC was satisfied.

Earlier, the Pope had raised publicly the question of 1947 proposals for internationalizing Jerusalem as a corpus separatum, and his representative at the UN, Msgr. Giovanetti circulated such a document to all UN delegates. When the WCC issued its July 1967 statement, AJC met with Msgr. Giovanetti and pressed him not to complicate the possibilities of peace settlement between the Arabs and Israel, especially since the WCC had spoken out to relieve the pressure on the Jerusalem question. Msgr. Giovanetti said he appreciated the logic in our position and would communicate personally our views to the Pope on his impending visit to Rome. Subsequently, as you know, the Vatican ceased to press the internationalization scheme and has remained silent since 1967. Two weeks ago, Msgr. Giovanetti told me in New York that "the Holy See will say nothing about the Jerusalem question until peace is arranged in the Middle East."

Should the WCC proceed at either its August or September conferences to adopt formulae on the internationalization of the holy places, I fear that it might very shortly compel: (1) the

Vatican to reconsider its present views, since ecumenical considerations play such a major part in its "foreign policies," and also because the Pope was clearly influenced by the WCC position in 1967, and could change his line as the WCC changes its line; (b) the "Four Power" talks to be seriously influenced on "the holy places" issue (the last item on its agenda) by a WCC recommendation of some form of internationalization, since the Christian groups are obvious principals. A joint WCC-Vatican position -and we certainly need to expect that the Arabs will intensify both political and religious pressures on the Holy See - will become a new political reality in the Middle East scene affecting negatively Israel's interests in Jerusalem and other holy places.

When Elfan Rees completed his intervention as commentary on the discussion of Baly's paper, Zwi Werblowsky, Arthur Hertzberg, and I reacted very sharply against what was obviously taking place. While we paid personal tribute to Dr. Rees for what he meant to the Jewish people, all of us pressed that we came to Geneva to discuss moral and religious issues and not political deals that on the basis of "real politik" were intended to compromise Israel's interests and/or security.

Unfortunately, Dr. Rees had to leave the room prior to this heated discussion (some of the Jewish delegates were not happy with our outbursts of strong feelings, but we knew what was taking place, and we also knew that the WCC had to feel the weight of strong Jewish opposition to what they were trying to manipulate, and with the suggestion of our tacit consent).

The next day, Lukas Vischer, by far one of the ablest WCC executives, reported on the WCC-Muslim dialogue held in March in Cevigny. In clear response to the Jewish reaction described above, he asked whether the Jewish community would be interested in exploring the possibilities of a "trialogue" - in Christian-Jewish-Muslim dialogue in Geneva. There were halting, ambivalent Jewish reactions that amounted to "yes - but no traps."

That night, Vischer confided to several of us that they had not realized there would be such Jewish anger and strong feelings, and that clearly they had to find a way out of the Arab box next August and September. The proposal for a "trialogue" was tried out, Vischer indicated, in order to see if they could propose that to their Aug-Sept conference as a substitute for

taking action on any resolutions.

What all this boils down to, as I see it, is that we will have to do some hard work - together with the Israelis and other Jewish organizations - to make the WCC staff and some of its key member bodies feel the weight of the Jewish concern very shortly, much before August since Arab pressures will undoubtedly mount on them during June and July.

I would also urge that Zach Schuster make a special trip to Geneva to meet with Vischer and Rees, especially since both of them have high regard for Zach. And the sooner the better. Above all, the situation needs to be watched closely.

In terms of substance, I had the impression that following our strong statements that Vischer and Rees would consider a formula of "international guarantees" that might be more symbolic than real. That is to say, if Israel and the Christian communities agree to continue the status quo, perhaps an international resolution establishing the support of that arrangement, with guarantees of its implementation could be proposed for adoption as a face-saving gesture to the Arabs. Personally, I don't see the Arabs buying such a transparent gimmick.

(continued)

III. Rome, May 30-June 1

On Friday morning, I stopped off in Rome on the way back to New York to meet with Rev. Cornelius Rijk, director of the Vatican Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. He asked me for a report on the WCC-Jewish meeting, and I gave him my general evaluation, including a guarded statement about the debate over Jerusalem and the Arab refugees. He understood what I was saying, and volunteered to be supportive at the appropriate time in any joint Vatican-WCC discussions that will involve him. (Earlier that day, he told me, he took part in a Vatican-Lutheran World Federation discussion, and made some interpretive remarks about Israel to the Lutherans that he thought were necessary).

Father Rijk indicated that he was interested in the Geneva meeting because, as he had indicated in earlier letters to me and to Zach, he was planning a Vatican-Jewish consultation. After lengthy exploration of alternatives, we agreed on the following possibilities:

(1) a "get acquainted" consultation involving representatives of world Jewish bodies with representatives of major Vatican Congregations and Secretariats - i.e., the State, Holy Office, Education, Bishops Christian Unity, Non-Believers, etc. After discussing respective structures, an opportunity might be provided to examine an inventory of outstanding issues, such as, the situation of the Jews in Latin America, the Middle East, anti-Semitism, secularism, development problems in the third world, religious education and prejudice, etc. Father Rijk said he would keep in touch with us and other Jewish groups as he began to develop plans. He was indefinite about the date, possibly the Fall of 1969 or early 1970.

(2) in addition to opening up institutional communication, he wishes to pursue more intensively academic and theological conversations, similar to those which he has already held. Operating on his often-stated conviction that social behavior will not change unless religious and psychological attitudes are deeply affected, he plans to increase the theological dialogues around basic questions arising out of inter-testamental studies, a better Christian understanding of Judaism and Israel. Rijk will not turn to Jewish institutions necessarily for these, but will follow his earlier pattern of choosing participants on the basis of particular intellectual or academic competence.

During a long and pleasant dinner together, Rijk suggested that it would be useful if I would meet with Cardinal Willebrands, recently

elevated to succeed Cardinal Bea. I agreed and he made arrangements for me to meet Willebrands the next afternoon (from the Great Synagogue to Vatican City, the story of my Italian life).

We had an excellent meeting which lasted about 45 minutes with Rijk present. I congratulated the Cardinal on his appointment, and we reminisced about our meeting in March 1963, when he accompanied Bea to our building for the meeting with Jewish scholars. We discussed a number of issues relating to the theology of Jewish-Christian relations in a frank manner. Rather unexpectedly, Willebrands made an eight to ten minute speech about his conviction that "the relationship between the church and the Jewish people is unique, it is so by God. That is why I felt so strongly that the Jewish question must remain with this secretariat and not with that of non-Christian religions. It is true that Christian unity is one thing, a separate thing, and Christian-Jewish relations is a separate thing. But they belong side-by-side. We seek good relations with the Moslems, Buddhists, and others, but our relation with you is special. The Koran is a great book, written by a man or men of great talent, but it is not a divine book. You have God's book and we have it through you, by the grace of God.

"I believe the Jewish people preserve special values, very important and precious, and they are of permanent meaning. The Jewish people have a permanent mission in the world, and we must work together side by side to serve God's people, and to help bring the kingdom for the whole human family."

Those are pretty close to verbatim quotations. Both Rijk and I were deeply moved by his evident sincerity and conviction, which Rijk later said is growing as he (Willebrands) comes to know more about Jews and Judaism. As we parted, Willebrands told me that his first experience with Jews and Judaism took place during the Nazi occupation of Amsterdam. He helped hide a number of Jews in his home and was handed over several Torah scrolls for safekeeping until the war was over.

Willebrands and Rijk also said that the Cardinal was coming to the U.S.A. on June 21 and 22, and that he had accepted an invitation from the Synagogue Council of America to meet with them on June 22 (a Sunday morning). I volunteered an invitation for him to meet with AJC leaders. He said he would like to, but would have to decline since he will be here on a very brief and tight schedule.

Rijk suggested then that perhaps Henry Siegman could invite Jewish leaders from other agencies to join them. Willebrands said he would welcome that. Rijk said he would write to Siegman and suggest this. If we are interested - and I think we should be - then we should talk to Siegman about arrangements.

One final - and very confidential - note. Rijk confided that during Vatican Council II Bea had sent Willebrands on numerous occasions on secret trips to Arab countries to help pacify the Arab Christians - especially the Eastern Orthodox - who were bringing much pressure against adoption of the "Jewish declaration." As a result of that experience, Willebrands has strong ties with the Arab world, and cannot be expected to take any leadership - at least for the present - in causes supportive of Israel, especially on political grounds. Rijk said he is hopeful that in quiet ways the Cardinal will deepend his understanding of the meaning of Israel to Jews and Judaism, and that he will do everything prudently possible to encourage that understanding. Eventually, he said, he hopes to arrange for Willebrands to come to Israel for a visit - but quietly, with no publicity.

Saturday night, I met with Father Morlion to review the textbook projects in Italy and Spain. He says progress is being made, but I have the impression it would be useful to monitor the implementation program. Morlion discussed the possibility of a textbook study program in Germany and I left it open saying we ought to talk about it with you when he next comes to New York, He plans a visit early in July.

In summary, I feel these were two good days in Rome, justifying the hustle and fatigue (and expense).

CC: Simon Segal
Zach Shuster

Marc H. Tanenbaum
(Dictated but not read)

גלוי

משרד החוץ · מחלקת הסברה

חוזר לנציגויות ישראל בחו"ל

אל: _____ תאריך _____

ירושלים, ד' בסיון תשכ"ט
21 במאי 1969

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חוזר מס' 689

תשר ירושלים

הנדון: Rejoice with Jerusalem

רצ"ב כתבתו של מר משה כהן על התגליות הארכיאולוגיות להפצה מירבית לעתונות המקומית.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יוחנן כהן
מנהל הסברה

/עש

"REJOICE WITH JERUSALEM..."

By Moshe Kohn

Late on Wednesday afternoon, 7 May 1969 a group of Israeli youngsters doing national service as volunteers with the Hebrew University archaeological team in the area around the Western ("Wailing") Wall, made a discovery that electrified the nation. Removing the earth from a stone of the Wall about six metres (20 feet) below the former ground level, they found it cut into a two-line inscription in Hebrew, in the style of about 1,600 years ago, which reads: "And when you see this, your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like young grass."

It is part of a prophecy in Isaiah, Chapter 66, verses 10-14: "Rejoice with Jerusalem and be glad with her... For thus saith the Lord, Behold I will extend peace to her like a river... As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem... and the hand of the Lord shall be known towards His servants..."

What was spellbinding, almost eerie, about the revelation of this message of comfort and good tidings of Jerusalem was that it took place 21 years to the day by the Jewish calendar - the 19th day of the month of Iyar - since the beleaguered, decimated defenders of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City, overlooking the Wall, surrendered to the British-led Jordanian Arab Legion after a bitter month-long siege. It also happened 23 months to the day, by the civil calender, since Jerusalem was unified once again - following a bloody 48-hour battle after that same Legion had begun its indiscriminate shelling of civilian objectives in the Jewish part of the city.

Despite the solemn undertaking of the Jordanian Government, as spelled out in the Jordan-Israel Armistice Agreement of 1949, the Jordanian authorities had for 20 years prevented Jews from approaching the Western Wall, holiest of their holy places. Moreover, numerous synagogues in the Old City had been wantonly desecrated. Israeli Arabs too - Christians as well as Moslems - were kept from visiting and worshipping at their sacred shrines on the other side of the demarcation line, in the Old City of Jerusalem.

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Those privileged to be in Jerusalem on that 7 June 1967 - and alive and intact - saw and shared a strange happening. The soliders who had fought through those 48 hours dashed as though moonstruck towards the Wall, heedless of snipers' bullets still flying overhead, and when they reached the Wall - it did not matter whether they were devout or not - pressed up against its stones, clasped them, in the words of Isaiah's prophecy, as though seeking maternal solace, and broke down and wept like babes. Not a few of Jerusalem's civilians lost their lives or were badly wounded as they came through the minefields that then separated Jordanian from Jewish Jerusalem, or braved a hail of lead, just to touch the Wall.

And the war correspondent of the Israel Broadcasting Service who was covering the Battle of Jerusalem was heard by listeners through the length and breadth of Israel calling out in accents rising to a high emotional pitch and then bursting into tears: I'm going down the steps...I'm going down the steps...I'm not religious; I never was - but I'm now - now I am touching the stones of the Wailing Wall..."

What is this Western or Wailing Wall which, on 7 June, 1967, made tough soldiers weep like children, Israel's campaign-hardened Defence Minister act like a pious pilgrim, and a cynical radio reporter sob! What is this assembly of great hewn boulders to which, for nearly nineteen centuries era after era of Jews has journeyd often at risk to life or limb, to pour out its prayers for the redemption of the Jewish People, for world peace, for personal happiness and prosperity? What is this Wall, moss growing from its fissures, that, from a rooftop on nearby Mount Zion, Jews vainly peered to behold for the nineteen years?

Be it noted that it was Moslems and Christians, not Jews, that first called it the Wailing Wall To the Jews, it is simply the Western Wall, a remnant of the periphery of the Mount on which the Holy Temple stood till it was destroyed in the year 70 CE by the legions of Titus.

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After the Temple and the other Walls of the Temple Mount were laid waste, after the Jews were robbed of national and religious sovereignty in their own Land and so many driven from it, the Western Wall stood indestructible as an eternal reminder of the creative being of the Jews in this Land. Sometimes by permission of the evanescent occupiers of the Land - the Roman pagans, Byzantine Christians, Moslem Arabs, Crusader Christians, Moslem Mamluks and Turks, and, at the last, British - and sometimes defying their harshest of bans, Jews not seldom jeopardized their lives to pray at the Westerm Wall at least once in the year, on the 9th day of the Jewish month of Av, anniversary of the ruin of the Temple by Titus, to mourn the tragic loss and pray for restoration of the sanctuary. But at every other opportunity as well - on the Sabbath, on festivals, on weekdays: to lament and to entreat the fulfilment of the Hebrew prophecies. That is why the non-Jews who watched them called it the Wailing Wall.

And in the 1,878 years since Titus razed the shrine and broke the continuity of Jewish statehood in the Jewish Homeland until, in 1948, that sovereignty was regained, the Western Wall in the physical sense, like the Bible and Talmud in the spiritual, was focus and symbol of Jewry's undying dream of national redemption.

16 May 1969

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1969

The New Y

The Old City of Jerusalem Is Getting a New 'Old' Look

An Arab workman matching new stone to old in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, being restored.

By ADA LOUISE HUXTABLE

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 5—One of the most dramatic restoration projects in the history of cities is forging ahead in the ancient walled area of Jerusalem. The reconstruction of the Jewish quarter of the Old City, lost to the Jews in the 1948 war, is one of the Israeli Government's priority projects.

The Jewish quarter, which consists of about 25 acres on the eastern side of the Old City, was confiscated by the Israelis on their entrance into the Jordanian-held sector immediately after the six-day war in 1967.

Right now it consists of about equal areas of the jumbled, picturesque building accretions of hundreds of years and the rubble of destruction. In the future it will be a meticulously restored historic enclave for 500 to 700 families and commercial enterprises, or 2,000 to 3,000 people.

Religious Symbolism

The rebuilding and reoccupation of the Jewish quarter has particular significance for the Israelis, for it represents more than the consolidation of geographic gains by settling Jews in the eastern part of the occupied Jordanian territory. It re-establishes a Jewish community in its ancient and traditional location within the Old City walls and thus carries a high degree of religious symbolism.

The restoration is being administered by a Government company, an independent agency set up like an authority or development corporation. Most of its funds are from the national Government.

The City of Jerusalem owns a 26 per cent share of the company, which gives it veto

Reconstruction and removal

power over plans. This year's budget is about $5-million; the work is substantially more expensive than new construction would be.

As preservation, the project is being carried out on the most sophisticated planning and design levels by a staff of fewer than 20 Israeli architects, engineers and administrators.

At least a fifth of the Arab population that took over the quarter when the Israelis lost it have left or been removed. Relocation is by compensation or cash payment. Crowded into what may be the world's most historic slum,

sometimes living 10 in a cavelike room, many are still in the area as the work goes on around them.

The chink of new stone being cut bounces across narrow streets. Donkeys carry materials and bulldozers clear paths. In one restored building that serves as the site office, architects, working surrounded by building models and drawings, piece together old photographs to study the area's former state. On-the-spot design decisions are made as rubble is removed and old structures are revealed.

One of the most important decisions has been the opening of a new route through the Jewish quarter to the Western or Wailing Wall. This, too, helps establish the Jews' religious claims and functions in the Old City.

In clearing the way, the bulldozer has stopped at ancient walls and arches, which will be kept as open, vaulted spaces to house traditional markets or modern shops. Through them a pedestrian way will lead past a rediscovered Crusader church to steps to the Wailing Wall, now fronted by a huge, open plaza.

The project has four overlapping parts, to be carried out over a 20-year period: restoration of existing buildings, creation of open spaces, reconstruction on the basis of previous building patterns and the addition of new construction when necessary.

Roads Being Created

The two-year first phase has consisted of carting tons of rubble, working out a general plan and restoring a few key buildings. Roads and pedestrian routes are being created. Many will connect to existing narrow streets and alleys, where stone walls can be touched on either side and old arches sprout grass and flowers overhead.

The shape of this section of the city, dating from Roman times, will remain unchanged. Some open plazas will be added to connect the roads. A vehicular entrance under the old wall, with underground parking, is envisioned.

New housing will be put in destroyed areas and built on top of some of the restored structures. The new houses will not be copies of the old ones but will be sensitively

The New York Times May 7, 1969

keyed in design and materials to their scale and style.

Restoration is largely being done in impromptu fashion. One warren of single-room homes has just been rehabilitated as a structure of connected modern rooms. They are small, domed and vaulted milky spaces, stone-floored squares topped by white-plastered, arched roofs—the traditional Arab construction that leads to sunny courtyards and stairs and roofs like a series of miniature Byzantine building blocks.

This structure will serve as a hostel until families can be moved in.

Trenches are being dug to put all modern services — sewage, electricity, telephone and water — underground. At present the Old City is laced by overhead wires and served by a sewage system from Ottoman times.

The next two-year stage will see the construction of 80 to 100 dwellings — either rebuilt and adapted to modern needs or of totally new construction — and the last phases of general planning.

It will also see the completion of work on one of the most remarkable of the area's rediscoveries: four connected 16th-century Sephardic synagogues one level below the street, with their shells perfectly preserved and with touches of delicate carved detail.

Two years ago they were buried in debris. Now they are filled with wooden scaffolding as Arab workmen match new stone to old. Funds for this project are said to be from a prominent New York real-estate man.

A controversy is developing around another proposal — a new synagogue to replace the old Hurva, or main synagogue, of the quarter, now in ruins.

A monumental plan has been prepared by the American architect Louis Kahn. The debate centers on whether the immense scale of his undeniably handsome design is suitable environmentally to the Old City. It could be a third temple, which is what some Israelis seem to want, or it could be a catastrophe. It will dwarf and diminish the Old City that the preservation project so properly cherishes.

Today, Arab music wails from a workman's radio in the Sephardic synagogues under reconstruction. On the Street of the Jews, shops and businesses, from welding to sandal-making, fill small, dark caves of ancient plastered stone.

A one-eyed Ali Baba sells ices to children in a steep alley bounded by deserted, shuttered vaults. Small birds flick in and out of the ruins. The contrast of sun and shadow is strong. The contrasts will be even greater in the renewed old quarter.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 12, 1969

Jerusalem: Vista of Two Worlds

Garth Huxtable for The New York Times

Housing under construction in no man's land, 100 yards from Ammunition Hill, where some of worst fighting occurred. It is some of best housing municipality has produced.

By ADA LOUISE HUXTABLE
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 7—In the two years since the six-day war that made this one city again, the Israelis have been consolidating their territorial gains by one of the most permanent of means — the erection of buildings. The reunification of Jerusalem has been as much a physical as a political process.

This might be called political construction. It achieves the short-term aim of moving Israelis into the occupied areas in the most lasting fashion. It also has the broader objective of placing new construction within the framework of a master plan that is the long-term tool for the unification of land and services.

Jerusalem's master plan, drawn up in 1964, was meant to outline development for 50 years. According to the City Engineer, Amikan Yaffe, the planning team had clear instructions to take into account the possibility of ultimate reunification and to make provisions for "interconnection and integration" of the two sectors. The plan was in the last stages of preparation at the time of the six-day war.

A Biblical Landscape Adjoins Blocks of Horizontal Flats

The mayor, Teddy Kollek, comments: "We always knew the city would be reunited eventually, but we did not expect it this way. We thought it would be by peaceful means."

Two Cultures Remain

Nonetheless, as the Mayor says, full integration is not the goal, and the Arab and Israeli settlements still stand on opposite sides of the no-longer-existent dividing line: two cultures, two landscapes and two worlds.

"We have no intention of mixing or unifying," Mr. Kollek explains. "We do not want to create a melting pot or a monoculture. There will be two cultures. But we will live better together."

There are 68,000 Arabs in East Jerusalem and 210,000 Jews in West Jerusalem, with only negligible numbers of Jews in East Jerusalem and correspondingly few Arabs in West Jerusalem.

The Arab world is a Biblical landscape. The war scars on the stony hills studded with cypress and olive trees are covered with green and sprinkled with poppies.

The Arab houses are small, clustered cubes and rectangles of rough, hand-dressed cream and ocher Jerusalem stone blocks, cut as they have been for thousands of years. They sit in stepped patterns against the hills without disturbing a contour or disrupting the scale of one of the most remarkable landscapes of nature and history.

Living conditions are often Biblical as well. But the quality of the landscape and the construction that is a part of it—the sweep of the entire eastern valley below the Mount of Olives, for example—is a demonstration in the marriage of architecture and topography.

On the Israeli side, an identical valley has an entirely different aspect. Slopes and cypresses are dwarfed by rows and blocks of horizontal flats that ring the edges or fill the hollows of the steeply terraced land.

They range from hastily erected, increasingly shabby two-story and three-story row housing, built under the pressure of extreme need at the time of the heavy early immigration, to the newest five-story blocks and eight-story towers of better quality and more sophisticated style.

The building pattern imposes a rigid geometry on the gentle profiles of the site. The houses are not Biblical in scale or style. They accommodate a galloping population on the basis of modern living standards. Their style is European because they were planned and designed by European immigrants whose models were the row housing of the nineteen-thirties.

Gardens Soften Dwellings

The dwellings sit insensitively on the Promised Land. Long, flat-walled, balconied blocks cut into and rise against the hills, partly obliterating them, creating the repetitive scalelessness that has brought a counterrevolution in housing in most cities of the world.

Close up, they are softened by gardens and incomparable views. The landscape is kind. Its fine-grained magnificence accommodates all but the most blatant violations.

The color of the hills is the color of the city. The great unifier is the Jerusalem stone, limestone from a variety of quarries and periods that grades from porous to marble-like and from beige to rose. On modern buildings or adaptations of antiquity, this stone is now used as a thin facing on concrete to cover a multitude of unoriginal sins. It has united the two cities as effectively as the Israeli Army.

The physical aspects of unification began immediately after the fighting stopped in June, 1967. Concrete walls, wire fences and tank obstacles were demolished and the paving of connecting roads began. Seven old roads were widened and planted with trees, and two new ones started. In addition, the water supplies of the two sectors were united and city services were amalgamated.

The old buildings that had attached themselves like barnacles to the outside of the Old City wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate were destroyed. Designs are being prepared for circling the wall with a national park.

Mayor Kollek looks at the peaceful green stretch that has been cleared between the Old City wall and the municipal offices and says: "This was the end of the world. Nobody moved here."

Housing had been built on the frontier earlier for security reasons. Now high priority has been given to the construction of 13 acres of housing in no man's land, about 100 yards from Ammunition Hill, where some of the worst fighting occurred.

Hotel Crowning Summit

There were violations of the landscape in the formerly Jordanian-held sector, too. The Israelis point to the Mount of Olives, now crowned by the recently built Intercontinental Hotel, and with a large hospital filling the saddle of its summit.

As for the Israelis, they have added two stories to the King David Hotel, which make that stolid building an increasingly obtrusive blockbuster in the city's panorama.

No one seems very disturbed by the most serious skyline violation of all. The two Moslem domes that dominate and virtually symbolize the Old City—the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Al Aksa—once had lead roofs covered with gold leaf; these were replaced by anodized aluminum in a restoration project about five years ago. They look exactly like anodized aluminum, and nothing could sabotage the ancient panorama more insistently.

On the other hand, there are many signs of increasing sensitivity to topography and local style on the part of the Israelis. The impressive Israeli Museum, come upon suddenly in one of those revelatory Jerusalem vistas of valleys and hills, is broken down into a series of units that rise and fall with the land. And there is the new housing, with clusters that have a "village" look and calculated irregularities of line and shape.

It has taken a while, but the Israelis are learning the lesson of the land.

THE POPULATION OF JERUSALEM

STATISTICS OLD AND NEW

The centrality of Jerusalem in Jewish history - in Jewish thought, prayer and deed - is one of the most compelling elements in the annals of the Jewish people through the ages. Except for a short time during the Roman period, when Jews were forcibly kept out of it, Jerusalem itself was never without a Jewish community, large or small - a fact attested to by the recorded accounts of pilgrims to the Holy Land, Christian as well as Jewish. More precise statistical surveys have been published since the second half of the nineteenth century, showing (a) that before 1850 already, the Jews formed the largest single community in the Holy City, and (b) that for nearly one hundred years they have been in the majority.

The figures presented here go back to the twelfth century and are based on various sources, as indicated.

1175 — About 200 Jews

(Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Book I, p. 70)

1267 (after the Crusades) — About 2,000 inhabitants

1,700 Moslems, 300 Christians, 2 Jews

"And its inhabitants number close to two thousands, including about three hundred Christians... and no Israelites, except two brothers who are dyers by trade..."

(Rabbi Moses ben Nahman ('Ramban') in a letter to his family)

1483 — More than 500 Jews

"There are over five hundred Jews there and over a thousand Christians of all sects and countries, the smallest group being the Latins (Roman Catholics)."

(Felix Fabri, a Christian tourist)

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1495

About 200 Jewish families

(An anonymous disciple of Rabbi Ovadia of Bartenura)

1522

300 Jewish families - 500 widows

"About three hundred householders, apart from widows. of whom there are over five hundred. . ."

(Rabbi Moshe Bassola, Travels in Palestine)

1621

500 Sephardi families (Jews of Mediterranean origin)

"There are in Jerusalem. . . over five hundred important householders of the Sephardi community."

"The Ashkenazi Jewish community of Jerusalem (Jews of East European origin) is twice as big as the Ashkenazi community of Safad."

(Epistle of Rabbi Isaiah Halevy Horowitz)

1700

About 1,200 Jews

"To-date there are in Jerusalem about 300 householders, close on 1,200 persons"

(Rabbi R. M. Malkhi, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch)

1824

Over 3,000 Jewish families

"In Jerusalem there are over three thousand Jewish families. . . nine Karaite families (a dissenting Jewish sect), about four thousand Greek families. . . about three thousand. . . Armenians. . . about ten thousand Moslem families."

(Rabbi David of the House of Hillel, a resident of Jerusalem)

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1844

15,510 inhabitants

7,120 Jews, 5,000 Moslems,

3,390 Christians

Jews: 6,000 Sephardis, 1,100 Ashkenazis and 20 Karaites

Christians: 2,000 Greek Orthodox, 900 Catholics, 350 Armenians, 100 Copts, 20 Syrians (Jacobites), 20 Abyssinians

(Encyclopaedia Britannica)

1876

25,030

12,000 Jews, 7,560 Moslems, 5,470 Christians

Christians: 1,640 Catholics (1,600 Latins, 35 Greek Catholics, 5 Armenian Catholics); 2,800 Greek Orthodox, 510 Armenians, 130 Copts, 75 Abyssinians, 15 Syrians, 300 Protestants

(Liévin de Hamme, Guide Indicateur... de la Terre-Sainte, 1876, p. 137)

1896

45,420

28,112 Jews, 8,748 Chrstians, 8,560 Moslems

Jews: 15,076 Ashkenazis, 7,900 Sephardis, 2,420 North Africans, 1,288 Yemenites, 670 Georgians, 530 Bokharans, 230 Persians

Christians: 4,625 Greek Orthodox, 2,530 Catholics (Roman), 695 Armenians, 645 Protestants, 125 Copts, 105 Abyssinians, 23 Syrians

(Calender of Palestine for the Year 5656-1895/6)

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1905	About 60,000 40,000 Jews, 7,000 Moslems, 13,000 Christians (Encylopaedia Britannica, 1925)
1910	About 73,600 47,400 Jews, 16,400 Christians, 9,800 Moslems (Calendar of Palestine for the Year 1910, p. 36)
1913	About 75,200 48,400 Jews, 16,750 Christians, 10,050 Moslems (Calendar of Palestine for the Years 5673-74 - 1912/13, 1913/14)
1922	62,578 32,611 male, 29,967 female 33,971 Jews, 13,413 Moslems, 14,699 Christians

Jews: 16,713 male, 17,258 female

Moslems: 7,804 male, 5,609 female

Christians: 7,601 male, 7,098 female

Hindus: 484; Sikhs: 5 (the Hindus and Sikhs were serving in the British Army)

Druzes: 6

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Inhabitants by place of residence - New and Old Cities:

Old City - 22,247 inhabitants; 11,642 male, 10,605 female

Jews - 5,639; 2,673 male, 2,966 female

Moslems - 9,345; 5, 195 male, 4,186 female

Christians - 7,262; 3,809 male, 3,453 female

1 Druze (male)

New City - 40,331 inhabitants; 20,969 male, 19,362 female

Jews - 28,332; 14,040 male, 14,292 female

Moslems - 4,068; 2,645 male, 1,423 female

Christians - 7,437; 3,792 male, 3,645 female

Druzes - 5; 4 male, 1 female

Hindus - 484; 483 male, 1 female

Sikhs - 5 male

(Government Census of Palestine, 1922)

1931 90,503

45,779 male, 44,724 female

21,403 occupied houses

Jews - 51,222; 24,795 male, 26,427 female

Moslems - 19,894; 11,111 male, 8,783 female

Christians - 19,335; 9,837 male, 9,498 female

Druzes - 3 male

Bahai - 7; 4 male, 3 female

Samaritans - 1 male

Miscellaneous - 41; 28 male, 13 female

Inhabitants by place of residence - New and Old Cities:

Old City - 25,183; 13,091 male, 12,092 female - 5,853 occupied houses

Jews - 5,222; 2,504 male, 2,718 female

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Moslem - 12,201; 6,658 male, 5,543 female

Christians - 7,759; 3,928 male, 3,831 female

New City - 65,320; 32,688 male, 32,632 female - 15,550 occupied houses

Jews - 46,000; 22,291 male, 23,709 female

Moslems - 7,693; 4,453 male, 3,240 female

Christians - 11,576; 5,909 male, 5,667 female

Druzes - 3 male

Bahai - 7; 4 male, 3 female

Samaritans - 1 male

Miscellaneous - 41; 28 male, 13 female

In the 1931 census the following quarters to the west and south of Jerusalem constituted separate units;

Bayit Vegan (inc. Bnei Brit and Neve Shaanan); 415 inhabitants, 228 male, 187 female

Jews - 365 (181 male, 184 female); Moslems - 45; Christians - 5

Bet Hakerem - 550 inhabitants (268 male, 283 female); 143 occupied houses

Jews - 549 (267 male, 282 female); Christians - 1 male

Givat Shaul - 966 inhabitants (593 male, 373 female); 152 occupied houses

Jews - 955 (582 male, 373 female); Moslems - 5 male; Christians - 6 male

Qiryat Moshe (inc. Etz Hayim, Diskin) - Jews 322 (168 male, 153 female); 72 occupied houses

Ramat Rahel - Jews 131 (68 male, 63 female); 45 occupied houses

Mekor Hayim - 202 (104 male, 98 female); 41 occupied houses

(Government Census of Palestine, 1931)

1939 80,850 Jews

Ashkenazis - 42,576; Sephardis -10,587; Yemenites - 3,772; Persians - 5,706; Kurds - 4,369; Iraqis - 3,890; Moroccans and Algerians - 2,499; Syrians - 1,996

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(Aleppo - 1,777; Damascus - 219); Bokharans - 1,972; Urfalis - 1,533; Georgians - 1,038; Afghans - 567; Indians - 60; Miscellaneous - 244; Converts to Judaism - 22; Karaites - 19

(D. Gurevitz, The Jews of Jerusalem - A Demographic-Sociological Study, 1941)

1948 About 165,000

Jews - 100,000, Moslems - 40,000, Christians - 25,000

(Z. Vilnay: Jerusalem - The Old City - 1962)

In the aftermath of the Arab assault on renascent Israel in the spring and summer of 1948, Jerusalem emerged from that conflict a divided city - half of it in Israel, the other half in territory that was later to be annexed by Jordan. The figures for 1949 and subsequent years, therefore, up to the time the city was reunified in 1967, apply to part of the city only. The figures are from the Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 11, 1959, p. 16 and the Israel Government Census of 1961.

	(Israeli part of Jerusalem)
1949	About 69,000

Jews - 68,041, Christians - 931, Moslems - 28

1950 (31 December)	121,000
1951	137,500
1952	139,000
1953	143,500
1954	144,000
1955	146,000
1956	149,440

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1956 (Jordanian part of Jerusalem)

Moslems and Christians of various sects 46,000

(Les Guides Bleus: Moyen Orient, 1956, p. 482)

According to another source of the same year - 51,000

(H. Wilcke, Jordanien und Libanon, 1956 p. 113)

1957 (Israeli part of Jerusalem)

152,500

1958 156,000

(Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 11, 1959, p. 16)

1959 About 160,000

Jews - 158,500, Christians - 1,000, Moslems - 500

1961 166,300

(Israel Government Census, 1961)

1967 263,309

Jews - 195,700, Moslems - 54,963, Christians - 12,646

(Israel Central Bureau of Statistics)

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V/1968 דוח

REPORT ON REUNIFIED JERUSALEM

The Integration of the Arab Citizens into the Life of the Reunified City

Since the end of the War, with the removal of the physical barriers which separated the two halves of the city for twenty years, the Municipality has earnestly sought to find paths to the hearts of Jerusalem's new Arab citizens. Its aim is to give these Arab citizens confidence that the Municipality is looking after their economic, cultural and social needs, just as much as it does for Jerusalem's Jewish citizens.

There were many urgent problems which called for immediate solution after the War. Essential services had to be restored, such as water, electricty, health and telephone services to hospitals and doctors se lines had been cut in the course of the hostilities.

Pains were taken to cope with these immediate needs as swiftly as possible. A great deal of ground has been covered in renewing normal life in the eastern part of the city. As a result citizens of East Jerusalem regard the Municipality as the address for all their problems.

Aid to Institutions and Individuals to Repair War Damage

The following is a partial record of financial assistance extended:

a. A grant of IL160,000 to the Armenian Church.

b. A grant of IL3,000 to the Children's Hospital.

c. A grant of IL7,000 to the YMCA.

d. A grant of IL25,000 to the Dormition Abbey.

e. Assistance in the form of equipment and medicines worth hundreds of pounds monthly to the Red Crescent First Aid Station.

f. A fund to grant loans for a seven-year period at low rates of interest to Arab citizens whose homes were damaged.

g. In collaboration with the Ministry of Housing, a fund for grants to residents of the Mograbi Quarter, in the vicinity of the Western Wall. The value of each grant is equivalent to the difference between two years' rent of the former dwelling and the rent paid for its replacement: about 150 dwelling were involved, and the grants were in the region of IL1,000 per householder. The same arrangement has been made for Arabs evacuated from the Jewish Quarter, who were not in fact entitled to any compensation, because they had squatted there after the Quarter was seized by the Arab Legion in the 1948 War of Independence, and its Jewish occupants expelled. Squatters who took over synagogues, theological seminaries and religious institutions have even less right to be indemnified on eviction now, but they are also benefiting from the fund when renting alternative accomodation, if their social situation justifies this.

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Economy and Employment

The regular budget for financial year 1968/69 has been fixed at IL10 million as compared with IL2.5 million (300,000 Jordanian dinars) last year. To this a development budget is to be added.

In collaboration with the Treasury, the Municipality established a revolving fund of IL1,000,000 to grant loans at a low rate of interest to Arab merchants and tradesmen whose accounts were frozen in Jordanian banks. The loans provide them with working capital and credits, and enable them to replace their stock and improve their businesses. Up to April 1968 IL800,000 have been drawn from this revolving fund.

As far as Arab municipal taxpayers in East Jerusalem are concerned, the Municipality has laid down a policy of progressive taxation, aimed at reaching the level of tax applying to Jewish residents of West Jerusalem, within four years.

All Arab municipal employees who served during the Jordanian occupation have been absorbed, without loss of status, into the Municipality staff. Some 500 persons are involved, and their salaries are a considerable burden on the budget.

The Municipality is in continuous contact with the Government Employment Service and does its best to find jobs through it for Arab unemployed. Government relief projects have been started for "white collar" workers. Nowadays, it is a common sight, each morning, to see hundreds of Arab workers from East Jerusalem coming to their jobs in the Western half of the city, in garages, on building sites, hotels, workshops, and factories. Of the 2,460 Arab job-seekers in East Jerusalem, some three quarters have already been found work.

Plans are being worked out for the development of the villages which are within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem (Issawiya, Sur Baher, Tuba). The plans include paving of roads, sewage, lighting etc.

The Old City Wall is being surrounded with a "green belt" of parks. The gates of the Wall, damaged during the fighting, are being repaired. This was one of the recommendations of Brown Engineers International made to the Arab Municipality in 1963 in the wake of a UNESCO commission which had been worried by the deterioration of the Old City under Jordanian occupation. With the rest of their recommendations it had been shelved.

Hotels are fully booked till the end of July 1968. New hotels are being built.

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The retail trade is flourishing as never before.

Lines of public transport which had been disrupted because of the division of the city since 1948 have been resumed and direct lines run again between Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron.

The Israel National Insurance has opened a branch in East Jerusalem.

Education, Culture, and Sports

All primary schools in East Jerusalem are open, and cater to a pupil-roll of some 8,500. For the first time registration has been started for Nursery schools and 5-year olds (who receive compulsory free education in Israel). It is expected that about 5,000 children will benefit.

Parents were not coerced to send their children to school, but, were convinced, in fair and frank talks, that keeping them out of school would only harm. In view of the vicious propaganda spread that the Jews intended to force Moslem children into conversion, representatives of the parents were shown the textbooks in use in Arab schools in Israel, including textbooks for religious instruction. The parents soon realized that Arab schools in Israel teach Islam just as much and even more than schools following the Jordanian curriculum.

In place of the veteran teachers who at first refused to return to their classes, the Municipality engaged two hundred new ones, drawn from Arab intellectuals in East Jerusalem. Many had been teachers in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrein, others were qualified, but had not yet taught. Now the veteran teachers have returned to work.

The East Jerusalem Public Library has been reopened and three thousand books have been added to it; it is being directed by the same two Arab librarians as previously.

A special course (Ulpan) for the study of Hebrew has been opened in an East Jerusalem high school. There were seventeen students when it started three months ago. Today there are more than three hundred. Lessons are held in the evening, and there is only a token fee.

All Arab municipal employees took a two-month course in Hebrew at the Municipality's expense during working hours, at a special course in the West Jerusalem City Centre.

Arabic language course have been organized for Jewish employees.

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Lectures are held in East Jerusalem on such subjects as "Administrative and Judicial Procedures in Israel." "The State Taxation System," and "The National Insurance Law". The lecturers are judges, Arab lawyers from Israel, and Jewish intellectuals hailing from Arab countires. Attendance was meagre at the beginning, but has improved remarkably of late, with the audience participating attentively and putting many questions.

Courses have been started for graduates of secondary schools to train them for clerical work.

Close ties were established with youth and sports clubs in East Jerusalem. Club premises were renovated and expanded, and games and sports equipment supplied. An East Jerusalem boxing team was provided with the facilities of a modern gymnasium in West Jerusalem.

In August 1967, representatives of youth and sports clubs were taken on a tour of the Tel Aviv Youth City. Fifty young people took part, and struck up friendly conversations with Jewish youngsters there. Later in the evening, a symposium was held on social problems common to Jewish and Arab youth in Israel. The East Jerusalem delegation was deeply impressed by the arrangements at the Youth City, and expressed the desire to work in unison for a harmonious existence between Arab and Jewish youth in reunified Jerusalem.

In collaboration with the Information Centre in the Prime Minister's office, excursions are being arranged for youth groups from East Jerusalem to all parts of Israel. These afford the opportunity of social encounters with Jewish and Arab youth in Israel.

As early as July 1967, a basketball tournament was held for the Mayor's Cup. Students from Arab schools in East Jerusalem competed in friendly spirit with Jewish students from West Jerusalem. Since then, an increasingly large number of sports meets and contests have taken place. Mixed basketball and volleyball teams, with Arab and Jewish players, have been organized to compete against teams from other cities.

A joint Arab-Jewish Youth Centre will shortly be established in East Jerusalem, and a large sports ground is being prepared as a centre of sports activities for Arab and Jewish boys and girls.

Two variety evenings were held in East Jerusalem cinemas during the fast-month of Ramadan. The programme was devoted to oriental music, and included Kol Israel's Oriental Music Ensemble, and Arab vocalists and entertainers from East Jerusalem, as well as a play, staged by an Arab company from Nazareth.

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Public Relations

A series of "Question-and-Answer Evenings" is being held in East Jerusalem to afford a closer knowledge of the problems occupying the minds of its Arab citizens. Participants submit their questions in writing ahead of time at the Municipality, and come along to the "Question-and-Answer Evening" to receive their replies from the Directors of City Departments.

The questions concern taxes, education, employment, roads, water, drainage, and so forth. Anyone who has attended cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that Jerusalem's Arab citizens are taking an interest in their city, and are prepared to cooperate fully with the Municipality in its development and in the improvement of its services.

Representatives of the Arab public from East Jerusalem attend public functions arranged by the Municipality, such as the reception tendered on Succoth - Feast of Tabernacles - at the municipal Sukkah in the City Park. Another reception took place on 28 December at the Municipal Council Chamber, for representatives of the Jewish, Moslem and Christian communities, to mark the festivals of Chanukah, Id el-Fitr, and the New Year.

Public Order

Since Israeli administration has taken over, there has not been a single clash or case of assault for communal reasons.

Health

The Histadruth Sick Fund has opened 2 clinics in East Jerusalem and the Ministry of Health has opened Mother and Child clinics which are being attended by thousands of mothers.

All hospitals operating in East Jerusalem previously are open to the public and new ones are contemplated. Many Arabs however, prefer to use the services open to them in the Hadassah Hospital.

Jerusalem, 23 April 1968

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משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק יוצא-מסווג

ש מ ו ר

אל: בוגוטה, הלסינקי, פריס, קסבנדו, אסונסיון,
דאקר, לונדון, לוסקה, רומא, אוטבה, האג, בריסל, שטוקהולם, קופנהאגן, אוסלו, ניו-יורק
מאת: המשרד

חדזם: 113

בשלח: 30.4.69

מ י י ד י

חוקי ירושלים.

1. הוחלט להאריך המועדים הקבועים בחוק הסדרי משפט וסיבהל 1968 (ראו בנדון י.ב. 2677 מיום 12.8.68) ולכן אישרה הממשלה ביום 27.4.69 פרסום תקנות ע"י השרים השונים והארכת מועדי הרישום השונים בששה חדשים נוספים, כלומר עד 23.11.69.

2. יחד עם זאת ובכדי לפתור הבעיה המיבהלית שבחיוב אזרחי מזרח ירושלים לבקום בצווים לרישום ורישוי עסקיהם הוחלט לאשר פרסום תקנות לשעת חרום המאפשרות לישום חברות על ידי שר המשפטים מזה והסמכת השרים הנוגעים בדבר מזה לראיה אוטומטית של רשיונות המקצועות והעיסוקים שהוצאו על ידי הירדנים כרשיונות שלנו.

3. הנ"ל לידיעתכם ולשימוש אם וכאשר הנושא יתעורר. דברי הסבר נוספים בדיפ.

מאום ב' מ משפט

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(N) Jerusalem Post 29.4.69

'Automatic licences' in East Jerusalem

SHALOM COHEN, Jerusalem Post Diplomatic Correspondent

East Jerusalem companies and occupations are to be registered and issued Israel licences without their applying and completing the usual procedures. This was the meaning of Sunday's Cabinet decision empowering the Justice Minister to simplify procedures.

The new arrangement applies mainly to East Jerusalem companies and partnerships. Virtually all trades and occupations are said to have already applied for licences. These include shops, restaurants, hotels, travel agencies, bus lines and drivers, taxicab drivers, tourist guides, antique dealers, and artisans. Some doctors have also registered. Most companies had so far failed to apply.

The move to license automatically the remaining members of professions — said to number about 50 — was said to have followed suggestions by prominent members of the East Jerusalem community for emergency procedures enabling people and companies to be registered without applying.

The new provision for tradesmen's occupations, which was signed and gazetted Sunday, says that the pertinent Minister may declare by order that such a person shall be deemed to be the holder of a licence from such day as determined by the Minister in the order. The regulation also states that whoever is deemed to be the holder of such a licence shall be deemed for every purpose to have obtained a licence under Israel law. The names of the licenced persons will be gazetted.

Under another order gazetted Sunday, the Justice Minister will publish lists of companies and partnerships — said to number about 100 — deemed as registered.

The registering, for both categories, companies and occupations, applies to those which had been licensed under Jordanian law. The automatic registration dispenses with normal Israel requirements, such as documents detailing size of premises, presentation of professional credentials, and the like.

The East Jerusalem licensing by application stemmed from the 1968 Legal and Administrative Provisions law, whereby a company, or person engaged in any trade or occupation could apply within a six months period to obtain, in the case of the former, registration, and for the latter, a licence. The deadline was subsequently extended by three months to the coming May 23. The Cabinet Sunday added a further six months extension, said to be for technical reasons. The new procedure for automatic registration came in the form of emergency regulations under the 1948 Administration Ordinance Law, an enabling law. East Jerusalem lawyers were automatically licensed earlier this year under a similar order.

Solidarity rallies held on campuses for Soviet Jewry

Jerusalem Post Staff

"Although our soldiers are being killed daily and we are all deeply involved n the current situation in our region, when we heard of the attempted suicide f Eliahu Rips, we realized once again that this was also a front in our national truggle," Gideon Hausner, M.K., said yesterday. He was speaking at a rally t the Hebrew University called to protest the plight of Soviet Jewry. The rally as attended by the president of the Hebrew University, Mr. Avraham Harman, Dean of Students Yeheskiel Cohen and over 700 students and faculty.

Similar meeting were held on campuses l over Israel.

"All this boy wanted was to come here nd perhaps be one of you students," Mr. ausner continued. "All we can do is to and back and marvel at his courage."

Mr. Harman said that the Jews of the oviet Union were simply asking for the ame freedom as any other people — the ght to practise their culture and relion and "to live where they want to ve." Eliahu Rips, Mr. Harman said, "had cted in the name of half a million opressed Soviet Jews."

Although the Students' Union had ear-er in the day tried to get Deputy Prime linister Yigal Allon to address them, it understood from student sources that e decided not to come since reports of ips' attempted suicide were still not offially confirmed. The Union had also tried arrange a pause of studies between and 3 p.m. and asked the Ministry of ducation to devote an hour of the day high schools towards discussing the rity with Soviet Jewry on Sunday night. The Technion students did not hold a meeting, because they did not manage to make the arrangements in time.

"One million Russian Jews would come to Israel if only the gates were opened," Mrs. Rachel Yana'it Ben Zvi, widow of the late President, said yesterday at a meeting of the students of the Negev Institute in Beersheba.

All classes were cancelled for the meeting and about 200 students assembled to demonstrate solidarity with Eliyahu Rips, the Russian Jewish student from Riga who set himself on fire in protest against the condition of Russian Jewry.

Mrs. Ben Zvi requested a continuous clamour from Israel, with the message, "Let My People Go."

THE SIXTH BOOKLET in Arabic on the activities of the West Bank Military Government, including social welfare, health, trade and this year's budget for the area, has been distributed to mayors and notables in the West Bank.

Politbureau to