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### An Unsettling Affair :

### Housing Conditions, Tenancy Regulations and the Coming of the Messiah in the Old City of Jerusalem

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*East Jerusalem*

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In the early hours of Wednesday 11th April, 1990, a group of 150 Jewish settlers calling themselves *Ne'ot David* (lit. David's Homestead), evicted the remaining 8 sub-tenants of the St John's Hospice off the Suq Aftimos in the Christian Quarter and moved in. The occupation and the demonstrations which were to follow, occurring during the most solemn days of the Christian calendar ensured a welter of international interest in the case and brought a great deal of conclusive evidence into the public domain concerning official collusion in such activities. The purpose of this paper is to give a historical background and then to examine how strong ideological motivation, poor social conditions, anomalous laws and limited opposition combine to threaten the status quo in the very heart of Palestinian Jerusalem.

The latter half of the 19th Century is perhaps one of the most decisive in the modern history of Jerusalem and provides the historical context for this paper. The restoration of the Ottoman administration in 1840 was accompanied by large scale penetration from two sources which were to dramatically alter both the face of the city and its demographic make up. The restoration was effected by a coalition of European powers headed by Britain which wielded their extra-territorial jurisdiction through the "capitulations" and led to the setting up of patriarchates, bishoprics, convents, post offices and consulates. The other factor concerned the relatively large immigration of Jews, mainly from Eastern Europe who despite the poor living conditions in the City at that time, kept pace of the high mortality rate and upended the demographic balance within the walls. Figures given by contemporary chroniclers and travelers are highly inconsistent and the first protostatistical survey was not conducted until 1839 when the Montefiore Census counted 3,000 Jews out of a estimated population of 10,000. The same census conducted in 1875 counted over 10,000 Jews out of a total estimation of 20,000 inhabitants [1]. In the period prior to the settlement in the New City outside the walls (Mishkenot Sha'ananim was the first of these, built in 1860), the influx of Jews into an already overcrowded and squalid Jewish

Quarter prompted an overspill of Jewish residents into other Quarters of the Old City, in the main, areas adjacent to the Jewish Quarter itself. The bulk of this settlement occurred in the southern reaches of the Muslim Quarter (Aqabat Khaldieh, Aqabat Saraya, Tariq al-Wad) and although a good deal of commercial activity took place in the David Street and Christian Quarter Road area, settlement in the Christian Quarter was limited by lack of available space due to the influx of Christian missions and Western institutions which were centred in that area. [2]

These Jewish communities continued to function and co-exist but declined and disappeared by the end of the 1920's for two reasons: first due to the increasing availability of apartments in healthier and more spacious areas outside the walls and second, more decisively, due to the social unrest which culminated in the communal disturbances of 1921, 1926 and 1929. At this point, the properties themselves were either leased to Palestinian tenants or left vacant if the outgoing Jewish tenants hoped to return to them at some later date. It is important to note here that Jewish occupancy (as that of their Muslim and Christian neighbours) of these buildings was based not generally on ownership but on the traditional system whereby the tenant of a property purchases the right of occupancy to the property through payment of key-money. There were cases of Jews building their own apartments in these areas or purchasing property outright but for the most part, the land on which the houses were built if not the bricks and mortar per se were owned by the traditional Arab patrician families.

With the influx of refugees into the Old City in the period prior to and immediately after the establishment of the State of Israel (many of them from Arab areas of West Jerusalem such as Talbieh, Katamon and Ba'aka), these properties were leased to the new incomers. During the Jordanian administration, the leases to Jewish owned properties were handled by the Guardian of Enemy Property, who, after the Six Day War of June 1967, duly relinquished control to his Israeli counterpart, the Custodian of Absentee



Property [3]. Thus today, the Custodian (literally) holds the keys to an unknown number of formerly Jewish owned properties (as he does keys to former arab properties in the West of the city) but clearly the number of properties which were formerly tenanted by Jews is much higher. The frequent change of leases to properties and their occupants over a turbulent 40 years structural neglect, accompanied by changes in sovereignty, makes for a situation which is as confused as it is fraught.

In the very centre of Israel's capital city, the Muslim Quarter stands as a monument to the urban blight and the social stagnation which the hitherto undecided status of East Jerusalem has produced; the political situation since 1967 may not have produced the current conditions in the area but it has effectively prevented their solution. One major problem has been the progressive degentrification of the Old City over the last century as new suburbs to the north have grown up and provided the Palestinian bourgeoisie and upwardly mobile elements with vastly superior housing outside the city walls. During the Mandate period, the British failed to carry out their programmes of urban improvement and the Jordanian Administration was characterised by a similar attitude of *laissez faire* to social conditions although restoration work was carried out during the 1950's on and around al-Haram ash-Sharif [4]. The Israeli occupation was to dramatically change the character of the Old City and indeed, even changed its primary *raison d'être* from a bustling centre of commerce and trade to a centre of religious pilgrimage and a colourfully ethnic tourist playground. Most importantly, the encirclement of East Jerusalem with massive Israeli cooperative housing schemes served to sever the Old City's links with its natural markets and suppliers in the hinterland of the West Bank. It was this hindrance to trade coupled with the lucrative (if seasonal and unstable) market to be had in selling souvenirs of dubious worth to the vast influx of credulous Israeli and foreign tourists which drove out the small and traditional service based industries upon which the economy of the Old City had previously been based alongside a modest pilgrimage trade.



Infrastructurally, the Israelis have made some improvements to the Muslim Quarter, most notably, the provision of sewage lines, running water, electricity and streetlighting where these were needed. However, the wholesale expropriation of land and housing from the 5,500 Palestinians resident in the Jewish Quarter when the Israelis occupied the Old City [5] and the bulldozing of the Maghribi Quarter (now the Western Wall Plaza) which left an additional 619 Palestinians homeless [6] leaves Palestinian observers understandably suspicious as to Israel's future intentions. In any case, the underlying social malaise remains untouched.

Overcrowding in badly run-down buildings is the main problem here: population density in parts reaches 41.2 persons per *dunam* (1000 metres square), ten times the average of the city as a whole and over thirteen times the density of the northern suburb of Beit Hanina at 3.1 persons per *dunam* [7]. Solving this problem brings its own special dilemmas; the answer to overcrowding is usually a thinning out of population but the present circumstances of high emigration from the Old City as well as settler inroads into the community, make such a solution politically unthinkable.

One temporary solution has been to try to improve living conditions through property restoration. The major landowner in the Quarter, the *Awqaf* (Islamic Endowment Trust) is proceeding with restoration projects but a combination of a shortage of funds and harassment from planning authorities ensures that the rate of progress is in no way adequate to the scale of the problem. Although the *Awqaf* completed over 1000 restoration projects between 1980-89 at a cost of J.D.500,000 [8] officials admit that this is only the tip of the iceberg in terms of work required. The biggest common complaints handled by the *Awqaf's* Restoration Project are those concerning structural stability and humidity; what is needed to solve these problems city-wide is a massive injection of both capital and effort, neither of which is forthcoming from Amman. What the *Awqaf* have been able to do is prioritise



the restoration work according to the areas targeted by the settlers, with buildings adjacent to settlements receiving the highest listing. Restoration work in the Old City also brings its own special problems. The only means of access to properties for building materials is via specially adapted tractors which are owned by a private company: the cost of hiring these can often double the basic material costs. Additionally, a much higher level of skill is required from workmen doing restoration work on very old property than would be required on a straight building project so manpower costs for restoration projects are also correspondingly higher. To make the situation even more difficult, the whole of the Old City and its environs constitute a Special Zone under the Municipal Plan of 1968 [9]. This involves far more stringent planning regulations than elsewhere in the city and officially, no alterations can be made to the material status quo without recourse to the District Archaeologist and the Municipal inspectors who routinely make tours of inspection in the city. The very low level of acceptance rate for small private works inevitably means, as elsewhere in the city, a high rate of illegal building and substandard alterations. The Municipality, unable to carry out its own ambitious plans for the "restoration" (i.e., large scale slum clearance) of the Old City for the sake of international sensibilities, appears unwilling to allow even the most necessary of structural repairs to currently tenanted buildings, far less the size of project which would be required to radically alter the balance of social conditions in the area.

The physical problems of slum housing are compounded by legal problems surrounding ownership and occupancy. Israeli rent laws which apply to East Jerusalem keep rents artificially low. Where a tenant has been in residence since before June, 1967 his rent is only allowed to be raised by the percentage published annually by the Housing Ministry, a figure that has consistently failed to match inflation over the years. As the tenant of the property, he also is protected by the 1954 Tenancy Law which prohibits his eviction or a change of lease in order to raise rent levels. Where the situation

becomes anomalous is where the tenant's lease allows him to sublet the property which is a common feature of Old City leases. De facto, he becomes the landlord and may sublet the property to whomever he pleases without the permission of the owner. The tenant may also charge market rates for the property which can be many times higher than the protected rent which he pays to the owner and yet, he is not legally responsible for the upkeep of the building. In such a no win situation it is little wonder that landlords lose interest in their property and routinely refuse to carry out repairs, far less full renovation. However, it could be said from the tenant's point of view that such favourable leasing conditions are just compensation for having to live in low amenity, high density housing. A system which works in their favour could mean for many, the difference between staying put or leaving altogether [10].

It goes without saying that tenants are not the only beneficiaries of this system. By taking control out of the hands of the owners, the legal situation also benefits the settler groups. Equally, poor housing conditions work in their favour since they are willing to pay high prices to move in to the most run-down of properties; according to Old City residents who have been approached by settlers to sell, the going rate is \$20,000 per room. In other words, the sale of the lease of a two roomed apartment would comfortably resettle the slum tenants in a new spacious flat in the suburbs. Selling a lease or a sublease to Jews in the Old City risks, at best, community ostracisation and the tag of a collaborator. The settlers are only too well aware of the hazards involved and compensation is paid accordingly.

However a refusal of financial inducements does not end problems for the tenants of properties targeted by settlers and where the carrot fails, the stick can be liberally applied. Given a foothold in an area or even a courtyard, expansion into adjoining property can begin. The most typical method used is to force an entry to "create facts on the ground" and then to





take legal recourse (as was the case with St John's Hospice, the Rsass building in Aqabat Khaldieh and the Diskin Orphanage Kindergarten in Aqabat Saraya) to prove previous Jewish ownership, or occupancy. Such cases, complicated by confusion over previous tenants, legality of leases and subleases as well as loss of documents, can and do run for years, incurring massive legal costs. Individual tenants are often financially supported by the *Awqaf*, although it will not personally conduct cases on behalf of its tenants in Israeli courts as this would constitute public recognition of Israeli jurisdiction in Jerusalem. It is perhaps interesting to speculate what might have happened in the case of St John's Hospice had the building belonged to the *Awqaf* and not the Patriarchate.

So given the impetus provided by a poor, demoralised and thoroughly ghettoised Palestinian community whose representatives are impotent in the face of political and financial constraints, it is not surprising that highly motivated, well supported and government backed settler organisations have met with such success. There are 5 different settler groups operating outwith the Jewish Quarter of the Old City and three discernable ideologies. Of interest to this paper is the main trend, that which is espoused by the largest and most prominent of the settler groups, *Ateret Cohanim* (lit. "Crown of the Priests").

The ideological roots of settlement can be found in the *Yeshivat Mercaz Harav Kook* which was founded 1921 by Rabbi Avraham Isaac HaCohen Kook for the purpose of producing educators for the *Yishuv* (Jewish communal authority pre-independence) and became the first centre for religious Zionism in total contrast to both the ultra-Orthodox position on the state as well as that of the state's secular founding fathers. For Rabbi Kook and his adherents, the concept of *Eretz Yisrael* (Greater Israel) became an integral part of the Jewish religion along with the central tenets of God and Torah and the redemption of the Jewish people, whose unworthiness had



hitherto prevented the coming of the Messiah, was thus intrinsically linked to the redemption of the land of Israel. After the death of Rabbi Kook, the *Mercaz* continued to teach his doctrine and did indeed produce a new generation of religious Zionist educators. The emphasis in teachings is on study which leads to action - students are prepared for positions in the Rabbinate and education by which the spiritual message of Rabbi Kook and his son and successor, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda get further disseminated and public spirituality further raised. In the modern period, the yeshiva has come to be thought of as the spiritual and conceptual crucible of the Greater Israel movement. Many key members of *Gush Emunim* such as Eliezer Waldman, Haim Druckman and Moshe Levinger are among its graduates. Rabbi Zvi Yehuda himself was a key figure in the formation of the *Gush* and was regularly consulted by the movement's activists for advice and for his view of the spiritual portents involved in alternative courses of action [11].

Ateret Cohanim comes directly from this tradition and views itself as an outgrowth of the *Mercaz Harav Kook*. The *yeshiva* (college of religious education) which forms the basis of the organisation was founded in 1978 [12], a period of ideological quandary for the religious Right in Israel after *Gush Emunim* had passed its zenith and new directions were being sought. With settlement in the Territories stymied by Menachem Begin's lacklustre administration who had "sold out" the cause at Camp David, distress and a feeling of betrayal permeated these circles and the search for other ways to raise public spirituality itself raised angry debate and controversy.

At this time, a *hesder yeshiva* (which alternates religious study with military service) graduate, Matityahu HaCohen Dan and seven of his colleagues conducted a series of seminars on the priestly rites of the First and Second Temples which pinpointed the urgent need for further study of the subject. It was reasoned during these seminars that during the Babylonian exile, the Prophet Hagai received Divine instruction to test the *cohanim* on

the laws of the Temple and the sacrifices in preparation for the building of the Second Temple and that if the Jews were to receive such a Prophet today then he too would be commanded to test the priests on their knowledge and to encourage further study prior to the arrival of the Redemption. In short, if the Jewish people are not prepared both physically and spiritually for the coming of the Messiah then they are in no position to demand of God that he should send the Messiah at all. This concern based on Messianic prophesy is central to the *Ateret Cohanim* philosophy and a small core group of about 25 students are engaged in full time study of Temple lore or *kodshim*.

As for the Temple itself, there is no evidence to connect *Ateret Cohanim* with any of the attacks by extremist factions on al-Haram ash-Sharif or with groups such as *Ne'emanet Har Ha-bayit* (lit. the Temple Mount Faithful) who wish to force a Jewish presence there and the prohibition by the Chief Rabbinate on entry to the Mount is strictly observed by this group. However, the ultimate point of settling what is known as the "Old Jewish Quarter" is to create a strong Jewish presence around al-Haram which will provide the vanguard to raise the issue of the Temple and all that it entails in the public consciousness. A good example of this consciousness raising work currently under construction is the Western Wall Museum, a major undertaking which is a joint project of *Ateret Cohanim* and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The Museum is situated by Wilson's Arch in the Western Wall Plaza and adjoins the controversial Western Wall archaeological tunnel. When work is completed it will house high-tech, multi-lingual presentations "depicting the history of the Temple, the Wall and the Holy City of Jerusalem" [13]. Doubtlessly, it will be a major attraction for Israeli and foreign visitors alike.

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estimated 200 students are fully enrolled of which half are Sephardim, half Ashkenazim, one third married and all of whom must have served their time with the IDF prior to enrollment. *Ateret Cohanim* moved into their main premises on the Tariq al-Wad in the upper floors of the building of the former Torat Hayyim Yeshiva in 1981 but since then, the organisation has been conducting an ambitious settlement programme of former Jewish properties throughout the Muslim Quarter, initially with the aim of settling their students in the immediate vicinity of the *yeshiva* itself. Their main dormitory facility in the Tariq Bab al-Hadid houses 86 students with a further 30 living in other "reclaimed" properties such as the upper floor of Ariel Sharon's house on the Tariq al-Wad and apartments in Bet Rand, a three storey building near al-Haram and next to Suq al-Qattanin [14].

A number of the properties currently leased by *Ateret Cohanim* were obtained directly from or with the help of a settler property group operating from premises in Aqabat Khaldieh, *Atara L'yoshna*. *Ateret Cohanim* is no longer institutionally involved in the *Atara L'yoshna* consortium but it is clear that with similar aims of "redemption and reconstruction" and given the latter's close links with the Custodian and the Israel Lands Administration, the two groups work together on an informal basis for mutual benefit.

From very humble beginnings as a small, religious think-tank, *Ateret Cohanim* now thinks big. Their publicity literature shows large areas of the Muslim Quarter as formerly Jewish and indeed, the area itself is referred to as the "Old Jewish Quarter" on the grounds that the Bab Hutta neighbourhood was populated by Jews in the 10th Century. The British, it seems, are responsible for naming the Muslim Quarter [15] and enforcing a certain territorial integrity, until which time, everyone had lived next door to each other in that great big melting pot that was Jerusalem. Such a mixture of fact and fiction is genuinely disturbing particularly when one considers that



a slick public relations campaign operates unchallenged by the Islamic *Waqf* and Palestinian groups. However anyone who had dismissed *Ateret Cohanim* and their fellow travelers as Messianic cranks who operated on the lunatic fringe would have been relieved of their illusions by recent events.

The occupation of St John's Hospice marked a sharp departure from past settler practices not least in the fact that the Hospice lies in the heart of the Christian Quarter and is a property owned by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate but also in the sheer size and cost of the operation. The major issue at stake here and which still remains to be solved by the Israeli courts is whether *Ne'ot David* have the right of occupancy to the Hospice. A sum of money, reported variously at between \$3.5m. and \$5m. was paid to the outgoing tenant, an Armenian Martyros Matossian in return for the his lease of the building. The situation is complicated by the fact that it is alleged that the transaction was conducted via the offices of two intermediaries; a Lebanese banker named Nabil Nikola Sahnawi and a Panamanian registered company operating under the name SBC Limited.

What remains beyond doubt is the extent of government involvement in the settlement programme. It has been known for some time that prominent supporters within government have transferred money to the settler groups in the past. However, these appear to have been in the form of one-off payments namely, \$250,000 in 1984 from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to *Atara L'yoshna* [16] and \$40,000 in 1986 from the Ministry of Housing and Construction to *Ateret Cohanim* [17]. In addition to this financial support, in publicity literature of American Friends of *Ateret Cohanim*, statements of support for their projects are featured from eminent religious and political figures including Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Foreign Minister David Levy (also a former Minister of Housing), Dov Shilansky M.K. (Knesset Speaker), Geulah Cohen M.K. and both the Chief Ashkenazi and Sephardi Rabbis [18]. Perhaps the most explicit (and best



known) gesture of support came from Ariel Sharon when he leased an apartment from *Ateret Cohanim* and moved into the Moshe Wittenburg House on Tariq al-Wad in a highly provocative move in December, 1987. However, public recriminations over the St John's Hospice affair revealed new levels of institutionalised funding for the settlement groups. On Monday 23 April, Knesset questions by Citizens' Rights Movement M.K., Yossi Sarid prompted the admission by Housing Ministry officials that they had transferred a sum of NIS3.5m. (\$1.75m.) to *Ateret Cohanim* for the purchase of the lease on the Hospice. The conduit for this transaction was *Hemanuta*, a subsidiary of the Jewish National Fund which works extensively in the West Bank. In the subsequent wranglings between officials of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Housing, who were both frantically trying to evade public responsibility, it was further revealed that a sub-committee of the Ministry of Finance authorised to dispose of funds managed by the State Receiver had made a decision on 3rd April (apparently unconnected to St John's) to grant NIS7.5m. (\$3.75m.) "for the preservation of national sites and property in East Jerusalem". The allocation was to be channeled again through *Hemanuta* "which would act in consultation with *Ateret Cohanim* and *Atara Lyoshna*." [19]

However, it would be wrong to suggest that the Old City settlers operate unchallenged within the Israeli body politic. Until the St John's incident which brought overt criticism on a national level, settlement in the Moslem Quarter was perceived as a local political issue and at this level, the settlers most vociferous Israeli opponent is Jerusalem's Mayor, Teddy Kollek. Kollek's opposition to settlement is obviously not ideologically based: his own administration since 1967 has presided over the settling of over 110,000 Jews over the Green Line in East Jerusalem [20]. As is well known, Kollek is no ideologue and in his dealings with the Palestinian population of the city, he has proved himself to be intensely pragmatic. The corner stone of his administration of the city has been the much vaunted "mosaic" policy

whereby the different communities are, as far possible, kept apart through Municipality housing directions, a policy which is applied to West as well as East Jerusalem. By this system, although people work together and mingle freely in the market place, they live separately in their own neighbourhoods. To the Western ear, "segregation" is a loaded term but there is no doubt of the success of this policy in Jerusalem. Although meaningful examples of inter-communal cooperation are hard to find, likewise, there has been remarkably little inter-communal strife. The activities of Jewish settler groups moving into Palestinian Muslim and now Christian Quarters disturb Kollek's hard won status quo at its most sensitive point. The potential for trouble in a densely populated, largely poor and religiously mixed area such as the Old City is virtually unlimited and the high levels of media attention given to any disturbances which take place there quickly guarantees unfavourable publicity.

Yet despite Kollek's international reknown and the high esteem in which he is held within Israel, his position vis a vis the settlers is not strong. The levels of confidence which *Ateret Cohanim* and *Atara L'yoshna* enjoy within government circles, allows them to circumvent the Municipality which itself is beholden to the Ministries for funds [21]. It remains to be seen to what extent that confidence has been shaken in the aftermath of the St John's Hospice affair. With a risible sense of bad timing the occupation provoked an embarrassing series of demonstrations over the Easter period and exposed seriously questionable financial transactions involving a large sum of government money. Moreover it ruptured Israel's hitherto good relations with the foreign Christian community and drew criticism from organisations as disparate as the Unified National Command of the Uprising and A.I.P.A.C. In short, it was a major setback for *Ateret Cohanim* and their supporters.





That much said, there is no question of the revocation of Ateret Cohanim's contract as advisors to *Hemanuta* nor, with the restitution of the Temple and the consequent redemption the Jewish people as their ultimate goal, are they simply going to pack their bags and leave. Additionally, Palestinians can take little cheer from the appointment of *Ateret Cohanim's* most influential tenent, Ariel Sharon, to the Housing Ministry portfolio. What seems likely to happen is another lull in overt settlement activities for the time being until the controversy has died down. What is clear is that minimal legal support backed up by death threats to those who sell property is not a sufficiently positive response in the circumstances outlined above.

One solution to this problem, whose application has been effective if admittedly limited is that of the small community based organisation, responsible for dealing with the specific problems within its own geographical purview. Such an initiative has been underway in the area of Aqabat Khaldieh since the end of 1986 and whilst the committee has not functioned without its problems, it has undoubtedly succeeded in shoring up the local community against outside attack and has attempted to come to grips with the social problems in the neighbourhood. The Committee for Social Reform covers the area of Aqabat Khaldieh, Aqabat Saraya, Tariq al-Wad and Bab as-Silsileh and was formed in December 1986, initially as a neighbourhood defense committee in the face of anti-Arab rioting in the Old City after the stabbing in the area of a student from a nearby *yeshiva*. After the success of its programme (with some Municipality help) to fortify houses with steel doors and window mesh against attack from Jewish settlers, the Committee expanded its activities and has since opened a Mother and Child Clinic and a needlework cooperative for local women. Future plans include the establishment of a community centre and coffee shop as well as the re-opening of a disused bakery in the area. The Committee is supported administratively and financially by a higher Jerusalem Committee comprised of local notables, lawyers and merchants. Attempts to initiate

such moves in other areas have not met with success but then the residents of Aqabat Khaldieh are very much on the frontline; it is their area which has seen the highest levels of settler occupation of properties and the strains which this has placed on the community have undoubtedly provided the impetus to succeed.

Although such small community based efforts can stem the tide, they are unlikely to be able to hold back the flood. What they do provide is a clear basis from which to work. The first year of the *intifada* brought no new cases to light and complacency set in concerning the threat posed by the issue of settlement; it was known that a number of the groups were short of funds and it was generally felt that the conditions brought about by the *intifada* were inauspicious for the sort of low key operations which they are known to favour. Clearly, this time has not been wasted. Settlers now talk of an optimum rotation of 12 properties in the process of sale and renovation at any one time and it seems likely that *Ateret Cohanim* and others are already in possession of a number of new properties and are merely waiting for a good time to go public and move in. The settlers themselves remain tight lipped and inquisitive journalists and prospective buyers alike are told their future plans are "classified information". Whatever these plans are, given strong government support, social and legal conditions which work in their favour and a concerted opposition nowhere to be seen, they must stand a very good chance of success.

### Footnotes

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- [2] Yehoshua Ben Arie, Jerusalem in the 19th Century - Old City, (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 1984), pp265-389.
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- [5] Benvenisti, *ibid.*, pp69-70, 234.
- [6] Benvenisti, *ibid.*, p.306.
- [7] Shimon Bigelman (ed.), Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem, No.6 - 1987, (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies and Jerusalem Municipality, 1989),pp58-59.
- [8] Interview with Awqaf engineers, 8/6/90.
- [9] Arie Sharon, Planning Jerusalem: The Old City and its Environs, (Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), pp139-156.
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- [11] Hagai Segal, Dear Brothers: The West Bank Jewish Underground, (New York: Beit Shamai Publications Inc., 1988), p.xvii.
- [12] "This Year in Jerusalem", publicity material for The Jerusalem Reclamation Project, a chapter of American Friends of Ateret Cohanim, n.d..
- [13] "The Reclamation of Jerusalem", publicity literature for Jerusalem Reclamation Project.
- [14] *Ibid.* .
- [15] Early publicity handout of Jerusalem Reclamation Project.
- [16] Articles by Nadav Shagrai in Ha'aretz, 23/4 and 25/4/86.
- [17] Avi Temkin in Jerusalem Post, 27/3/86, "Yeshiva get \$40,000 to buy Muslim flats".



- [18] "This Year in Jerusalem", *ibid.*.
- [19] Alisa Oldenheimer in Jerusalem Post, 23/4/90. "Old City settlers funded by ministry".
- [20] Since neither the Jerusalem Municipality nor the Central Bureau of Statistics recognise the Green Line within the Jerusalem municipal area, this figure is an estimation from Shimon Bigelman, *ibid.*, pp52-57.
- [21] Israeli municipal-central government relations are still based on the Indian Municipal Code of 1904 which keeps the balance of power firmly in the hands of the central authority.



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الاضاع السكنية  
في مدينة القدس القديمة  
بين الاستيطان ومجيء المسيح المنتظر

جراهام مكنيل  
الملتقى الفكري العربي  
(النص بالانجليزية)

ابحاث متفرقة

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سلسلة آفاق فلسطينية

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