

יכוח



נפתח:

נסגר:

מדינת ישראל
ארכivון המדינה



שם תיק: ירושלים

מספר פיזי: **חצ-22/8394**

מספר פריט: 8394qqq001

כתובת: 7-1-120-2

POPULATION

For more than a century the Jews have been the largest religious group in the city.

Year	Jews	Moslems	Christians	Total
1844	7,120	5,000	3,390	15,510
1876	12,000	7,560	7,470	25,030
1896	28,112	8,560	8,748	45,420
1905	40,000	7,000	13,000	60,000
1910	47,400	9,800	16,400	73,600
1922	33,971	13,413	14,699	62,578
1931	51,222	19,894	19,335	90,503
1948	100,000	40,000	25,000	165,000
1967	195,700	54,963	12,646	263,309
1970	215,000	61,600	11,500	289,000

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כתר נסיך קדושים

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מלו' פטרוף בז'ום צ'ס'ר פונטנ'ס אט'ז'ן - 11003 9.9.71

JERUSALEM IS BECOMING a
CULTURAL CENTRE FOR ISRAEL'S ARABS
ירושלים מתרבה מטבח ערב רקע תרבותי
FEATURES OF ISRAEL

סקבילה מושגיה

2018 版志密 23733

ר' ב' פ. ב. פ.

בד"ה שמקודם, אונס"ל
בד"ה שנדע שמקודם
בד"ה ייבוז, יזען מיזגין
בצלאל ✓
בד"ה תק"ה
הה"ל ב"ה גוזן, מזרע חסנין
בד"ה ארבל תק"ה

The Pioneer 9 Sept. 1971

Page THREE

Jerusalem is becoming a cultural centre for Israel's Arabs

By Atalla Mansur
From "Ha'aretz"

MOST of the Arab newspapers in Israel during the days of the British Mandate were published in Yafo (Jaffa). After the War of Independence in 1948, many of these newspapers moved to East Jerusalem, which after its annexation by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, became its cultural centre.

During the next 20 years, until the Six-Day War, there were Arabic and two English-language newspapers published in East Jerusalem. Only two Arabic language newspapers appeared in Amman.

The publishing and tourist industries were unique to Jerusalem. The Six-Day War and the reunification of Jerusalem hurt the hotel business in East Jerusalem (in the last four years, not one new hotel has been built in East Jerusalem), and completely paralyzed the newspaper and printing industries for two years.

Two out of the three newspaper owners decided to move to Amman where they renewed the publication of their newspapers. Mahmud Abu Al-Zalef, one of the owners of the East Jerusalem newspaper *Al-Quds*, was the only one who tried to publish his newspaper under Israeli rule.

The new version of *Al-Quds* appeared two and half years ago. In the first edition, the publisher and editor introduced the new paper to readers and explained why they were violating the Arab practice of non-cooperation and non-recognition of there unification of Jerusalem. The publisher stated that his newspaper would fight against the Israeli occupation and strive for an Israeli withdrawal from all the territories, including East Jerusalem.

How was an Israeli paper, licensed by the Ministry of the Interior and compelled to observe the accepted rules of Israeli censorship, going to accomplish such a task? Abu Al-Zalef answered the question: "I regret to say that in Israel there exists a freedom of the press which we never knew in the days of Jordanian rule."

COMPETITION BETWEEN NEWSPAPERS

Now, when the 800th

issue of *Al-Quds* is about to appear, East Jerusalem has once again become a publishing and literary centre. Abu Al-Zalef can now convince his readers that his newspaper is truly independent. He criticizes the Israeli Government as well as the Jordanian Government and other Arab countries, as well.

How does he manage to keep his paper running? There are many advertisements in *Al-Quds*, most of them of the personal type. The paper saves production costs in a way which would arouse the envy of all other Israeli publishers. The number of employees is less than ten and the paper does not pay for unsolicited contributions.

The paper's correspondents outside Jerusalem also serve as its circulation agents and receive a percentage of the paper's sales, instead of wages. The salaries of the paper's employees are about a third of the accepted salaries in the rest of Israel.

Another Arabic-language daily newspaper in Jerusalem is *Al-Anbah*, which receives financial support from the Prime Minister's office. The paper was recently transferred to a new printing press and was assigned new management. Its circulation has doubled and has become a stiff competitor of *Al-Quds* even surpassing *Al-Quds* in circulation. On Fridays, an eight-page edition of *Al-Anbah* appears as against four pages during the week. This has forced *Al-Quds* to improve its services; for the past few Fridays, *Al-Quds* has appeared with an eight-page format and is attempting to sell the paper in the Arab-populated Triangle of Israel—something it had never done before. However, *Al-Quds* has not changed its practice of not paying for articles and outside contributions. As a result, the paper does not always succeed in obtaining the most interesting material.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

Six months ago, a political weekly, published in Bethlehem and printed in Jerusalem, made its appearance. *Al-Bashir*'s publisher is Ibrahim Handal, chairman of

the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce. He located a young editor with connections with newspapers reporters and young authors, and started to publish a monthly supplement by the same name. A monthly youth review, *Alouan*, has begun to appear under the editorship of Mr. Yusaf Nafah of Jerusalem. It has a reputation for being a cultural publication in a light vein.

There was the publication of a letter from the Chief Moslem Qadi, Sheikh Halmi Al-Muktasab, attacking a book called "A Criticism of Religious Thinking." I found another book on the shelves of bookstores in East Jerusalem, "The Adulterer of Words," by Nazar Kabani, published by New Thinking, Jerusalem.

The little red book contains a collection of social and political poems by a Syrian poet-author now residing in Lebanon, attacking those who "beg alms from Allah," protesting the "rape of thought and mankind," controlled press, and everything a former Syrian diplomat sees as the source of corruption in the Arab world. He is convinced that if Syria weren't cut off from Egypt within the U.A.R. framework and if apathy and fatalism had not ruled the lives of the Arab world, "the Jews would not have been able to exploit our weaknesses."

It appears that the publishing and newspaper industry is being revived. It should be recalled that until recently not one original book had appeared in East Jerusalem, Judea or Samaria since the Six-Day War (with the exception of one minor insignificant volume printed in Nablus two years ago, and a small Moslem religious book). Today two daily newspapers, a political weekly, three monthly reviews and two "internal" publications (one belonging to the YMCA and the other to Bir-Zayit College) appear in East Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria.

A woman's magazine (in Nablus), a medical journal (in Ramallah), and a general-interest weekly (in Jenin) may shortly be added to the growing list of publications. There is also a possibility that another Arabic-language daily newspaper will soon be published in East Jerusalem.

SPORTS NEWS

Cape Coast colts league begins

By Abu Bakar

Cape Coast

Five teams have been invited to start the Cape Coast 1971/72 District Colts Association League Matches on Saturday. They are the Royal Repulseans, Central Rivers, Leeds United, Great Massa and Manchester United.

According to fixtures to have been set by the Cape Coast District Colts Association and the A.D.A. the C Division will be played at the Victoria Park while the A, B and C Divisions will be played at the Central Park as follows:-

Meanwhile, Royal Repulseans will look home to Great Massa in the "A" Division at the Victoria

Park.

There will be also another draw in the C Division involving the worse clubs on Sunday between the Cape Coast "A" team, Dwarfs and Kintampo Coopersmith, the latter team to play at the Local Council Park at 4.00 p.m.

Major & Co

From page 1

England is a member of the International Society of Green Beauty and Health, current chairman of the African and Asian Health Research Bureau of the Society and also a member of the medical section of the society.

Mr. Marshall who is also a charwoman of the

Sportive with Family Pleasure Cup

Sportive Regs Sporting a varied program with the following events:-

1. 100m. 2. 200m. 3. 400m. 4. 800m. 5. 1500m. 6. 3000m. 7. 4x100m. relay. 8. 4x200m. relay. 9. 4x400m. relay. 10. 4x800m. relay. 11. 4x3000m. relay. 12. 100m. hurdles. 13. 200m. hurdles. 14. 400m. hurdles. 15. 800m. hurdles. 16. 1500m. hurdles. 17. 3000m. hurdles. 18. 100m. high jump. 19. 200m. high jump. 20. 400m. high jump. 21. 800m. high jump. 22. 1500m. high jump. 23. 3000m. high jump. 24. 100m. long jump. 25. 200m. long jump. 26. 400m. long jump. 27. 800m. long jump. 28. 1500m. long jump. 29. 3000m. long jump. 30. 100m. triple jump. 31. 200m. triple jump. 32. 400m. triple jump. 33. 800m. triple jump. 34. 1500m. triple jump. 35. 3000m. triple jump. 36. 100m. discus. 37. 200m. discus. 38. 400m. discus. 39. 800m. discus. 40. 1500m. discus. 41. 3000m. discus. 42. 100m. shot put. 43. 200m. shot put. 44. 400m. shot put. 45. 800m. shot put. 46. 1500m. shot put. 47. 3000m. shot put. 48. 100m. hammer. 49. 200m. hammer. 50. 400m. hammer. 51. 800m. hammer. 52. 1500m. hammer. 53. 3000m. 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15/5/72

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM—COMPUTATION CENTER

In the margin: Illtud Evans, O.P.

The five years that have passed since the June War ended have done nothing to heal the bitter divisions between Jew and Arab, or indeed between the Arab nations themselves. Repeated—and unanimous—resolutions of the Security Council requiring the Israelis to withdraw from the frontiers established by their military victory have been consistently ignored, and territories that no treaty has established have been stubbornly maintained. Above all else, Jerusalem has in effect become the Israeli capital, and its occupation, against all international agreements, is assumed to be permanent. Hence the substantial changes that have already taken place in the very character of the city through the active policies of an occupying power that seems able to flout all international opinion.

Whatever other virtues the Israelis may lack, tenacity of purpose is not among them. And so united in disunion have been the Arab leaders that any effective response to Israeli intransigence is a matter of rhetoric rather than of effective policy. Yet, bleak as the picture may be for a lasting peace rooted in justice, with the United States as the effective guarantor of Israel's present strength and Russia as the supplier of arms to give some credibility to Egyptian aggressiveness (and with the unhappy Jordanians cursed on all sides for their recent attempts at a realistic accommodation with Israel while preserving their own freedom), there are still some constants in the equation that deserve to be recalled.

Jerusalem the golden

The very skyline of Jerusalem is a conjugation of its history, its complexity, and of the hope for ultimate reconciliation. No one who has ever seen the Dome of the Rock, presiding in its gilded splendour over the divided city, with its ruined wall below to mark a Temple that was destroyed so long ago, its Christian towers and Muslim minarets, and its more recent monuments to an ill-concealed Mammon of commercial power, can fail to see at a glance the tragic irony of this city. Named for God's dwelling-place and for the belief in his presence and peace among men, it has become the embodiment of the hard-heartedness of conquerors, the symbol of men's failure to come together in that unity which from the beginning the city was to have proclaimed.

But, whatever the future may bring, the imperishable evidence of a living past remains: a reproach to the new Philistines, and perhaps a pointer to ultimate reconciliation. A recent book (*The Noble Sanctuary: A Portrait of a Holy Place in Arab Jerusalem*, by Alistair Duncan; Longmans, £2.00) is indeed devoted to a single place, popularly called the Dome of the Rock; but it is none the less crucial to any understanding of the past of the Holy City, and provides part at least of the clue to what its future should be. The Arab victory over the Byzantine legions in 638 was marked by a magnanimity that is rare in war at any time, and rarest of all in a land that has been ironically called holy for so many centuries. The Caliph Omar, simply dressed and with a single servant, had

ridden from Syria to join his victorious army outside the walls of Jerusalem. He was greeted by the Patriarch, and, the tradition goes, was invited to pray at the Holy Sepulchre. This he declined, because he said his action would encourage his followers to turn the church into a mosque. Omar's treaty with the Christians was magnanimous, giving the Christians "security of their lives, their possessions, their churches and crosses" and assuring them freedom of religion and exemption from military service on payment of a tax.

Omar established the place hallowed by Mahomet's mysterious night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, when, accompanied by the archangel Gabriel, he prayed with the prophets of the past at the place where the Dome of the Rock now stands. And from here, according to Muslim tradition, he ascended to the heavens and finally returned to Mecca. Thus the religious significance of Jerusalem to Muslims is rooted in the vocation of the Prophet, including, as he claimed to do, the sacred meaning of Allah's earlier interventions, summed up in the history of a chosen people and in a prophet called Jesus. The Dome of the Rock that we know was built by Abd al-Malik, the ninth successor of Mahomet and the second Caliph of his line. His intention may have been to build a place of pilgrimage equal in importance to Mecca and Medina. The Prophet had himself spoken in this sense, but the Caliph could hardly be indifferent to the overriding presence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which his new mosque was intended to rival.

Jerusalem as hope

There can seem to be little hope of the reconciliation that must bring together the triple strands of the history of the land and of its people. But, even visually, Jerusalem can never be the exclusive possession of any one of the peoples who call on God as creator of all. Mr. Duncan's book is simply concerned to recall the special glories of the Dome of the Rock, but to do so at once evokes the further reaches of God's design in selecting this place as his chosen land, a place on the map that has a destiny unlike all others. But who will speak for reconciliation in the Holy Land today? What is at stake is infinitely more than a political accommodation, of its nature the victim of the politics of power, of the uncertain ambitions of the victors and the resentments of the vanquished. But here at least is part of the evidence that the politicians can too easily ignore. The Rock has seen the generations come and go, has marked the campaigns of the victors and the vanquished alike. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem": it has seemed an ironic invitation through all the centuries of cruelty and wrong. But the constant point of reference which the Dome provides is more than a matter of archaeology. It affirms the need for peace among all who worship the one God, and a peace that is not attained by the naked conquest of any one of the peoples who look to this place as the unique mark of God's mercy to men. It is the figure of what must one day come about.

615

action against at least the more prominent dissenters. When the trumpet-call, however certain, is not followed by battle, the army melts away.

Obviously I advocate what Mr Butterfield calls "paternalism". "Pope", after all, means "father".

McMaster University,
Hamilton, Ontario

J. W. Daly

Israel and the holy places

From Sir John Richmond

Sir: In my wife's absence I take note of Mr Hollis's complaint (*The Tablet*, 24 February 1973) that she is "prodigal with accusations of ignorance but careful to avoid answering inconvenient questions". But the effect is spoilt when he poses his inconvenient question: "What right had the Arabs ever to be in possession of Old Jerusalem?"—a question displaying ignorance of an invincible character. We must assume that Mr Hollis knows that Arabs have lived in Jerusalem for thirteen hundred years; so presumably he is putting forward the propaganda line that the Jordan Army conquered Old Jerusalem in 1948. It didn't. It prevented the Zionists from doing so.

Mr. Silvey (*The Tablet*, 24 February 1973) thinks that, because Arab sympathisers complain of highrise building desecrating Jerusalem, their claims to be more interested in people are disproved. His quotation from an Arab resident in New York and writing in the *Herald Tribune* can, I think, be appropriately answered by one from the Jerusalem Arabic daily, *el Quds*, of 12 January last. "Two hundred Arab families in Jerusalem face expropriation . . . These families go on living their daily lives with this threat hanging over them. Every minute they see the approaching flood, a flood of tall buildings, gone (up) and going up on the debris of the homes of their relatives, neighbours, or past neighbours . . ." Highrise buildings affect people directly; desecration of cemeteries, mosques and synagogues, of which both Jordanians and Israelis are guilty, do not.

Durham City

J. B. Richmond

Jerusalem and the Holy Places

From *Lady Richmond*

Sir: I was sorry to see Paul Sieghart's impressions of Jerusalem in print because they contain so many factual errors. He has not verified information given him, but records the Israeli propaganda line: dependent on the supposition that we are not acquainted with the history of Palestine. His article would be laughed at in Israel.

Some factual errors are here corrected:

1. There was little peace in British Mandate times, they were years of increasing violence. I experienced some of it.

2. Israeli forces never "re-occupied" Jerusalem; they occupied this Arab City first in 1967.

3. It is assumed that only Armenians lived in the Armenian Quarter, Maghrabis in the Maghrabi, Jews in the Jewish, Christian and Moslems in quarters of their own, divided and separate within the Walled City. Any one knowing pre-1967 Jerusalem will know this was not so. The name "Jewish Quarter" signified the area around the main Synagogue. A great deal of space here was empty in the nineteen-twenties and thirties. A few Jewish families lived here with other neighbours; all were, like most inhabitants of the Old City, poor people. These empty spaces now make good propaganda for visitors who believe that all the buildings were razed by the Legionaries who, actually, did but a little damage. The Legion came at the call of the Arab inhabitants, the majority of course, in Jerusalem, and not as an annexing army of Jordan, which then but newly existed. The Jericho Conference gave some Palestinian authority at least to the Legion's actions in those terrible months. Israeli para-military forces were infiltrated in to the Jewish Quarter in the spring of 1948; they lost their battle with the Legion, and the Jewish families (who used often to be anti-Zionist as are so many religious Jews today) were passed through the lines of safety. Sir John Glubb commanding this exploit writes of it proudly as "our answer to Deir Yassin" (the massacre of an entire Arab village in April that year by Zionist extremists).

4. The Israeli Museum is, I suppose, the Palestine Museum of which my father-in-law was Director for some years. Built by the generosity of Rockefeller, its architect was British, not Israeli; and it has been commandeered by the conquerors, who have changed its name just as they have tried to eliminate the name of Palestine, and all Arab place names, from the map. They sacked the Palestinian guards in 1967, and

THE TABLET 17 June 1972

deprived them of their livelihood.

5. A small but insensitive error: Mr. Sieghart writes that thanks to Ronald Storrs' wisdom, all buildings in Mandate times had to be faced with "the local sandstone." Had this been so, this marvellously preserved, small, Islamic City would have looked very different. Its beauty lies largely in the fact that it is built of some of the most wonderfully coloured, long-lasting, limestone ever quarried.

6. Arabs in the occupied territories do not want to be Israelis and do not in fact share the same duties and rights as their conquerors. Consider the position of a young person of military age vis-à-vis compulsory military service in an Army, designed to conquer his or her friends.

7. It is, alas, true to say that thousands of acres of Arab land have been expropriated. Facts and figures have been given in UN debate. Israel may have a system of compulsory purchase but this does not, in civilised countries, apply to property acquired by force, being against the Geneva Convention. The land, between the Mount of Olives and Mount Scopus, was not "Jordanian", but privately owned land belonging to private individuals.

8. Access to the Holy Places may be assured for some, but many Palestinians are still deprived of access home, especially in the Ramallah-Jerusalem-Bethlehem zone. In Jordanian days some "Jews" were debarred from Jerusalem simply because the Zionist forces claimed, wrongly, to represent "all Jews"; so all Jews became, perforce, enemies of Jordan; just as all Germans became suspect in world war II, though not all Germans were our Nazi enemies. Before the days of Zionism, Jerusalem was not divided, but, though geographically united now, the glorious Islamic City with the modern suburbs, the Palestinians get little pleasure from a false unity comparable to that imposed upon Paris by the Prussian invaders at the expense of the French.

9. The whole character of the City is threatened by highrise flats, and hotel building, deplored by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by *Osservatore Romano*. Mr. Kollek is leaving. The Israelis may have sought advice on the development of the City and its environs, illegally annexed, but no advice whatsoever was sought from any Arab source—yet the buildings we love are of Arab tradition built in the Arab style. Can insensitivity go further?

10. Finally, "no Israeli now alive will ever support a Government which will allow any part of the Holy City . . . to come under the direct sovereignty of any other nation." This, too, is false. Some young Israelis are already aware of the chauvinistic spirit in which their elders govern, and are ashamed of the suffering they have inflicted on the people of the Middle East, who have often provided refuge for Jewish refugees from the more venomous West. As Nathan Chofshi wrote in the *Jewish Newsletter* (9/2/59) "in the ~~last~~ ^{first} ~~century~~ ^{century} there was in Israel ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~more~~ ^{more} than 1,000,000 Jews who strike our eyes; here was a people who lived on its own land for 1,300 years. We

came and turned the native Arabs into tragic refugees. And still we dare to slander and malign them, to besmirch their name. Instead of being deeply ashamed of what we did and of trying to undo some of the evil we committed by helping these unfortunate refugees, we justify our terrible acts and even attempt to glorify them."

Durham

Diana Richmond

Mr. Sieghart writes:

Sir John and Lady Richmond are sincere and dedicated advocates of the Palestinian Arab cause, as their letters to many newspapers and periodicals (including yours) over the years have testified. Having served with distinction in Amman, Bagdad, Cairo and Kuwait, that orientation is very understandable. But Lady Richmond really must not assume that anyone whose views differ from theirs is just another conduit pipe for "the Israeli propaganda line."

In the two articles which you published, I recorded my own impressions and my personal judgments on what I saw and heard, not those of anyone else. Such bias I have is in favour of justice and peace for all men and women, of all creeds, cultures and ethnic origins. It is my conviction that these can only be achieved by seeking ways of living together in charity in the future, rather than by rehearsing catalogues of the injustices of the past. The latter exercise is one which may well leave dishonours even on both sides of the Middle Eastern conflict, but it can contribute nothing to present or future harmony.

As for the various "factual errors" of which Lady Richmond accuses me, there is a number which must have come from something else she read. I never said, for instance, that the architect of the Israeli Museum—which is what it has been called for the last 24 years in the place where it stands—was an Israeli. I did not even mention the Maghrabi quarter, or claim that any community lived exclusively anywhere in the Old City—though there are plenty of Armenians still to be seen in the Armenian quarter today, and even more Moslems in the Moslem. But if I did confuse limestone with sandstone, then I certainly owe an apology to geologists.

On the other hand, if Lady Richmond means to suggest (as I think she does) that Arabs in the occupied territories are liable to compulsory military service in the Israeli forces, then she is in error, for they are not. Nor are those who are Israeli citizens. And it is news to me that Paris was a divided city before the Prussians invaded it.

I must leave it to others to answer what are points of opinion, since I have already given mine. But it seems to me that what Lady Richmond does—to my chagrin, I must confess—is once again to bear out my judgment on one of the most important issues. It was my very clear impression, which I sought to convey in my articles, that by and large the Israelis were looking for constructive solutions and the Arabs were not. As an Arab sympathizer of long standing, Lady Richmond's silence about any hopes for future harmony is eloquent.

R. P. J. M.

The overburdened magnet

Medieval cartographers placed Jerusalem—or, to be precise, the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—at the centre of the world. Modern geographers are less partial. But the city's centripetal pull has not been so strong since the crusades. Many cities are elevated, or debased, to the uncomfortable status of a political prize by the accident of geographical location, by racial mix or by disputed sovereignty. To the Israelis their possession of Jerusalem is a just, military and religious triumph, to the Arabs an act of theft. But Jerusalem has an independent magnetism. Mr Buckminster Fuller, when asked as a member of the Jerusalem Committee to comment upon the Israelis' master plan last year, called it "the still centre of the revolving forces of history." In 1970 few other people would, even metaphorically, have called Jerusalem still. Most would have concurred in the belief that it is something unique.

And yet, does its history matter that much? Even the Christian churches, with the least political stake in the modern city, believe rightly that their duty is to their twentieth-century flocks and only then to the stones and shrines of their inspiration. The legacy of recent history is bitterness; that of ancient history is sanctity. Is that potent, or only made so by politics?

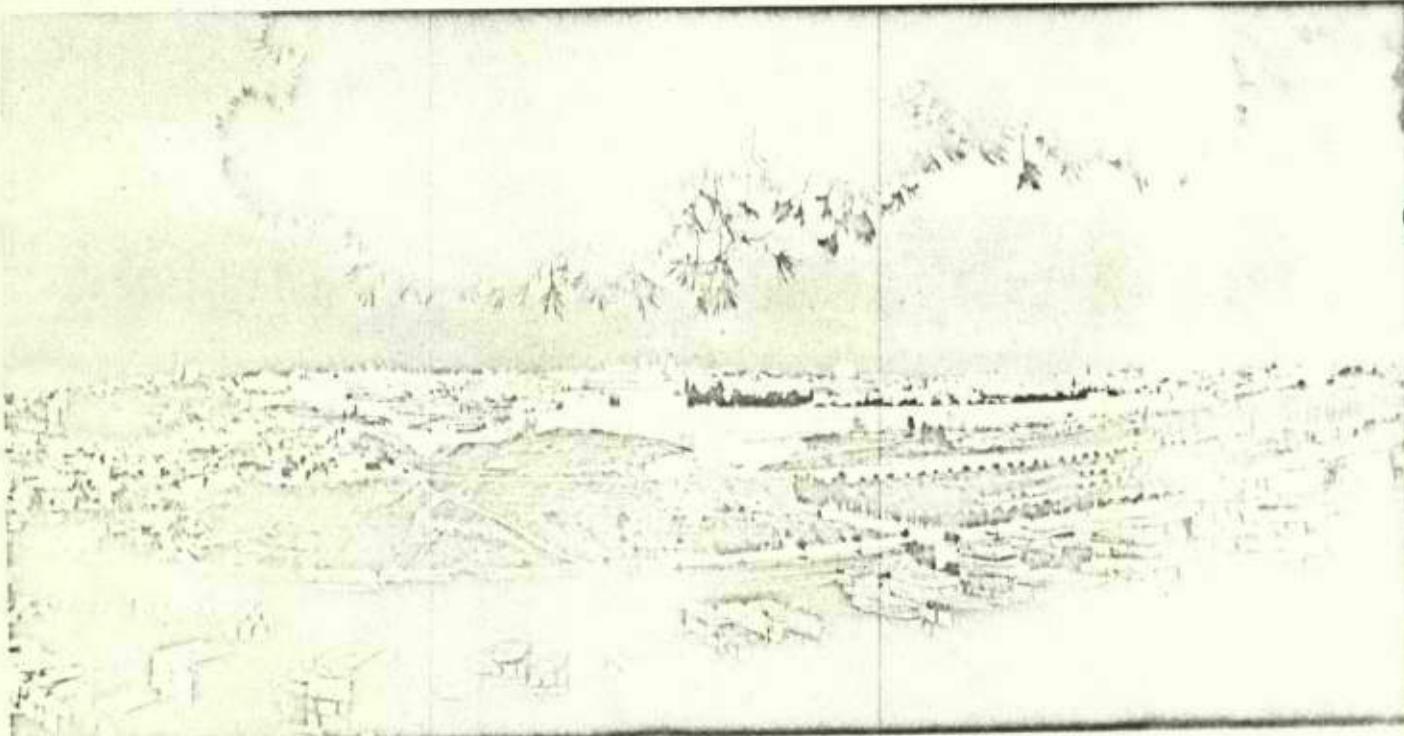
To say that the city is sacred to three religions is a distortive oversimplification. The factors common to the three—apart from Abraham—are not particularly encouraging or even illuminating. At some time in the 14 centuries all three have existed, each has been used as a battle-standard in a war for the control of the city, and access to the shrines of each has been a *casus belli*. The first element in Jerusalem's magnetism has been its attraction to pilgrims.

The second—economically similar if politically different—is its attraction to tourists. These two have strengthened with increasing international mobility and Jerusalem's economy is increasingly dependent on them. It is currently even more dependent on Jerusalem's most inflammatory attraction to the people who want to live there. The twin generators of a rudimentary and unstable prosperity are tourism and housing construction.

The Arabs among these would-be residents are involuntary exiles, who were beyond the Jordan in June, 1967 (though some have been allowed back), or who have been deported; or who had emigrated to the Americas to make money with an eye on eventual return; or who would in the natural course of events have filtered in from surrounding villages to live and work. The Jews

are voluntary immigrants on whom the Israeli acquisition of Jerusalem has worked like a spell, and they are coming in droves: 6,000 this year, perhaps 9,000 the next. More than half of Israel's 40,000-50,000 immigrants a year want to live in Jerusalem. Israel cannot be accused of pushing Jerusalem on its newcomers: the most it is doing is allowing them to have their way.

When the Israelis captured and annexed the Jordanian side of Jerusalem, they added to their expanding modern city the city that attracts pilgrims and tourists. In an effort to fuse the two inseparably, they are packing their immigrants into the eastern side. And, naturally, they are packing tourists into the western side. That has brought on their own heads the onus to make something beautiful out of the difficult amalgam of old and new they are so determined to create. It has also brought international criticism for trying to do anything of the kind: from the United Nations for trying to alter the status of Jerusalem; from the Vatican for threatening suffocation of the Christian city; from all those for whom the bulldozer's progress along Jerusalem's rounded and sparsely populated hills is a sacrilege. To the Arabs living there, who see the streets and shops of their eastern side become steadily more Jewish, the new white



"Jerusalem is built as a city which is at unity with itself"

housing estates spreading in an arc from north to east are like tombstones on their city's grave. But those outsiders who criticise the new building on aesthetic grounds are usually over-critical; the Israelis, who are, like all small and controversial nations, anxious for international approval and resentful of criticism, are quick to spot this. It is desperately important to separate politics from architectural aesthetics, precisely because it is impossible to separate politics from housing.

For the "facts" that it is Israeli policy to "create" in Jerusalem are concrete facts, apartment blocks that

change the city geographically and demographically and, so their many critics say, swamp the unique historic core. This survey will start with that core itself, where sanctity lends its own flavour and disputes to politics, and will then struggle outwards through the thickets of change and growth. It will then try to look at the city as a whole, to say what is the least that should be done to avert development vandalism: what, so to speak, the ground rules of any planning game must be. There is then the matter of who could and should be playing: that is left for the conclusion.

From David to Goliath

The Jerusalem of the next century, as envisaged by the Israelis' master planners, would be a Goliath of a city for that part of the world, with about twice as many people as the present Tel Aviv (though still only one-eighth the number now living in London). In extent it would be over 500 times the size of the old walled city, which itself is a metropolis compared with the ancient Davidic city. It is also in a different place.

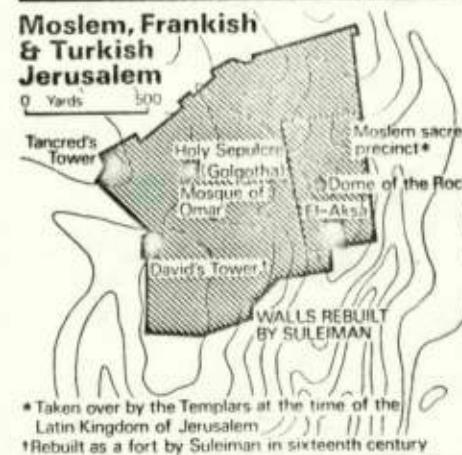
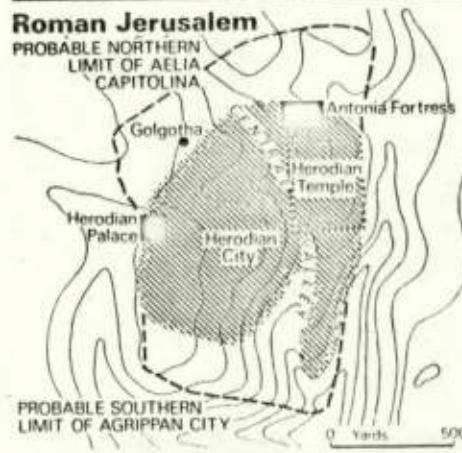
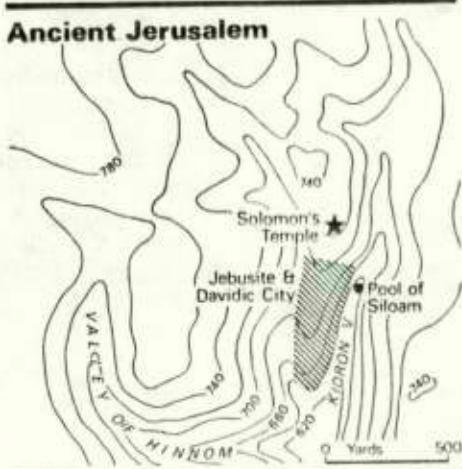
The Jebusite city over which David gained control and made his capital was neither on the south-west hill called by the Crusaders Mount Zion nor, confusingly enough, on the site of the Turkish fort by Jaffa Gate called David's Tower to this day. Archaeological evidence places it on a narrow ridge to the south-east of the walled city, hunched above the Kidron and Hinnom valleys. Solomon built his temple on higher ground to the north; at some time (the seventh century BC is currently favoured) the city spread to the south-west hill. By the time of Christ both sides of the central "Cheesemakers" valley—which was at least partly filled in—boasted elaborate Herodian structures: a palace-fortress to the west and the Antonia Fortress and second temple to the east.

Herod Agrippa began walls about the populous southern city, but the revolt of Jerusalem and its sack in AD 70 spelt the demise of this rich suburb: it was never within the city walls again. To the north, the traditional site of Golgotha was of course without the Herodian city, but within the walls of Aelia Capitolina, the strictly Roman city rebuilt after the Bar Kochba revolt in the second century AD. The north limit of Aelia Capitolina, of the Moslem Al-Kuds, and of the

Frankish Jerusalem ran on roughly the same line as the present north wall. The city of the Byzantines, the Moslem Caliphs, the Crusaders, the Mameluks and the Turks retained much the same boundaries from the sixth to the nineteenth century.

For much of this time Jerusalem was an unwalled city. The present walls were built in the sixteenth century by Suleiman the Magnificent: some 2½ miles of golden Jerusalem stone, still with only one breach, where the moat around the citadel was filled in to make a suitable entrance for Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898. The rubble and earthworks of centuries have filled in the Cheesemakers' valley, but the hills are not yet levelled: the highest point of the wall is 2,600 feet above sea level and 150 feet above the lowest. When G. K. Chesterton visited the city just after the first world war he was sad to find the walls overgrown, but they were restored under the British mandate; under the Jordanians the northern area beyond the Damascus Gate was spruced up, and the Israelis are clearing and planting the flanks of the Jaffa Gate as part of a scheme to surround the whole walled city with a strip of park. (One member of the Jerusalem Committee, set up by Mayor Kollek to give international approval to the Israelis' master plan, suggested pulling the walls down altogether in order to destroy the barriers between old and new: which is perhaps as good an indication of the usefulness of the committee's deliberations as Mr Buckingham Fuller's peerless prose.)

In the nineteenth century, Jerusalem crept outside its walls. The first Jewish settlement outside was Yemin Moshe, begun by Sir Moses Montefiore in the 1860s and landmarked by the wind-



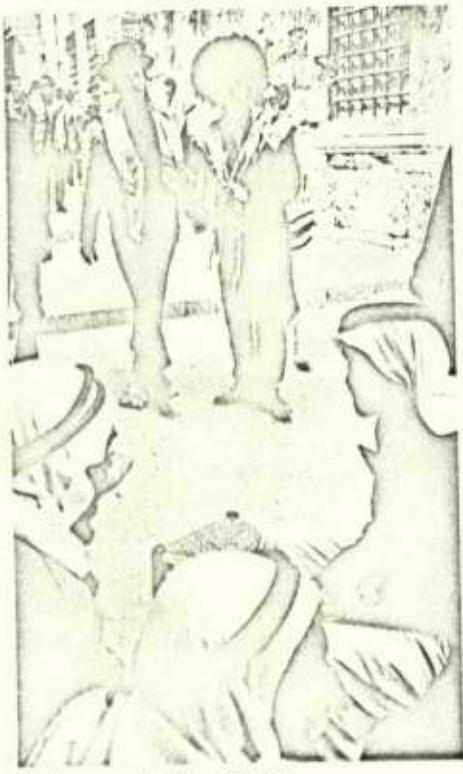
mill he was eccentric enough to build: its first inhabitants are said to have been too scared to stay outside the walls after dusk. There was also the large Russian compound, spreading from the high ground of the north-west corner of the walls. The first consulate was the British, established in 1839. A scattering of institutions began, in the latter part of the century, to intersperse

the leper colonies, cemeteries and churches that were all that had stood outside the city to the north, west and south: to the east there was the village of Silwan. In the twentieth century these clusters grew and coagulated into an urban growth that soon dwarfed the parent city and existed as a separate town from 1948 to 1967. But that part of the story must wait.

A quartered world

The Jews claim to have been in a majority in Jerusalem for over a century. Such claims depend upon a careful choice of boundaries: as late as 1931 the census gave the number of Jews in the sub-district of Jerusalem as 55,000 out of only 133,000. But they certainly had an ever-increasing majority in the built-up area, as the city grew outside its walls. In the walled city itself, of course, there were none from 1948 to 1967; but the old Jewish quarter is now being cleared of Arabs.

The largest of the four quarters that make up the old walled city is Moslem, containing some 14,000 people wrapped around the Haram esh Sharif, on which stands Jerusalem's one outstandingly beautiful building—the Dome of the Rock—and the El Aksa mosque, still unrepaired after the arson



Paths cross in the old city

that devastated part of it in 1969. This corner of the city has been the touchstone of religious dispute between Jew and Moslem. A passage in the Koran is interpreted as naming Jerusalem as Mohammed's take-off point for a night of heavenly revelation; later Moslem tradition added the steed al-Buraq, on which he was transported from Mecca and which he tethered by the place the Jews hallow as the Wailing Wall. For the Moslem precinct, is of course, the ancient site of the temple; the lower courses of the western wall of the mount are Herodian. Disputes over the status of the Wailing Wall were the cause of bad riots in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Jews are at present punctilious in their respect for the Moslem precinct (just after the 1967 war they held prayers there), and demands for the rebuilding of the temple are fanatic, and more important, negligible. Visitors to the two main buildings are meticulously searched by the police: the Israelis want no dangerous repetition of the 1969 disaster. But below the wall they are burrowing with the feverish enthusiasm of a people with whom archaeology is a passion, coming far closer to the mosque than was allowed under the Jordanians and digging northwards with an avowed determination to bring the whole of the western wall to light. They are coming close to the Mekhema, the historic seat of the supreme Moslem council, and it is hard to see how they can go much further without inflaming the Moslem quarter; but then the same was said of their intention to return the southern quarter to the Jews.

Before 1967, an Arab slum stretched to within 18 feet of the Wailing Wall; that was emptied and destroyed within a few days of the war. The luckless inhabitants fled. Farther to the west, in the old Jewish quarter, the results of annexation have

been slower, more sophisticated, and less drastic.

The Christian quarter is larger in area (the Israelis claim, slightly ominously, that the Jewish quarter was much larger in the eighteenth century before the Jews began to move outside the walls) but in 1967 the Jewish quarter contained more people. Many of these 6,000 Arabs were living in appalling poverty in the ruins created by the fighting in 1948. They are all now being expelled, although with some compensation—not for the property, which is mostly not their own, but for giving up their right to live there.

The Israelis are trying hard and with a great concentration of architectural skill to create something fine out of the squalor of this quarter. (When an architect complained of the bleakness of what has so far been built, Mayor Kollek replied with truth that the city's notoriously inefficient garbage collection would soon take care of that.) Preservation has been painstaking; archaeological excavations have been conducted with great thoroughness. Some of the houses have been raised on concrete stilts so the archaeologists can return. Here, uniquely, the Israelis have not been in a hurry. Very little is yet finished. Even a church ruin has been allowed to stand in the way of building progress. (Compare that with the odium one planner brought upon his head by protesting against the housing estate planned for Nabi Samwil on the grounds that it was the point from which the Crusaders first saw Jerusalem.) There is no hope, or indeed intention, that this careful development could be made to pay. An old Jew comes every week to watch the progress; he lived there before 1948, and for him the return is a far more concrete fulfilment than the immigrant's realisation of a religiously-nurtured dream.

And yet, of course, this Jew is the mirror image of the Arabs who go from east to west Jerusalem to gaze at property they lost in 1948. They, if they still live in Jerusalem, are now being offered compensation; Arabs condemn the valuations as derisory, but a fair number are likely to negotiate and take what is offered—perhaps warned, perhaps embittered by the experience of those who refused offers for land on the east side expropriated since 1967 for building.

Even in the Jewish quarter, a large and solid house has been destroyed solely for security reasons, and the

municipality's chief negotiator cannot live there himself; partly because he will not have it said that he profited from expelling other people but also because his sons fear for his life. Two bombs were thrown in his office. Compensation could be called generous for the abandonment of hovels. A woman with three children received £200 for leaving a tin shack on a rubbish heap; she could not hope for that in England. But it does not begin to provide these people with a decent place to live. There is no denying the

fact that 6,000 Arab people are being evicted to make way for 600 Jewish families. The problems of slum clearance are bitter enough in a reasonably homogeneous society; in a conquered city they cannot be free of politics. And while the archaeological discoveries are Herodian or even Hasmonean, the restorations are mostly of buildings of the last century; the Israelis are mingling a romantic attachment to an ancient century with a recovery of a nineteenth-century status quo.

Sermons in stones

The south-west corner of the old city is the Armenian quarter: the smallest enclave, it contains only 700 people. But the Christian quarter to the north contains some 4,000. It also contains, of course, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which the politics of Christian Jerusalem are concentrated and displayed.

The position of the Christians in Jerusalem is now the most equivocal—which does not mean that it is the most uncomfortable. Native Christianity in Palestine is Orthodox. The distinction between the Roman Catholics (usually called Latins) and the Orthodox (often called Catholics) existed at the time of the Crusades, but was probably not formalised until the western Christians were finally evicted and it became necessary for eastern Christendom to distinguish itself for survival. The multiplicity of sects in Jerusalem is as

much a reflection of nationalism (with which Christianity had to identify to survive) as of theological disputes or internal church politics. National politics still impinge. There is, for example, the unedifying saga of the Copts and the Ethiopians.

For over a century the Ethiopian church has laid claim, unsuccessfully, to two chapels—hardly more than shacks—in a ramshackle courtyard with ruined Crusader cloisters by the side of the Holy Sepulchre. At Easter, 1970, when the Coptic procession had wound its way through to the church, the Ethiopians took possession. One has only to remember that the Israelis are friendly with the Ethiopians while the Copts are the church of Egypt to understand why the action, or inaction, of the Israeli guard in the church courtyard, and the action of the authorities in confirming the Ethiopians



Service among the scaffolding

in possession, started a modest furore among the Christian clergies.

This is the only dispute to have been taken to the Israeli authorities, who are doing their best to steer clear of Christian disputes. It is no joke to be burdened with preserving the status quo. That phrase has a special meaning in Jerusalem; it refers to a Turkish *firman* of 1852 in which rights in, and ownership of, the two main shrines—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Basilica of the Nativity—were laid down. There has been perennial trouble between the Latins (the greatest international Christian force) and the Orthodox (the local church owning most of the shrines). The Orthodox can claim almost all of the Basilica of the Nativity and probably over half of the Holy Sepulchre. But the Latins came back, in the persons of the Franciscans, some 700 years ago. Their power has been increasing—some would say encroaching—ever since. In 1852 ownership and control were confirmed by the Ottoman empire in the possession of a trinity of Latins, Orthodox and Armenians (representing the monophysite—or, as they prefer to be called, non-Chalcedonian—churches, of which it is certainly the richest). Other churches may possess rights of worship, but the all-important rights of repair lie in the hands of these three.

These disputes have always been an obstacle to repair of the Holy Sepulchre, and were not ended by the immensely complicated status quo. But in 1958 agreement was at last reached,



The maze of the Holy Sepulchre

This survey was written by
Sarah Hogg.

with the active help of the Jordanian municipality, although it was 1963 before work started. It will not be completed for another four or five years. At present the church is a terrifying shambles of dust, scaffolding, half-supported and half-restored pillars. (Repairs carried out in the early nineteenth century after the church was damaged by fire consisted merely of encasing the damaged pillars in ugly but quickly-built supports: the Orthodox were so terrified that a whimsical and bribable government would suddenly assign the rights to someone else.) The dome, blackened by another fire, is still a subject of controversy: the Latins toy with the idea of a many-sided cone (the original wooden roof would have been of this shape) such as that with which they have just topped off a huge and remarkable new church at Nazareth. The Orthodox patriarchate considers this expensive and wrong; the whole job of restoration anyway is likely to cost something of the order of £4 million.

The largest share of the bill will of course be met by the Orthodox church. The Jerusalem patriarchate is theoretically entirely separate from, though in communion with, the other three "Apostolic" and four "non-Apostolic" patriarchates that make up the Orthodox church. But the Jerusalem patriarchate is not rich: and if it opened its coffers to public subscription, the Russian government might make an offer on behalf of the Russian Orthodox. This fearful risk is being avoided by the Orthodox share being paid for entirely by the Greek government.

You increase, we'll multiply

Both the Latins and the Orthodox must keep their distance from the Israelis. When, for example, the second Vatican Council diluted the traditional Catholic doctrine that laid the blame for the death of Christ squarely on the shoulders of the "perfidious Jews," as the old text had it, there was an outcry throughout the Arab world. The Jerusalem Christians fared well under the Jordanians, and are by no means naturally inclined to be pro-Israeli; some are among their most dedicated opponents. But with a western-style education and the adaptability that brings, they are prime targets for the label of quisling. It is concern for their congregations throughout the Middle East that prevents the Vatican from

The three days of Christmas

Christmas at Bethlehem is a matter of timing. On the evening of December 24th, the Latin procession from Jerusalem pours into Manger Square where, between a rather young Christmas tree, a successor to the original giant, and the brand new municipality—paid for mostly by the Israeli government—it is met by the military governor and the mayor of Bethlehem. This is the Christmas of western and Uniate churches, the diplomatic corps and the tourists. Tourism to Bethlehem, given a noticeable boost by the Pope's visit in 1964, has this year recovered to its pre-1967 level. This is the Christmas that matters to the Israelis. There is a good deal of security; at Christmas, 1967, the electricity cables were sabotaged.

The Latins bring from their adjoining church of St Catherine a plaster Christ child, and place it in the stone manger of the grotto of the Basilica of the Nativity, where it remains for 12 days. On January 6th it has to be removed—not because it is the western Epiphany but because it is the Orthodox Christmas eve.

This is the local Christmas. Rather over half the people of Bethlehem—in all some 18,000, excluding 7,000 to 8,000 in refugee camps, are Christian. The Latins have the bare majority. So the convention is that if the mayor of Bethlehem is Latin, the deputy mayor is Orthodox, or (as at present) vice versa. But Bethlehem is exceptional: the Orthodox are by far the largest community of Palestinian, and indeed middle eastern, Christians.

The Orthodox remove themselves on the 18th: but Christmas is not

over. The Armenians concelebrate Christmas and Epiphany; and they follow the old pre-Gregorian calendar. Their Christmas eve is January 18th. Theirs is the smallest and most apolitical Christmas of all. But they at least have a real stake in the basilica: an altar of their own. The Syrians may hold services there twice a year; the Copts only once. And all the Ethiopians may do is come and pray.

The basilica sports a notice provided by the good offices of the Israeli military and religious authorities: 12 rules for behaviour in church. There is a nice story that in the early days of Israeli occupation there was one further prohibition on the list: no infants.



The Nativity is 90% Orthodox

all that they are nothing more than extrapolations, these proportions have attracted a good deal of Israeli criticism. What they implicitly recognise is that the Arabs are adopting the old Jewish strategy of hanging on. (There is an Israeli joke now going the rounds about the soldier at a checkpoint on the Jericho road who replies, when asked how he knows which cars to stop: "When I see the Jewish look in his eyes, I know he's an Arab.")

The Arabs' growth rate depends on their high birth rate. The Jewish rate in Jerusalem is the highest in Israel, but the Arabs' is far higher. Jews tend to react to this in a way which is to anyone from the United Kingdom reminiscent of Ulster Protestant nervousness about a high Catholic birth rate in the province. In Ulster the ratios were maintained over two generations by Catholic emigration. Most Israelis

recognising the state of Israel, though it was a more special interest in Jerusalem that led it to condemn rapid development this year. Since the Christian Arabs are best fitted by their education for emigration, it is hardly surprising that their numbers should be diminishing.

The master plan that the municipality has drawn up for the city supposed that the ratio of (roughly) three Jews to every one Arab would remain constant; within "metropolitan" Jerusalem, a planners' area encompassing Ramallah in the north, Bethlehem in the south, Anatot in the east and Neve Ilan in the west, the proportion of Arabs is expected to creep to rather nearer half by 2010. For



The Arabs are staying put, but the Jews keep on coming

7/1/71
obviously hope that the same corrective will apply in Jerusalem; but they are hardly leaving things to chance.

Christian emigration has been rapid since 1948: where there were 25,000 Christians in the city then, there are under 11,000 now. But it is probably no faster now than in the 1950s. The rate of emigration from Arab Jerusalem as a whole is estimated by the Israelis to have been of the order of 1 per cent a year since 1967. What means much more than this barren statistic is of course that one border has been closed by Jordan; that a family reunification permit is far harder to get from the Israelis for an expatriate Jerusalemitic who wishes to return from abroad than for a West Banker; and

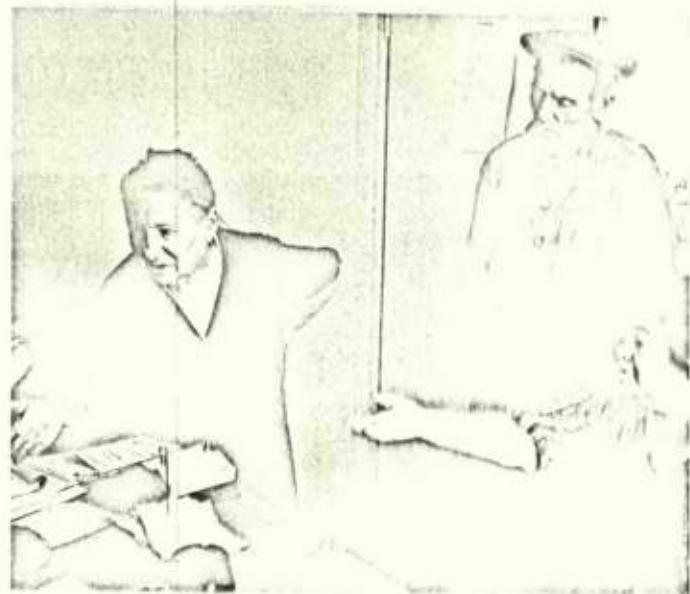
What's the limit?

Jerusalem has three peripheries: the walls of the old city, the municipal boundaries drawn by the Israelis in 1967, and the limits of the "metropolitan" Jerusalem they are planning, which are based on a commuting time of half an hour from the city centre. The actual and planned populations for each are:

Old City	1967	Proposed
Moslem quarter	13,600	10,000
Jewish quarter	6,000	3,000
(Arabs)		(Jews)
Christian quarter	4,300	4,300
Armenian quarter	700	700
Total	24,600	18,000
Municipal boundaries*		
	1967	1970
Jews	195,000	215,000
Arabs	68,200+	72,600
Total	263,200	287,600
Metropolitan Jerusalem*		
	1967	2010
Jews	206,000	465,000
Arabs	177,000	425,000
Total	383,000	890,000

+ end year

*Non-Jewish residents from overseas (monks, etc) are included in the Arab totals



that some of the emigration has been involuntary—deportation. It is not therefore much of a guide to the future. But what is statistically more important is the halting of immigration from the villages around Jerusalem—West Bankers may work, but not live, in Jerusalem—which before the war amounted to an influx of the order of 3 per cent of the population of Jordanian Jerusalem each year.

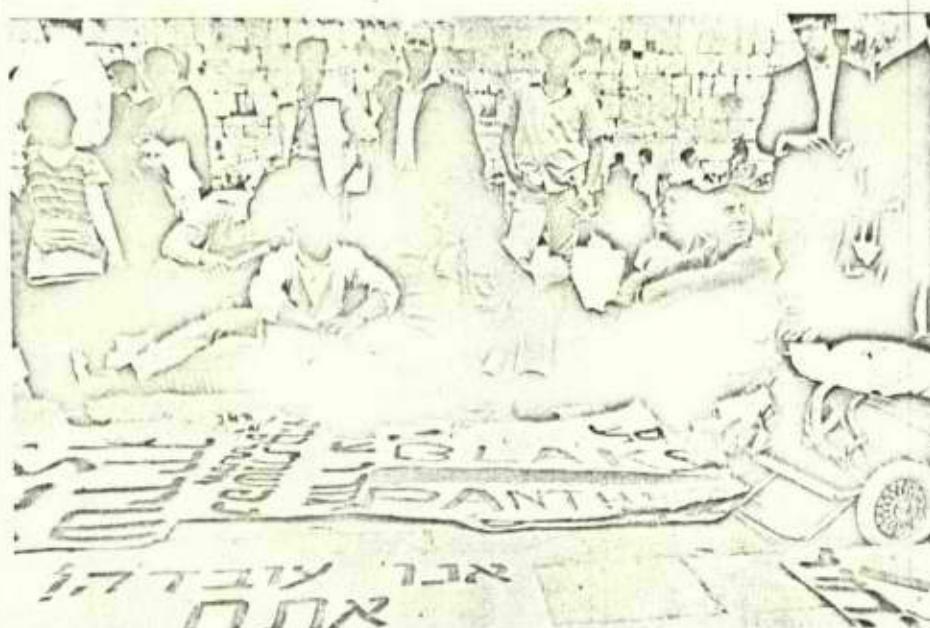
The best Israeli estimate is that since the war the Jewish population of the city has been growing at nearly 3 per cent a year, with an Arab population growth of 2 per cent. This is pretty well in line with the projections in the master plan. For the Arab side, in particular, the Israeli figures are really rough guesses: and anyway the picture is likely now to change.

This year some 6,000 immigrants came to Jerusalem, around 12 per cent of the total of all immigrants to Israel. Before the war, only some 5 or 6 per cent came to Jerusalem. Next year the figures will be nearer 9,000 and 20 per cent, and will just about bring the rate of growth of Jewish Jerusalem to the Israeli ministry of housing's target of 5 per cent a year. But that depends, of course, on a similar speed-up of housing completions. In 1970 the number of completions was rather under 3,000. The number of starts was about 4,000. But Jerusalem cannot take 12,000-16,000 immigrants a year, although Mr Shimon Peres, the last minister of immigrant absorption, wanted it to have half of all immigrants to Israel. Its existing inhabitants are overcrowded, poor and poorly housed.

The poor always ye have with you

The people of Jerusalem are poor. For all the Israeli claims that they are bringing services and prosperity to Arab Jerusalem, the urban slums of the Jews are a more blatant abomination than the semi-rural poverty of the Arabs. Walking up from the Jaffa Gate along the old armistice line the slums and half-abandoned buildings of Mamilla are like stale crumbs in the bowl of the western ridge; in the orthodox Jewish quarter of Mea She'arim religion and poverty are in their dual intensity reminiscent of Catholic Latin America. To the west, the ribbon of building along the Jaffa road, the city's main

western artery, degenerates into a shambles of one-storey shacks. In the asbestos—prefabs on a barren hillside—live "magic carpet" immigrants who were brought to Israel in 1948 and found themselves in temporary accommodation as permanent (though much less nice) as the garden suburb that houses Israel's foreign ministry. Demographically, the Jews in Jerusalem are far closer to the Arabs than to their richer, newer co-religionists in Tel Aviv: over a third of the population is under 14, the majority of the population was born in Jerusalem and among the minority over



Not very black, not many panthers—but they made their point

half are Afro-Asian born. Over a third are in substandard housing. But this is the pattern imposed by the influx of immigration from Arab countries in 1948. The way that it is now changing is both its hope and its greatest danger.

Immigration to the whole country, and most particularly to Jerusalem, has picked up since the war: in the early 1960s it was no more than a trickle. Some 60 per cent of these new immigrants come from the west—a proportion well above the national average. These "voluntary immigrants" are on the whole more articulate, used to a higher standard of living, and less inclined to sit back in self-congratulatory exhaustion than the state has got so far. But they increase the national Ashkenazi-Sephardic tensions. The indigenous Jews, or the earlier immigrants to Jerusalem, are mostly Sephardis. There have long been complaints that the Russian and American Ashkenazis carry an undue amount of political weight. In Jerusalem, there is added to this the complaint that, as well as all the other temporary tax advantages on consumer goods and income granted to immigrants, they get an unfair share of the new housing. Of the 2,850 flats completed in 1970, 600 were earmarked for immigrants: but since they also get advantageously low interest rates they managed to buy another 1,100 of these new homes. It was an awareness of this fast-burning political fuse, and a fear of a repetition of the violent demonstration in a Haifa slum in 1959, that made the Israeli government react so swiftly to the emergence of a bunch of self-styled

Black Panthers.

The Black Panthers were a group of very young, rather ingenuous protestors, coming mostly from the families of north African immigrants who arrived in 1948. The upshot of their mild activity has been a sizeable injection in the municipality's social welfare budget this year. That was badly needed; Israeli social workers have been threatening to strike if they are not better supplied with funds and helpers.

Proportionately, the welfare rolls of west Jerusalem are longer than those of New York city. Welfare is still patchy. Israel's biggest and best scheme is for a negative income tax which guarantees a family with two children, in high-cost Jerusalem, £30 a month. But this department shows the municipality at its best. It is run by an American immigrant who has shed neither his native terminology nor his

standards—and who is readier to agree that more could be done for the Arab poor as well as the Jews than to indulge in self-congratulation at what is done.

Some 600 Arab families are on the minimum income scheme: that is only a fraction—perhaps a fifth—of those who are in need, and a far lower proportion of the population than in west Jerusalem. But perhaps 2,000 more are receiving some kind of benefit from the Israelis. The welfare office is run by a Jew but staffed by Arabs. Jerusalem is the only area where the same welfare rates apply to Jew and Arab alike; in other areas, for example in upper and lower Nazareth, the Arabs tend to get the lower "rural" rate while the Jews receive the "urban" rate.

The Israelis claim that they are encouraging a social revolution among the Arabs (by minimum income schemes, paying benefits to women, and a contraction in income differentials so that the labourer receives a far higher proportion of the professional man's salary than before 1967). Their critics protest that they are employing wholly unsuitable and incomprehensible methods; that they are only replacing charitable funds that used to come from Amman and are now cut off; that such charities as are still in Jerusalem are discouraged from helping certain categories of people such as prisoners' families; that budget cuts, the bane of Israeli administration, come in January and February—the tax-year is a hangover from British days—which are the worst possible months to reduce assistance. The test of Israeli good intentions will come next year. The municipality is desperately poor, with a badly unbalanced budget. Until this year it has received a special grant to help with east Jerusalem. Next year it must manage for itself.

Rendering unto Caesar

The city of Jerusalem has an accumulated deficit which now amounts to £1.7 million. That is well over 10 per cent of its annual income. In Jerusalem, the municipal debt is not a simple matter of extended government loans or an increase in a rate support grant. It means deferring payment here, wheedling a few hundred pounds out of a bank there. The government, in a system of split control that is again a hangover from British days, provides a large third of the municipality's revenue, but the amount is strictly

limited to a fixed proportion of a decreed level of expenditure. The municipality has faced wage inflation of 20 per cent this year; next year it is more likely to be 30 per cent. The municipality has a strong incentive to wring all the tax it can out of the east Jerusalemites. The balance of advantage of this exchange—taxes for services—is hotly disputed in Jerusalem. From the city treasurer's chair it is simple: the municipality received from east Jerusalem only £120,000 in tax and spent £150,000 on welfare alone.



Kollek: the city's hub

Only the lower rates of tax are applied in east Jerusalem, and though the municipality demanded money even for part of the 1967-68 financial year, not until next year will they ask for the full amount that they consider is due. (This year they asked for 80 per cent of the assessment, and of this collected about 60 per cent.) Of course the government is collecting tax too, and just what the east Jerusalemites get from that is another matter. There is no doubt that the municipality, despite its poverty, has been far less voracious in its demands and less savage in enforcement than the government. Taxation is a novel idea to most of the Arabs: under Jordanian rule municipal expenditure was low and financed mostly from petrol tax or grants from Amman. There was certainly no equivalent of the occupiers' tax levied on everyone by Israeli municipalities. (Property tax and income tax are the prerogatives of the government.) The Israelis point to the services they are installing, but it is hard to respond with much enthusiasm when the western city is none-too-spruce. The Israelis would like to make a case for their administration of the city based on both efficiency and humanity, but muddle and lack of funds hamstring their efforts. That could be said of almost any city administration anywhere in the world; but the shortage of money is exceptionally glaring in Jerusalem. The greatest advantage they have in their mayor is that he is a proven fund-raiser.

Jerusalem's administration is not pyramidal but radial: Mayor Teddy Kollek is the hub. As a politician, he carries national weight; as the mayor, he has built up an international reputa-

tion. He is currently providing himself with the props of big city administration but has not succeeded in welding them into a working unity. That is at least partly not his fault. He asked, unsuccessfully, for Jerusalem to have a government ministry to itself; instead, every single department—diplomats, soldiers, rabbis, education and national insurance officials—has a powerful finger in his city's pie. Mayor Kollek heads a coalition which sounds weak: 16 members out of a town council of 31. But his is an intensely personal administration; and he does not lack international supports. His two international arms are the Jerusalem Foundation and the Jerusalem Committee. The foundation is a pipeline through which foreign capital, mostly from Kollek's friends, is pumped into the city. It has received some £2 million since Kollek became mayor in the mid-1960s. Money is only accepted for specific projects; but the foundation is in reality an arm of the municipality,

paying for any of its projects that are in some degree extra-curricular: playgrounds, community centres, or the park around the old city.

Jerusalem is a city of donated institutions. Some of its younger inhabitants resent this. The Israel Museum, another of Mayor Kollek's fund-raising successes from his pre-mayor days in the prime minister's office, has with great skill avoided naming itself or any of its marvellous complex of buildings after its benefactors: perhaps a unique achievement. International charity or the enthusiasm of rich Zionists is an unstable basis for administration, although one would have thought their names are a small price to pay for keeping the city's financial head above water. But with the upsurge in tourism, why can the city not support itself? Tourism has this year overtaken citrus fruits to become the Israelis' biggest foreign currency earning industry. Why has this not benefited its greatest asset?

The blessings of sanctity

The star of Bethlehem is a beautiful white flower, which tactlessly did not bloom at Christmas. But it does now, thanks to Israeli horticultural skill, and contributes to a flower export business worth over £2 million a year. That is an offshoot of the booming business of sanctity, making money now for the Israelis as once it made money for the Jordanians. It is the distribution of such wealth that is important.

Over 600,000 people have come to Israel this year; virtually all of these came to Jerusalem, though they may base themselves in Tel Aviv's larger stock of hotels. In Bethlehem, Arabs are prepared to admit that business is better even than before the six-day war.

But a clear majority of the tourists are Jews: and, curiously, this proportion is expected to hold steady as numbers increase, to a target of 1 million tourists in 1973, the 25th anniversary of the state's foundation. In east Jerusalem the Arabs complain that this traffic, filtered through Israeli tourist agencies, comes to their hotels only when those of the west side are jammed full: but this year there has been enough traffic for just about everyone. Before the war west Jerusalem was a backwater without attractions; east Jerusalem still has a greater stock of hotel bedrooms, but for both sides of the city the total is not much over

3,000. A number of the hotels on the east side were the pension type, catering for none-too-well-off Moslem pilgrims coming to complete the *Hadj*, the pilgrimage to the three cities of Mecca, Medina and Al-Kuds—Jerusalem. It is they, of course, that have suffered worst.

In the old city, shopkeepers have bent with the Israeli wind; a stallholder who once specialised in Christmas cribs now makes candles for Hannukah; touts offer to show the Wailing Wall first, the Holy Sepulchre or the Dome of the Rock are offered second. Arab children, with unconscious humour, offer "Moshe Dayan in a bottle": a jar of multi-coloured desert sand with General Dayan's portrait stuck on the front. Arab bookshops on the east side offer "Israeli Cooking" or "Miriam lives in a Kibbutz." Taxis from both sides ply their trade all over the city, though still with formidable ignorance of the foreign half. Egged, the Israeli bus company, dominates the tourist and local traffic (it has swallowed most of the Israeli local services), although the Arab buses on the east side still run. With the Arab banks closed, the smart shopping centre on the east side still looks a little bleak: but in the souk in the old city business is thriving.

Who profits? Not, to its permanent



Gethsemane : sacred asset

annoyance, the municipality, which does not levy any taxes which rise with income. It toys with the idea, but to imagine that it will be allowed to do so in the near future is wishful thinking. Mayor Kollek anyway believes that it would never be possible for Jerusalem to support itself on its history, as a tourist and pilgrim attraction, without suffering death from suffocation.

Nine hotels are at present being built in Jerusalem: one, 20 storeys high, to be built on French Hill, has caused a good deal of unhappiness. The mayor would like to see an end to the construction of monster hotels in Jerusalem when these are completed. They will give the city another 2,000 rooms; but a further 16 have been approved by the ministry of tourism. Their fate is hanging fire; but it is a fair guess that most of them will be built. Hotel building in Jerusalem is the biggest lure for foreign capital. The first nine hotels, for example, represent an investment of about £17 million.

Friction between ministries and municipality is the largest fact of Jerusalem's political life. Sometimes one suspects that this is convenient: the ministries, less sensitive or less aware than the municipality, act as the whipping-boys for everything that is wrong in the city. But it is no spokesman's invention, inflated to distract the 1,300 journalists who pass through the city in a year. The municipality and the ministries are constantly in genuine conflict. Battles between, say, the Jerusalem municipality and the ministry of education over Arab schools are all-too-reminiscent of those which take place in England. But Jerusalem's council is far weaker than, say, the Greater London Council.

Middle-aged spread

Through western Jerusalem runs a great ridge, the dividing line between the lands of the Mediterranean and the shores of the Dead Sea. Running north to south, this breaks up and forks into two, so that the inner city to the west seems curved around the old. Along these ridges are dotted the monuments of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century religion. Quite low buildings still catch the eye: the green copper baubles of the Russian cathedral, or the pimple dome of the Chief Rabbinate. To the north, where missionary and charitable zeal spread a city of schools, colleges, institutions and churches, the Anglican cathedral, a charming English church built in golden Jerusalem stone, plays the same trick.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Jerusalem's growth had a strong missionary streak. That manifested itself not so much in conversions—which would not have been viewed kindly by the local Christian church—but in education. There is a curious phenomenon of emigration from the city that marks, so to speak, the Panama canal. Those Arabs living to the north and educated by Protestants and Lutherans emigrated to North America; those living to the south, in the shadow of the Latin missions, went mostly to Catholic South America.

Housing spread outwards and

around this city of institutions to the west. But along the ridges themselves the spaces between these monuments to religion have begun to be filled up by the monuments of the mid-twentieth century: tourist hotels. It is Jerusalem's terrain that makes planning such an urgent necessity.

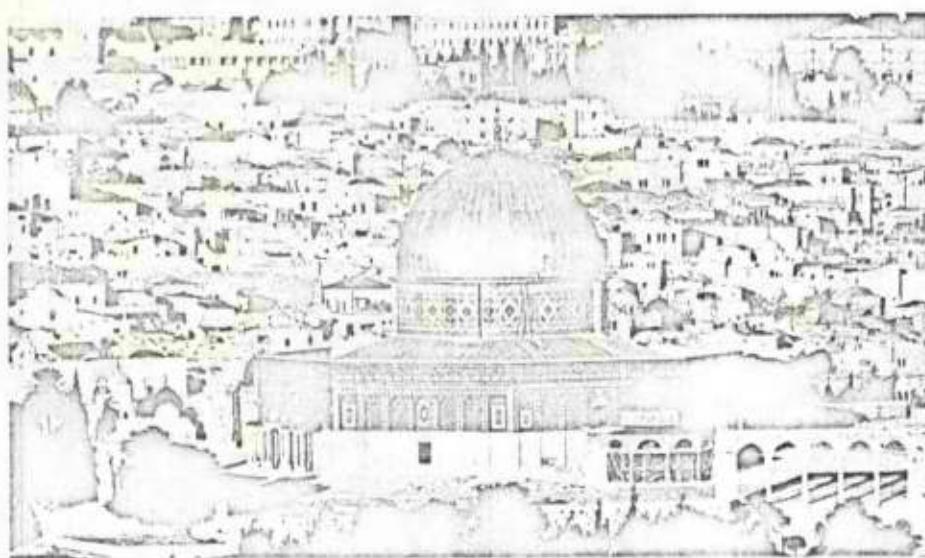
Beyond this inner built-up ring there is a third Jerusalem, which is Israel's capital. There is the Knesset, in the process of building on top of its huge, flat low-built roof; there is the Givat Ram campus of the Hebrew university with an enviably beautiful situation and fine buildings. (The original Mount Scopus site was of course the far side of the border.) There is the Israel Museum and the Shrine of the Book, an underground home for the Dead Sea scrolls with a round white roof of somewhat puzzling design—until it is explained that it was made in imitation of the lids of the urns in which they were found. Of all the Israelis' creations in Jerusalem, this cluster of museum buildings is the one of which they can be most proud. But just below there is a wilderness of road-building that has created great resentment for despoiling the valley of the Monastery of the Cross; in front of the Knesset are soaring ugly tower blocks; and beyond, the untended olive trees around the old Arab villages are a mute witness to the wastefulness of dislocation and war.

The next Jerusalem

Planning in Jerusalem is a decade—perhaps a generation—out of date. That is not necessarily a criticism: it is, for example, hard to rouse much public enthusiasm for pedestrian precincts when a car is still for most people the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. The first effort at a plan was made under the British mandate—Alexandria's city engineer was brought in to do the job. His recommendations were, as is well known, that all building must be faced with local stone—and he forbade all high building. The Israeli attempts at a master plan for the rapidly growing city began in the 1950s and grew into something in the 1960s, only to be redrawn, of course, after the war. The "interim report" was completed in 1968. Since then there have been transportation studies

and a detailed plan for the old city and its environs—which means much, but not all, of Jordanian Jerusalem. In 1969 the master plan was shown to a group of Jerusalem Committee members, whose reaction was vague, far from unanimous but definitely unenthusiastic.

If all had gone well for Mayor Kollek and the municipality, the creation of a master plan and the involvement of the Jerusalem committee would have been complementary actions. The committee first met in the summer of 1969. Its formation was naturally a double-valued action: it gives some credibility to Mr Abba Eban's repeated assurances that international opinion should be given its say in Jerusalem. The committee has the flavour of internationalism without



Dome of the Rock: the view that must not be blocked

the least touch of internationalisation. But Mr Kollek was genuinely anxious to tap international talent. The master plan, similarly, would give an air of purposeful development to Jerusalem's rapid growth: at the same time it would be a vital bulwark against the ministry of housing's least responsible projects. This does not mean that it was planned as a dam on development; the growth targets for the Government House area which caused such anger were enshrined in the sub-plan for the area around the old city. They have since been halved. But in almost every case where there has been international protest, the ministry of housing has overstepped the limits, by increasing the density or increasing the built-up area, that were decreed in the plan. Since the Jerusalem Committee consisted, by definition, of people sympathetic or at least not antipathetic to Israel (it contained Christians but no Moslems), the municipality could have hoped for some support. Why did the sub-committee that met in the winter of 1970 find the plan so objectionable?

First, it was a ludicrous political blunder to present the committee with a *fait accompli*. Such a group was never likely to agree: presented with a completed plan a chorus of enthusiasm was wildly improbable. Corporate criticism was restricted to a demand for revision and a strengthening of the planning process: individual criticism was dissident. The net result was the setting up of an urban planning unit but the weakening of the master plan's tiny political strength. This may still be to Jerusalem's benefit, but the future of planning is by no means assured.

For the master plan became confused with all the developments that are most disliked in Jerusalem: with the populating of the north and eastern hills with Jews; with high rise buildings; with through transport; and with all else that is anathema to those who are grateful for the fact that Jerusalem was hidden in the Turkish shadow from the glare of industrial revolutionary day. That is only partly unfair: much individual criticism of the plan was directed against its positive aspects—an east-west highway connecting Mount Scopus with the government precinct in the west; ribbon development; and the general domination of the plan by road transport. The planners' dilemma in Jerusalem is not only that the city is changing so fast that any plan that consists of lines on a piece of paper is almost instantly out of date, but that if this growth consists of public housing in a belt around the city the plan has to allow for extra schools, shopping centres and, most important of all, jobs in the city and transport to get the people to the jobs. The plan's network of roads has been altered in response to criticism; but the planners are constantly being forced back on their original, more drastic ideas by the spread of unplanned housing.

Lest the planners should be thought to be the unblemished heroes of this story, there is one cautionary tale that must be told against them because it says a lot about the planning paralysis that grips the city. It concerns a bank which, having bought up a square in the centre of western Jerusalem, planned to redevelop it. Surely uniquely, it went to the municipality in 1963 and asked what the plans for

that part of the city were and how it could fit in with them. The planners demanded (very properly) detailed plans; argued about density; demanded a transportation study; argued about parking. Time passed, and so did the six-day war. The bank was now required to fit in with the new postwar plan—when it emerged—with the new plan for the central business district and the new transportation study. Last month, its directors' patience ran out—and who can blame them?

But most builders are not so well-intentioned. Until very recently, any government building was exempt from the need for a municipal licence, and many builders still behave as if this was so. As it is, although the municipality does possess in law a planning veto, the hierarchy of control—above the municipality there are district and then regional committees—is such that it is often possible to by-pass the municipal level, so that the planners have to take the initiative if they are to have any effect. Jerusalem's urban planning unit is a few months old, secretaryless and tiny. Its ability to prevent, say, an extra illegal half-dozen storeys on a group of buildings depends on a planner happening to spot them personally in the fatal week while they are in the process of being built. No one is going to tear down a housing estate in Jerusalem.

The unit was set up in response to the Jerusalem Committee's very pertinent criticisms of a pathetically weak planning process. The Greater London Council's planning experts lent their help this summer, until the Foreign Office and the GLC itself got nervous that this suggested approval of Israeli annexation of the city. The GLC's advice was a direct translation of GLC practice, scaled down to Jerusalem size. It remains to be seen how this works out in practice; there are signs that the unit is beginning to get some grip.

To date, the planners' most concrete triumph has been the demolition of a hideous concrete classroom in the garden of an old Arab house—put up by, of all things, an art school. But two months ago it achieved a far greater triumph, by stopping all building on a ministry of housing project for a matter of weeks. That was on French Hill. The eventual settlement was neither a reduction in the height of the buildings nor in the density of the project, but a vast improvement in the amenities that surround it.

That is an allegory of Jerusalem's present development struggles. No

Israeli is going to stop building because it is an offence to the Arabs. French Hill, which most Israelis are ready to condemn, is no eyesore, at least from afar. To the stranger the ugliest thing about it is the way it looms above an overcrowded Arab village, and a puny amount of government housing for Arabs, which has been under construc-

tion for three years and will take perhaps 100 families when completed. It is perfectly true that, as the Israelis say, the Arabs can get some loans to build for themselves, and are not enthusiastic about shoe-box apartments—which are what is being built in Jerusalem today. That begs an awkward question: who is?

case for prohibiting all tall blocks—even for saying that all housing built on hills within sight of the old city should be one or two storeys high, tucking into the hillside as the Arab housing has done for centuries. (Mr Moshe Safdie has done some good designs along these lines.) But the Israelis will never adopt this; they find it expensive enough to keep on building in stone rather than switching to precast concrete. And it is at least arguable that when covered with this kind of urban creeper the hills would look no worse but no better than when surmounted by big apartment blocks. But there are limits. At eight storeys the buildings do not dwarf the old city; they are too far away. At 12 they can do; at 20 they are an intrusion. And the more the Israelis build on the first range of hills the more essential it becomes that the next range is left bare, for the sake of the people who will live in these estates if for no one else's.

There must always be fierce competition to build the farthest estate or hotel to the north-east; the kaleidoscope of colours that makes up the view to the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea is an incomparable asset. There is a further danger that, like so many other urban authorities desperate to house people satisfactorily and short of money, the Israelis will create human jungles short of amenities and even meeting places. Give these housing estates 15 years and peace, and more estates beyond them, and the Israelis will have created a city which is not so much ugly as unfit to live in; a breeding-ground for riots. In Jerusalem, they have had time to grow sensitive to such problems; in the older housing estates to the west there is a rash of community centre building, a concerted effort to break

Muddle or metropolis?

Worldwide reaction to Jerusalem's expansion has been a condemnation of all high-rise building within sight of the old city and a conviction that Jerusalem must stop growing. It is a strong case, and long may it continue to be made while the Israelis are sensitive to external criticism. There is no doubt at all that it nags at their aesthetic conscience and is an incentive to good architectural design. But while Jerusalem remains in the Israelis' hands, they are not going to destroy the dream of living there that is swelling their national ranks, though they may argue about how many may come and how fast. Nor are they going to impose prohibitive development requirements on themselves, though they may argue about how high, how near, and how much. And there is no guarantee that a repeated pronouncement of opposing first principles will in some miraculous way encourage compromise; sometimes, as when the American State Department condemned development on Nabi Samwil, it backfires. What is likely to emerge that way is a muddle: what is certain to appear with any sort of encouragement is a metropolis.

That is the world's dilemma, faced in particular by the British Government this summer: the GLC's planners were after all doing no more than advising on a planning system which will be the one and only check on irresponsible development. Jerusalem is rehousing its slum-dwellers, but immigration means that the city grows faster than it improves. The city cries out for planning, for honest opinions on the best way to grow. Growth is happening now, a political settlement or a war this year, next year, sometime. To wrest it from Israeli control might keep the hills that stand about the old city bare for a generation; under Jordanian rule growth was decently restrained. But Jerusalem contains the seeds of growth. What must be kept, and still more created,

in metropolitan Jerusalem?

A lot of Israeli nonsense is talked about the hotel on the Mount of Olives; it surmounts a Jewish graveyard and intrudes in an area sacred to Christianity, but it is not aesthetically offensive. The best defence is attack: the twentieth-century Abbey of the Dormition at the south-west corner of the old city similarly comes in for plenty of aesthetic indignation. Equally, a lot of anti-Israeli nonsense is talked about the Jewish housing estates to the north and east. They are built on land expropriated as a blatant exercise in political aggrandisement, but one could go the length of England to find public housing as pleasing to look at as Ramat Eshkol. (One has only to glance across the road at the buildings the Israelis pushed up to the border in the 1950s, monstrosities faced with crazy paving and framed in grey concrete, all set to become the next generation's slums, to see how far they have come.) As far as the preservationists are concerned, it is surely as anachronistic to thatch the hills of Nazareth with quick-growing pine as to cover these hills with housing.

Given all that, there is still a strong



The border's down, the buildings go up



down cultural or social divisions between small neighbourhoods. For such a small city Jerusalem has made commendable attempts to deal with convoluted urban problems. That does not stop it bringing more upon itself. But what is happening in the centre of the city is, for the world, far more important.

Preservation of the old city means three things: protection of the view out of the city from inside; protection of the view of the city from outside and, of course, preservation within the walls. The first two are naturally linked. If two high blocks at present going up beyond Yemin Moshe are allowed to multiply into eight or nine, irreparable damage will have been done both ways. This is quite the greatest desecration that is at present being perpetrated in Jerusalem. Both requirements imply some kind of withdrawal of the new city from the old: as much space around the walled city as possible. A signal triumph has been the restriction of building on Government House hill; where the original plan was for housing for 14,000 people, this has been halved. Building is now going on only on the far side of the hill, out of sight of the old city. But not all building can be tucked out the way; low building in the very centre of the new city is an

essential. The crux of the matter at the moment is the development of Marnilla.

Marnilla runs along the 1948 dividing line, on the Israeli side. From opposite the Jaffa Gate derelict buildings march northwards up the hill to the New Gate. To the north, the old Russian compound is to become the new municipal centre—thus, ironically, placing a cathedral at the focal point of a Jewish city. Jerusalem is caught up in the compound spiral of inflation, rising land values and housing shortages so that it is almost inevitable that Marnilla will go the way of all urban centres and empty itself of ordinary residents. Mayor Kollek believes that to develop Marnilla so that it will not dwarf the old city will cost an uneconomic £2 million above its eventual value.

It is not certain that he is right; what is needed for Marnilla is low-built prestige building, organisation headquarters. It should not be impossible to attract this, though the unsettled situation and international disapproval of Israeli annexation obviously restrict the candidates. High blocks would not only dwarf the old city; they would effectively cut it off from its westerly environs, to their irremediable loss.

The organisation of Jerusalem is still mildly radial. The essentials for development are breathing spaces along the radii, so that it is possible to keep the old city almost always in view as you come in from the outside or move out from the inside. That, too, means contour planning; using, rather than ignoring, Jerusalem's hills to maintain as long a view as possible. Jerusalem

is dangerously short of open spaces, unnecessary in a small city with ample views of rolling countryside, vital to a spreading urban centre. There is "Independent Garden," a desolate Moslem cemetery; the grounds of the Russian compound; the no-man's land, still a mess of rubble, to the north of the old city.

What of the old city itself? In theory, there is an easy consensus; no-one is going to allow 20-storey hotels within the walls. But at present it is surmounted by an unsightly forest of television aerials, which have appeared since annexation. What should the Israelis do? Territorial expansion provided the Israelis with a further incentive to set up their own television station: and the original intention was that up to three-quarters of the programmes should be in Arabic. That ideal was never realised; but there was definite encouragement to Arabs earning higher wages to acquire television sets. So the aerials sprouted—but high enough to catch programmes from Amman. Israeli television understandably grew more and more Hebrew. The municipality is now looking for the funds to run all the cables underground—and repair the sewage while it is at it.

The Moslem quarter is by any western standards overcrowded. The Israelis will say, often with the zeal of untrammelled social conscience, that much of it needs to be rebuilt, which means that 4,000 of the 14,000 inhabitants must depart. That is a project on which even the most fair-minded could burn his fingers; it could never be done without some settlement of the Jerusalem dispute.

"Can two walk together, except they be agreed?"

It is not true to say that no Arab wishes to see the city divided again. Some hope for that. Nor is it true to say that all Arabs would prefer anything to the present situation. There are those such as Mr Jarallah, the Jordanian town clerk, now deputy in the Israeli municipality, with a profound admiration for the mayor and a conviction that the city has never been better run. And there are those whose bitterness, whose dislike of the Israeli mixture of bureaucracy and ruthlessness, has only increased in four years. The solution that the mayor is

prepared to adopt—an Arab borough within an Israeli city—is of least use to these. It would give them power over those things that matter least—sewage, street lighting, even education, without any over those that matter most—prisons, or police. Mr Benvenisti, Mayor Kollek's henchman in the municipality who it was planned to make deputy mayor in charge of planning, made a proposal that caused much trouble among the Israelis (unfairly, since it was only one of the theoretical alternatives he listed, without making any personal commitment).

This was for "condominium" between the Israelis and the Jordanians. That is at present inconceivable without a redivided city. That leaves the shadowy area of internationalisation. Most Arabs are too confused in their search for leadership to be against this; some are actively for it. Mr Abba Eban makes frequent assurances that international interests should have a voice in Jerusalem. If his ministry is forced into details, this at present boils down to nothing much more than the present Jerusalem Committee, though obviously this is the easiest, because most indefinite, area of negotiation. Meanwhile, the Israeli government makes frequent assurances of freedom of access to the holy places.

For non-Arab Christians this is unfettered. What of the Moslems? Access has been eased. Some 107,000 "visitors" made their way across the Jordan to the West Bank and Jerusalem this year; more Arabs came by other routes. Within the city, the Moslem Council is lying as quiet and as inactive as possible.

But even some of the Christian communities complain of difficulties with visas for their members to come and live in Jerusalem to keep their institutions going: it is as likely that this is a result of bureaucratic delays as of deliberate policy, but there is an obvious danger that criticism from the headquarters of any Christian group could make this a reality. At present, the Israelis are bending over backwards to appear generous to Christianity—sometimes a little too imaginatively. Mr Eban got himself into a typical Jerusalem argument by suggesting that the municipality was providing financial aid: the Greek Orthodox patriarchate pointed out with great good humour that all the Israelis had done was pay for war damage.

Most people would like to see some kind of international involvement in the guarantee the Israelis have given of no change in some 300 buildings or sites in the city which have been designated "religious." But it can never be stretched into a mantle to cover the people of Jerusalem against discrimination. The city does have a fanatical flavour. Drive through certain areas at night and you risk a stone through the windscreen; religious students demand of passers-by whether they have performed their devotions; pathologists complain of constant attacks. Jerusalem has fanatical visitors, too; the boys of the Jewish Defence League come to strut around the



The museum has Arab playgroups, too

Jewish quarter of the old city, annoying the Israelis more than anyone. Immigration to the city increases religious fervour, since it is naturally the practising Jews that most desire to live there. These are over-represented politically. But Jerusalem is no religious compound. The Moslem religion is in little danger of suppression in Jerusalem. The municipality has gone to great lengths to allow its employees whichever rest-day they demand. It has taken as many of the Jordanian municipality's employees as would work for it. This is not an exercise in political restraint, or at least not entirely. The last thing the Israelis are aiming at is assimilation of the Arabs.

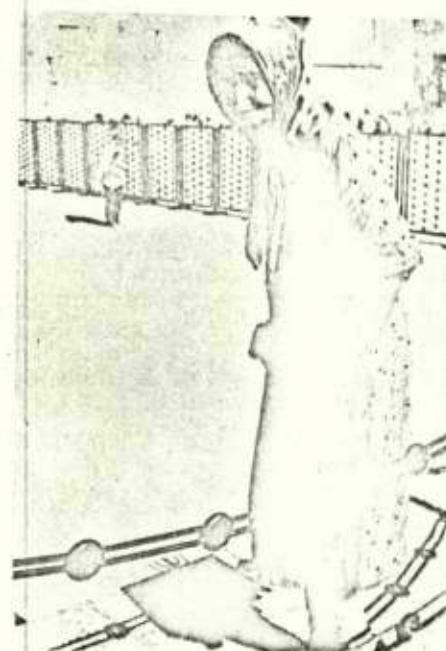
What can the Jerusalem Arabs hope for? At best, non-interference. For example, when the Israelis annexed the city, the municipal schools emptied. Fear and resentment were fed by the imposition of the standard Israeli syllabus for Arab schools, which in effect meant that students could not work for Jordanian matriculation exams. That has now been altered, but the schools have not refilled. The independent schools, of which there are fine examples in east Jerusalem, are packed, and suffering from the burden of pupils who cannot afford fees and for whom higher education is now difficult. The Israelis would be foolish to mix it with these.

Israelis buy Arab embroidery from Bethlehem, go to Arab hotels. Some of the proudest Jews, those most militant, most ready to fight for Jerusalem, are also the keenest to get to know Jerusalem's Arabs. There are public efforts, too. At the Ecce Homo

Convent the university sponsors well-attended Hebrew and Arabic night classes with the express intention of creating a meeting-place. Arab children enjoy the youth wing of the Israel Museum. Mr Kollek displays considerable understanding: he must do so if he is to achieve his target of coherent unity of the city. The municipality is a genuine point of contact. But most Israelis' attitude towards the Arabs is like the man who, going down the stair, met a man who wasn't there:

*He wasn't there again today
I wish, I wish, he'd go away.*

No one should be so foolish as to suppose that present quietude means future peace. If time turns annexation into possession and ceasefire into peace, the Israelis cannot count on a respite because they have acquired an asset and a magnet which is also an indestructible burden. To any Briton, the city of Jerusalem is now a sharp contrast to Belfast; the soldiers are ubiquitous but relaxed; there are no road blocks in the city centre; the majority and minority exist without open rioting. But it was not so long ago that Belfast was sunk in a complacent mid-1960s sleep. Even within their own plans for the future of Jerusalem, the Israelis must allow for the Jerusalem Arabs to wake up. It may be that there is no compromise that they believe is worth making. While the Arab governments are so obdurate it is hard not to agree with them. They must then face the danger that the circumstances of the 1960s will be visited upon their children and their children's children.



Wailing Wall: the end of the road

נושרד החוץ

3.1.72

מזהר

: מ	Michael Pragai	: מ
: מ	Max Nurock	: מ

Sarah Hogg, writing about Jerusalem in the Economist of Christmas Day, of all days, is a dangerous customer. She writes with great subtlety, but what she says, or leaves unsaid, and her plethora of half-truths – not that there are not also quite a number of whole truths in her article – are sinister and insidious, of cunningly oblique innuendo and, unmistakably, betrays every so often, behind her silken prose, the cloven hoof of implacable and ingrained anti-Jewish bigotry. If ever there was an exercise of great skill in damming with faint praise, this is it.

Not a word in all her exegesis, her profound research and officially supplied and competently exploited statistics, will you find of Jordan's nineteen years of infamy and perfidy, vandalism and sacrilege in Jerusalem. Nor a single syllable of thanks for the freedom of access and reference, the uninhibited recourse to information, accorded her by our people, without concealment or circumvention. What Arab State would be as forthcoming, as frank and as cooperative?

It is hard to be a Jew, and certainly it is not going to be easy to be a reunified Jerusalem!

I have no objection to your sending a photostat of this minute to Benad Avital in London.

סגן מזכיר



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
2 PALACE GREEN.
LONDON, WC, 4QB.
TEL: 01-937 8091

א" בשבט תשלב
17 בינואר 1972

סגרירות ישראל
לונדון

מספר

אל: מר א. לורי, המשנה לממכ"ל
גב' י. ורד, מנהל מזח"מ

מאת: השגריר לונדון

הנדון: ירושלים: מאמרי האקונומיסט מ-25.12.71

אני מודה על ההערות המפורשות במכח הגב' ורד בندון מיום 2.1.72
ועל החומר שעוד נקבע מידי קולק בנוסאים הנוגעים לו. בטעני שנמצאו
הздמנויות נאותה להשתמש בנתוניים אלה בעתיד אך בנסיבות ברצוני להביא מספר
הערות למכח הגב' של הגב' ורד.

ההצעות לפוליה המובאות במכח אינן נראות לי בעיקר משנה טעםם -
אחד הנוגע ל蹶ה המסתוי והשני הנוגע למדייניות ההסברה שלנו בנושא ירושלים.
אין לנו שותפים להערכת גב' ורד על חובן המאמרים שפורסמו באקונומיסט.
יש אבג'ם אי דיווקים ודברים מסוימים לבינו, אך יש גם דברים גוחים לו.
בש"ה קיים איזון מסוים והרשות הכללי איננו עוני. נדמה לי שגב' ורד מגיעה
לדעת חד-צדדית ע"י הסתמכות על קטעים נבחרים. לעומת זאת, הקורא הרגיל
מושפע יותר מן המאמר בשלמותו מאשר מפרק זה או אחר. בכל אופן, אין קורא
יותר רגש מאשר היהודי המקומי. וובדה היא שהציבור היהודי אכן לא תרגש
מחאמרים והיו רבים שהיחסו אליהם בחוויה. לכן לא היו תגבורות לקביעה
גב' ואיש אובזרבר כי המאמרים היו "אובייקטיביים". יש להשוו את היחס הזה
תגבורת הנרגשת להודעת הארכיבישוף מקנטרבר על ירושלים והביקורת עליו
בעיתונות היהודית כאן.

לגבבי בישתנו ההסרתית על נושא ירושלים, מוטב שגב' בחרבון את עמדת
העולם הנוצררי. אין לנו אפשרות בכלל לשכנע את דעת הקhal שסיפוח מזרח י-ם
ג'ד ראו' החשובים הערביים ואחרי כיבוש צבאי, היה מזדקם, מה עוד שמו עיב' י-ט
טסקה אחרת זה אחד. אין אפשרות לשכנע את דעת הקhal כי בנית שכונים במערב
ירושלים ויצירת עובדות אחרות אינן מושפעות בכלל מטעמים פוליטיים וכלכליים
להגיעו ל"יהודה" העיר כולה. אין לנו אפשרות לשכנע את דעת הקhal שסיפוח
מזרחה ירושלים איננו מנסה על הסדר שלום עם העולם הערבי. אם זאת המאיות,
מוטב שלא נזמין ויבוח אבורי על ירושלים אלא נטה למגוע זאת. מפעם לפעם
יש צורך להסביר ולהתגונן, אך אם אין צורך אמיתי לך שכנו רק יצא בהפסד
אם ניסחך לפולמוס.



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שגרירות ישראל
לונדון

- 2 -

נקח בחומר דוגמא את המקרה המסוים זהה. מסביב לחג המולד היתה תשומת לב כללית סביבה ירושלים - כתבות ומאמרי מילוחדים בעיתונות, תכניות ברדיו ובטלוויזיה, הודעה מתעם הארכיבישוף ועוד. התופעה העונתית הזאת כבר חלפה והנושא שוב נרדם. יהיה זה משבה אם נחיה אותו במו ידינו כפי שמצוע הגב' ורד. מסופקני אם האקונומיסט יהיה מוכן בעצמו לחזור לנושא אלא אם תהיה התפתחות חדשה.

אנו מקיימים מגע שוטף עם מערכת העיתון, כמו עם עיתונים אחרים, ובקשר זה הצבענו על אי דיווקים וליקויים במאמריהם על ירושלים.

בברכה,

מ. קוממי

C. 1720

ירושלים, ד', בשבט תש"ב
23 בינואר 1972

שפט

אל השגריר קוממי, לונדון

באת המשנה למנהל הכללי

חנדוון: מאמר האקונומיסט
מחבר כה-17.1

סיימיך,

רבות תודות بعد המכתב הנ'ל. אני מקבל דעתך שלא כדאי לנו לדרבן
המחכבות פומבית בשלב זה שכרכו יכול לאטה במאסדו. באחנו זמן שמחתי
לראות במחכבי האקונומיסט של השבוע מעבר את מחכובו של שוגרמן בנדון.
בכל זאת אני שוחף לדעתה של יעל ורד (בזה אני חולק עלי), שמאז
המאמר היה עוין ולא לטובתנו.

בטעית האחורי שller אתה ציין שאתה סקיפי שוגע שוטף עם מערצת
העתון, כמו עם עיתונים אחרים ובהיקשרות זה אתה מצביעים על אי דיווקים
וליקויים במאמריהם על ירושלים. אם טרם קיימים מוגעים אלה בפנין
מאפריה של גב' הוג, היה אולי מחייב גם בצלב זה לך או לרופין, לפחות בשיחה עם אחד העורכים,
הוזמנו להבהיר הטעיות על כמה מפרטי הדעת העובדות ובזה

to set the record straight.

בברכה,

ו.

א. לורייא

העתקים: גב', יעל ורד, מנהלת מזה"ס
מנהל אירופה 2

4500-45000 m² yr⁻¹ (Fig. 10). The latter is

the same as the rate of sedimentation in the

SEDIMENTATION AND EROSION

Consequently, the sedimentation rate in the deep sea is much higher than the erosion rate. The latter is about 100 times smaller than the former. The sedimentation rate is about 100 times larger than the erosion rate. The sedimentation rate is about 100 times larger than the erosion rate.

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of its problems in the issue (ingenuously) dated December 25th. The facts were well chosen and apposite. At the same time, their presentation was in places unfortunate, if not actually misleading. Two examples must suffice.

One: "demands for the rebuilding of the Temple are fanatic, and, more important, negligible." In fact, with a Knesset representing every politico/religious viewpoint from ultra-religious to atheist, and from reactionary conservative to communist (of both the leninist and the maoist persuasion), no member has ever even suggested the rebuilding of the Temple. The only such fanatic utterance I can recall came from the Christian youth, sadly demented, who set fire to the El Aksar mosque.

Two: "so-called visitors." In practice, the Israeli government, with courage approaching foolhardiness, invited any Arab living in countries technically at war with it to visit Israel this summer. Well over 100,000 responded: all but a handful (who requested, and were granted, permission to settle) returned to their homes as planned. Why "so-called"?

The issue which clearly most exercised Sarah Hogg, however, was the status of Jerusalem as a magnet for three religions. Would it not have been more realistic (and thus in keeping with your own traditions of journalism) to compare Israel's current handling of this problem with that of Jordan between 1948 and mid-1967? Such a comparison would have revealed that some major differences exist, which are surely worth spelling out.

The Jordanians expelled all Jews from the old city. This little community, predominantly ultra-religious and elderly, had existed there continuously (albeit precariously) for well over 3,000 years. The Israelis have expelled squatters from the old Jewish quarter, but have left all other communities, Moslem and Christian, essentially intact.

The Jordanians made it impossible for Jews, or indeed for Moslem Israelis, to visit their holy sites in the old city and beyond. The Israelis have encouraged pilgrims of all religions to visit the city, and have scrupulously reserved all holy places for guides of the appropriate faith.

Measured against these criteria, it would appear that the Israelis are discharging their role as protectors of Jerusalem, as a holy city, conscientiously and with commendable understanding of the needs of all three faiths.—Yours faithfully,
London, NW11 V. DENIS VANDERVELDE

Ulster

SIR—Mr Titcomb's letter (December 25th) strikes me as curious, for he thinks proportional representation for the Northern Ireland House of Commons would do no good, but then proceeds to suggest that the senate should be elected by an inferior version of the same thing.

He wants two senators to be elected together, each elector having only one vote,

Jerusalem

SIR—As a recent visitor to Jerusalem, where I stayed in an Arab hotel inside the old city, I applaud Sarah Hogg's study

withdrawal) could not be easily or quickly averted. But perhaps it is worth adding that Britain itself will get much of the effect of the negative foreign trade multiplier which would be triggered off. The Maltese people have a very high propensity to import, and around 40 per cent of our foreign merchandise purchases—over £28m in 1970—comes from Britain. In fact, if relations between the two countries do get bad, something which few would like to see, the effect on British exports to Malta may be nearer to our total, rather than the marginal, propensity to import from Britain. Our trade bill is small by world standards, but not too insignificant that it could not be a useful card if Malta is forced to realign its external relations.

For the record, allow me to point out that all aid given to Malta since 1964 (about £30m, of which a quarter was in loan form) was tied aid. Indeed, between 1964 and 1971 we purchased £163m worth of goods from Britain, which took £33m of our exports in the same period. I believe it is fair to say that in recent years Britain has been taking as much cash out of Malta as it puts in through its government, tourists, and so on, while historically the balance has been very much in Britain's favour. And this, of course, takes no account of the 170 years of using the Malta base free or dirt cheap. Moreover, the Maltese have traditionally invested their savings in Britain; these are estimated to have reached some £200m at least. It may be presumed, perhaps, that British users of Maltese loan capital made a profit out of it?—Yours faithfully,

OXFORD LINO SPITERI

Jerusalem

SIR—Sarah Hogg's special survey on Jerusalem (December 25th) is to be commended for its largely constructive criticism and comprehensiveness. The subject is one fraught with emotional and controversial content, and is thus difficult to deal with, but I do feel some comments need to be made.

It is eminently unjust to use the words "captured and annexed" when describing Israel's presence in east Jerusalem. After all, when the United Nations designated Jerusalem for international status in 1948, it was Arabs and not Jews who "captured and annexed." Until 1967, the city was Jordanian-occupied.

As for Arab land being expropriated in 1967, such a statement must be qualified by mentioning that the land was almost exclusively owned by wealthy and exploiting absentee Arab landlords, now sunning themselves in Beirut and Damascus.

Lastly, four small points. It is in some bad taste to quote G. K. Chesterton on any matter concerning Jews and Israelis. He never disguised his anti-semitism.

Also, Montefiore's windmill was certainly not built as a result of any eccentricity on his part. It was meant to symbolise the

Jewish return to the land, a concept indeed still central to Zionism.

Thirdly, the implication that Israeli buses have diverted business from Arab buses is due to one obvious fact—the Arab buses are extremely badly kept, prone to frequent breakdown and are unfriendly to travel in.

And lastly, it is very presumptuous to say that the Jordanian-built hotel on the Mount of Olives is "not aesthetically offensive." Many planning and other authorities agreed that it is not simply an abomination to the eye, ruining a most beautiful view, but that to build it on Jewish graves that are older than the Arab peoples was and is a wanton act of desecration.—Yours faithfully,

BRISTOL MARTIN SUGARMAN

SIR—There are several aspects of the situation in Jerusalem (December 25th) that ought to be stressed. First, the annexation of the Arab city is illegal in international law, which stipulates no exceptions for Israeli strategists or religious cranks. Second, the Arab population has been subject to unpublicised but unsubtle forces which envisage their eventual expulsion—also illegal, and incidentally inhuman. Third, Jerusalem's traditional spiritual character has been slowly acquired over millennia and is inextricably based on a Middle Eastern heritage; it is neither Kiev, Vienna, nor Plonsk and any attempt to make it another pseudo-central European fantasy like Tel Aviv would unfailingly destroy this character. Fourth, and most significant for westerners, the universal appeal of the Holy City is derived not from its connection with Judaism, important as that may be, but from the sacredness with which two universal religions, Christianity and Islam, have held the city over the past 2,000 years. It is doubtful whether our culture will benefit from the transformation of its holiest city into a shrine to Israeli immigration policies and Zionist tribalism.—Yours faithfully,

BEIRUT JULIAN ROBERTS

Hypermarkets

SIR—You say (January 1st) that Sainsbury's are "firm High Streeters." I regret to say that this is a misleading statement.

It is puzzling to know why you made this assumption for, on many occasions, I and my colleagues have advocated the need for the development of new locations for food shopping, both out of town and edge of town. I have spoken against the type of out-of-town shopping centres which despoil the countryside, but always in support of any development in areas which have good road access and which otherwise might be used for industrial or commercial development.

The great need is to plan for the shoppers of tomorrow, who for food and other weekly needs will be very largely car-borne. In many areas, the only way in which to achieve this is by having new shopping centres outside the traditional

town centres. In particular, I believe that the Government and local authorities should take more account of the economic advantages to the community which will derive from creating new facilities for food shopping on the edge of towns, which neither have the disadvantage of invading the green belt, nor of altering the attraction of the city centres for non-food comparison shopping.—Yours faithfully,

London, SE1

JOHN SAINSBURY

Hi-fi

SIR—Your article, "Hi-fi: hum, hiss, boom" (December 25th), is extremely misleading. It gives the impression that the present hi-fi industry consists of a large number of small specialist firms which have stumbled upon an expanding market that is just about to be taken over by big groups with a superior marketing ability. It entirely underestimates the forces which brought about the evolution of the industry.

The big groups were already selling equipment which claimed to be "hi-fi" as long ago as the early 1950s. The equipment was usually housed in an attractive, but often very costly, cabinet, and seldom went very far towards accurate reproduction of the original sound recorded on the discs or tapes. There was thus a challenge to anyone who understood what the reproduction of the original sound involved to build the equipment to do it. This challenge has been met by the present industry, but because it consists of such a large number of independent concerns, each convinced that it has the correct scientific approach needed to design the equipment most able to reproduce faithfully the original sound, the choice facing the consumer is bewildering. However, as your article points out, there are already a number of dealers who are able to compare systems for anyone willing to listen. In these comparisons the better equipment can be discriminated by ear; the superiority of the good equipment is achieved by good science and not by a successful marketing technique.

For the big groups to compete with the specialists, they must either build something better and cheaper themselves or buy up the successful designers. This is one industry where the quality of the product actually matters and where a business run by scientists will do better than one run by accountants.—Yours faithfully,

ANTON ZIOLKOWSKI

Cambridge, Mass

One Vat rate

SIR—I was delighted and surprised to see that you have initiated public discussion of a single rate Vat system.

You do not make it clear in your article (December 18th) that the Danish system is unique, in that all goods and services (except newspapers, ships and commercial aircraft) are taxed at the same rate and that food is not exempt. The happy result



רשות
22 נובמבר 1972

ירושלים, טו בטבת תשל"ב
2 בנובמבר 1972

אל: מר א. לוריא, משנה למנכ"ל
השגריר, לונדון

מאת: מנהלת מתח"ם

הנדון: ירושלים: מאמרי האקונומיסט מ- 25.12.71

על דעך מר א. לוריא הריני מציעה שתגובתנו על המאמרים תחלק כדלהלן:

1. מאמר לפרסום על ידי קצין העוניות של השגרירות בלונדון (קווים להטובה להלן).
2. משובה של טרי קולק על העוניות נוגעים לו, כולל תכנון ובינוי ירושלים. (משובה כזאת נמצאת עתה בהכנה).
3. שיחה יסודית עם עורך העיתון על אי הדיווקים, הסלופים המכוננים וההעמלות הדזוניות שבמאמר, לפי הערותי הר"ב.
4. ייתכן ויש מקום לארכון תגבורות קוראים על בעיות ספציפיות, לפי שוקל השגרירות בלונדון.

להלן קווים לכתב תגובה לאקונומיסט. אין הם כוללים את הנושאים בהם יעסוק ראש העיר:

1. לכל אורך המאמר עוזה המחברת מאמץ מירבי ליזור רושם שהנהבות היהודים בירושלים המדרחית מאז כבשו אורה ב-1967 מונעת ע"י מניעים דמיים - לאומניים ומיועדים ליידר את העיר כולה. לשם כך הם מושרים כביבול, מושלטים מירושלים; גורמים להגירה תושביה הנזדררים. הישראלים איננה נאמנים כביבול להבטחת לבישה חופשית למוסלמים למוקומות הקדושים לאסלאם; מפקחים את פרנסת המוסלמים; מטילים עליהם מסים כבדים ומקעדים את העיר בבנייה נחוצה וחתרת תכנון.

המאמר נכתב תוך דקירות מרושעות, תוך התעלמות מכוונתן מן העובדות בעבר הרחוק והקרוב, ותוך סלוף, גם לעיתים של המזיאות הקיימת. אופייני הבוטוי כשבדבר על מעשה ישראלי חיובי בעיר *the Israeli's claim* (עמ' 44).

2. המחברת מתעלמת במכונן, בתיוורה. ההיסטוריה, מין העובדה שלכל אורך ההיסטוריה הייתה ירושלים ביתם יישרל בלבד (בית ראשון ושני) ושל מלכת האלבנים, אך לא הייתה בירת העربים, האיוובים הממלוכים או הירדנים.

היא מתעלמת במכונן מקיום היהודי רצוף בירושלים, פרט לתקופה שנאסר יישובם בעיר. המחברת אינה יכולה להתעלם מכך שמאז המאה שבעה מהיהודים היהודים רוב בירושלים, אך היא מנעה לעותה את ההמונה בקבעה שהיהודים היוו 55000 מתיוך 133000 תושבי נפת ירושלים, ממתי קובעים יישוב *מיובן* לפי מספר תושבי הנפה מקיפה שטח נרחב ובר כפרים רבים שאיןם שייכים לירושלים.

3. המחברת קובעת בעמود 38 בין 1948 ל- 1967 לא היו יהודים בעיר העתיקה, היא מחלמתה במקוון מהעובדה שהיהודים גורשו מירושלים בכה על ידי הצבא הירדני במאי 1948 ומאז נארה ישבותם בירושלים בכלל. על היהודים והמוסלמים הישראלים נאסר להכנס לירושלים העתיקה ולבקר במקומות הקדושים להם. אירופי שביבש להכנס ולבקר בירושלים נחבקם להביה מערווה טבילה לקונסוליה הירדנית. הרובע היהודי על بحي הכנסת שלו, ובית הקברות היהודי נהרסו במקוון ובשיטפוח על ידי הירדנים.

4. לעומת זאת קובעת המחברה בפסקות (עמ' 38) שהמוסלמים מהרובע היהודי בעיר העתיקה, זה שקר גס, פגוני מהרובע געשה חור מוא"מ והסכמה הדדית על מבחן פזויים הוגנים המאפשרים שכון בrama פוחר טובה.

fares well under the Jordanians

5. היא קובעת שהנוצרים אין איננה שואלה מדוע ירד מספר הנוצרים בירושלים המזרחית מ- 32,780 ב- 1948 (39.9% מכלל האוכלוסייה) ל- 12,550 (19.53%) ב- 1967 ; היא מחלמתה בليل מהחושים הירדנים שאסרו רכישת רכוש דלא נייר על ידי הכנסייה בירושלים ומההיליך המכובן של ערבייזיה של מוסדות החנוך הכנסייתיים בעיר. אין היא מזכירה, כמובן, שהגבלה אלו בוטלו ע"י ישראל וכי מאי יוני 1967 יש אף עליה קῆנה במספר הנוצרים בירושלים.

6. המחברת מזכירה (עמ' 51) שמשלת ישראל מרבה הבתחות לחופש גישה למוקמות הקדושים אך אינה כוחה בנסיבות שפורה שאמנם קיימן חופש גישה מלא. היא מודה אח"כ שהדבר מבריע לגביו נזירים אך ניחן להבין לאילו אין זהך לבני מוסלמים. היא מודע שבקיים זה בקרו בירושלים כ- 10700 אורהים מוסלמים. אך המילה **"Visitors"** מופיע בתרכאות, מדוע? מה כוונתן של מרכאה אל? יאוין במספר המוסלמים שבקרו בירושלים בכל שנת 1971 והחומר במדינות ערב מגיע ל- 200000 בקירוב. לא בקרו יותר במספר זה משום שרב מדיניות פרב אינטימיות לתושביהן לבקר בירושלים ולא משום שמשיראל אסורה בקרים אלה.

7. המחברה עושה מאכז ניכר ליצור רושם מסולף **שקיים** בירושלים פנטזיות יהודית עד כדי כך " שם אתה גועס בשכונות מסוימות בלילה עלולים לזרק אבן בשטח מכוניחך " (עמ' 51). זהה הכללה כוזבת ומרושעת; הכל יודע שאותם **חולים** דהיום הקיימים בירושלים מתבגדים לנשיאה ביום השבת ובליל שפט בלבד, שלא לדבר על העובדה שהם מרכזים במספר קטן של שכונות. היא מחלמתה חילופין פן הרקמה הנפלה של דן קיומ בשלהם בין יהודים וערבים בירושלים, בבחורוות, בכח מלאכה ובעדר. גם כשהיא מודעת **שקיים** רגיעה בעיר, היא עושה זאת בדקירות קטנות.

The soldiers are ubiquitous but relaxed; there are no road blocks in the city center; ~~the majority exist without open rioting.~~ the city center. the majority and minority exist without open rioting.

אין כל מחסומי דרך בירושלים. לא רק במרכז אלא גם בשולי העיר.

המציאות היא שאין חילופים בירושלים, פרט לחילופים בחופשה; לא רק שאין

hidden rioting גם אין **open rioting**

וקובעת בפסקות שאיש אינו טפש כדי לחשב ש

Present quietude means future peace

desenvolvidos e expostos a um público de 1000000 de pessoas, que é o maior número de pessoas que já esteve no Brasil. O maior número de pessoas que já esteve no Brasil é de 1000000 de pessoas, que é o maior número de pessoas que já esteve no Brasil. O maior número de pessoas que já esteve no Brasil é de 1000000 de pessoas, que é o maior número de pessoas que já esteve no Brasil.

Além disso, o maior número de pessoas que já esteve no Brasil é de 1000000 de pessoas, que é o maior número de pessoas que já esteve no Brasil.

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ומדוע לא? הרי מה שהוא בירושלים במשך $\frac{1}{2}$ 4 שנים בדו-קיום בשלום עשוי להיות בסיס לעתיד יותר טוב, אם גורמים חיצוניים לא יעשו מאמץ מירבי לזרע פרוד ושנאה.

8. גב' הوج אומרת **(**הישראלים טוענים שישבי מזרח ירושלים עוברים מהפכה חברתיות**)**, أنا שלבו בתשוככם העורחותנו לנושא זה בתקופת הארץ**"ב**, עט **6.**

8. ולבסוף המחברת מזכירה בינהו כהווון לבטייה ירושלים. מה עשה האו"**"ט** לשימורה שלום העיר כשהופגעה ב- 1948 או כאשר החל מחר הבית שמש מחנה צבאי ביוני 1967 והיה מוקף עמדות צלפיים? מה עשו המעצמות או גדרים כנסייתיים ובינלאומיים למנע הרס בתה בנטה וቤת הקברות היהודית העתיקה? מה עשו כדי להבטיח חופש גישה לאוהדים למקומות הקדושים?

הזהירו בכלל את הבנייה הטעינה ואות שכנות העוני של ירושלים הירידנית?

הקהלת הבינלאומית ומשלת ירדן לא הוכיחו שהם זכאים לסתוריהם לשלל בנוסח ירושלים.

עד כאן.

חוכלו להוציא פרטיהם וחותם מן התזקير הארץ**"ב** לתשוכותיכם.
רצ"ב:

1. מזכר הכלל תגבות מפורשות על המאמר.
2. הגבות הספוגה על עניינים נטתיים בנוסחים נודרים.

בברכה,

ר. ורד

העתק: בר מ. מרוז, סמנס"ל
מר מ. שווין, סמנס"ל
מר י. ענוג, מנהל אירופה ב'
מנהל לשכת סמנס"ל

36 עט

" to the Israelis their possession of Jerusalem is a -
just military and religious triumph".

בכל ההיסטוריה ירושלים הייתה בירת היהודים בלבד ואח"כ בירת
הצלבנים. ירדן לא עשתה ממנה בירה. כלומר הבעייה אינה רק בעיה
רוחנית וצבאית, אלא לאומי, היסטורי ומדיני.

- הישראלים

" are packing immigrants into the eastern side "

בשנים 1967-70 נבנו יותר דירות במערב ירושלים מאשר במערב.
הדבר נכון גם לגבי דירות בהן השוכנו עולים ביחיד.

" They (הישראלים) are packing tourists into the -
western side".

רב תיירים הם יהודים וסבוי שהם מעדיפים בחו"ל יהודים,
בין השאר בשל כשרונות. נוסף על כך רוב המלונות במערב העיר בדרגת
נפוצה ולא ראוי לקבל מענקים לשיפור. האינטראקטיבינג נסכל במערב העיר
מלא וכן ה- American Colony

" the Arabs ... who see the streets and shops of -
their eastern side become steadily more Jewish".

שם שקר גס! פרט לדובע היהודי ו- 2-3 מפעדות בשומפות
יהודית ערבית לא נפתחו בחיה עסק יהודים במערב ירושלים לעומת זאת
ונפתחו הרבה חנויות ומסעדות ובחיה עסק ערבים חדשים דבאים בעיקר בין
החותמות בשל הרווחה והגאות הכלכלית.

עט 37

1. המשפמים הראשוניים מתארים את הבניה ממערב למערב
בנויות זו כוללת את רמת אשכול המתווארת ע"י המהברת בעמ' 48.
בגוויה נאכ אונא.
2. יש להניח של קוראי הפטון לא ברור שירושלים המפוארת
והמיושבת של תקופת הורדון הייתה ירושלים היהודית.

- " במשך רב התקופה היהת העיר ללא חומה".

כמעט ולא היה שלפון שלא בנה מחדש את חומות ירושלים: הרומיים הביזנטים, האומנים, הצלבנים הממלוכים, ירושלים הייתה תמיד אזרחית. אבל מודר שבל מה שיש לה להגיא על ירושלים הנו על גזלה של העיר ולא על חשביה. לא נזכרת העובדה שלא פסק יישוב יהודי מירושלים - פרט לתקופות בהן גורשו ממנה (תקופה קפיטוליננה, התקופה הביזנטית והתקופה הצלבנית). כל עם שהוצר האסור, חזרו יהודים לגור בירושלים. במיוחד בולעת שורה העליות הבלתי פוסקוח מהמאה ה-13 ועד ימינו אלו וזאת למראות קשיי הדרך הסכנות והקשיים הגדולים לחייהם בירושלים.

עמ' 38

היא בוחבת על משה מונטפיורי שהיה
" eccentric enough to build a mill "

הוא בנה את הממונה לצרכי פרנסת החובבים.

- " החובבים הראשונים של ימיין מטה לנו מחוץ לחומה מtower אחד - או שאין להזכיר אותו או שיש להזכיר ~~ה~~ המשטר המרכיבי היה מעורער, קבוצת שודדים ואונשי אגרוף שלטו בארץ. הסכנה למי שלא גר בערים בצרות או בקרים בהם היו חובבים עט נשק הייתה גדולה. היה זה אומץ לב בלב רגיל מצד היהודים לאצת לגור בימים ההם מחוץ לחומה".

- " היהודים טענים שהם רוב בירושלים למעלה מ- 100 שנה".

המחברת מוסרת שב- 1931 היו 55000 יהודים מtower 133000.

הנפקה ירושלים

ממחי מונחים מספר תושבי העיר במקורת של נפקה? אשר למספר תושבי ירושלים -
הסבלה הרצ"ב מעידה על המצב. ...

במשך קובעת המחברת שלא היו יהודים בעיר העתיקה בין 1948-1967, אינה מציינה שלפני 1948 היה קיים רובע יהודי בעיר העתיקה. יחדות של הגילוון הערבי-ירדני שהוו חלק מהבאה הבריטי היו בירושלים עד 13.5.48, יחדות אלה השתתפו בקרבות נגד היהודים בירושלים עוד לפני חום המנדט, כפי שמייד عبدالלה תל, מפקד הגודוד שি�שב בירושלים בדרכו נזקתו: (צלום עמוד 29) יזווין שהגילוון השתקע גם בחתקפה על גוש עציון. ובכובשו בין 10.5 ל-13.5 בלומר, שעה שא"י עידין היהת מתחם שלטון המנדט).

הרובע היהודי נפל לידי הלגיון בליל 27-28.5. המוטרות היהודים של הרובע נחרסו באורח שיטתי: בתיה נהרסו, ישיבות ווכ'ו. לבחים שנשארו שלמים הוכנסו יהודים ערבים. החברה הישראלית לשיקום הרובע היהודי פנתה ממנה עד עכשווי 1 מיליון מ"ק הריסות בניגיהם.

ב- 1954 יצא חוק ירדני שאסר על יהודים לחיות במלכת ירדן, לרבות ירושלים. אירופי או אמריקני שבקש לבקר בירושלים היה חייב להביא חoodot טבילה לקונכוליה בה ביקש אישר כדי להוציאו יהודי.

בסיום הגdem"ע וירושלים לירדן הגיעו בריטניה ופקיסטאן, 26.2.

עמ' 38

- " היהודים מקפידים על אסור חפילה בהר הבית - אחרי 1967 התפללו על ההר".

יזוין שהר הבית הוא המקום הקדוש ביותר ליהודים. קדוש במידה עצמאית חלק מהיהודים הדתיים אוסרים את הבנייה אליו.

- " הארכיאולוגים הישראלים התקדבו למסגד הרבה הנטה יותר מכך שהתרו הירדנים".

הירדנים, כמו המודדים, לא תיררו חפירות פביב הכותל המערבי והדרומי. החפירות הנוכחות, שערכו לחישות עברת של ירושלים הוא עצום, מבצעות בפקודתו של מהנדס בישות. יזויין כי לבן מן הרחבה והמדרגות ההרודוניות שהתבלו במקום, נחשף גם ארמץ אומי עזק מהמאה ה- 8 ועוד מספר בניגאים מאותם מקופה.

" The luckless inhabitants grieve"

- על הרובע המוגרב נאמר

כל התושבים של הרובע סודרו מיד בשכון אלסרג'יבי. יותר מאוחר אף קבלו פאוויים, בידי עיריית ירושלים מכתבים החומרים בידי תושבים אלה המאשרים שפואווויות ואין להם כח חביעות. אגב, המטען הבריטי beds המליץ עוד ב- 1921 לפנוות ולהרס חלק גדול מאזור עוני זה.

Geolola

- " החושבים הערבים של הרובע היהודי
are all now being expelled, although with some compensation".

אף אחד מהושבי הרובע לא גורש. הפנווי מבודע בעקבות מ"מ ישיר
עם המפוניים על חנאי הפינוי ועל גובה הפזויים ומוסדר בהסכמה הדדית.
אפשרויות הפזויים למפוניים לרכוש שכון אלשנטיבי, העולה בדרך כלל כל
ציב הדירה שפונה על ידו. המחברת עצמה אומר זה בראשית עט' 40.

even a church ruin

עמ' 40

- בין השאר החקלו ברובע היהודי כפי שה לחברת רומצת בעט' 39
במחלקות של שתי כבסיות. האחת ה- **Nea** של יוסטאניאנו. השנייה -
כנסיה אלבנית. כאמור שתיהן שומרו.

לט' 41
אשר לעובודת אשיקום, זו נועשת לפיה קני מדה אספחים ופְּנַקְזִוּנְלִים.
קימים לא מעת חלוקה דעתו בין בעלי מקצוע האדריכל הבלגי Lemaire
שנשלח כשליח מיוחד של מזכ"ל אונסקו, המליץ לשמור את כל הניתן לשומר
ברובע היהודי כדי לקיים את האופי המינוח של העיר העתיקה. אחרdem,
דוגמת האדריכלים קאהן וצבי מטיפים למודרניזציה של אזור זה ושוב אחרים
הומכמים בשילוב של ישן וחידש.

You increase, we'll multiply

עמ' 41 - הפרק

- נאמר שהנוצרים

" fared well under the Jordanians, and are by no means naturally
inclined to be pro-Israeli ".

1. *לט' 42*
ה לחברת עצמה זכייראת ההגירה הנוצרית. לפי סטטיסטיקת
ירדן היה בירושלים ב- 1948 39.9% 32,780 נוצרים (54,040 לעותם
מוסלמים) וב- 1961 19.53 % 12,500 (64,000 מוסלמים).

הגירה זו לא נבעה מן העובדה שהנוצרים היו מושרים מתוך שטון
ירדן אלא בשל התהילה הירדני המכובן לערביותה של האוכלוסייה
וזול המוסדות השונים לרבות המוסדות הדתיים.

מספר הנוצרים שעזבו את ירושלים מאז 1967 נע סביבה 450 - 400.

כן הטילו הירדנים הגבולות ברכישת רכוש על ידי המוסדות הדתיים
הנוצרים ועל בתים של מוסדות אלה, מתוך בלמולד הרץ"ב.
וכן הגבולות על בתי הספר הנוצרים (רצ"ב).

...

¹⁰ "the use of six distinct challenges and one final challenge."

Illustration and analysis of the basic characteristics of urban flow patterns in the central zone of Beijing

עמ' 41

" within metropolitan Jerusalem"

“ גם פה וכן בעמ' כשותפה מדברת על ירושלים המטרופוליטנית העניקה יש להבהיר כי מדובר אכן בגבולות המוניציפליים של ירושלים אלא באזורי התלויות והקשר הכלכלי עם ירושלים העיר. ביה להם, ורמאלה וכפרים באזורי אינם נכללים בגבולות העירוניים, אך שעה שמדובר על חזית של כמיליון וחמשים ל-200 – מדובר גם בתחוםם, חלק מהאזור שיש לדאג לו לככיביים, החבורה, שירותים ובגדותה.

עמ' 42

שקר גס! היו פקרים בודדים של גירוש מטמעי ביחסן מובהקים ואלו אינם פגיעים אף ל-10.

- מדברת על בנייני מיליה שנם

" like stale crumbs in the bawl of the western ridge"

בנינים אלה היו אזרר בגבול עד 1967 עתה צוקים בחכוננו המהודש בזיהירות מירביה ובחשומת לב לעובדת היוטו סמוך לחומת העיר העתיקה.

- אשר לפאה שערם יושבי האזרר הנם דתים אדוקים עיזוניים וهم בחרו באורה חיים נפרד ומסוגר מרצונם הטוב ובאופן חופשי.

- בדרכה על רחוב יפו היא אומרת שהוא

" degenerates into a shambles of one storey shacks "

גם רחוב זה בחכונן, כל הבתים הללו נבנו בתקופה העותומאנית והחטפו לירושלים הקטנה של הימים ההם.

עמ' 44

" Over a third are substandard housing "

אם כבר נכונה לנושא, יכולה להזכיר שככל אלה הגיעו כפליטים חזרי כל אחריו 1948 מארצorth בهن היו בחנאים הרבה יוחה גרוועם. אגב, כמעט אין משפחה ירושלמית, כולל באזורי עוני, ללא מקרר חשמלי, כיריים של גז וטלביזיה.

Two Enzymes that Regulate Glutathione

"again interests add to lived with in adults finds with "

"solo que uno lo considera así, porque si

¹⁰ Grilled bananas are being a trend.

" proportionately welfare ~~rolls~~ of Westren Jerusalem are longer than those of New York city".

למה ההשוואה דוגא לנו יורך ולא לקאהיר או לבזירות? מדוע לא לrome?

" the Israelis claim that they are encouraging a social revolution ".

אכן, בירושלים עוברת האוכלוסייה הערבית מהפכה כללית וחברתית, המתחבطة בעובדות הבאות:

1. בירושלים קיימת תעסוקה מלאה, בהשוואה ל- 35% אבטלה בתקופה הירידנית ואחד גבוח ביוחר של אבטלה פסוויה. שכרם זהה לשכוב היהודים באותו עבויה ושה גבוח בהרבה מזה שהיה מקובל בירדן.
2. מספר הולך וגדל של נשים נוכנס לעובודה. עובדות אלו גרכו לעלייה ניכרת ברמת החיים של השכבות המזופחות: פועלים, ופקידים זוטרים. משפחות נחככות הפקו היום למשפחות עובדות שאינן זוקחות לחמיכת סעד.
3. רשות הסעד בירושלים, כמו בישראל כולה נקבעות לפי קרייטריונים אובייקטיביים המקובלים בעולם המערבי; מידת הנזקקה, מספר הילדים וכו'. בתקופת ירדן נקבעו החמיכות לפי הקربה למילכות, הקרה לפקידים מחלקי הסעד וכו'. ידועים מקרים של אלמנות ללא ילדים שקיבלו את הסעד המקסימלי, לעומת משפחות מרובות ילדים שקיבלו את המינימום.
4. המחקר שנערך בשנים האחרונות מטעם משרד הבריאות הישראלי מגלת שגור ניכר במצב ההזונה של ילדים ירושלים. לעומת ~~הנינים~~ שקדמו ל-1967 בהן נתגלו סימני חוסר קליניים של ויסטמין איי. אצל אחד ניכר של ילדים ירושלים במצורחית, נמצא שבזוזה, געלמה חופעה זאת כמעט כליל. ממעטות והולכות גם פגיעות במיצננה העין, בטיב הראייה ובפנינה העור, הנגרמות מחוסר ויחסין איי. גם האנמיה (מיועשת בדורים אדומות בדם) נדירה עתה מאד.
5. בעמ' 50 מזכירה גברת הוג' ~~באיילו~~ בירדן אגדדנו את הערבים ל Kunot תלבייזיות. אכן מספר מכשרי הטלביזיה ~~בגדד~~ במאור 1967 לא כל עדוד, אלא בשל העובדה הפושתת של עלייה רמת ההכשרה של האוכלוסייה.

Rendering into caesar

- הפרק

עמ' 45 - על מסי המושלה:

בירדן טבלת המסים נמוכה ביוחר ובבעל שרה והכנסות גבוהות אף לא שלמו את המוטל עליהם לפי החוק. לאור זאת נגבה ממשלה ירושלים בזהירות ובתקש רב בגייחת לביעית המסים. היא הבנista את ערביי מזרחה ירושלים למוגל מטלי המס בהדרגה ובאופןות; שלב אחר שלב. היא נתנה ונחננה הקלות רכבות, היא קבעה בירוב המקרים, שומת מינימום ולא שומת מקסימום. נכוון שירושבי מזרחה ירושלים אינם מוציאים מכך, אך בידוע תשלום מס איננו מסוג הדברים החביבים בכל מקום בעולם.

on mānāwiri mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki
"This is the way to make the world a better place."

— "And this is the way to make the world a better place."

— "A participation in your local mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki
"This is the way to make the world a better place."

— "A participation in your local mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki mātāpōtiki
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"This is the way to make the world a better place."

בממשלת והעירייה השקיעו בשנים האחרונות סכומים עצומים במטרה ירושלים: בסלילת כבישים חדשים, בהורדת קירות בבטון וגדרתות תחיל שexo את העיר, בסלוק שדוות המוקשים, בהתקנת תאורת כבישים ובתוספת טלפוניות.

עמ" 45 בסוף העמוד

מי אמר בכך?

With Arabs banks closed

הבנקים סגורים מפני שבימי ירדן היו רב כספי הפקדוניות של ערביי הגדרה המערבית ומזרח ירושלים מועברים בקביעות למרכז הבנקים בעמאן. ערב מלחת יונני היהת העברה מזורצת של כספים לעמאן, הבנקים בגדרה המערבית לא הצליחו לקבל כספים אלה בחזרה ולא את הסכמת המרכזים בעמאן לפתחו הסניפים בירושלים.

עמ" 48 עמודה ראשונה לפטח

" Under Jordanian rule growth was decently restrained "

פרט לפתחה בחיי מלון בירושלים עשו הירדנים כל שביכולתם כדי למשוך השקעות, הון ופתחה בגדרה המזרחית. ~~ול~~ השקעות הירדני הפללה ל clue את הגדרה המערבית בהשוואה למזרחית. הוא הפללה לטובה את עמאן הבירה בהשוואה לירושלים, שהיתה עיר פרוביניאלית פשוט כרך התפתחה הבנייה בעמאן בקנה מידה עצום (מעיר של 40000 ב- 1948 לעיר של יותר מ- 400000 ומעלה היום) בהשוואה לירושלים המזרחית.

בירושלים לא היו כל קרייטריונים לבנייה, וכל אחד בנה כרצונו ולפי הבנתו.

עמודה שנייה

" A lot of Israeli nonsense is talked about the hotels on the Mount of Olives ".

הועדה הירושלמית הב"ל של אדריכלים קבעה ~~שה אחד~~ של שמלון זה הנוי ~~an affront to the skyline~~ כדי לבנות את הכביש המוביל למולון עקרון הירדנים מספר רב של מצודות בבית הקברות היהודי העתיק שעל הר הזיתים וחללו קברות רבים.

דוגמאות נספוחות של בנייה פרטית בהזונה הירדנית: מלון פנורמה הפגע בנוף ליד הר הזיתים; הכנסייה היוונית אורתודוקסית בנחל קדרון המסתירה את הנחל; בית החולפים אל-מקאט אל-חייריה הפוגע בקו הרכס של הר הזיתים - אל-טור ובתי מגורים ליד שער האשפות, במקום שבו התכננים שעסקו בירושלים בתקופה המנדט ו בשלטונו ירדן קבעו במפורש שאין לבנות.

卷之三

bezota a tunc adfave ait.

"penalized" by the *penalized least squares* estimator. "Laplace" is the

Issue 10 July 2011

"zvilo je jmeno až na vlastní až hned brázdění až se zavřelo

- עמדות שלישית באמצע העמדות - על האורך לפנות 4000 ג'פ"ש משוכנתה
העורבי המסולמתה בעיר העתיקה

" It could never be done without some settlement of the
Jerusalem dispute ? "

ומדוע לא? מדו"ע יש להכנים פוליטיזציה לכל עניין אנושי חיובי? המזיאות
הוכיחה שברצון סוב' וגבישת אגוזית חיובית, ניתן להביא לפניו תושבי שכונות
עובי ערביות, כਮובן מזמן המזאה שברן אלטראנסיבי משופר.



משרד החוץ

ירושלים, יג' בטבת תשל"ב
31 בדצמבר 1971

אל: גב' יעל ורד, מנהלת מזתי"ס

מאת: הממונה על עניינים כנסתיים

"The overburdened magnet" ⁺
הנידון:

by Sarah Hogg
The Economist, Dec. 25, 1971

הרי הערות מספר על האספект הנזרי-כנסתי שבכתחבה זו.

1. כללית מוגג האספект הנזרי בעימת חאור שבירה ואפילו הוגנת ובעוד הכתבה בכללותה שאירה טעם לווי לא נעים (לפחות אלי) הרי הנושא הנזרי יוגא בחסד, מבחינתנו.

ע' 40, טור אמצעי: הסכור האיתופי-קופטי, ואח"כ עניין הסטוס קוו, מתוארים באופן סביר.

ע' 41, טור שמאלי, ברישא: אין זה נכון כי כנסית הקבר דומה לבית מטבחים מעורר אימה וכו' וכו'. האמת היא כי בונים ומשפאים במרץ ו诙ב אינו מעורר אימה והולך ומשחרר.

ע' 41, טור שמאלי, למטה: "מצב הנזרים בימי ירדן היה טוב מאד" - זה עיוות. הירדנים זכו היטב בביבזוא מדיניות "ערבייזציה" ובעוד מעד הנזרים בימי המנדט הבריטי היה נבד ומכובד הרי בימי ירדן אבד להם מעד זה (בדומה לאבד מעד הקופטים במצרים מאז הפיכת נג'יב - נאסר בשנות ה-50). בשטח הקהילתי ג"כ חלו הרעות ניכרות, - לתוכנויות הלימוד בבחני ספר הנזרים הוכנס חומר מוסלמי, בוצעו שיטות פיקוח מוסלמיות, חוויבו בהוראת הקוראן, תפילה מוסלמית וכו'. כן נמנעה מנזרים, - בכח חוק ירדני מיוחד, - רכישת נכסים-דלא-ניידי. תוכניות בנייה נזריות לא יכלו להתחזק באופן טפוי שכן סבלו מגישה ירדנית כללית של "לאט לר". דוקא אחרי איחוד העיר בקי"ז 1967 יאזור מבצעי בנייה נזריים אלה לדרכ המלך ואחדי הושלמו, למשל המרכז הקהילתי הקתולי בבנייה והכנסיה היוונית-אורתודוקסית בנחל קדרון. בהקשר זה ניתן לציין גם את העובדה כי משר שננות השלטון הירדני לא געשה דבר לשפוץ ותיקון המבנים הנזריים שנפגעו, עד שמשתת ישראל הציעה, והעניקה (במסגרת הסכמים החותמים) פזויי נזקים. מז' מחייבת בנייה נזרית נרחבת ברחבי העיר.



משרד הבריאות

- 2 -

ע' 41, טור אמצעי, למטה: כאן יש ביטוי למגמת ההగירה של נוצרים הניזונה מהחינוך הנוצרי שבתייה"ס הכנסייתיים נוותנים.

ברםձ'ין כי מס. הנוצרים "ירדן" (מהפונה במקורה, *diminishing*, משמעו מהו גרווע יותר מ- יורד) זהו עיוזות: מאז יוני 67' הולך מספר הנוצרים וגדל, באיטיות אמנים ובמספרים קטנים, אך בקצבה עלייה יציבה.

ע' 46, טור אמצעי, בפרק העמוד: כאן יש ניחוח מעניין – ופועל בבחינתנו – של הגירה נוצרים מירוחלים: פרוטסטנטים וכו', מהגרים לאפוא אמריקה בעודם קהולים מהגרים לארצות הברית הדרומית. נראה כי ניחוח זה נכוון, בד"כ, והוא שוב מאשר את מקומו המזוהה של החינוך הכנסייתי המעודד להגירה.

ע' 48, טוֹה אמצעי, מיד מתחת הכתובת: הערת המחברת על מלון אינטראקונטיננטל מעוותה ואינה הוגנת, אפילו בבחינה נוצרית. בנית המלון, עם כל הבדור בבר, גדרה חילול משוער של בית הקברות, גרמה למסחר אחר ב葬רים השוב ואיפלו פוגעת בבחינה אסטטית. כל קול נזרי לא מהה על מעשה זה בו הינה לירדנים, – בכל המישורים, – יד פעילה ביותר.

ע' 51, טור שמאל: לא בלבד שטן-ישראל "רובה הבתוחה בדבר בישה חפשית וכו'" אלא שהגישה חפשית מבוצעת הלבנה למשה. אי ציון עובדה מזדקה זו ע"י המחברת, – נראה לי להיות מחדל מירישע.

בדומה לכך, – מעת הלאה, – המחברת שמה את המלה: מבעדים בין מרכאות, אמר שטן-ירודע – איזה-סוד-UMBRELLAS היו אלה. גם בכך אני נוטה לראות ביטוי של בישה מירישע.

במשך טור זה מעלה המחברת את פרשנת הסיווע הכספי ליוונים וכו'. האמת היא כי קיבלו לא בלבד פיזויים לנזקים אלה גם עצדה כספית (בצורת פטור ממיסים וכו') ומיינלאיט. איפלו לא עשתה טטן-ישראל אלא שילמה פיזויי-נזקים, הרי גם זה שמעוותי שכן לפחות חלק מהנזקים נגרמו ע"י צבא ירדן.

העתק: מר א. לוריא
הסבירה
גב' חמר אשלי

בברכה
מ. פרגאי

1. The first step in the process of determining the nature of the
relationship between the variables is to collect data. This can be done
through various methods such as surveys, experiments, or observational
studies. The data collected should be relevant to the variables being
studied and should be collected in a systematic and unbiased manner.
2. Once the data has been collected, the next step is to analyze it. This
involves using statistical methods to identify patterns and relationships
between the variables. The analysis should be done in a way that is
appropriate for the type of data collected and the research question.
3. After the data has been analyzed, the final step is to interpret the
results. This involves drawing conclusions based on the findings of the
analysis. The conclusions should be based on the evidence provided by
the data and should be presented in a clear and concise manner.
4. Finally, the results of the study should be communicated to the
appropriate audience. This can be done through various means such as
research papers, presentations, or reports. The communication should
be done in a way that is accessible and understandable to the intended
audience.

Jordanian Restrictions

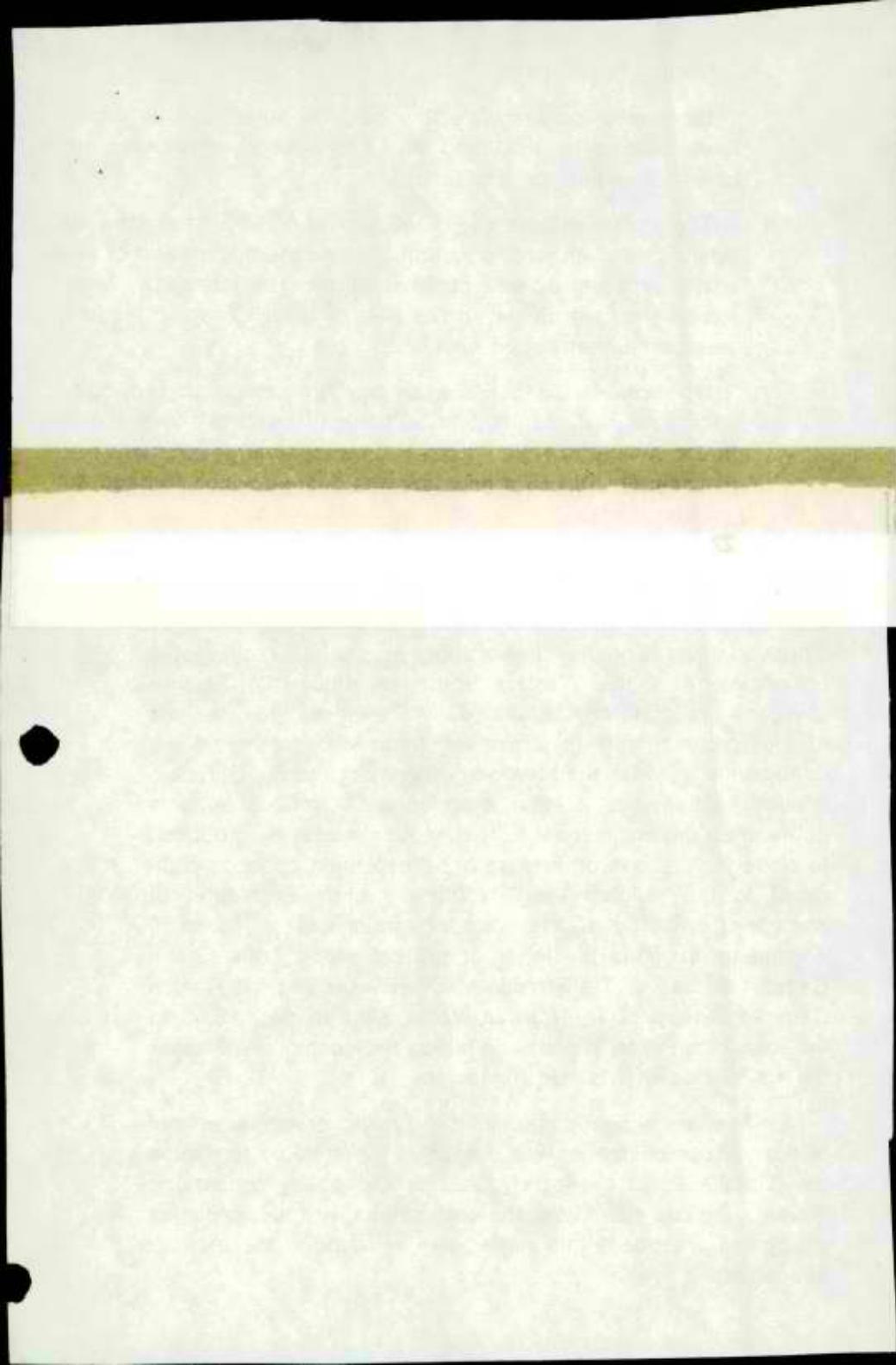
By way of comparison, it should be noted that Jordanian laws passed in 1953 and in 1955, severely restricted the churches within its jurisdiction.

The Jordanian laws of 16.2.53 and of 16.4.53, restricted the operations of charitable institutions and the possession of real estate property by religious institutions. The latter law, which led to strong protests on the part of local Christian leaders, was partially amended on 17.1.54.

However, it did not abolish the 7th paragraph forbidding charitable and religious institutions to purchase real estate **in the vicinity of Holy Places without special government permission.** On 18.1.65 a new law was passed which forbade the

acquisition of real estate and property by religious institutions within the Old City, including acceptance of such property by bequest, or its leasing on a temporary basis. Laws barring the acquisition of property by aliens, also affected primarily Christians and Christian institutions, in particular charitable organizations of the Western churches, since the Eastern churches are generally less affluent. During various periods of the Jordanian rule in Jerusalem, there were crises in the relationship between the Moslem government and the Christian minority. Symptoms of tension appeared in various aspects of life, from the commercial (Christian merchants being obliged to close their shops on Fridays and keep them open on Sundays) to the religious—e.g., robberies and desecration of churches. Evidence of this state of affairs can be found in documents such as the letter of protest sent by the Greek Catholic Bishop of Transjordan Michael 'Asaf and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transjordan Nama Sima'an on 13.8.66 to the Jordanian Prime Minister, in which they complained about the rising tide of Moslem fanaticism.

Non-Moslem education, specifically in the parochial school of the various churches, was similarly restricted by Jordanian law. Details about the Israeli practice and policy concerning private religious education, and comparison with the Jordanian policy and practice in this matter, can be found in the section: **Education.**



שני חילים. בן נהרג בקרב והם מולאום מוחמד עקלה, שהגיע לעורתנו מרמאלה. כשהגיעו הידיעות על הקרב לבריגדיר ג'ונסון — מפקד איוור ירושלים — יצא מכליו והורה לקצין מטהו לחזורני. הסתדרתי במנזר יוחנן ולא פמיסח את אטיון יוחנן בזקן אלי ג'ונסון — מפקד חטיבה ברכמאללה והורה לו להזיאני מארץ-ישראל.طبعו הוא שלא ביצעת הוראת זו מאחר שלא היה קשור ברכמאללה באותה עת.

הקרב בקטמון

קטמון היא השכונה הערבית השוכנת במקום אסטרטגי חשוב בירושלים באשר הוא חולש על מרכז השכונות הערביות והיהודיות בעיר החדשה והן: בקעת הילית והתחתית, רחבה, מקורחים. תלפיות. בסוף אפריל 1948 גברו התקפות היהודים. שידעו להערך את חשיבותה הצבאית של השכונה. הכוח הערבי שהגן על מקום זה לא כלל יותר מפלוגה בפיקודו של אבראהים אבו-דיה, מקציני "מלחמת הקודש" ("אל-ג'יהאד אל-מוסדק"). כדי שנוכל לסייע בחשאי לוחמים הערבים, הגעתינו לכל הפסים עם דאים טולימיאן מסעודה, מפקד הפלוגה של הלג'ון הערבי שהנתה במחנה "אל-עלמיין" בירושלים. כי יש לנצל את עובdot המזאות של מטה המלחין הערבי ליד הקונסוליה העיראקית בקטמון, ולהגדיל את כוחו של שמר והעליזדי ציודו בשלושה משוריינים. להלכה זה לשימורת על הקונסוליה, אולם למשה. כדי לעזר ללוחמים הערבים בהגנת על קטמון. אני קיבלתי על אחוריות את שליחת המשוריינים. קרבות קשים פרצו ובهم השתתפות המשוריינים הללו וחילינו, שהלבשו אוטם ב-«אוברולים» לבלי יכירו כי ערבים הם. אולם ואנגלים — בעלי-בריתם של הערבים!! — הבחינו בהשתתפות כוחותינו בקרב לצד הלוחמים הערבים. אותו בריגדיר ג'ונסון נתן סקודה, שהועבר אליו באמצעות קצין בריטי, וזה תוכנה:

אם לא תוציא את משורייניך ואת חיליך מקטמון פיד. אתה נאלץ להריעש את המשוריינים ואת הקונסוליה בפצעות כבדות.

* קאימקם אהמד צדי אל-ג'ונדי בא בעצמו סרמאלה למפקם הקרב כור לשמש לי תגבורות. גילה גבורה נעלמה באותו יום.

Religious Education Under Jordanian Rule

In 1954, the Jordanian government approved a law which placed many restrictions upon private and foreign-owned educational institutions. Despite protests and appeals by representatives of the Christian community, the Jordanian parliament passed the law with only insignificant modifications. The law was published on April 16, 1955 and it distinguished between public, private, local and foreign schools (paragraph 6.2). It determined that the selection of text books in all schools and the supervision over all educational methods would be made by the Ministry of Education (paragraph 41.4). The main outline of the curriculae must be determined after consultation between the institutions and the Ministry of Education (paragraph 26). The foreign schools are obliged to teach Arabic language, history, geography and "national awareness," according to a Ministry of Education program, the instruction and examination in these subjects to be given in Arabic (paragraph

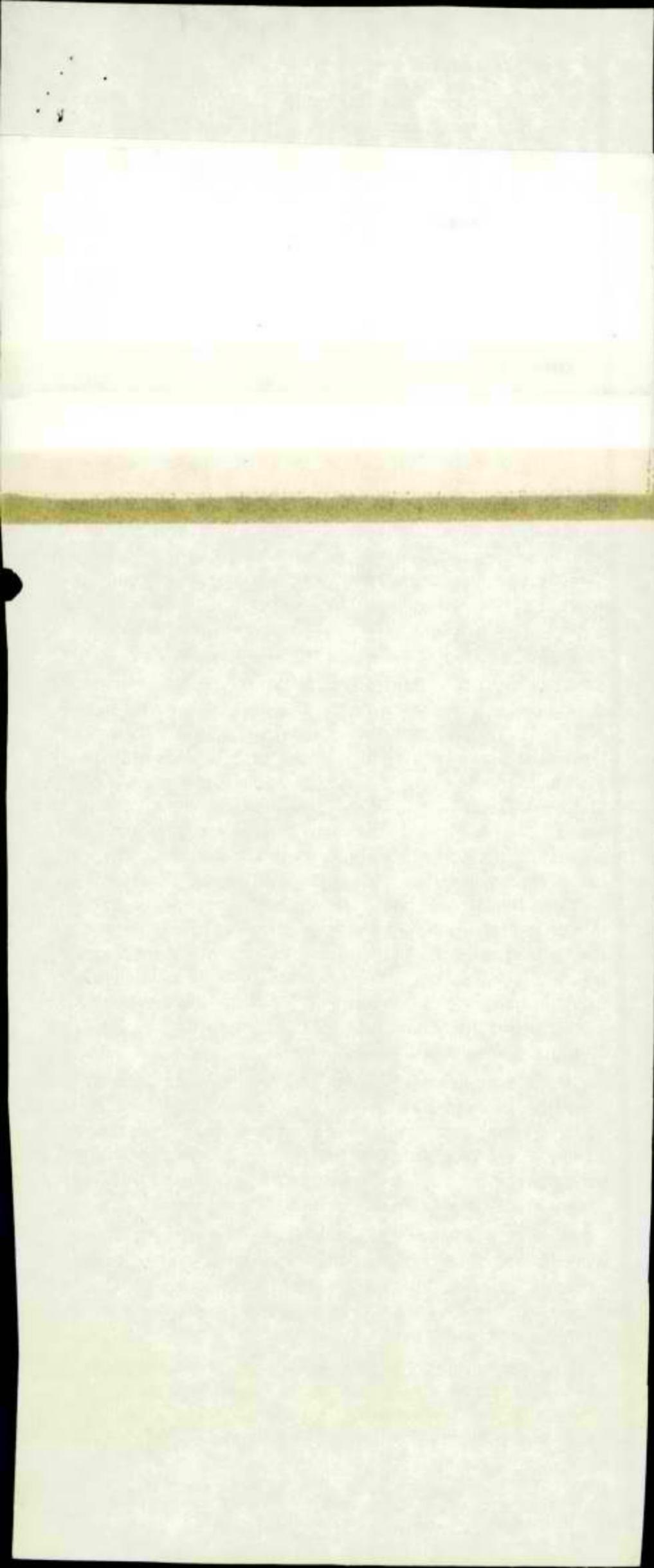
33). All schools must be closed during the official public holidays, which are, of course, Moslem (paragraph 39). All schools were placed under the supervision of the Jordanian Ministry of Education and required to submit reports on their sources of income. (paragraph 34). Foreign primary schools might not be expanded, nor might new ones be opened, from the time that the law came into effect (paragraph 36).

Needless to say, the leaders of the religious communities opposed the implementation of this law. The most acutely affected were the Catholic institutions, which are owned by Orders headquartered in other countries. It is understandable, therefore, that it was the Catholic community that was most active in opposing this law. The Latin Patriarch and the Bishops Sama'an and Asaf met with Jordan Government representatives on several occasions in an attempt to mitigate the implementation of this law. The Vatican's Apostolic Delegate and an Anglican Bishop also held meetings with Government officials in this matter. Representatives of other religious minorities also signed protests, but were not as active in opposing the law, because they did not feel that it was likely to affect them to the same extent—the Armenian school serving only Armenians, and the schools run by the Eastern Churches being few and having few Moslem students.

Christian educational institutions in Jerusalem refused to obey the demand of the Moslem school superintendent to observe Friday as a day of rest, in accordance with paragraph 39 of the law. The leaders of the communities met with representatives of the Amman Government and demanded the right to determine the weekly day of rest.

Following this widespread resistance, the Jordanian Government became less severe in applying the law in the Christian schools. However, in 1966, the law began to be widely implemented despite all the protests by representatives of the Christian community.

In Jerusalem the problem was resolved by the reunification of the city. Under Israeli law, as we have seen, all religious communities are entirely free to maintain schools and curriculae and to observe their religious holidays according to the tenets of their faiths.



o Nph. 11

COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ARAB-BRITISH
UNDERSTANDING

106 Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, WC2N.5EP. 930-2620/4515

JUNE MEETING

"JERUSALEM"

to be held in
The Grand Committee Room, House of Commons

on

TUESDAY, 22nd JUNE, 1971, AT 6.30 P.M.

showing the first of a series of illustrated lectures: "Jerusalem in danger" followed by up-to-date eye witness report and discussion.

CHAIRMAN: Miss Manuela Sykes

by invitation of Dennis Walters, M.B.E., M.P.

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APRIL 1945, THE BOMBING OF THE
INDUSTRIAL AREA OF WILHELMUS

APRIL 10, 1945, 1000 HRS APPROXIMATELY

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In the City of Jerusalem

From Professor Arnold Toynbee, C.H.,
and Sir Geoffrey Furlonge

Sir, We write to express our profound concern over the present situation in the City of Jerusalem. We believe that the present policies of the Israeli Government not only threaten the beauty and the character of the city, but must seriously jeopardize the chances of achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East.

On July 4, 1969, the Security Council of the United Nations voted unanimously to censure "in the strongest terms" all measures taken to change the status of the City of Jerusalem. The Council's resolution reaffirmed the principle that the acquisition of territory by military conquest was inadmissible, confirmed that the expropriation by Israel of Arab lands and properties in the City was illegal and urgently called on the Government of Israel to rescind any measures already taken to alter the status of Jerusalem and to refrain from all such measures in the future.

The response of the Government of Israel has been not merely to disregard the resolution, but to hasten and expand the scope of the very measures it so roundly condemned. The expropriation of Arab land has continued and a pattern of hastily designed housing development has been set in train whose purpose was explained in these terms in *The Times* of March 3: "Israel building plans in parts of the city which before 1967 were Arab or were no-man's-land are being pushed ahead regardless of outside opinion so that there may be a *fait accompli* before

argument at a negotiating table can begin". In other words, the Government of Israel is acting with the deliberate intention of frustrating a unanimous resolution of the Security Council and of preventing a properly negotiated settlement. In so doing, it finds itself in conflict not only with the wishes of the inhabitants of the city, but with the Charter of the United Nations and with the clearly expressed will of the international community. To this opposition has recently been added that of a group of the world's leading architects and town planners gathered in Jerusalem, who have rejected on aesthetic grounds the development plans promulgated by the Government of Israel on the basis of political decisions already condemned at the highest international level.

There are here two separate issues, which come together in any consideration of the future of the Holy City. There is, first of all, the determination of the Government of Israel to forestall by pre-emptive action any attempt by the United Nations to loosen Israel's grip on Arab Jerusalem. There is, secondly, the imminent danger that by the construction, for political reasons, of ill-considered housing developments on expropriated Arab land, the Israelis will do irreparable harm to the unique character and beauty of the Holy City. The two issues were well expressed in an editorial in the leading daily newspaper in Israel, *Ha'aretz*, which voiced the anxiety of many Israelis that their government, in its haste to stake a Jewish claim to the Arab sector of the city, might turn Jerusalem "into a kind of Los Angeles".

That such vandalism should be conceivable in the context of the Holy City—and that it should be contemplated by those who claim to speak in the name of the Jewish people—is astonishing and profoundly depressing. Nor does it seem

much less astonishing that where all the arguments, political, humanitarian and aesthetic, point to the same conclusion, there should be so little protest in the Christian world against a policy of desecration so deliberately undertaken and on such a scale. Nor should anyone forget that the fate of Jerusalem must in large part sway the balance between peace and war in the Middle East, and so possibly in the whole world.

Three months ago, in a leading article in *The Times* on Christmas Eve, you wrote movingly that Jerusalem and its surroundings constituted "not simply a home for many people of many faiths, but also... a focus for the prayers and affections of many millions who think of it as a place uniquely beautiful and uniquely blessed". If these words are to remain true, it is time for the representatives of those "many millions" to intervene and to insist that the Government of Israel should respect the principles of international law—and of humanity—in Jerusalem.

Yours faithfully,
ARNOLD TOYNBEE
GEOFFREY FURLONGE
March 12.

—from Israel's plans

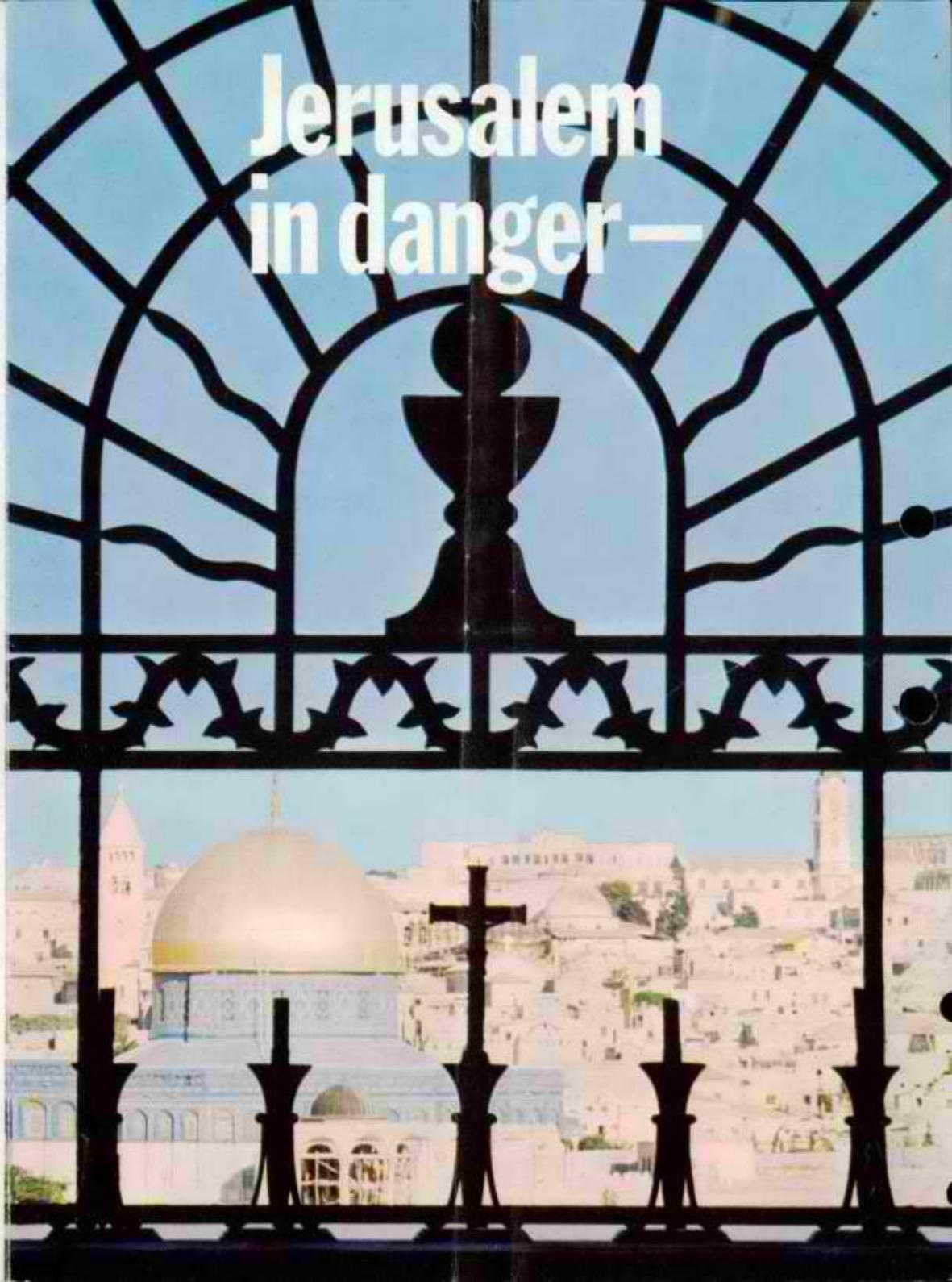


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Your Bishop
Your newspaper
To support U.N. intervention.

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Jerusalem in danger—



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3-10.71 בשלוחה:

三三〇

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אף לרבידן

הנצרות והנצרן

הנְּגָרִיד

הרבוב מנגנון למכירתם בברושא ירושלים.

ולא יונתקו מהם נסיבותם בנסיבותיו לאלו במאמר חמורה לפניו.

קספדו STUDY OF HISTORY מגזין טוריאלי אט היהודים בטור
 FOSSILS הפייבים ל- EXTINCT SOCIETIES . כבראה
 פשומן כר קל לו להעתים משלו טאות אלף תושבי העיר הקיימים ואשר היהודים
 יירג בגדודיהם מודם מהם שבנה .

בשבט 1967 התפרסם בעריכתו של טרייבבי ספר בשם **CITIES OF DESTINY**. העוסק ב - 18 מדינות היסטוריות בעולם כולל : אתונה, רומא, פאריס, גיאן, איספהן, קורטנגיירופול ואלכסנדריה. הספר יבא בהזאת **THAMES AND HUDSON** ירושלים בעדרת בין המדינות שלחן מוקדש הספר, ומשובנה שוק לאחדותה התועדד טרייבבי לחסיבותה של העיר. היכן היה בשעה שהעיר הימה חזרה. בין העדרים הבכליות בספר יש אחדות שטבון היפוי וטבון תושביהן בכדי רע בעוד ירושלים לעומתך משגשגת. מדוע לא דורך טרייבבי התעדבות ביזילאנטינית לגביו אונתו מדיניות אחירות.

3. מבנה שטענו גם חשבו על טוֹרְיִיבָּי כהיסטוריון ותשגששו בתוצאות זו כמגדוף להציג פובdot היסודות ההיסטוריים לגבי זיקתגו לירושלים.

4. מציין שתגבישיו את הבקודה שאף אחד לא מروع ממוסלמים וمبرזרדים לפתח ביבוסלים פגילותות ביגור.

פרק י

הה בוגר מוגבל הפעלה מוגבל איר ב מוגבלים

• 56 / 76

Building in Jerusalem

From the Venerable C. Witton-Davies
Sir, I was glad to read the excellent rejoinder to Professor Toynbee and Sir Geoffrey Furlonge over the name of Natan Zach (October 8). This has relieved me of the necessity of writing comments on much of the letter from the two notable pro-Arab supporters. They have succumbed to the temptation to sidetrack the discussion about current building and planning in Jerusalem into the consideration of the politics of contemporary warring nationalisms in the Holy Land.

I warned your readers of this danger in my letter that you were good enough to publish earlier this year (March 11). I indicated there that I share the concern for the spoliation (not desecration) of the environs of Jerusalem. Those unfamiliar with the Holy City may not realize that the present discussion deals with the buildings well outside the old walled city, which contains the most famous and sacred of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim holy places. This is not to belittle the importance of preserving the beauty of the surroundings of Jerusalem, northwards as well as

southwards, but it is necessary to be precise in this matter.

There is one further comment that I should like to make in addition to what Mr Zach has said. This relates to the citation by Professor Toynbee and Sir Geoffrey Furlonge of various protest in the Christian world. In due course it is almost certainly possible to find published Christian views in support of one side or the other in the Arab-Israeli confrontation. It is perhaps not realized how difficult, if not impossible, it is to obtain a single Christian view upon this, or any other international problem.

Speaking as one who is at present working in the Church of England, your readers must be aware that Canon Waddams, in what he said recently from the pulpit of Canterbury Cathedral, is no more or less a spokesman for the Church of England than I can claim to be. We are both entitled to our attitudes and opinions, as indeed are Professor Toynbee and Sir Geoffrey, but it is misleading to suggest that one or other Christian community has come to a definite decision about this or that issue.

Let us all join in supporting those who are trying to safeguard the greater

Jerusalem for the future, a place of pilgrimage for all mankind for all time.
Yours faithfully,
C. WITTON-DAVIES, Archdeacon of Oxford,
Archdeacon's Lodging,
Christ Church, Oxford

Times

13-10-71

PL/2

Control of Jerusalem

From Mrs Ann Dearden

Sir, Your correspondent, Mr David Kessler (Oct 11) is mistaken in describing Israel's present control of Jerusalem as a reversion to "normal". The position in Jerusalem at the end of the British mandate was that both the Jews and the Arabs ignored the United Nations' recommendation that Jerusalem should be internationalized. Both flouted international opinion in fighting for possession of the city and were equally in the wrong in annexing the parts they held.

In conquering Arab (east) Jerusalem Israel has not restored normality but has created a new situation in which Jews may visit their holy places but some 7,000 Muslim and Christian residents of Jerusalem are in exile in East Jordan. For all the 700,000 refugees in East Jordan access to their holy places is not free—it is strictly limited and controlled.

I myself think that acts of vandalism are typical of neither the Jordanians nor the Israelis. But, since Mr Kessler is concerned about them, he should perhaps remind himself that before 1967 the Israelis in West Jerusalem had desecrated the Muslim Mamilla cemetery, bulldozing Muslim tombs to make a public park. The mosque at Ain Karim was used by Israelis as a latrine and the tower of the Dormition Abbey was for years an Israeli gun nest. Graves and crosses were shattered in a number of Christian cemeteries.

After 1967 it was found that the tombs of the Armenian patriarchs at the church of St Saviour had been ransacked and its famous mosaic floor removed. These facts have been checked and recorded by Mr Evan Wilson who was United States consul general in Jerusalem before, during, and after the 1967 war.

Yours sincerely,
ANN DEARDEN,
63 Cadogan Place, London, SW1,
October 12.