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מדינת ישראל

גנזך המדינה

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מס' תיק

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מס' תיק מקורי



מחלקה יו"ד וס"ג
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מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד

341

ירושלים (תוכנית)

יושבים בן החומות,

1977

מחלקה

ירושלים, כ"א באב תשל"ז
5.8.1977

ירושלים
10/10/77

לכבוד
מר ש. כץ
יועץ ראש הממשלה להסברה
משרד ראש הממשלה, הקריה
ירושלים

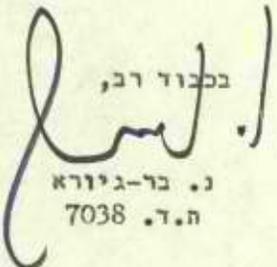
א.נ.נ.

רצ"ב החבורה "ירושלים בין החומות" שכתבתי אותה
כהושב העיר העתיקה כיום, לאחר ששגריר ארה"ב א. סקרנסון הכריז באו"ם
לפני כשנתיים שאין ליהודים מה לחפש בין החומות.

המהדורה האנגלית המורחבת הוצאתי לאור לפני חודשים ומשרד
החוץ רכש והפיץ למעלה מ-10.000 עותקים.

לדעתי חשוב שבני בריה ומי שאינם בני בריה ידעו שאנו יושבים
בירושלים בזכות.

אשמח אם תמצא ענין בחוברת זו.

בכבוד רב,

נ. בר-גורא
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Teddy Kollek

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.



July 1977

Jerusalem—*Teddy Kollek*

Teddy Kollek

JERUSALEM

The place of Jerusalem in the process of seeking peace in the Middle East is unique. Its historical, emotional and international complexities set it apart from other issues which may be solved on the basis of mutually agreed boundaries. The questions that the Arabs raise about Jerusalem cannot be decided by drawing a line. The future of Jerusalem cannot be resolved by division.

This does not mean that Jerusalem is "an insoluble problem." It means that Jerusalem's people of differing faiths, cultures and aspirations must find peaceful ways to live together other than by drawing a line in the sand with a stick. It is no solution to build again concrete walls and barbed wire through the middle of the city.

The problem of Jerusalem is difficult because age-old and deeply felt emotions are encrusted over the rationality necessary to find solutions. But I am convinced that these solutions can be found by men of good will.

Let me be perfectly candid. The thing I dread most is that this city, so beautiful, so meaningful, so holy to millions of people, should ever be divided again; that barbed wire fences, mine fields and concrete barriers should again sever its streets; that armed men again patrol a frontier through its heart. I fear the re-division of Jerusalem not only as the mayor of the city, as a Jew and as an Israeli, but as a human being who is deeply sensitive to its history and who cares profoundly about the well-being of its inhabitants.

Jerusalem is, of course, one of the oldest cities. Signs of human habitation have been found dating back at least 4,000 years. In the course of these millennia it has been coveted and conquered by a host of peoples: Canaanites, Jebusites, Jews, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Crusaders, Mamelukes, Ottomans, British, Jews. But throughout those thousands of years, Jerusalem has been divided for less than two decades — from 1948 to 1967. It must never again be divided. Once more to cut this living city in two would be as cruel as it is irrational.

Why have all these successive peoples sought this city? It has no

natural resources; it has no port; it has no material wealth. It has been coveted primarily for spiritual reasons; it was the site of the Temple of the Jews, the site of the Crucifixion of Jesus and the place from which Mohammed rose to Heaven.

The fact that all three great monotheistic religions find meaning in Jerusalem cannot be a random accident. I think the reason is clear. First of all, Jerusalem is a beautiful place set in the mystical Judaeen Hills, conducive to meditation and thought and wonder at the meaning of life. And secondly, for all their tensions and exclusiveness, the three great religions are historically deeply inter-related. Jesus came to Jerusalem because he was a Jew who made the pilgrimage to the City of David and the Temple. Mohammed, whose roots were in Mecca and Medina, is said to have visited Jerusalem during his night ride because his ideas and his vision were interrelated with Judaism and Christianity. We must live with the reality of these connections. For centuries men have fought and died because of them. But I am not alone in feeling intensely that men can also live in brotherhood because of them.

These very connections make any division of Jerusalem a senseless exercise. The remaining Western Wall of the Temple enclosure, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock are all in the Old City within yards of each other. The Dome of the Rock is actually on top of the Temple Mount, the very site of the Temple of the Jews.

In 1947, as the British were about to relinquish their Mandate over Palestine, the United Nations, in addition to its partition recommendations, proposed to make Jerusalem an internationalized city. This solution proved unacceptable to both Muslims and Jews. Immediately following the passage of the United Nations resolution the Arabs initiated violent attacks on the Jews of Jerusalem. At the end of the generalized and prolonged fighting which followed, the Arabs held East Jerusalem and the Old City, and the Jews, West Jerusalem.

The Vatican supported internationalization at that time. But the Roman Catholic Church, although of great influence in the world, is only one element among the more than 30 Christian denominations in Jerusalem. The Catholics, for example, own about 17 percent of the Christian Holy Places. Apart from this, however, for various reasons the emphasis of the Vatican seems over the years to have been greatly modified. Nor is internationalization supported by other leading Christian communities in Jerusalem.

The religious tenets of the Muslims exclude internationalization because they reject the idea that the Temple Mount—the Haram—

should be ruled by infidels. From that point of view Dr. Waldheim is as much an infidel as I am. Moreover, it does not accord with their political aspirations. As to the Jews the centrality of Jerusalem in Jewish faith and tradition and the intensity of Jewish feeling about Jerusalem are reflected in the 2,000-year-old prayer repeated throughout the centuries, "Next year in Jerusalem." This symbolizes not only a religious hope but memories of ancient glories under Jewish rule and an unyielding struggle for their revival. All this is expressed for Jews in the word "Jerusalem." The Jewish people cannot give up Jerusalem, nor can or will they ever again remove their capital from Jerusalem.

But independent of these intense feelings, internationalization will not work for pragmatic reasons. Past experience, whether in Trieste or in Danzig, has shown its unworkability. In the case of Danzig indeed it contributed to bringing on a world war.

A city cannot be run by a committee, particularly a city of such complexities and diversities as Jerusalem. Before building a road or a sewage system, the committee members would have to refer back to their foreign offices or to a United Nations bureaucracy. And who would pay the bills? Jerusalem is not an industrial city; its economy is based on government and education and tourism, and it does not have the taxing power to pay for itself. Today it is supported by the state of Israel. To this should be added that Israel's experience in the United Nations of recent years has been traumatic and there is little or no confidence that an international body, which presumably would operate under the authority of and reflect various power elements in the United Nations, would be either impartial or effective.

The mayor of Jerusalem does not make foreign policy; that is the function of Israel's national government. But when I look at the future of Jerusalem, there are two premises with which virtually everyone in Israel agrees. Those are the premises I have already suggested: that Jerusalem shall remain undivided and that it shall remain the capital of Israel. All Jerusalemites of every persuasion demand that, under whatever political solution, the city will remain accessible to all and the rights of every religion to its holy places will be preserved.

These two conditions have now existed for ten years—since the city was so unexpectedly unified when the Jordanians attacked Israel in the June 1967 War. And I think that the history of relations in Jerusalem between Jews, Arabs and Christians during this decade points to the kind of solution we should eventually evolve for Jerusalem.

Tensions do exist today in the city and nobody can deny them. But it was a much less happy city when walls and barbed wire divided it; and it was certainly a more violent city than it is today. We have made progress towards a city of tolerant coexistence in which common interests are emerging, and we have established crucial principles that make continuing progress possible. Four of these principles are:

1. There shall be free access to all the Holy Places and they shall be administered by their adherents.
2. Everything possible shall be done to ensure unhindered development of the Arab way of life in the Arab sections of the city and to ensure the Arabs a practical religious, cultural, and commercial governance over their own daily lives. The same holds true, of course, for the various Christian communities.
3. Everything possible should be done to ensure equal governmental, municipal and social services in all parts of the city.
4. Continuing efforts should be made to increase cultural, social and economic contacts among the various elements of Jerusalem's population.

And, in fact, civic affairs, law enforcement, infrastructure services, urban planning, marketing and supply, and to a great extent specialized medical services are centrally provided to all Jerusalemites.

Let me briefly discuss these four principles.

First, the Holy Places. Throughout their occupation of East Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967, the Jordanians reneged on their commitments under the Armistice Agreement to permit Jews to have access to and to pray at the Western Wall. Instead, there was a mass destruction of Jewish synagogues, and other religious shrines were desecrated. There was a ban on the acquisition of land by Christian churches in any part of East Jerusalem. We have no reason to think the Arabs would act differently in the future. They have not in the meantime become more tolerant.

Ever since the reunification of the city by Israel, access has been opened to all Holy Places for all religions and sects. Today Christians administer Christian Holy Places and Muslims administer Muslim Holy Places. Israel is a tolerant enclave in an intolerant part of the world.

In practice satisfactory working arrangements have evolved for the Holy Places. The Arabs have independent administration without interference, and we maintain sovereignty. International law-

yers would no doubt find it a problem to formulate these arrangements in a way satisfactory to both sides. But in practice it exists and works well.

The Temple Mount—a small area of 40 or 50 acres—is the most delicate problem. It is under Arab administration and Israeli sovereignty. After the fire set by a demented Australian fundamentalist Christian to the Al Aksa Mosque on the Temple Mount in 1969, the Arabs asked us to help guard this "Holy Enclosure." For the previous years, we had had no actual signs of our sovereignty on the Temple Mount. But then, at the Muslims' request, we appointed policemen to protect the Muslim Holy Places. No details were discussed, but the police unit guarding the Temple Mount is commanded by a Muslim officer and manned by a mixture of Muslim, Jewish and Christian policemen. This arrangement is based on a tacit de facto understanding emerging from the necessities of a complicated situation.

More recently, tension was caused when a group of young Jews attempted to pray on the Temple Mount in violation of present regulations and despite the fact that the Chief Rabbinate of Israel has prohibited religious Jews from even visiting the Temple Mount, because they may inadvertently step on the place where only the High Priest was allowed in ancient days.

Arab members of the Israeli police force stationed on the Temple Mount arrested the young men and brought them to trial. The magistrate found in favor of the Jewish boys and ruled that there is an inherent Jewish right to pray on the Temple Mount. Sensing a storm, I pressed the government for an immediate policy statement. In response, the Minister of Police issued a statement forbidding prayers on the Temple Mount. But the crisis was more serious than the government anticipated. Arabs, drawing on their concept of their own governments and courts, could not believe that a magistrate would make such a decision without prior authorization from a political authority. They suspected a salami tactic to take the Temple Mount from them slice by slice.

A reassuring statement from either the Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice might perhaps have been helpful. But the facts that the affair was still in judicial hands and that there is in Israel a clear distinction between judicial and administrative functions were no doubt inhibiting factors. Meanwhile, against the background of the fighting in the Lebanon and unrelated tensions in the West Bank, the fat was in the fire. There followed a series of serious demonstrations in the city.

Fortunately, however, the vast majority of Muslims in Jerusalem

did not participate in the disturbances. Subsequently the Israel High Court overruled the decision of the magistrate. To me the whole incident was proof that there is a possibility of living together.

III

Second, unhindered development of the Arab way of life in the Arab sections of the city and Arab autonomy over their own daily lives:

We are, in American terms, a moderate-sized city—in all 370,000 of whom about 260,000 are Jews, about 90,000 Muslim Arabs and 15,000 Christians. Of the Christians, the majority are Armenians, Greeks, Ethiopians and members of various other venerable denominations. Roughly the same proportion between Jews and non-Jews has continued since the first unofficial census was taken in 1840 when the Jews were first recorded a majority in the city.

We are not trying to create a monolithic melting pot in Jerusalem. What we are trying to do is preserve, in this multi-cultural mosaic of a pluralistic society, the traditions that have existed in the city for centuries.

If you had walked into the city a hundred years ago, you would have found the same patterns. It comprised then only the small area enclosed by the City walls, just about one square kilometer. Entering through the Jaffa Gate, you would have found an Armenian Quarter, a Greek Quarter, a Latin Quarter, several little enclaves of Copts, Abyssinians and other Christian groups, a very large Muslim Quarter and an even larger Jewish Quarter. There was no intermarriage and not much social contact but relations were on the whole reasonable and bearable. The basic idea was that each person felt himself superior to everyone else.

These separate entities still exist today and we have built on them and on that tradition. Jerusalem's Jews consist of oldtimers and natives of the city and recent immigrants, coming from over a hundred different cultural backgrounds. This great Jewish variety has its own loyalties and aspirations. Among the Christian groups are Arabs—mainly Protestants and some Uniates—who have Arab national loyalties. Sometimes these feelings are very strong because minorities tend to try to give proof of stronger loyalties than secure majorities.

The majority of Christians in Jerusalem have only one desire, namely to continue their own way of life as they have done for a very long time. The Greek Patriarchs go back to the first century; the Armenians have been here since the fifth century. The Chris-

tians in the city measure every government by the freedom given them to run their affairs undisturbed. That is their loyalty.

We don't interfere with them, their Holy Places, their pilgrimages or their schools. We help wherever and whenever we are asked to do so. The Jordanians had imposed two restrictive laws. One forced the Christian schools to give equal time to the Bible and the Koran; the other restricted Christian orders or foreigners from buying land or building churches. We have abolished both laws, and in fact four new major churches have since been built or are under construction. Like the Muslims, the Christians have authority over their own institutions and Holy Places. We do everything possible to help them maintain them.

The Arabs are in a difficult position: some, perhaps many, must have been proud when Arafat appeared before the United Nations. And yet I believe that most of them do not really expect or wish the Palestine Liberation Organization to solve their intricate problems nor regard the PLO ideology as desirable, let alone tenable. This is not because they are pro-Israel or pro-Zionist. Their fundamental goal is to remain in Jerusalem and to preserve the Arab character of their part of the city. That is their loyalty. The PLO threatens to put all this in jeopardy.

During the 19 years of Jordanian rule, Jerusalem experienced an emigration of Arabs. It was a dead-end city and all the opportunities were in Amman or in the oil countries. Christians tended to emigrate to North and South America. In order for the Arabs to remain here, they need a flourishing economic life. Today, they have economic prosperity and employment. And since their economy is to a great extent based on cooperation with the Jewish economy, terrorism and the PLO are not in the interests of local Arab nationalism and the continuation of the Arab presence in Jerusalem.

They face another danger. When the Mufti of Jerusalem fought the British and the Jews in the Palestine of the British Mandate in the 1930s, more Arabs who opposed him were killed by him and his henchmen than were British and Jews put together. About 500 Jews and 150 British lost their lives, while about 1,200 Arab civilians and 2,000 gang members were killed by their own brother Arabs. The Mufti was the father of the present-day PLO ideology of a monolithic and militant Arab Palestine nationalism. Jerusalem's Arabs fear a repetition of such internal terrorism if the PLO were to take over, particularly in the light of what has happened in Algeria and Lebanon.

There is, unfortunately, little tolerance today in Islam. To those

who follow it closely, Islam seems on the march again, riding on the power and riches of oil which are expected to revive ancient glories and make amends for Tours and Vienna.

Many have already suffered at the hands of this revived intolerance: the Christian Maronites of Lebanon, the black Christians and pagans in the Sudan, the Jews in Syria, the Copts of Egypt and the Kurds of Iraq (for not being ethnically Arab). All have experienced varying degrees of persecution or outright genocide.

But to return to Jerusalem, our efforts to help the Arabs preserve their way of life in the city during the past decade have taken many forms:

The only place in the Arab world where there is a free press—free not only to criticize the Israeli government in the most violent terms, but also to criticize Arab leadership—is in Jerusalem, where three Arab dailies are published. This contrasts with the fact that several months before the Six Day War the Jordanian government decided to suppress the semi-independent newspapers of Jerusalem and replace them by a single government-controlled daily.

There is freedom to travel. A Jerusalem Arab is free to decide any morning to cross the bridge into Jordan and to go from there to any country. He can go whenever he likes and come back whenever he likes. 150,000 Arabs come to Jerusalem every year from Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait and Libya and everywhere else in the Arab world. They carry passports of countries that are at war with us. And they are welcome, because we have undertaken to make the Holy Shrines accessible to everyone.

There is an Arab curriculum in the schools for Arab children, and these schools are entirely maintained by the city. During their three final school years, Arab children have the choice of a course of study designed to qualify them for acceptance by an Arab university in the neighboring Arab countries. This course is acceptable even to the Arab League, and inspectors recognized by the Jordanian Ministry of Education come to Jerusalem to supervise the university entrance examinations. If they so prefer, Arab students can take a different course of study during those last three years at school and go to an Israeli university.

The beginnings of post-secondary education started by a Catholic college in Bethlehem and continuation classes in the Anglican school are also contributing to the raising of Arab educational achievement.

The only change introduced into the former Jordanian curriculum—besides eliminating hate propaganda—provides for Arab children to learn Hebrew. At the same time Israel is making special

efforts to encourage the study of Arabic.

We have encouraged the growth of economic opportunities. We have built Arab vocational training schools and hope to build more, offering sophisticated subjects, such as electronics, computer technology, and others that will give Arab youth a chance to improve their standard of living and their self-respect. We are doing what we can to encourage Arab self-confidence and at the same time strengthen the Arab economy in Jerusalem.

And, finally, with few exceptions, the Arabs of Jerusalem are not only citizens of the city but remain citizens of Jordan at the same time. Few have in fact applied for Israeli citizenship and no pressure has been exerted on them to do so. We do not seek nor do we have any interest to break their ties to their families, their heritage and their culture. On the contrary, we encourage such links.

The Arab community of Jerusalem continues its public activities in various fields. Jerusalem houses the Association of Arab Free Professions of the West Bank, it has several Arab clubs, charitable societies, private schools and orphanages, etc.

All the measures we have taken thus far have been unilateral decisions of the Israeli government and the municipal administration. I have constantly advocated and called on the Arab citizens of the city to share actively in the decision-making process but so far with little success. Our efforts have been handicapped by the refusal of the Arab leadership to hold political office or openly to participate in the city's elected government. At the same time, many Arabs hold high appointed municipal office and well over 20 percent of the city's employees are Arabs, while almost all the former Arab municipal employees have continued in their jobs. Thousands of Arabs vote in our municipal elections (without accepting the principle of Israeli sovereignty); but fears lest running for municipal office be interpreted as accepting Israeli governance have prevented local leaders from standing for election in the municipal administration.

In practice we have overcome this problem in several ways. There is a Supreme Muslim Council which serves as the authority for Muslim affairs under non-Muslim rule. The Council was originally created by the British in 1921, later suspended by the Jordanian government and transferred to Amman, and reestablished in Jerusalem after the Six Day War. Though it is a self-appointed body not officially recognized by Israeli authorities, we deal with its leaders on day-to-day matters on a *de facto* basis.

We on our part have appointed an adviser on East Jerusalem affairs. He is a Jew and two of his three assistants are East Jerusa-

lem Arabs. They keep in touch with the Arab community in many informal ways, learning its needs and helping to solve its problems.

Communication is also maintained through the ancient system of Mukhtars, or district leaders, each of whom is responsible for such matters as registering births, deaths, and land ownerships and notarizing documents in his locale. The 60 Mukhtars are not democratically elected by their constituents, but they act in the local tradition and perform useful functions.

The Chamber of Commerce of East Jerusalem performs numerous tasks which make possible the free flow of people and goods across the open bridges on the Jordan River. These include providing powers of attorney, authenticating high school diplomas for those wishing to study in Arab universities and so on. It also serves as a channel through which substantial amounts of Jordanian money are brought in to pay salaries to lawyers, teachers and others who in 1967 decided not to resume their work under the Israeli authorities.

In this manner and spirit we do our utmost both to retain flexibility and to reinforce contacts of all kinds with the Arab community of the city.

For some time now, I have envisioned a future structure in Jerusalem under which the city would be governed through a network of boroughs. Each borough would have a great deal of autonomy over its own municipal services and its life style. It would decide its own needs and priorities. It would be modeled not on the boroughs of New York but on those of London, which have their own budgets and a great deal of independence.

Of course, the borough idea is not a panacea. The Arabs will want the Temple Mount to be in their borough, and no Jew would agree to that. But the proposal does suggest an approach under which many of the aspects of everyday life can be delegated to local authorities, and the people of the various neighborhoods can feel some increasing control over their own lives and decisions.

By making our efforts permanent, by assuring their administration of the Temple Mount and by increasing their local autonomy, we hope to diminish any feeling among Jerusalem's Arabs that their way of life is threatened by Israeli sovereignty. We want to create a secure future for Arabs within the capital of Israel.

IV

The third principle we follow is that everything possible should be done to provide equal municipal and social services in all parts of the city.

We are doing this despite the fact that Jerusalem is a poor city. It has no great industrial base. Although presently there is full employment, the people have not been able to accumulate capital. The population of this city of immigrants, both Jews and non-Jews, has grown by 350 percent in 25 years—a record increase! Most of the city's Jews—60 percent—are refugees from Arab countries who arrived without means and without useful skills. We also have a great number of elderly people, including aged Jewish immigrants who have prayed all their lives to come to Jerusalem. And we have a disproportionate share of young people in schools—90,000 from nursery schools to the Hebrew University. Our actual labor force is smaller than in other places.

In spite of these difficulties, we have done a great deal to improve local services and to equalize opportunities. We have created jobs. We have made it possible for Arab lawyers and judges, doctors, dentists and pharmacists to practice their professions without passing Israeli qualification exams. We have permitted corporations and other businesses to operate without the licenses and registrations required by Israeli law. We have extended our social welfare program to East Jerusalem where none existed before. We have opened community health centers in Arab neighborhoods. We have improved schools and built new ones. We have brought roads and electricity to outlying districts for the first time. The East Jerusalem sewage system, which existed only within the city walls, is at least 300 years old and some of it goes back to Roman times. It could not absorb the great new quantities of water we provided, and we are now spending considerable public funds to improve it.

Let me cite one specific example to illustrate some of the problems we face and how we go about solving them: Within the boundaries of Jerusalem, there is an Arab village called Silwan with about 17,000 inhabitants. In 1948, there was no road at all to Silwan. The people used a donkey path that went through an ancient Jewish cemetery. In 1956, the people of Silwan decided they needed a paved road for vehicular traffic and so they poured concrete over the Jewish graves and built a road.

When the Jews returned in 1967, they set about restoring the graves of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers and proceeded to chop up the Jordanian road. The Arabs from Silwan naturally objected vociferously. Within days we took a decision to build an alternative road that would skirt the graves. We allocated \$1.5 million, raised the money and completed the road, preserving the graves and providing Silwan with an alternative road, thus

avoiding a possible serious clash.

The fourth principle by which we administer the city is that continuing efforts shall be made to increase cultural, social and economic contacts among all the various elements of Jerusalemites.

I see the future of the city dependent in considerable part on the close relationships that can develop between its various components. Today we have joint youth camps in the summer attended by 15,000 youngsters, Jews, Christians and Moslems. We have art classes for Arab as well as Jewish young people at the Israel Museum. Hundreds of Arab children attend these classes. Arabs visit and use Jewish clinics and hospitals. We have even built a garden for the blind, on a former battleground, where Jewish and Arab blind now meet. Of course, we are lucky in one respect: there is no color bar. You can walk through Jerusalem's streets and find Jews and Arabs working side by side, and you will not be able to differentiate between them.

Despite all our efforts, it is obvious that the Arabs in Jerusalem still do not accept being included within Israel's frontiers. But then it must not be forgotten that the city's Arabs also complained about occupation when the Turks, the British and the "Jordanian Bedouin" were in control. And they called it "occupation" even then! Under Jordanian rule, they felt that Jerusalem was neglected and that Amman was favored over Jerusalem, as indeed it was. The Jordanian government rejected the idea of establishing its capital in Jerusalem after it had decided to annex the West Bank and incorporate it in the Hashemite Kingdom. Instances of Jordanian neglect — and disrespect — for Jerusalem were numerous. To quote some: contrary to expectation and hope, the Jordanian government rejected a plea to establish an Arab university in Jerusalem and instead they built it in Amman. When the Hospital of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was about to be built, the Jordanians tried to persuade the Order of St. John to build its hospital in Amman. Only after the Order threatened not to build its hospital at all did it finally get the necessary permission to build in Jerusalem. No industry was started in Jerusalem. The largest single enterprise in Jordan-controlled Jerusalem, outside of hotels, was a cigarette factory that employed 12 people. Under Jordan's rule nothing was done to improve Jerusalem and there was widespread unhappiness during that time. People tend to forget such past unhappiness.

In the divided city there was, too, more violence than there is today. There was intermittent shooting across the border that ran through the city. Every year, people were killed or wounded. There was a feeling of claustrophobia in the city then. There was

no sense of freedom. Everywhere one went, the street ended abruptly with a sign: "Stop. Frontier. Danger Ahead." Today this is but a faint unpleasant memory of the past for Jew and non-Jew alike.

v

We do not want to make of Jerusalem a parochial city but to restore its ancient glory. We have built a handsome Israel Museum, perhaps the major museum of international art and archaeology between the Eastern Mediterranean and Tokyo. The Jerusalem Museum of Islamic Art and Culture, opened only a couple of years ago, is one of outstanding excellence. The Jerusalem Theater has given us a home for the performing arts. We have built an embryonic center for writers, artists and musicians, at Mishkenot Sha'ananim, to which such world-renowned figures as Pablo Casals, Isaiah Berlin, Friedrich Dürrenmat, Richard Burton, Saul Bellow, Stephen Spender, Alexander Calder, Robert Rauschenberg, Isaac Stern, Simone de Beauvoir, have already come and worked and contributed to the cultural life of the city.

We are deeply immersed in city planning to improve the quality of life in Jerusalem. Our present planning focuses on the Old City and its immediate surroundings. We are developing a green belt around the Old City at great expense. Jerusalem is, I believe, the only city in modern times to create, by purchase, a large central green area such as was preserved by the Boston Common, New York's Central Park, London's Hyde Park, and the Bois de Boulogne of Paris more than a century ago.

To guide us in our planning, we have established a Jerusalem Committee, a unique group of more than 60 eminent people from all over the world: philosophers, historians, theologians, city planners, educators, architects, writers, artists. They gather in Jerusalem periodically and observe what we are planning and what we are doing. Sometimes they criticize us severely; sometimes they praise us. We take the criticism to heart and carry out practically all their recommendations. As a result, Jerusalem is becoming increasingly a more beautiful city literally day by day.

Despite our good intentions and care, there have been controversies. One was over the building of housing for Jews in East Jerusalem outside the Old City walls. This dispute was hardly justified since we did not infringe on any Arab housing. We built mainly on rocky ground newly incorporated into the city. We used no wooded land or land that was employed for agriculture. We removed nothing of value. Our plans call for no further land expropriation in the future.

At the same time, we have provided for Arab expansion too. Jerusalem's Arabs have the highest birthrate in the world and need more and more room in which to live. City-guaranteed mortgages have encouraged several times the amount of annual housing construction that was carried out under Jordanian rule.

We have paid much attention to the beauty of the Old City. We have permitted no changes there. We are rebuilding to scale the Jewish Quarter that was destroyed by the Jordanians in 1948. We have started to replace the forest of television antennas that disfigure the Old City with a central antenna and cables.

We have been improving living space in the poorer neighborhoods. We have planted trees and modernized schools and improved roads and built playgrounds. We have taken special pains with garbage clearance. We have worked hard to make neighborhoods in which young people will not be ashamed to live. We do not want the younger generation to move out.

Another area of controversy has been our eagerness to reveal and preserve the great heritage of Jerusalem's past. We are preserving more than anyone ever thought could be preserved. For this we were condemned by UNESCO, which charged that we were changing the character of Jerusalem with our archaeological digs.

Arabs living far from Jerusalem and not knowing the truth may perhaps have been worried by our archaeological activities. Some Arabs may even fear that we want to rebuild the Temple and that to this end we would undermine or remove the buildings on the Temple Mount. Their fear is groundless. Jews are not allowed to build the Temple since Jewish religious tradition holds that the Temple is already built and is waiting in heaven for the Messiah to come, when it will descend into its appropriate place. Unless and until the Messiah should come, there is therefore no chance of our disturbing the Muslim Holy Places.

What has actually happened is entirely different. More Muslim antiquities have been unearthed by Israeli archaeologists in these past ten years than in all previous history, thus enriching tremendously the world's knowledge of the Muslim past.

We have other complications. For example, we are now building a road from Mount Zion toward the Dung Gate to relieve traffic in the Old City. In our work, we came upon several levels of remains, remnants of Jewish houses destroyed by Titus in 70 A.D., a Roman road of the second century, the ruins of a large church built by Justinian and on top of that several Crusader towers, and above this again, a moat of a 500-year-old Ottoman city wall which badly needed repair because of neglect by the Jordanians. Not only have

we changed the alignment of the road at substantial cost and inconvenience, but have also invested much effort and money in preserving the discoveries.

My point is that there is no connection between the complaints about our archaeological digs and reality. People abroad devise stories to feed their political propaganda. In reality we are beautifying, restoring, and preserving Jerusalem, not damaging it. The members of the Jerusalem Committee, people of standing, integrity and independent judgment, came and saw and approved.

VI

Jews care intensely about Jerusalem. The Christians have Rome and Canterbury and even Salt Lake City; Muslims have Mecca and Medina. Jerusalem has great meaning for them also. But the Jews have only Jerusalem and only the Jews have made it their capital. That is why it has so much deeper a meaning for them than for anybody else.

When the city was reunited ten years ago, all Jews, not only the religious but also the secular, felt the ancient prophecy fulfilled. Jerusalem was our capital even when we were not here—for 2,000 years. Nobody else ever made it their capital: on the two occasions the Arabs could have made Jerusalem their capital, they did not. In the Middle Ages they chose Ramle, near Tel Aviv, on the way to Jerusalem, and in 1948 they chose Amman, which they preferred to Jerusalem.

We do not aspire to find solutions to all the problems of the Middle East in Jerusalem. This is a complicated city with conflicting interests and it is impossible to satisfy all the wishes of everybody.

Sometimes people outside the Middle East ask: What is the relevance of what we are doing in Jerusalem in making the city viable, beautiful, peaceful, to the ultimate question of the sovereignty of the city?

We can only look at the situation realistically: If, at worst, Muslim and Jewish differences prove irreconcilable, we will have to live in tension for a long time. All the more reason to care for the city as much as we can to ensure its welfare and well-being in spite of the strains and stresses. If, at best, Jews and Arabs find accommodations that are acceptable to the aspirations of all three faiths, no one would argue that what we are doing for Jerusalem today has been irrelevant.

We want Jerusalem to remain a multi-cultural city—a mosaic of people. By trying to live together, by joining in many activities, and

by equalizing opportunities and social services, we hope to reduce clashes and lower tensions. There are certainly differences of religion, language, cultural attitudes and political aspirations. But I believe that if the Arabs of Jerusalem are encouraged to feel secure, it should be possible for all to live together in reasonable neighborly relations.

The bottom line is that Jerusalem must never again be divided — with barbed wire through its center, with separate police forces and separate flags. Let it be clearly understood, however, Jerusalem is and will remain the capital of Israel. Given that axiom, we have proven that others can coexist with us. By contrast, during the 19 years of Arab rule, Jews were totally eliminated and limitations imposed on Christians.

In this undivided city our objectives are free movement of people and goods, access to the Holy Places for all, the meeting of local needs, reasonable urban planning and development, the reduction of intercommunal conflicts and the satisfaction of international interests.

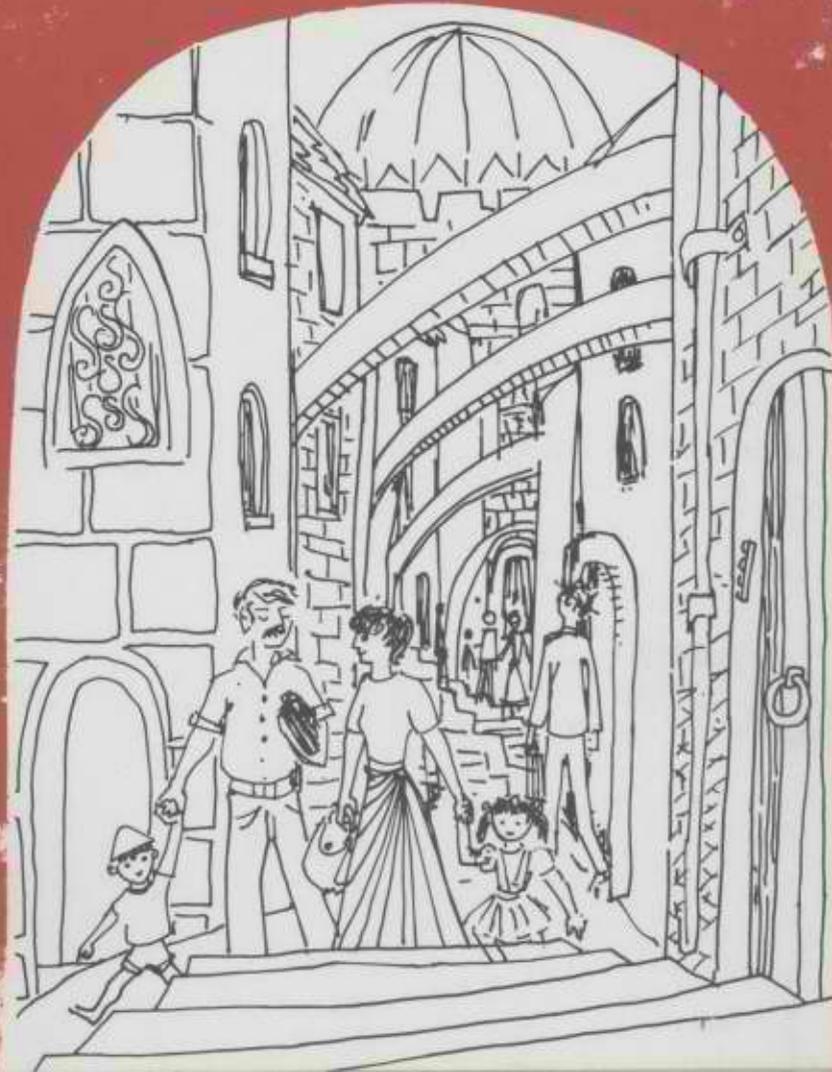
It is impossible to find a solution which will be fully satisfactory to everyone, and Jerusalem is not unique in this. One cannot make all the people happy all the time. But I feel we can justly claim that under our administration more problems have been solved for more people than under any previous administration.

To enable the city government to carry out the necessary adjustments, it has been suggested that a special Jerusalem law be promulgated, delegating to the city greater autonomy and greater rights, and putting at its disposal additional financial resources, as is done in many countries with regard to their capital cities. This will help provide the elasticity needed to cope with the problems of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious city, with sometimes sudden tension.

Within an undivided city, everything is possible, all kinds of adjustments can be made, all kinds of accommodations can be considered, all kinds of autonomy can be enjoyed, all kinds of positive relationships can be developed.

In 1967, when attacked by the Jordanians, the Jews were willing to sacrifice their lives for Jerusalem. They would again. There are some Israelis who would give up the Golan, some Israelis who would give up the Sinai, and some who would give up the West Bank. But I do not think you can find any Israelis who are willing to give up Jerusalem. They cannot and will not. This beautiful golden city is the heart and the soul of the Jewish people. You cannot live without a heart and soul. If you want one simple word to symbolize all of Jewish history, that word would be Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM WITHIN THE WALLS





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Centre Of The Jewish People

JERUSALEM is named over seven hundred and fifty times in the Bible. Zion is mentioned a hundred and eighty times. Taking together all names and synonyms of the city, the scriptural sum exceeds two thousand.



Courtyard in the Bate Mahse compound, 1912

Jerusalem is *'Ir Shalem*, our perfect City, our City of Peace. Too often laid waste by alien hosts, yet ever intact in every Jewish heart, never the capital of any conquering nation, Jerusalem was ever the unique national and religious metropolis of the Jewish people. The Romans may have changed its style to *Aelia Capitolina*, the Moslems may speak of it as *Al Kuds*. But for mankind and everlastingly it was, and is, Jerusalem.

With unbelievable tenacity and courage, exiled Jews generation after generation sought to go back to Zion - to revive in earthly shape the celestial Jerusalem that they had always in their hearts, carrying its image and its inspiration with them to the farthest corners of their Dispersion. Always at the centre of Jewish faith stood Jerusalem, the Eternal, indestructible, unconquerable. Not seldom was Jewry driven out of Jerusalem, but never was Jerusalem forsaken by Jewry. No foreign overlord, in fleeting occupancy, rebuilt the sections of the city where, in the days of the First and Second Temple, myriads of Jews had lived. Hardly a soul ventured to walk over the ruins; it was as though a dire spell had been cast over them. Jerusalem dwindled into the little market-place of an unimportant province of Rome and, eventually, of the Ottoman Empire, and finally neglected under Jordanian rule until 1967. According to our Sages, the "Almighty's presence was never lifted from the Western Wall." Even immediately after the destruction of the Second Temple there was, at all times, at least one Jew there to call in His name.

Sephardi Jews, those who never went into exile, and others who flocked back from all over the Middle East, the Arabian Peninsula, and North Africa, succeeded first clandestinely and later by permission in establishing a strong and vigorous community. It was this community, then populating the northern part of the Old City, later to be known as the Moslem Quarter, which participated gallantly in the defence of the city against the Crusaders. These were the only foreigners who ever made Jerusalem their capital, for about two hundred years. The fate of the Jews after the fall of Jerusalem on Friday, 15 July 1099, was a terrible one. Almost all of the men, women and children were slaughtered, their homes looted and all synagogues destroyed. The holy scrolls were turned into ashes.

For love of Jerusalem, the Jews bore the tyranny and torments of alien governance. Defiantly they formed an abiding community anchored in celebrated academies for the study of the Talmud. The *yeshivah* - which is the Hebrew

term – multiplied in the area known as the Upper City during the period of the Second Temple, subsequently to be styled 'the four Quarters' within the Walls.

The Jewish population mounted slowly until, in 1896, twenty-eight thousand dwelt within the Walls, more than three-fifths of the Old City's total then; in 1910, of a population of sixty thousand, over forty thousand were Jews. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this homecoming fragment of world Jewry, at times called *Shomre Hahomoth*, Watchmen of the Walls, was gratefully succoured by the

Diaspora. The Watchmen prayed as a learned and devout proxy for all Jews, and, by steadfast presence, ensured free access to the Kotel – the Western Wall – the one visible manifestation of bygone glory. They were a living link between exile and redemption for a scattered people. Long before Herzl wrote his 'Jewish State', they personified the Divine Promise of Return to Zion. They gave hopeful meaning to the invocation recited by every Jew daily: "Rebuild Jerusalem, Thy Holy City, speedily in our days!" – "Amen".



Western Wall at the turn of the century

The Capital City



British troops on Jaffa Street, 1917

The Jews were the first to live outside the Walls. By the 1850s, it was evident that there was not enough inner space for the thousands arriving year after year. Steamships plying the Mediterranean were easing the voyage and shortening it from several weeks to a few days. *Aliya*, (Jewish Immigration) was perceptibly speeded and enlarged. In 1860, Sir Moses Montefiore founded the first extra-mural neighbourhood west of the Old City, facing Mount Zion, and called it *Mishkenot Sha'ananim*, the 'abodes of the tranquil'. Further such neighbourhoods followed, thanks to enterprising generosity of individuals and institutions. Until the dawn of the twentieth century, only Jews and certain Christian denominations – as witness the American, German, Russian and Greek suburbs – had developed land beyond the Walls, Moslems, always a minority, stayed within.

In 1905, of some 60,000 inhabitants, two-thirds were Jews, and their number grew all the time in proportion to the other communal components. Under Jewish influence, the city began to take on a modern character in the new neighbourhoods, to which the centre of gravity now swung. Although a sizeable Jewry still dwelt within the Walls, Jewish merchants pursued their business ventures outside.

The meeting between Theodor Herzl, founder of modern Zionism, and Kaiser Wilhelm II at the Jaffa Gate in 1898, the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917, the entry of General Allenby on 11 December 1917, as Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force, were stages in a historical

sequence that heralded the recognition of the Holy City as once more the metropolis of Jewry, no longer a medley of venerable ruins.

Thence, throughout the period of the Mandate that climaxed in the War of Independence of 1948, one traces the path of the Jewish people, as step by step they achieved their legitimate political and national rights, in spite of Arab interference and alien obstructiveness.

The foundation of the Jewish Agency in 1921 and, with it, the establishment of 'ministerial' departments, of a Chief Rabbinate over which an Ashkenazi and a Sephardi Chief Rabbi presided, slowly gave the city the status of spiritual centre and headquarters of Zionism, no less, for all Jews. As a universal academy of Jewish learning and research, it attracted illustrious scholars in every discipline of Judaica, Science and the Humanities. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem was opened on Mount Scopus in 1925: its National Library was soon the largest and most authoritative source for enquiry into Judaica, with unique collections of rare manuscripts, documents and publications, and the Hadassah Medical Centre on the Mount marked a further step towards sovereign nationhood.

This progress, attributable in part to orderly administration, but chiefly to *aliya*, was reflected in Jerusalem. By 1931, 51,200 of its 90,500 residents were Jewish. The face of the city mirrored in its changes the economic and social advances taking place. A long-neglected and impoverished provincial town was transformed into a thriving metropolis.



General Allenby's departure outside Jaffa Gate Dec. 11, 1917



Yeshivat Porat Yosef, 1937

Jordanian occupation in May 1948, and the consequent splitting of the city by barbed wire and concrete barriers, meant severance of every-day contact between Arabs and Jews. And, as if the vandalism and profanation of Jewish homes and synagogues and graveyards were not enough, for nineteen years Amman denied East Jerusalem its fair due of economic backing.

At the end of 1949, West Jerusalem was declared the seat of Parliament and capital of Israel. A new Hadassah Medical Centre was built there, and the Hebrew University had a new campus. In 1950, Government ministries moved to Jerusalem. The majestic Parliament House was inaugurated in 1966, and in that year, too, the Shrine of the Book and the Israel Museum, nearby, gave lustre to the new landscape.

When, in June 1967, barbed wire was snapped and concrete barriers came thundrously down, the profitable partnership of Jerusalem's residents came alive again. Normality of relationships was largely restored. Jerusalem was again — and now for always — a unified city. By 1968, its census was 265,000, nearly 200,000 being Jews.

Economic integration and the realities of coexistence brought far-reaching benefits, although divisive political and social problems were yet unsolved, and almost all the Arabs of East Jerusalem hold Jordanian citizenship. Business is carried on as usual between Jew and Arab, but social intercourse is limited to meetings at work; at times, there are invitations to family celebrations.

Political tension may rise at times, with strikes, demonstrations and shop closures in East Jerusalem. Arab terrorism against Jews is, however, contained on the whole. Ultimately, an overall settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict will be the answer.

A spectacular result, admitted if not always advertised by the ecclesiastical leadership, is the uninhibited freedom of access for all faithful to every shrine, its inviolability, likewise, guaranteed by Israeli law. Traditional friction between Christian denominations, the age-old Moslem dislike of other creeds, have given way to mutual respect. Of this transformation, the Law for the Protection of Holy Places, promulgated within a fortnight of the end of the Six-Day War, is expression and assurance.

The bells in every steeple chime with the call of muezzin from every minaret, and are attuned to the murmur of Jewish prayer at the Western Wall.

This is Jerusalem, where peace and serenity shall ever reign.



Hagana soldiers capturing defence post, 1947



Hassidim rejoicing at the Western Wall, 1967

The Jews In All Four Quarters

One of the many false assumptions about the Jews dwelling in the Old City is that they were confined to what is known as the Jewish Quarter. In fact, for centuries the entire Old City had its Jewish inhabitants and, indeed, more Jews lived in the Moslem Quarter than in the Jewish in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Even when they were not a majority, they constituted a substantial minority. It was only after the First World War, with riots in 1929 and again in 1936, that Jews were gradually forced to withdraw from the other areas of the Old City and crowd into the Jewish Quarter. Not that many did not establish themselves outside the Walls in the zone that since 1860 has been described as 'Modern', or 'New', Jerusalem.

The crude and arbitrary division, dismembering the Old City into four allegedly distinct religious sections – the Jewish, Moslem, Christian and Armenian Quarters, has its origin in accounts, word-pictures, given by early travellers to European map-makers. The cartographers would base their drawings credulously on that imprecise and rudimentary

reporting. For instance, the Armenian Quarter is the milieu of an impressive concourse of churches of other denominations: Maronite, Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Anglican and Syrian. And the Via Dolorosa with its storied Stations of the Cross, so magnetic and meaningful for Christendom the world over, is wholly within the Moslem Quarter, many Christian churches and monasteries and convents flanking either side.

Major Jewish institutions, theological academies (*yeshivoth*) and synagogues were to be found far beyond the so-called Jewish Quarter. Between the Armenian and the Jewish Quarter is Habad Street, bespeaking the advent of the Russian Hassidim of the 'Habad' following – 'Habad' is an acronym of the Hebrew words for Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge – in the nineteenth century; the conventicle of those pietists is in worshipful use today, arisen out of the wreckage wrought by Jordanian mischief. Not far away was the famous Cabbalist *yeshiva Hessed-El* – God's Mercy, built in 1860 by a mystic Baghdadi Jew. Close to the church of

Saint George in the Armenian Quarter is a compound that was bought in 1604 by a rabbi from Turkey; it was owned by his descendants until almost 1948. The same Quarter also claimed a little enclave known as *Harat el-Yahud* (the Jewish sector), tenanted in part by the home and private synagogue of a Rabbi Zadok Krause of Hungary and by one or two other Jewish residences.

Among the great historical Jewish monuments in the Moslem Quarter there is first, topographically, the 'little Western Wall', beside one of the Gates giving on to the Temple Mount. It was a place of prayer on the High Holy Days and on the night of Tisha' Be-Ab, whereon the Jewish calendar decrees annual mourning for a Temple twice destroyed. And pray the Jews did, year in year out, undismayed by the frequent vituperation and occasional violence of intolerant Arab neighbours.

There were twenty-two synagogues in the Moslem Quarter, notably that of Rabbi Issachar Beer at *Bab el-Hota*, near the Lions' Gate, the *Agunah*, not far from the Street of Chains that opens on to the Western Wall, the two synagogues and the living quarters of the Galician Jews, and the Frumkin synagogue with an adjoining printing press. There was a plethora of talmudic high schools, too. *Haye Olam* (Everlasting Life), founded in 1876 on land purchased with the willing roubles of concerned Russian Jews, was a *yeshiva* of twenty-two classrooms and over five hundred students; today, the rooms still lodge families of Arab squatters.

Another impressive *yeshiva*, *Shomre Hahomoth* (Watchmen of the Walls), was founded in the Moslem Quarter in 1862 by rabbis from Poland, with several synagogues attached to it. Likewise, two small *yeshivoth* of Hungarian Jews that are now over two hundred years old, the *Mishmaroth*, a name signifying that, like soldiers on changing guard duty, the students worked in three shifts around the clock, turn by turn. Once there were many bath-houses (*mikvaoth*) as well, but only two survive, one, known as *Hamam el-Ein*, cheek by jowl with the *Bab el-Katun*, Gate of the Cotton Merchants, and the other near the Temple Mount. The Moroccan Jews had in the Wadd section several synagogues, a *yeshiva* and a Talmud Torah.

The outstandingly convincing proof of Jewish life in the midst of what are thought to be exclusively Moslem, Christian and Armenian Quarters is a ubiquity of slots cut into lintels to hold the *mezuzoth* that mark every Jewish dwelling (a strip of parchment on which is inscribed a passage of the Torah, folded inside a receptacle of glass, metal or wood).



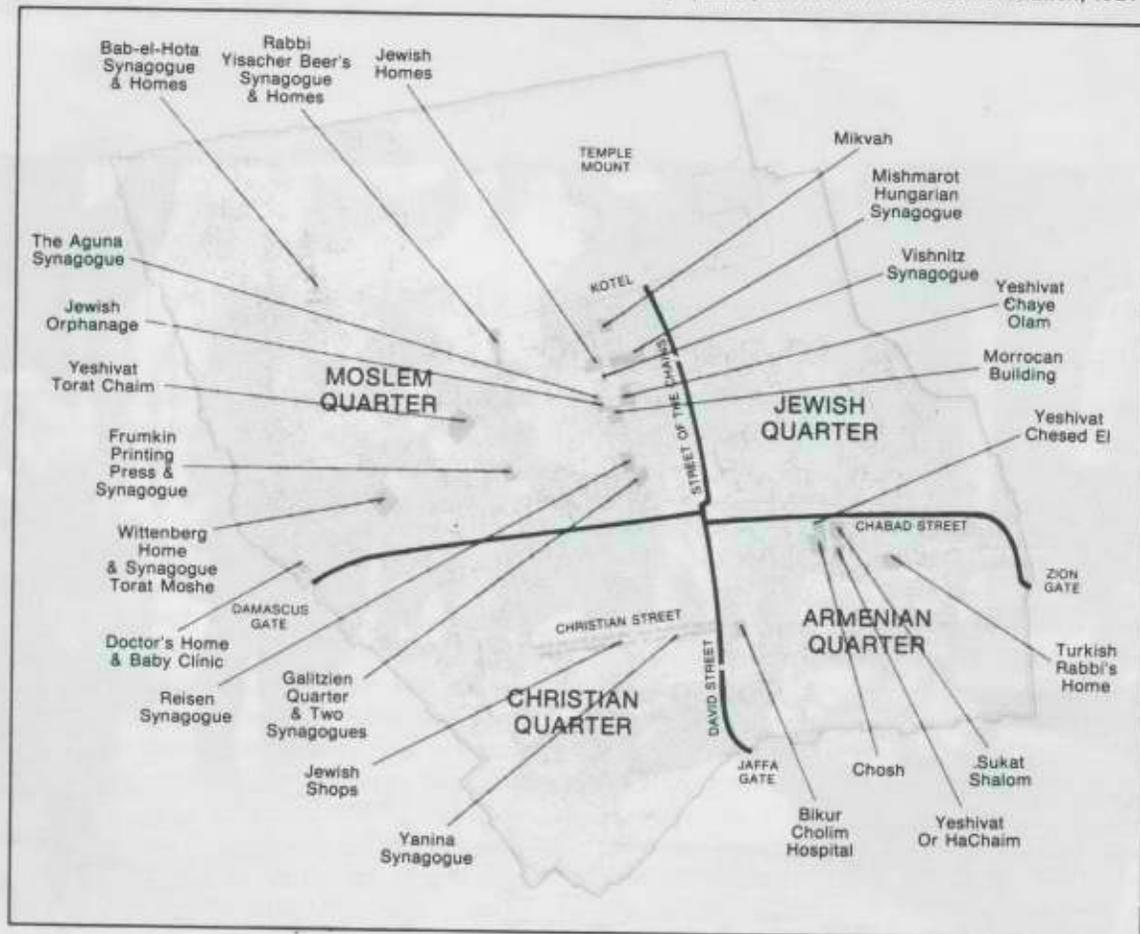
Entrance to *Bate Mahse* Square — *Mezuzah* to the r



Arabs gathering at Damascus Gate for *Nebi Mussa* demonstration, 1921



Interior of *Torat Haim* Synagogue near Damascus Gate, destroyed by participants of *Nebi Mussa* demonstration, 1921



Some of the Jewish landmarks in the Old City before 1948 (Courtesy of *Shma Yisrael*)



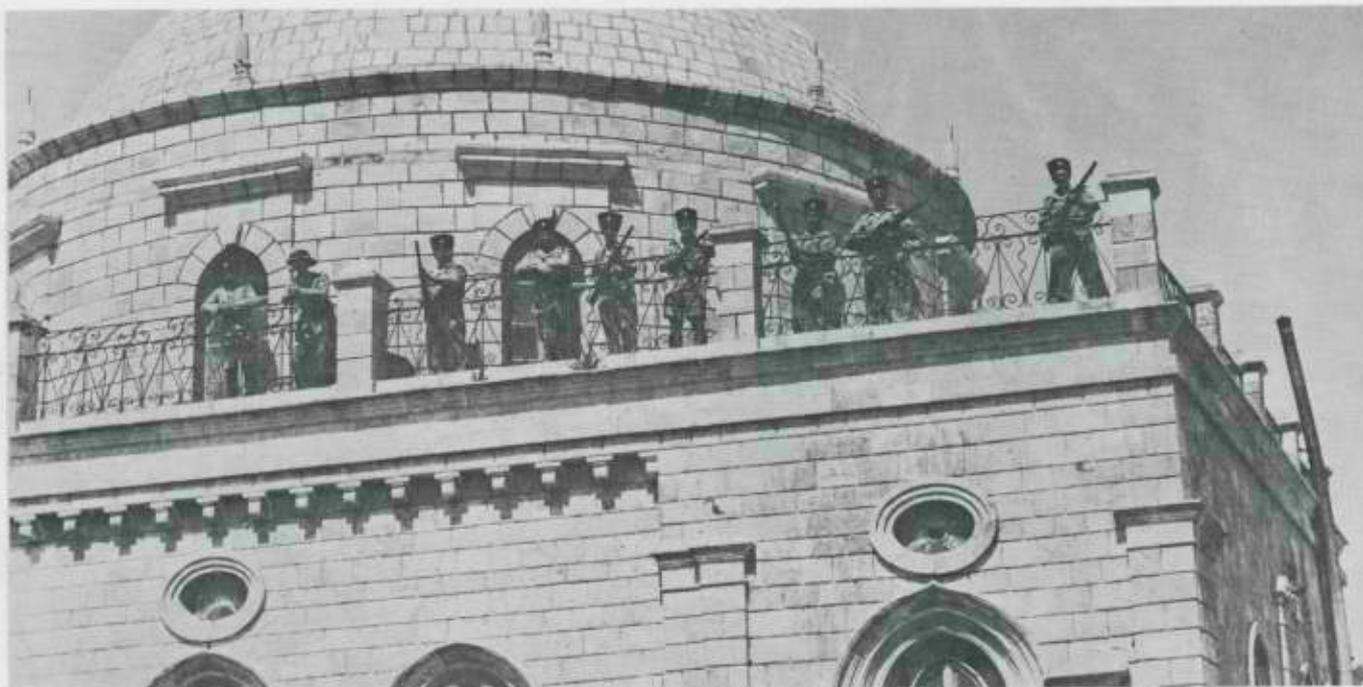
Ruin of Jewish doctor's home and clinic inside Damascus Gate



The destroyed *Hayye Olam Yeshiva* in the Moslem Quarter



Jewish Quarter Street, 1936



British Officers and Jewish Constables on rooftop of the *Tifferet Yisrael* Synagogue, 1947

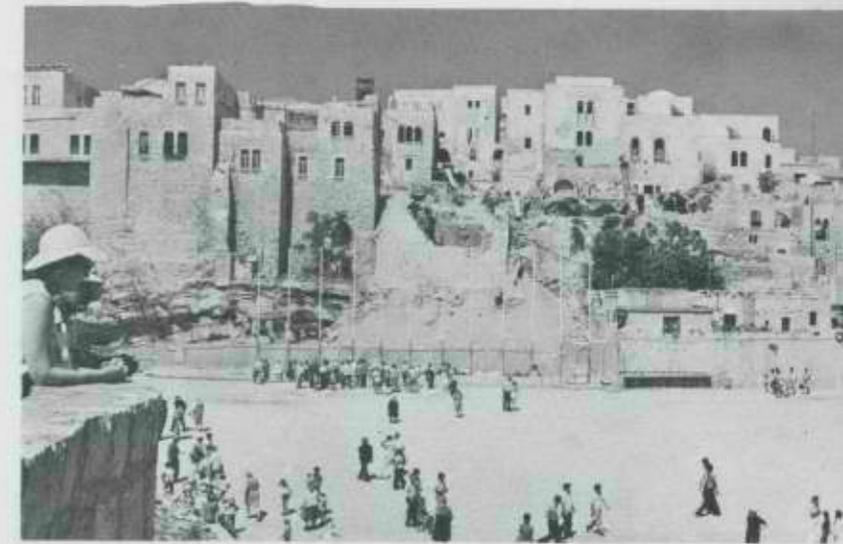
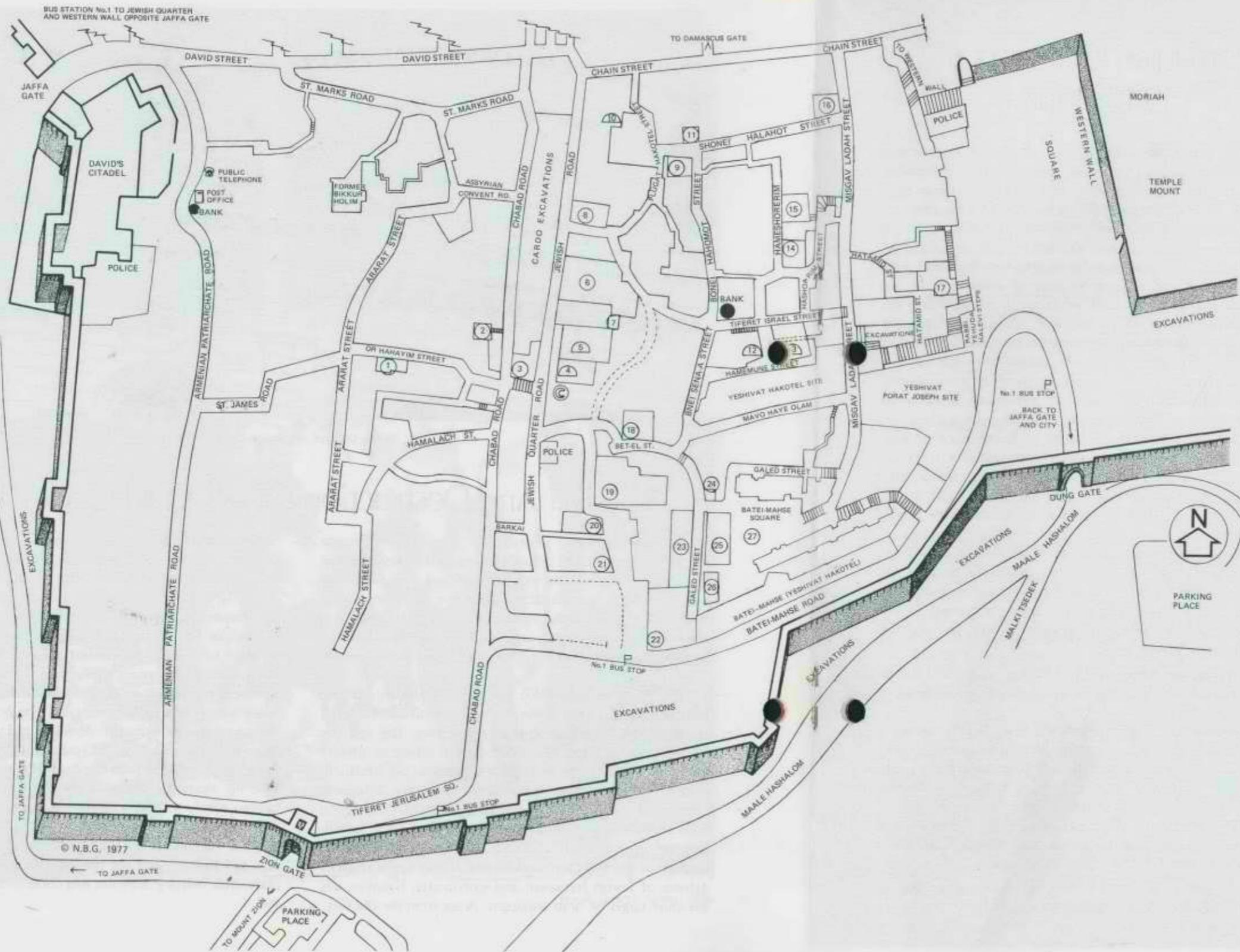
The Fall And Destruction Of The Old City In 1948

Whatever the era, whoever the transient invader, no matter how arduous the ordeal, Jews made their resolute way in groups or alone to the Western Wall and were suppliants there for Jewry's redemption. With one exception: from 1948 to 1967, when the Jordanians occupied the Old City, was the pilgrimage denied, and that in blatant breach of the armistice agreement that Jordan had signed with Israel in 1949.

On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a Resolution to partition Mandated Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab State. The ink was scarcely dry on that historic document when an unholy alliance of Arab States declared war on a day-old Israel and invaded its embryonic unmarshalled territory. Jerusalem, vouchsafed the special status of an international city in the hope that it might, as such, be spared the horrors of hostilities, became, instead, a bloody battlefield. The Jewish Quarter of the Old City, weakest link in the fragile chain of defence of Jewish Jerusalem, and soon in utter isolation, was the chief target of Arab onslaught. Arabs from the Old City,

terrorist bands from across the border, and finally the Arab Legion of Jordan – British-trained, British-armed and British-officered – launched assault after assault. The Quarter was ruthlessly shelled and set indiscriminately on fire: buildings were pulverized, scores of Jewish lives were lost.

On 28 May 1948, the Quarter fell into Arab hands; its remnant of fearless defenders buried their dead and went into captivity. In berserk wantonness, an Arab mob burst in, wrecking everything in sight, demolishing and plundering synagogues without pity or restraint. The Arab Legion, under the command of Brigadier Abdallah el-Tal, did not stand aloof from this savagery, this systematic design to obliterate every vestige of Jewish presence. El-Tal made no secret of this; his memoirs, published in Cairo in 1959, offer the laconic envoi, without a single word of civilized contrition: "The operations of calculated destruction were set in motion. The Jewish Quarter had no strategic value. Its buildings and shrines were not destroyed in battle. All this took place after military activities had come to a complete standstill."



Legend

1. "Old Yishuv Court" Museum (Weingarten Compound) with "Or-HaHayim" and "HaAri" Synagogues
2. "Hessed-El" Compound (Bnei Akiva Students' Hostel) Kotel "Kol-Yehuda" (next door)
3. Habad Centre "Bet Menachem" with "Knesset Eliyahu" Synagogue
4. Ramban Synagogue and Kotel Tevuna
5. "Ha-Hurva" Rabbi Yehuda Hassid Synagogue (ruin)
6. Yeshivat "Etz-Hayim" (under construction)
7. House of Late Rabbi Shmuel Salant (ruin)
8. Šimha Mandelbaum House (Betar Students' Hostel)
9. "Yad Ben-Zvi" Annex – Youth Department
10. "Mugrabi" (North African) Synagogue
11. "Betohehi Jerusalem" Synagogue
12. Karaite Synagogue (basement)
13. "Tiferet Yisrael" Synagogue (ruin)
14. Mikva (under construction)
15. United Aged Home (Yeshivat HaKotel Hostel)
16. "Bar-Ilan" University Institutes
17. Yeshivat "Haye Olam"
18. "Bet-El" Synagogue (second floor) with Yeshivat "Lomde Kodshim" and Kotel "Bet Hillel". Nearby, "Aish HaTorah" Yeshiva
19. The Four Sephardi Synagogues: Eliyahu Hanavi, Istambuli, Rabban Yochanan Ben Zakkai, Emtzai
20. Jewish Heritage Centre
21. Chief Rabbinate High Court (top floor). Kotel Warsaw and "Imre-Binah" Synagogue (basement), Kupat Rabbi Meir Baal Hanes
22. Sephardi Metivta (High School Hostel)
23. Amsterdam House (Yeshivat HaKotel Hostel) and Jerusalem Institute
24. War of Independence Memorial
25. Rothschild House, offices of "The Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, Ltd."
26. Israel Writers' House with Library
27. Formerly "Deutscher Platz", renamed "Kikar Hod"



East wall of Ha-Hurva Synagogue

Among the fifty-seven ravaged synagogues were a few of world-wide renown and great historical account: the *Hurva* (Ruin) of Rabbi Yehuda Hassid, the Pious, where, dramatically, the first British High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew, intoned a portion of the Law and its blessings on the Sabbath of Comfort in the summer of 1920; *Tiferet Israel* (Glory of Israel), centre of East European pietists; *Yochanan Ben Zakkai* of the Sephardi rite, eponymous for the Sage who prevailed upon the Roman conqueror to allow the establishment of a Jewish Academy in Yavne, and so proved himself the saviour of Jewish life and learning after the extinction of the Second Temple. In the same complex were a synagogue of fabled antiquity, named for the Prophet Elijah, and the *Istambuli*, where Jews from Turkey originally worshipped, and the *Emtzai* (The Midway), smallest but central.

The *yeshivoth*, pride of the Jewish Quarter, were vandalized, their fine masonry filched to fashion Arab hovels. Scrolls of the Law were shamefully defiled. Ritual appurtenances and prayer books were pillaged or ripped to pieces, or consumed in the flames of Arab bonfires.

Jordanian Occupancy 1948-1967

For practically nineteen years, the Jewish Quarter was under Jordanian occupation. Hundreds of Arabs, in the main from the Hebron area, came to Jerusalem to find cheap lodgings in absentee property and squatted in it. On the debris of devastated synagogues and cannibalized Jewish homes a refugee camp sprang up — *Muaskar el-Aidin*, the Camp of Repatriates. The time-honoured Quarter became a slum, with a pullulating and shifting tenantry of nomads, alien and inimical to its immemorial denizens. In March 1962, the Jordanian offshoot of the Jerusalem municipality signed an agreement with Brown Engineers International Corporation of New York to draw up a Jerusalem town-plan. In the report submitted was a recommendation to do something radical about the Jewish Quarter, considering its spoliation and defacement. This was not, however, with any idea of undoing the awful havoc wreaked on Jewish places of worship and learning: it was a scheme conceived entirely to evict the Arab squatters and convert the cleared terrain into gardens. Amman approved the town-plan by legislation in 1963 and, for a start, set about its fulfilment in the Jewish Quarter.

But it took another three years for Hussein ibn Nasser, Prime Minister of Jordan, to begin to enforce the Law. On July 17, 1966, he issued an order to evict the Arab squatters and house them elsewhere. The order, addressed to the Ministry of the Interior, Jerusalem Sub-District, may be translated as follows:

"Emergency Order No. 25 of 1963, made by virtue of paragraphs 2 and 5 of the Emergency Regulations No. 2 of 1939.

I hereby order that the refugees living in the el-Muaskar Quarter be transferred to the new place allotted to them for residence by the competent authorities. I also order that all refugees evicted by virtue of this order be forbidden to live in the said Quarter again,

The Jerusalem Municipality shall demolish all the tumbledown dwellings of the said Quarter after their evacuation."

Below came the seals of the Ministry of the Interior and of the Custodian of Enemy Property, Jerusalem.



وزارة الداخلية
محافظة القدس
القدس

١٩٦٦ / ١٧

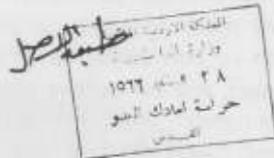
أمر دفع رقم (٢٥) لسنة ١٩٦٦

صادر بمقتضى المادتين ٢ و ٥ من نظام الدفاع رقم ٢ لسنة ١٩٦٩

بناء على ما تلقينه السلامة العامة والاستناد الى العالمة المقولة
لي بمقتضى المادتين ٢ و ٥ من نظام الدفاع رقم ٢ لسنة ١٩٦٩ أمر بتفاد الأجانب المودين
في حي المعسكر بالقدس الى مكان الجديده الذي أعدته السلطات المختصة لاسكانهم فيه .
كما أمر بمنع أي شخص جري نقله بمقتضى هذا الامر من العودة للاقامة في الحي المذكور
وتلى أمانة القدس ان تقوم بهدم العاوي عبر العالمة الموجوده في ذلك الحي بعد اخلاصها .

١٩٦٦ / ١٠ / ٥

رئيس الحوزة
حسين بن ناصر



Jordanian eviction order, 1963

For the promulgation of the order, the Jordanian Government, as is plain, based itself on the Emergency Regulations made by the Mandatory Administration.

To hasten clearance of the el-Muaskar camp, that is to say, of the Jewish Quarter, each squatter was given a bare seven days' grace to pack up and get out — this by way of a Notice of Acceptance of which the English rendering is:

"I, the undersigned, have been given to understand by the Security Forces that my family must vacate the housing occupied by them in Muaskar-el-Aidin, in the el-Sharaf Quarter of Jerusalem within seven days of receipt of the said notification. I sign hereunder to that effect." (Date of notification, 26 July, 1966.)

If squatters failed to comply with the order, if any persons entered premises already evacuated in compliance with it, a second and very specific order was made to eject them by force. The expulsions were carried out by the Police

Commander of the Jerusalem Sub-District, at the instance of the Custodian of Enemy Property. The Commander used the following language in his directive to the officer in charge of operations:

"Pursuant to my letter No. H9/868 of 21 July, 1966, I confirm hereby the enclosed list of the persons who intruded into the houses belonging to the Custodian of Enemy Property in the el-Sharaf Quarter of Jerusalem, after the said houses had been left by the occupants, who were transferred to the new Shu'afat camp. I require you to eject by force the persons listed and inform me accordingly."

This ultimatum was delivered in response to an urgent appeal by the Director of the Compensation Department of the Custodian of Enemy Property in the Ministry of the Interior to the Commander to rid the el-Muaskar camp of a hundred and seventy-five families of fresh interlopers and move them, like the first squatters already re-located, to the Shu'afat camp, north of Jerusalem.

These actions make it crystal clear that the Jordanian Government itself did not recognize the domiciliary or other rights of the Arabs who had infiltrated into the deserted Jewish Quarter.

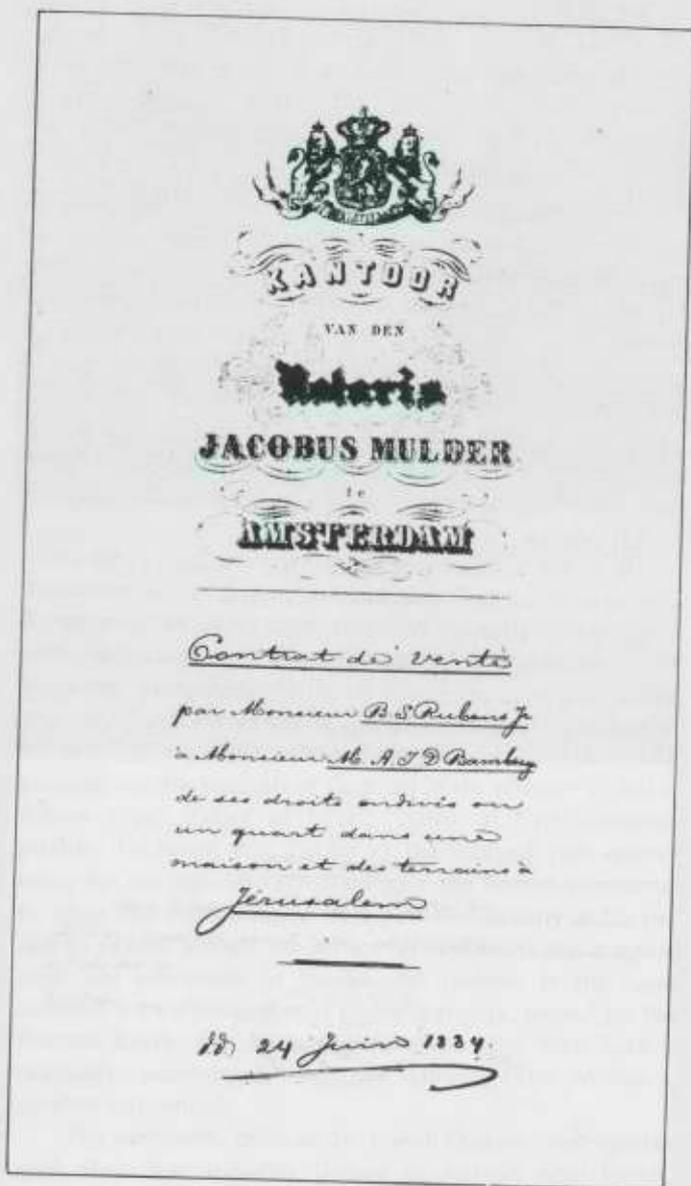
It is not without relevance to record that, in the nineteen years of Jordanian occupation, no substantial movement of Moslem pilgrims to Jerusalem took place. One is tempted to assume that it was political, rather than credal, considerations that have prompted the Arab campaign to stress and highlight the 'Islamic' centrality of the Holy City.



Notice of Acceptance, 1966

The Legal Ownership

Arab propaganda has been at pains, in particular, to convince the world that the Arabs 'own' Palestine, morally and



First page of contract for buying a house in the Moslem Quarter, 1884.

legally, and that whatever Jewish ownership of land there may be is negligible.

The Arab case against Israel, in the matter of Jewish land, rests mainly on two claims: first, that the Palestinian Arab was living peacefully and contentedly on his land in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, when along came the European Jewish immigrant, ousted him from his holding, disrupted normal development and brought into being a multitude of landless, dispossessed *fellahin*; and secondly that a small Jewish minority, owning an even smaller proportion of the country's land, lawlessly made itself master of Palestine in 1948.

A study of Palestine under Turkish rule up to 1917 reveals that, already at the beginning of the eighteenth century, long before any significant buying of land by Jews or regular Jewish immigration, the economy of the *fellahin* had declined and they were being forced to abandon their homes and fields. The crippling burden of taxation, on top of chronic indebtedness to effendi money-lenders, constrained more and more of them to place themselves under the protection of rich Arabs, or of a Moslem religious endowment (*waqf*), and the upshot often was that eventually they had to surrender their title to the land, if not also their tenure and tillage of it. It was a process that converted a great deal of farmland into State Domain, patrimony of the Sultan.

Until the passage of the Turkish Land Registry Law in 1858, there were no official deeds to attest legal right to a parcel of land; tradition, usage and memory alone must suffice, and, as a rule, they did. The lot of the Arab peasantry was precarious anyhow, with constant blood feuds



Seal of German-Israelite community, 1860

between families, clans and whole villages, and periodical incursions by rapacious Bedouin tribes.

There is, perhaps, no better way of concluding the debate over Jewish land ownership in Palestine than by quoting from an article by Abdul Razek Kader, an Algerian politician who lives today in political exile in Paris. "Arab nationalists, whether they are in the government or in business, whether Palestinian, Syrian or Lebanese, town dwellers or of tribal origin, all know that, at the beginning of the century and during the British Mandate, the marshy plains and stony hills were sold to the Zionists by their fathers or uncles for gold, the very gold which is often the origin of their own political or commercial careers." (Jerusalem Post, August 7, 1969.)



Seal of Austrian-Israelite community, 1872

Traces Of The Past

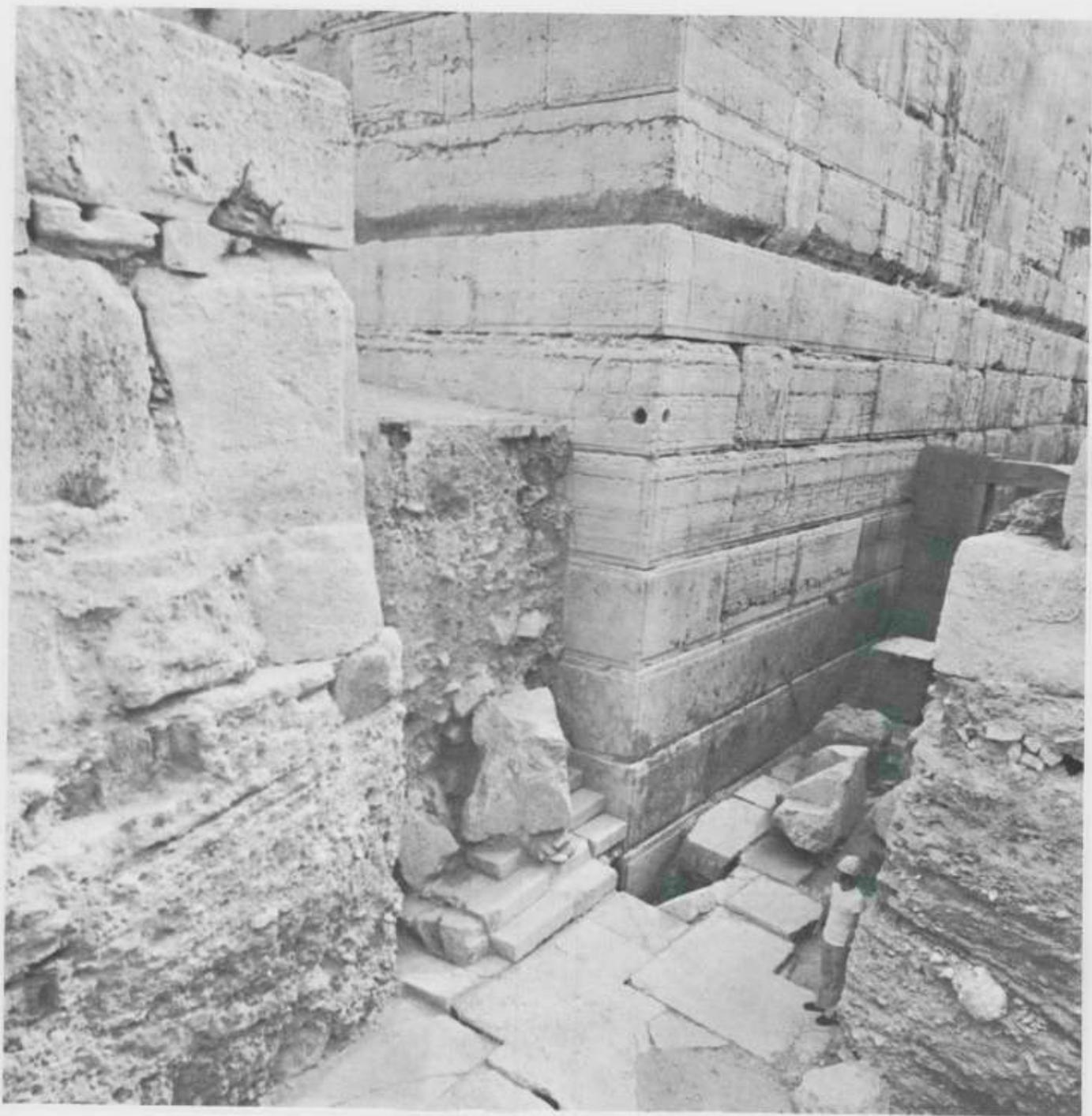
The environs of the Temple Mount, southward down to Ophel, the City of David, have been a principal scene of excavations since modern archaeology began over a century ago. There was the detailed survey by Charles Wilson in 1862 of sections of the Western Wall, and Wilson's Arch commemorates it. Charles Warren dug extensively near and under the Mount from 1867 to 1870 for the British Palestine Exploration Fund. Warren's Gate, Barclay's Gate and Robinson's Arch along the Western Wall are landmarks for expert and layman alike. The work has gone on through the twentieth century, not excluding the nineteen years of Jordanian occupation from 1948 to 1967. Most of the knowledge that we possess of the strata of ancient Jerusalem comes from clearance carried out with the consent of the Moslem Waqf around the Mount: in the 1960s, large-scale digging was done under British auspices by Dame Kathleen Kenyon, mainly south of the Mount, and not a breath of international reprimand or complaint was heard.

Professor Benjamin Mazar's finds, since 1968, in that selfsame area have aroused worldwide interest, for they are of exceptional documentary value to antiquarians and historians. The tombs of the kings of Judah came to light facing Robinson's Arch. From the Second Temple era, a 13-metre-wide way of smooth marble slabs runs parallel to the Western Wall along the valley to the Pool of Siloam; in it, one huge stone, weighing about 80 tons, has a niche wherein a man might stand upright, and it bears the Hebrew words: 'Le-vet ha-tekiya', 'To the house of the trumpet blast'. In those days, a priest took his place in that cornerstone high up on the Wall – it had apparently tumbled down during the Roman attack – to sound the call to prayer on eves of Sabbath and the holydays.

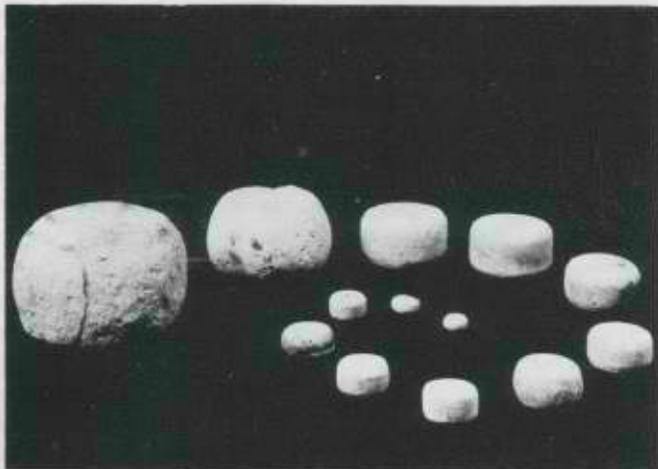
From Byzantine and Moslem periods, a complex of Omayyad construction, with hostelries and auxiliary buildings, was unearthed and has been restored: in it had been incorporated much masonry that had fallen from the Walls and edifices of the Second Temple.



"LE-VET HA-TEKIYA". Inscription found near southern wall of Temple Mount.



Excavated southwest corner of Temple Mount (Prof. B. Mazar, 1974)



Stone weights

Systematic stratigraphical study of the Jewish Quarter reveals the type and style of Israel's pristine habitations. Here is Professor Nachman Avigad's introduction to an exhibition of his discoveries at the Israel Museum in the Spring of 1976:

'The long and variegated history of Jerusalem records many a destruction and re-building. . . . The earliest layer of settlement on the Western Hill is of the Israelite (Iron) Age, from the eighth to the early sixth century BCE. Few buildings survived, for subsequent masons ate into them for their own materials. The most important Israelite finds are an impressive segment of a city wall, seven metres thick, and a massive tower-like fortification, still standing to a height of over eight metres. Everything indicates that, already in the period of the First Temple, Jerusalem had spread beyond the confines of the City of David to the Western Hill, an extension that seems to be the *mishne*, or second quarter, of which the Bible speaks. Thus, the Jewish Quarter of today was within the Walls in the reigns of the later kings of Judah, possibly from the days of Hezekiah, that is, about 700 BCE.

After the point marking the Babylonian destruction of 586 BCE, there is a stratigraphical-chronological gap until the third century BCE. Nothing of the Persian period was found, presumably because, after the return from exile, the population was sparse and settlement concentrated within the City of David; the Western Hill was to be empty for several centuries.

It is more difficult to explain why nothing is left of the Early Hellenistic period. Not until Maccabean days do we again find traces of building, mainly of a defensive nature. One tower of the city wall, just south of the Street of the Chain, appears to have belonged to the northern course of the First Wall described by Josephus as running from the Tower of Hippicus, the present Citadel, eastward to the Xystus adjoining the Temple Mount. The best-preserved stratum of dwellings is of the Herodian period, 37 BCE to 70 CE, one of expansion and splendour whereof the chief testimony are such monumental creations as the Temple Mount itself, its fortifications and the water supply.'

Professor Avigad describes a house burnt by the Romans in the Upper City: '. . . the burnt layer was undisturbed by subsequent building; everything was as the flames had left it. In the debris were scorched masonry and charred beams, pottery juglets, perfume bottles and so on. And many stone vessels, vases, bowls, measuring cups, mortars and pestles of basalt, querns, weights and tables of stone, and everywhere vestiges of ovens sunk into the floors.'



Pottery vessels — Jewish Quarter excavations (Prof. N. Avigad)



Section of excavated Cardo (Prof. N. Avigad, 1977)

And now, sections are emerging of the *Cardo*, the colonnaded thoroughfare, laid some two hundred years after the destruction of the Second Temple, to link the Damascus Gate with the Zion Gate; flanked by shops, it was still trodden in the sixth century CE, as the famous mosaic map of Madaba attests. Bastions and portals of the First and Second Temple periods are today in public view. Nether Jerusalem, buried for millennia, is awake once more, tenanted by a people graced with a culture that thousands of artifacts exemplify. Utensils, tools and coins are reverently handled by the descendants of the Jews who left them behind two thousand years ago.

The message of that long span of time is loud and clear.

One would have expected international support of the devout and scientifically systematic work of Israel's archaeologists. That, so far from giving it credit, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization should wish to call a halt to it suggests apprehension lest the past of Jerusalem bear too powerful witness to the creativeness of Jewish presence in the city and to the devastation wrought there by alien hands.



Eastern terra sigillata ware found in the Herodian House — Jewish Quarter



Panoramic view of the Jewish Quarter, 1977

Jerusalem The Unified

The Six-Day War wrote *finis* to the severance of the Old City from the Jewish people to which it belongs by Divine grace and human right, by origin and destiny, by tradition and significance.

It was simple justice to rebuild the Jewish Quarter after the reunification of Jerusalem, on the 28th of Iyar 5727 – 8 June 1967. On April 1, 1969, the Government of Israel tabled in the Knesset a Bill:

"to bring the Jewish Quarter to life again and dignify and develop it as a national, religious, historical and cultural centre, stressing its special characteristics and quality."

The Quarter was, statutorily, to be the focus of Jewish learning and study once more, safeguarding the unique aspects and aura of its past.

The Government next formed 'The Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter of

Jerusalem'. Its first task was to cope with the interlopers and squatters, a task which the Jordanian Government had set out to accomplish three years earlier but had by no means finished. It was now finished by the Company with the utmost solicitude and care. For all that the interlopers and squatters had no least legal standing, large sums were paid out to them after orderly negotiations, which amply financed them to acquire modern flats in the suburbs. A survey has shown that many a family bettered its standard of living by this removal from what had been a slum.

A new era of building now began, reflecting a blueprint which dovetailed restoration of old with installation of new: as much as possible of the ancient character of the Jewish Quarter would be preserved. A few hundred housing units, interwoven with walls, archways and domes, emerged, little by little, from the dust and rubble. But before a single new stone was set, layer after layer of former Jerusalem's

was unearthed. The archaeologists, reverently, scientifically, brought to light sections of bastions and portals from the periods of the First Temple and the Second, and the spectacular 'burned chambers', still marked by fire and with scorched rafters that had caved in when the Upper City went up in a Roman conflagration. 'Nether Jerusalem', entombed for millennia, came to life again. To perpetuate this testimony of illustrious chronicles, the new Quarter rises on concrete stilts and pillars, and visitors will walk through 'Nether Jerusalem' on the veritable soil trodden by its founders four thousand years ago.

On top of these foundations the new homes and institutions were rebuilt in our time. The great *yeshiva Porat Yoseph*, a Sephardi centre of traditional study and learning, is taking shape anew.

Yeshivat HaKotel (College of the Wall), a recent foundation, was the first to enter the Old City in 1967. Braving the skeletal emptiness of the Jewish Quarter, it surmounted all hazards and hindrances and today can pride itself on a faculty of rabbis and over two hundred and fifty students. In a bold new trend of orthodox Judaism, it combines the learning of the Torah with military service in the Israel Defence Forces. Not a few of its graduates earned high distinction for combat gallantry in the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and, sorrowfully, some did not return from the battlefield.

The main square of the Quarter, known as the 'Deutscher Platz' for German Jews who financed the purchase of this land in 1842 and who donated considerable sums for development throughout the years, is again its hub, with the famous *Rothschild House*. gift, then, of the





New homes in the Jewish Quarter, 1976

Frankfurt Baron, restored to be administrative headquarters.

By now, the four Sephardi synagogues of the *Yochanan Ben Zakkal* complex draw devout congregations once more, and the Ramban Synagogue, consecrated in 1267 but for centuries used by sacrilegious Arabs as store-room and flour mill, is in hallowed revival.

Reconstruction has been completed of the "Old Yishuv Court" with the Or HaHayim Synagogue (1742), the Bet-El Synagogue (1737), and the ancient Karaite Synagogue.

Rabbis and acolytes pore over the pages of sacred volumes from morning to night. Visitors by the thousand, Israelis and tourists, pass with respectful curiosity through the narrow lanes and alleys to gaze upon ancient evidence of Jewry's annals and the proof of a Jewish presence renewed.

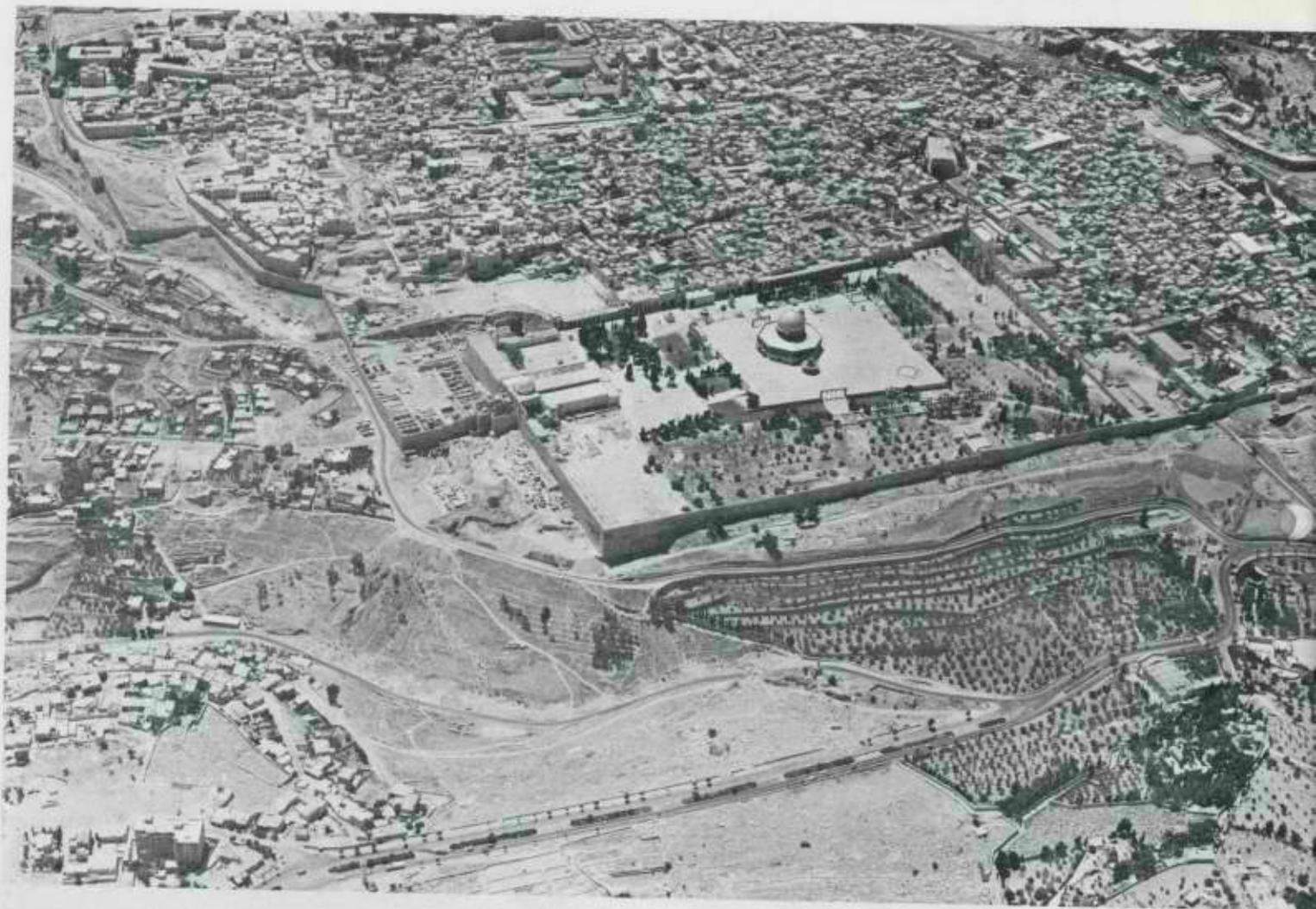


Children at play

And they have come back, grandsons and granddaughters of the pioneers of old who stood unbroken guard in prayer and study at the holy places and worshipped at the Western Wall. They have come back, many recalling the tales, the legends and the truth of history recounted by sire or grandsire. They have come back, this confluence of the banished – from North Africa, from Europe, from Arab lands. They have come back, to raise up, this time forever, the Jerusalem which was always theirs, a Jerusalem torn from them by violent hands, 'taken from them by fire and columns of smoke and now returned to them – by fire and columns of smoke', as a Jewish legend tells. They have come back – they shall not again depart.



Jewish Quarter Fair



Aerial view of Jerusalem

City Of Peace

Jerusalem is *'Ir Shalem*, City of Perfection, City of Peace, and in its unity are enshrined the guarantee and guerdon of all who see peace everlasting, for all nations and for all faiths, within and without its battlements.

Once again the words of Isaiah (Chapter 66, Verse 14) inscribed on a cornerstone of the Western Wall in 361 (during the reign of the Emperor Julian the Apostate) by a Jew living in Jerusalem have the very meaning of its time as intended by

the Prophet: "When you see this your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like the green grass."

וְרֵאיתֶם וְשִׂשׂוּ לְבַבְכֶם
וְעַצְמוֹתֵיכֶם כִּדְשָׁא

Inscription found on cornerstone of the Western Wall



