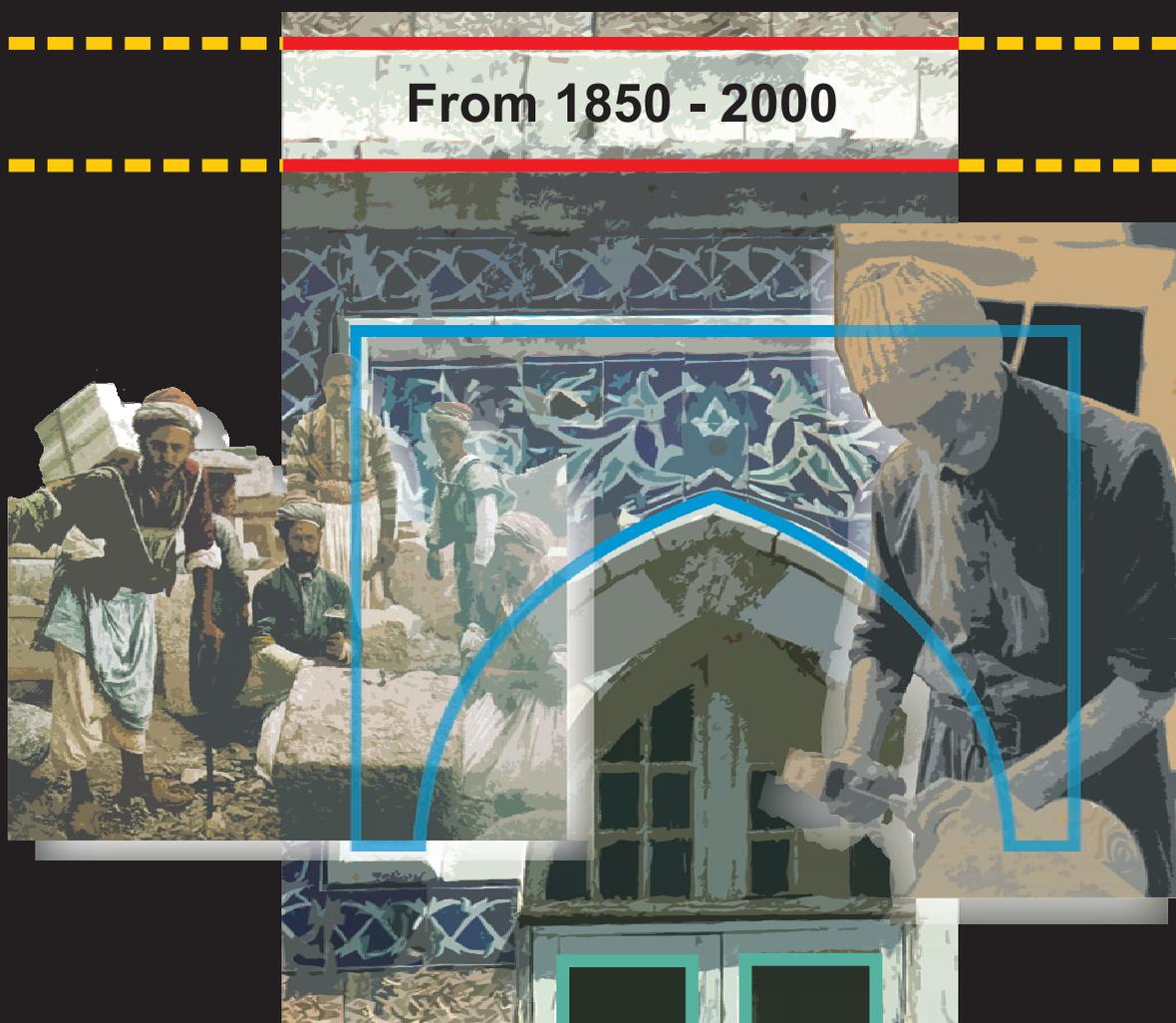


JERUSALEM

POPULATION & URBANIZATION

From 1850 - 2000



Jerusalem Media and
Communications Center

By: Dr. Walid Mustafa

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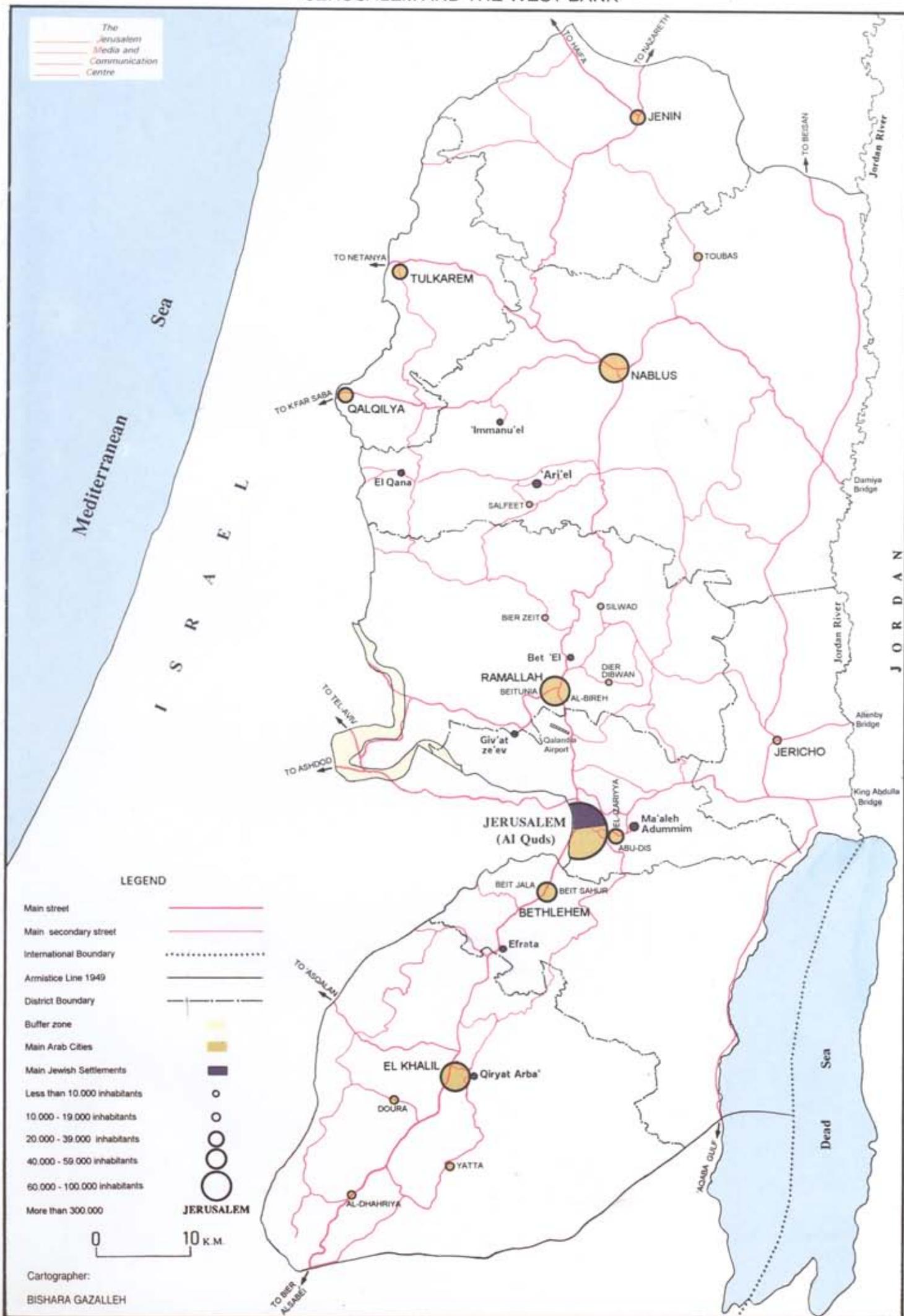
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JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK



Introduction



Jerusalem occupies a unique status in the life of Palestinians, not only because of its religious importance, but also because of the historic role the city has played in Palestinian economic, social and cultural life. Regarded as the most important Palestinian City, Jerusalem is held up as the future capital of an independent Palestinian state.

Since the PNC's 19th term, when it adopted the initiative for a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict based on a Palestinian and an Israeli state on the lands of Mandate Palestine, Palestinians have been ready to see peace realized through the legitimacy of international resolutions. Resolution 242, issued by the UN Security Council in 1967, was considered a basis for the current peace settlement, stipulated clearly in the Declaration of Principles, signed in Washington on September 13, 1993 (1).

According to international law, Palestinians demand the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Palestinian lands occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem. They want to establish an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, an area comprising only 22 percent of Mandate Palestine, next to the state of Israel, established in 1948. They seek a just solution, based on UN resolutions, to the problem of Palestinian refugees, who were evicted from their cities and villages in 1948 and never allowed to return.

Thus, Palestinians recognize the existence of two cities of Jerusalem, separated by the cease-fire line of 1949. There is West Jerusalem,

located west of the line, with a total area of 53 square km, and East Jerusalem, located east of the line, with a total area of 70 square km. The issues of Jerusalem and refugees, which have been delayed and put off even during final status talks, have emerged as two of the most complicated issues that threaten to derail the peace process. We believe that the Israeli negotiating mentality still launches its positions based on power and rejects seizing this historical moment to achieve a final settlement between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, and thus a comprehensive resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The official Israeli position still refuses the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and rejects the possibility of dividing Jerusalem between the two peoples. The Israelis insist on this position, even though the international community rejects it. They persist in expanding the borders of Jerusalem and declaring it the "eternal" capital of Israel and make their calculations based on the status quo that they are creating and the settlements they have built on Palestinian land. The official Israeli position refuses to recognize any Palestinian sovereignty in Jerusalem, limiting Palestinian rights in the city to religious access.

In the light of the current positions, it is hard to imagine how a permanent peace can evolve in the region and put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The independent Palestinian state is a basic pillar of this peace, of which East Jerusalem is an indispensable part. Jerusalem has always played a central role in Palestinian history, evolving since the first human settlement was formed thousands of years ago.

Since its emergence 4,000 years ago, Jerusalem has constituted an important center for those

living in and around it. Some politicians and historians who espouse Zionist thought claim that Jerusalem was never a capital, except during the reign of the two ancient Jewish Kingdoms. Although those kingdoms are part of the Palestinian narrative, history shows that Jerusalem was important even earlier.

The Amorites founded the city, and the Jebusites maintained and developed it, making it their capital until the arrival of King David, more than 1,000 years later. Under Greek and Roman reign, Jerusalem prospered, especially after Christianity became the Roman Empire's official religion in 325 AD, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was established. Jerusalem also prospered after the advent of Islam in 636 AD, especially after Al-Aqsa Mosque was built by Abdal Malik bin Marwan and his son Al-Waleed bin Abdal Malik at the end of the 7th century. During the past thirteen centuries, Jerusalem remained the focus in Palestine during the reign of Ayyubids, Mamluks and Ottomans, who, in 1874, transformed it into the center of a special *sanjaq*, or administrative district, belonging to the Ottoman sultan. To stress the importance of Jerusalem and the surrounding areas to the Ottoman Empire, Jerusalem became the second city, after Istanbul, to receive municipal reforms. By the end of the 19th century, there were nine foreign consulates in Jerusalem, including the British, Russian, French and US consulates. When Palestine came under the British Mandate in 1917, Jerusalem was announced as the capital of Palestine, where central departments of the Mandate Authority were established. Under the Jordanian rule, Jerusalem became the second capital of Jordan in 1959.

The history of Jerusalem, in particular, and Palestine, in general, has been subjected to

distortion, in order to deprive Palestinians of their history. In order to justify today's realities, these historians manipulate ancient history to make it match the present-day state of affairs. Palestinians, who have been rooted in the land for thousands of years, are made to look like intruders, while Israelis, who were formed as a nation only after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, are painted as the land's original inhabitants. This process is conducted through gaps in the research methodology that can be summarized as follows:

- 1- The attempt to transform legend into history by interpreting the Old Testament literally, and without validating those assumptions with historical or archeological evidence. Biblical legends and stories have been dealt with as if they were written history.
- 2- Separating the history of the tribes that embraced Judaism from the history of the tribes that lived in Palestine and nearby. This is an attempt to show that what is happening now is an extension of a history that goes back 3,000 years. These are attempts that have no relation with the objective history of Palestine. For example, the history of Palestine in the Iron Age is an extension of the history in the Bronze Age and so on, throughout the Greek, Roman and Islamic eras. Thus, Jewish history in Palestine is part of the heritage of the Palestinian people who have always been on this land.
- 3- Therefore, the attempts to distinguish the ancient Israelite era from eras coming before or after it appear feeble. According to our interpretation, the process of writing the history of Palestine through the Israelite era and what came before and after (2) has no justification. David's Kingdom and, later, Suleiman's and the North and South Kingdoms (after Solomon's Kingdom was divided) were not distinct from other contemporary kingdoms, such as Philistia, Edom, Ammon and Moab, either in production or in the level of civilization. All were the products of one phase in the history of civilization. We can even say that the Jewish kingdoms were even more backward due to their tribal structures. David and Solomon maintained the Jebusite civilization and administrative apparatus, (3) and when King Solomon thought of building the Temple, he looked to the representative of Phoenician civilization, Hiram, the King of Sour (4).
- 4- The attempt to separate the ancient history of Palestine from Arab Islamic history, by the use of the term, Early Arab Period (5). This term obscures the close ties that existed between the two histories, as seen in the migrations from the Arabian Peninsula to the Fertile Crescent that took place over thousands of years as well as the trade routes that sprung up.
- 5- The claim that Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine were oppressed under Arab rule. This contradicts the historical fact that the Arabs allowed the Jews to come to Jerusalem, especially under Sultan Salah ad-Din Al-Ayyoubi and during the Mamluk and Ottoman rule, after the expulsion of the Muslims and Jews from Spain and Portugal 1492 and 1495, respectively. Any oppression of Jews during the Islamic Era was part of the oppression inflicted upon people in general and was not directed at Jews specifically, as was the case in Europe, for example.
- 6- The inflation of statistical data, particularly the number of Jews in Jerusalem during the 19th century and the beginning of the

20th century, to create the impression that they were the city's majority (6) and that Jerusalem was a Jewish city prior to the major waves of Jewish immigration. This study will show that those approaches and trends were not accurate.

This study, which I prepared with the assistance of Palestinian researcher Khalil Tufakji, who helped in collecting the initial material and preparing the maps-expertly prepared by Bishara Ghazaleh-aims to review the urbanization and population situation in Jerusalem, as two major landmarks crucial to the city's identity. We divided the study into several sections. The first section reviews built-up area and population prior to 1850, the period when Jerusalem was confined within the Old City walls. The second section, 1850 - 1914, explores the final phase of the Ottoman period. The third section, 1917 - 1948, the period of the British Mandate, was followed by the fourth, 1949 - 1967, which witnessed the partition of Palestine, the establishment of the State of Israel and the partition of Jerusalem. The final section, 1967 - 2000, shows the most recent period of history, from the Israeli aggression of June 1967 to the present.

Jerusalem, as a lively city, has been affected by what has happened around it, and, thus, its features have changed over the years. Each of the above-mentioned sections describes a different Jerusalem, in terms of area, borders and population. The Jerusalem of 2000, for example, has an area 136 times the area of the Jerusalem of 1850, which was entirely within the Old City walls. The population over this period increased by 55 times.

Finally, I would like to thank all those who helped me complete this study; they are many. I would like to pay special tribute to the Jordanian Geographical Center, which gave me access to its rich reserve of maps of Palestine and Jerusalem. I also would like to thank the researcher Dr. Adel Mana' for his reading and revision of a draft of this study, and for his valuable comments, most of which were heeded. I would like to express my gratitude to the Moroccan photographer and researcher Itto Barardah, who provided the photos of Jerusalem through the eye of her smart lens. I would like to thank Khader Khader, Mousa Qos and Johara Baker for their efforts in translating the book into English and Mary Abowd for the final editing the book. I would like also to thank my friend Ghassan Khatib, the director of Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, for assigning me the study. I hope that I was successful in achieving the goals we set about to accomplish when we first thought about conducting a study of Jerusalem.

Dr. Walid Mustafa
June 7, 2000

Chapter One

Jerusalem prior to 1850 AD



Since its founding 4,000 years ago, Jerusalem has played a central role on the world stage. Despite conquests, destruction and war over the centuries, the city has managed to adapt and survive, changing its location, name and size, depending on the historical period.

The first archeological evidence of primitive settlement in Jerusalem dates back to the Chalcolithic Age (4000 - 3000 BC) on the peak of al-Thouhour Mountain (Ophel), near Um al-Daraj (Gihon) spring. By the middle Bronze Age (2000 - 1500 BC), the Amorites (7) had occupied the site, calling it Urosalem, "Ur" meaning light, and "Salem" meaning God of the dusk (8). This name was first mentioned in Execution Texts between 1879 - 1842 BC (9). However, it wasn't until thousands of years later (1961 - 1967 AD) that the city's wall position was bracketed and partially excavated by the British archeologist Kathleen Kenyon (10).

Following the Amorites, the Jebusites inhabited the city at the beginning of the 14th century BC. Because both were of Canaanite origin and shared a linguistic tradition, the name Urosalem was maintained. This name appears in written form in a letter from the city's King Abdi Heba to Egypt's Pharaoh Akhenaton, in what became known as the Tel Amarnah letters. Urosalem's wall was located about 300 meters from the wall where present-day Al-Aqsa Mosque stands.

Around 1,000 BC, King David occupied the Jebusite capital, making it the capital of the

Israelite Kingdom and renaming it Yerushalayim. The new occupiers allowed the city's former residents to remain and kept in place the administrative apparatus they had developed. David's son, King Suleiman, drew on Jebusite traditions for his rituals in the Temple (11), which he erected on a platform north the Jebusite city, together with his palaces and administration buildings which erected between the southern wall of present-day Al-Aqsa Mosque and the northern wall of the Jebusite city. No trace of Suleiman's Temple and palaces was ever found, according to Kenyon, because after its destruction (in 596 BCE by the Babylonians), its remnants were used to build the new Temple during the rule of Herod the Great, more than 550 years later, and because of quarring that took place in the area during the Herodian and Byzantine periods.

Shortly after Suleiman's death in 925 BC, the Israelite Kingdom split. The tribes of the northern Kingdom of Israel created their own capital in the Palestinian middle mountain areas (near present-day Nablus), while those of the southern Kingdom of Judah, in the mountains of Jerusalem and Hebron, kept Yerushalayim as their center. At that time, several other kingdoms existed in Palestine and the surrounding areas; there was the Kingdom of the Philistia, from which the name Palestine was derived, which extended along the coast and into the northern Ghour. There was the Kingdom of the Edom and Moab in the southern parts of Palestine and Jordan, and the Kingdoms of Amon, Aram and Phoenicia in the north and northeastern areas.

During the times of those kingdoms, Palestine endured invasions from the west by pharaohs who wanted to extend their authority, as well

as from kingdoms to the east (Assyria and Babylon), at Mesopotamia. The Pharaohs and the rulers from Mesopotamia maintained the existing Palestinian kingdoms and their rulers, provided that they declare their allegiance and pay taxes. Whenever they faced resistance, they would destroy those kingdoms and enslave their residents.

This is what happened to the Kingdom of Israel, which was wiped out by the Assyrian King Shalmaneser V in 724 BC, and the Kingdom of Judah, which fell to the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar in 596 BC. Palestine then entered the era of empires, starting with the Greek era, when Alexander the Great occupied Jerusalem in 332 BC. This was followed by the Roman era, when the Roman general Pompey occupied Jerusalem in 64 BC. During the empires era, local kingdoms were removed and foreign armies settled in the country. During this stage, Jerusalem witnessed periods of progress, the greatest of which was during the reign of the Roman ruler of Edomite origin Herod the Great (37 - 4 BC). During his reign, Jerusalem grew to five times its size under King Suleiman's rule (around 700 dunums). Herod built his Citadel, a temple for the Jews and one for the Romans. However, following a revolution against the Romans, crushed by Roman leader Titus in 70 AD, the Jewish Temple was burned. With the coming of Roman leader Hadrian, who was known for his approach to construct cities and roads that help in developing the outskirts of the empire and tightening the grip on it, the residents of Yerushalayim resisted the schemes to build a new city, which made Hadrian occupy and destroy the city. Hadrian built a new Roman city called Aelia Capitolina, or "center of the sun"; Jews were banished from it. His ban on Jews remained in place until the

Arab Islamic conquest, when prohibition laws were reduced and later discarded, especially during the time of Muslim conqueror Salah ad-Din, and the period after the Arabs and Jews left Spain and Portugal between 1492 - 1495 AD.

The Romans established also the Palestinian cities of Safouriye (Deocaesarea), Lod (Diospolis), Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis), Imwas (Nikopolis) and Nablus (Neopolis). These cities constituted a basis for the region's development, while the role of the city expanded in achieving this progress, including Aelia Capitolina.

During the last three centuries of Roman rule, the major development affecting the life of the city was the adoption of Christianity, in 325 AD, as the official religion of the Roman Empire. When Emperor Constantine's mother, Saint Helen, visited the country, she decided

to establish churches and renovate holy sites connected to the life of Jesus Christ. She focused most of her attention on Jerusalem, where she founded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, thus making Jerusalem the focal point of the Christian world for centuries to come.

However, the most significant development in the city, as we see it, was the arrival of Omar bin al-Khattab in 636 AD, ushering in the Arab Islamic era. Arabic language and Islamic culture prevailed and, to this day, has left its mark on the traditions, customs, laws, administration and architecture. At the beginning of their rule, the Arabs kept the Roman name for the city, changing it slightly to fit the Arabic language. They called it Ilya'; Bayt al-Maqdas and al-Quds al-Sharif. Over time, al-Quds became the most commonly used name.



Built Up Area in Jerusalem up to 1850 AD

During the period stretching from 139 AD to 1850 AD, Jerusalem grew and developed, though the walls, major areas, water systems and sewers continued to resemble, to a large extent, the Roman city Hadrian had built (12). Each era brought renovation to the city's basic landmarks. Architecture changed as buildings were demolished and new ones were rebuilt. Thus, the buildings and streets of the Old City came to be built one on top of the other, layered with history. The city also witnessed a series of devastating earthquakes in 747, 774, 1019, 1066, and between 1077 and 1260, it was home to six fierce battles and wars, mainly occurring during the Franks' campaigns.

During the Mamluk (1253 - 1517 AD) and the Ottoman (1517 - 1917 AD) eras, the city lived a state of relative stability. The two periods left their architectural mark in the way of new construction and the continuous renovation of several religious and spiritual sites. (See map of Jerusalem - Old City 1850).

a- The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built from 328 - 335 AD, is considered one of the most important architectural landmarks since the **Roman and Byzantine eras**, and has been rebuilt and renovated several times since its original construction. Other notable sites include the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, built in 494 AD; the Church of St. John, established in 450 AD, as well as the Banat monastery, built in 594 AD (13). The Church of Saint Anne, established in 530 AD, was burnt in 614 AD by the Persians and rebuilt by the Franks in 1099 AD (14).

b- **Umayyad Architecture:** As the Islamic Caliphate prospered, Caliph Abdal Malik bin Marwan gave special attention to Jerusalem, which was close to his capital in Damascus. He ordered the construction of the Dome of the Rock, which lasted from 685 - 691 AD. The Dome of the Rock has been subject to several renovations during the past 13 centuries because of earthquakes and the impact of time. Abdal Malik, and after him Waleed bin Abdal Malik, ordered the construction of Al-Aqsa Mosque, built from 693-705 AD, which was also subject to repeated renovations. One notable feature during this period was the Dome of Essilsa (15), established in 692 AD, next to the Dome of the Rock. During excavation of the southeastern part of Al-Aqsa from 1968 to 1977, Umayyad Palaces built during the reign of Waleed bin Abdal Malik, including Dar al-Imara (Government House) were found (16).

Abbasid Era: The eastern and southern Ba'ekas buildings, built in the 10th century, still exist in the courtyard of Al-Asqa Mosque. But the western and southeastern Ba'ekas buildings were built in the Fatimid era, the first in 952 AD, and the second in 1027 AD.

The Franks Era (1099 - 1178 AD): The Armenian Monastery, the Olive Tree Convent, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the Coptic Patriarchate, the Ethiopian Monastery and others have existed since the construction movement that followed the destruction inflicted by the occupation.

Ayyoubid Era (1187 - 1253 AD): The group of domes in the courtyard of Al-Aqsa, Essilsa Gate, al-Sakineh Gate, the northern Rowak and Mtaharah washrooms in Al-Aqsa Mosque still exist. The buildings of Salahiah Khanqa, Zawiyat al-Khuntia, the Badria School, Moazamiah School and Bimaristan still exist outside Al-Aqsa Mosque.

Mamluk Era (1253 - 1516 AD): The Mamluk era witnessed prosperity in construction in several cities, such as Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo. Regarding Jerusalem, the golden era in terms of construction was executed by the Wali of Damascus Sief ad-Din Tankez el-Nassri (1293 -1341 AD) during the reign of Mohammad Qalowoun, and during the reign of Sultan Qaetbai (1467 - 1495 AD), who lived in Jerusalem for several years.

The following are Mamluk architectural landmarks that still exist:

- a- In the courtyard of Al-Aqsa - the four minarets (el-Fakhria, Ghawanmeh, Isbat Gate and Essilsa Gate), in addition to the western Rowak and the northern, northeastern, northwestern, and southwestern Ba'ekas.
- b- The quarters around Al-Aqsa Mosque took form during this era; the quarters and the streets were named after the sects and families who resided in them. Approximately 33 residential quarters existed in the Old City under the Mamluks (17).
- c- The architectural movement was accompanied by the construction of 13 markets, mainly the Qattanin, Attarin, Jewelry, Khan al-Zeit, vegetable and Khan Sultan markets; there were also 14 khans and 13 baths, two of which, al-Ayn and al-Shefa, still exist today (18).

- d- At this time, Jerusalem was considered an important center of knowledge and learning, home to around 60 schools and learning centers, which fostered intellectual life in the city (19). The major schools were el-Jawlia (now Omariyye), al-Tankazieh, Slamieh, Kamilieh and Ashrafieh (now Al-Aqsa Library).

The first phase of the **Ottoman** era (1517 - 1850 AD) is responsible for the most recent features of Jerusalem. The most important work at that time was the building of the Jerusalem Wall and securing water flow into the city (1537 -1540). A project was undertaken to renovate al-Sabeel Channel, which extends from Sulieman's Pools, near the village of Artas south of Bethlehem, to Sultan's Pool, just outside the Old City walls. Sultan's Pool was then connected to the inside of the city with the construction of a new channel.

Several mosques from the Ottoman period still exist, including the Red Minaret, the Citadel, al-Shorbaji, al-Mawlawiya and Qeimary. Also in existence are the hospice of Khaski Tkieh , built by the wife of Sulieman the Great, Zawiyat el-Afghan and Zawiyat el-Naqshabandiyye and the Bayram Jawish Inn (now Dar al-Aytam).

During this period, several Catholic sites were constructed as well: the St. Saviour Church (Franciscan), al-Addas Monastery (Nicodimis), the Greek Catholic Patriarchate and Mar Yousef Monastery.

Moreover, several markets and commercial buildings were renovated. In 1670, the Turkish traveler Ulia'a Jilbi counted around 2,045 shops in Jerusalem (20).

The walls of Jerusalem: The walls of Jerusalem are considered one of the city's most important features; they were maintained and renovated by Sultan Sulieman the Great between 1536-1540 AD. The present-day walls are almost identical to those that surrounded the city in 139 AD.

Prior to the reign of Sultan Sulieman, the Wall of Jerusalem had been partially demolished and renovated several times. When the Franks occupied Jerusalem in 1099 AD, the wall suffered severe damage, and the Franks reconstructed it. The same situation occurred when Salah ad-Din al-Ayyoubi occupied the city in 1187. However, it wasn't until 1219 AD that the wall was completely destroyed by Ayyoubide Sultan Issa al-Moazam, who feared that the Franks, encroaching on the city, might use it as a fortress. Upon occupying Jerusalem City this time, the Franks built the Citadel. King el-Saleh Nijm eddin Ayyoub built part of the wall; the Mamluks did the same and renovated the Citadel. The situation remained as it was until Sulieman the Great rebuilt the entire wall.

The four sides of the wall span a combined length of 4,200 meters. The longest side is the northern one, measuring 1,387.5 meters, followed by the southern wall at 1,150 meters. The eastern wall is next, measuring 887.5 meters, while the western side is the shortest at a length of 775 meters. The total area inside the walls is 900 dunums, that is, less than one square km.

The wall has eleven gates, seven of which are open. Isbat (St. Stephen's) Gate on the eastern wall; Sahreh (Herod's) Gate, Amoud (Damascus) Gate and Jdid (New) Gate on the northern wall; al-Khalil (Jaffa) Gate on the western wall, and Nabi Daood (Zion) Gate and

Magharbeh (Dung) Gate on the southern wall. There are four closed gates, which are the Triple, Double and Single gates located along the southern wall (in the wall of Al-Aqsa Mosque). It is believed they have been closed since the reign of Omar bin al-Khattab to protect Al-Aqsa Mosque. The fourth gate is al-Rahmeh (Golden) Gate on the eastern wall, which is believed to have been closed since 1495, during the reign of Salah ad-Din al-Ayyoubi (21).

Some changes in the gates took place at the end of the 19th century. New Gate was opened in 1889 to facilitate communication between Old City residents and the nearby Notre Dame complex, which included a hospital. An opening was made in al-Khalil Gate in 1897 to accommodate cart of the German Emperor Wilhelm II during his visit to the Old City.

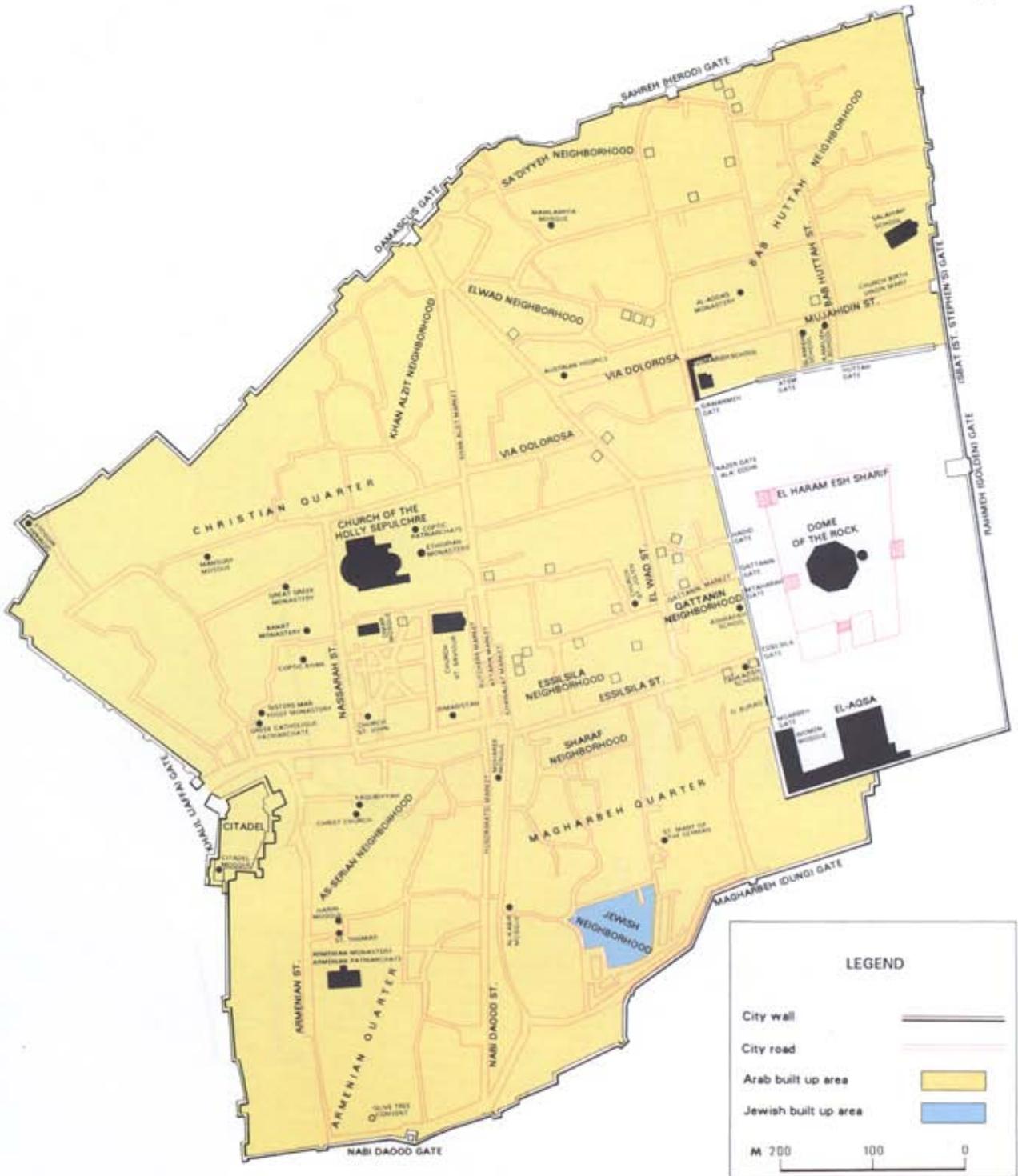


Photo: Itto Barardah

Amoud Gate: At the bottom of the picture Roman Jerusalem and Damascus Gate in Aelia Capitolina are visible.

OLD CITY (1850)

The
 Jerusalem
 Media and
 Communication
 Centre



Cartographer:
 BISHARA GAZALLEH



Population in Jerusalem up to 1850 AD

Population data for Jerusalem and Palestine before the Ottoman era can only be approximated, since it is based on estimates made by travelers and researchers whose ideology may have colored their objectivity. We believe that Ottoman data is the most accurate. Even though there was no general census, the government was concerned with civil record keeping for the purposes of tax collection and military conscription.

Naturally, the population number for Jerusalem depended on the political and economic conditions in the region at the time. Generally speaking, in times of prosperity, the population inside the walls ranged between 20,000 and 40,000. In times of destruction or disturbance, that figure decreased by a few thousand.

Consequently, based on the numbers of the renowned Persian traveler Nassr Khisro who visited the city in 1047 AD, Jerusalem's population before its occupation by the Franks had reached 20,000 (22).

When the Franks entered Jerusalem in 1099 AD, an unprecedented massacre took place (23). An estimated 40,000 to 70,000 people were killed. This doubling of the population was due to the thousands who came to Jerusalem to defend the city or to avoid battles outside the walls. Stability returned to Jerusalem half a century after the massacre. Arabs were allowed to return, after a period when only Franks had had the right to reside in the city. As a consequence, by the middle of the 12th century, Jerusalem's population totaled

30,000 (24). However, during the following eight decades of wars between Muslims and Franks, the population had decreased to around 5,000 in 1234 AD (25).

The Mamluk era was by far the city's most flourishing period in terms of architecture, trade and science. During this time, the population grew to 40,000 (26). However, the worldwide outbreak of the plague after 1350 AD, and its recurrence every decade or two, brought the population of the city down to 5,512 in 1533 AD (27).

Despite Jerusalem's stability during the Ottoman Empire, the population didn't reach the highs known in the Mamluk era until 1850 AD. This was due to the impact of the plague, which remained in the region until the second half of the 19th century, as well as the weak economic conditions of the 17th and 18th centuries.

According to Dr. Kamal Abdul Fattah and Dr. Wolf Dieter Hutteroth, the population of Jerusalem was 8,431 in 1596 AD (28); the number arrived at in 1849 AD, during an accounting of the subjects of the Sublime Porte, was 11,682 (29). As for the origins of the population, Arabs comprised the predominant component between 139 - 1850 AD. The Greek, Roman and Frank presence decreased after they lost control of the city. Jews remained a minority in Jerusalem because they were prohibited from living there until their expulsion from Andalus (Spain & Portugal). They were then allowed by the

Mamluks and, later, the Ottomans to reside in Jerusalem. In 1171 AD, statistics show only three Jewish families in Jerusalem (30), and, in 1267 AD, only two families (31). By 1572 AD, however, the number had grown to 115 families, or 575 people (32). In the 1849 AD census, that number had reached 1,790, or the equivalent of 15.3 percent of Jerusalem's total population.

Chapter Two

Jerusalem 1850 - 1914



During this period, Jerusalem witnessed a number of important developments that brought dramatic changes. These changes were connected to a number of factors:

1. **Ottoman reforms (*the Tanzimat*):** In the second half of the 19th century, a group of intellectuals from the Ottoman leadership called upon the *Bab al-Ali* to implement a number of bureaucratic reforms. The goal was to institute changes in the land, taxation and administrative systems. These reforms were implemented in Greater Syria (*bilad al-sham*) in order to tighten Ottoman control after a failed Egyptian campaign to seize control over the area. Thus, dependence on the expertise of the local population increased in executive and administrative matters. As a consequence, more rights were granted to non-Muslim sects (Christians and Jews) including representation in local councils. When the Turkish Revolution of 1908 broke out, the new leaders focused on the issues and problems faced by Turkey, disregarding the other parts of the empire.
2. **Declaration of the Jerusalem *sanjaq* (administrative district) in 1874** (1) as an independent administrative identity directly subordinate to the administration in Istanbul. This decision contributed to the following:
 - a. The *sanjaq* of Jerusalem, along with those of Nablus and Acre, would come to define Palestine in the British Mandate period.
 - b. The City of Jerusalem occupied the central

position in its *sanjaq*, as the largest and most important city.

- c. The city's notable Arab families gained influence from the situation. This influence increased and spread beyond Jerusalem's borders by virtue of the fact that members of these families occupied important administrative and religious posts. The Ottoman authorities granted them these positions in order to win their loyalty, and this, in turn, increased Ottoman dependence on these families.

3. **Formation of the Jerusalem municipality:** In 1863, Jerusalem established a municipality, becoming the second city, after Istanbul, to do so (2). This contributed to the development of the city's architectural, commercial, economic and educational aspects. The passage of a law in 1878 gave the Jerusalem municipality jurisdiction over construction activity, infrastructure improvements (such as streets and water lines) health affairs, schools and social institutions. The municipality's income was generated through taxes, fees, donations and contributions from the central authority. This transformed the municipality council from a body with limited authority whose revenues did not exceed 500 Turkish liras, to an important institution whose revenues, by 1914, had reached 11,216 Turkish liras. The municipality's expenditures rose from 1,383 liras in 1877 to 9,787 liras in 1914 (3). The mayor's office was held by a number of Arab Jerusalem families who did much to develop the city. Mr. Yousef Rida Khalidi, mayor for nine nonconsecutive years, beginning in 1874, was one such leader (4).

4. **Establishing modes of transportation:** The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 ushered in a new era of transportation in the region, opening the way for increased trade with Europe and allowing for more pilgrims to reach Jerusalem. This, in turn, led to development of local transportation, with Jerusalem as the hub. The Jerusalem - Jaffa Road was completed in 1870, serving as a main artery between the coast and the country's interior. By 1885, 50 carriages transported passengers along the route, in a trip that lasted up to 18 hours (5). In 1882, the Jerusalem - Jericho Road was completed, followed by the Jerusalem - Bethlehem - Hebron Road in 1889 and the Jerusalem - Nablus Road in 1907. Due to Jerusalem's development outside the walls during this period, permanent kerosene street lamps, installed by 1905, lit up the Old City and Yaffa Road. Yaffa Road was the first road in Palestine to be paved with asphalt (6).

This period also saw the development of the Jerusalem - Jaffa railroad, established in 1892. Because of the train's cargo capacity and speed—a train ride from Jaffa to Jerusalem took only four hours—the railroad quickly supplanted the horse and carriage as the primary means of transport. It was also connected with carriage lines to Jordan, Syria and Iraq. With Jerusalem at the center, the transportation network resulted in the city's architectural and demographic growth.

5. **Increase in European interest and involvement in the region:** With the deterioration of the Ottoman Empire, European countries stepped up their pressure on the empire, resulting in a number of privileges. An 1867 law allowed

for foreigners to own land and foreign countries to lend protection to non-Muslim inhabitants; (For example, France protected the Catholics; Russia watched over the Orthodox; and Germany, Britain and the United States protected the Protestants and Jews). In addition, these countries protected foreign citizenry living within the Ottoman Empire. Beginning in 1876, Jews were granted permission both to come to Palestine and to leave it.

European countries also used Jerusalem as a means of exercising influence in the region. By establishing consulates, they could play a role in local affairs by building religious institutions and hospitals, owning land, and even attempting to stir up conspiracies among different groups (7). The British were the first to establish a consulate in Jerusalem in 1838, followed by Prussia (1842), France (1843), the United States (1844), Austria (1847), Sardinia (1860), Greece (1862), Italy (1872), and Iran (1886). Russia maintained its consulate in Jaffa, until moving it in 1888 to the Russian Compound (al-Moskobiyya), which had been established outside the Old City 30 years earlier (8).

6. **Jewish immigration:** During this period, the Zionist movement decided to establish a national homeland in Palestine. Its goals dovetailed with the aims of the European states, Britain in particular, which desired to increase its influence in the region and protect its access to the Suez Canal. In a letter dated September 22, 1840, Lord Shaftesbury wrote to British Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston, that if we consider the issue of the return of the Jews to Palestine to build and settle in it, we will discover that this would be the cheapest

and safest way to guarantee all which is necessary in the region (9). Henceforth, the instructions given to the first British diplomat to Jerusalem, Consul-Deputy William Young, were to give special care to the Jewish population and to grant them full protection (10).

The Zionist goals of mass emigration to Palestine and the possession of more and more land were met with attentiveness and protection, through constant pressure exerted on the Ottomans. In 1888, an Ottoman law prohibiting Jewish immigrants from residing in Jerusalem was repealed, allowing Jews to live there on an individual basis. Another law, prohibiting the sale of state land to Jews, was repealed in 1893. By 1899, a total of 9,000 Jews enjoyed the protection of ten foreign consulates (11).



Photo: Itto Barardah

Sultan's Pool: To the right is Yemen Moshe quarter. To the far left Mount Zion Hotel (Former el-Baqa'a Ophthalmic Hospital). 1997



Urban Construction in Jerusalem 1850 - 1914

The aforementioned factors clearly influenced architectural development in Jerusalem, especially once development began outside the Old City walls. If human settlement outside the walls up to the mid-1800s was limited to the villages surrounding Jerusalem, then this period witnessed the beginning of more urban construction, providing the foundation for the modern city we know today. Concerning the villages, particularly those that are part of the Jerusalem municipality today, their construction dates back to much earlier periods. In 1596, the combined population of the villages of Lifta, Beit Safafa, al-Tur, Um Tuba, Silwan, Sharafat, Nabi Sumwil, Shua'fat, al-Thuri, 'Isawiya, Deir Yassin, el-Maliha and Ein Karem was approximately 2,005, about a quarter of Jerusalem's population (12). By the beginning of World War I, that number was approaching 9,000 (13).

Urban Construction inside the Old City

We have already mentioned that the major characteristics of the Old City were formed in past eras. Thus, the scope of new construction inside the Old City during this period was somewhat limited. After the establishment of a municipality, concern was focused on renovating homes, widening streets, fixing water canals and sewage systems and developing markets. Most modern construction was the result of European countries and churches. A number of churches, schools and shops were built, especially in vacant areas in the Christian Quarter and near al-Khalil Gate.

Prominent landmarks began to emerge: the Latin Patriarchate Church (1864); the Ecce Homo Basilica (1856); the Collège des Frères, (1876); Church of the Redeemer (1898); an accompanying German-style quarter, and the Austrian Hospice (1860); the New Grand Hotel (1880); the commercial market of the Orthodox Church at al- Khalil Gate; and also the 13-meter-high Clock Tower (1907).

The gates of Jerusalem opened at dawn and were closed with the evening prayers. According to the wife of the British consul, Elizabeth Finn, the keys to the city were handed over to caretaker (14). Around the 1870s, as security improved and construction increased outside the walls, the gates remained open throughout the night. In 1889, the New Gate was opened as well as a passageway near al-Khalil Gate in 1897, to facilitate the passage of carriages and, later, cars.

Urban Construction outside the walls (the New Jerusalem)

During this period, two types of construction—one Arab, the other Jewish—emerged. Both served different needs and goals. Early on, wealthy Arab families escaped the overcrowded Old City and built expansive modern castles or independent homes. Given the lack of Jewish-owned land at the time, Jewish construction was more compact and densely packed. It fulfilled the need to settle as many new immigrants as possible, thus creating a new demographic reality on the ground that would have an impact on the city's

future. Additionally, construction supplies for Arab neighborhoods came from individuals, while those for Jewish neighborhoods came from companies and societies. This is why Arab construction proceeded according to the desires of the individual home owner while Jewish construction took the decidedly utilitarian form of small apartments that could to accommodate the maximum number of families.

In addition to these two types of construction, another type emerged, used by the churches and European institutions. Characterized by their large size, these buildings took the form of churches, schools and hospitals. Basically founded to provide services to the Arab population, they attracted Arab houses to spring up around them, and their construction can be considered part of the Arab construction in the New City. Referring to the map of Jerusalem (1850 - 1914), Arab settlement appears mostly in the northern areas around Nablus Road, as well as the areas close to the Old City's north and western walls. Arab settlement also expanded to the south and east of the Old City in areas previously populated by Arabs (Silwan, al-Tur, al-Thuri). Jewish settlement was concentrated in the northwestern areas, far away from the city walls. However, joint Arab-Jewish neighborhoods emerged in commercial areas and locations connecting the two communities (Yaffa Street, Prophets Street, the Ratisbone area, Jorat al-Inab, al-Shama'a). There were also areas which started out as mixed and then became completely Arab (Maaman-Allah, Musrara, Saa'd and Si'ed).

Arab construction in New Jerusalem

The beginnings of construction outside the walls, with the exception of the villages previously mentioned, was restricted in the middle centuries by a number of (*Zawiyats*):

Zawiyat al-Jirahiya: An open courtyard surrounded by a number of rooms, it was established by Prince Hussam ad-Din al-Jirahi, who died in 1201 (15). The structure was used as a mosque and a residence for the *zawiyeh* leaders who are still present today. Sheikh Jarrah and American Colony neighborhoods grew at this period near the *Zawiyeh*.

Zawiyat al-Kabakibeh: A square-shaped room covered by a dome, it was established by 'Ala ad-Din al-Kabaki, who died in 1288 (16), and the structure currently stands in the Maaman-Allah cemetery.

Zawiyat al-Adhamiah: In 1361 Prince Manjak al-Nasiri (17) transformed this large cave, located at the foot of the cemetery at Sahreh (Herod's) Gate, into a rest area for pedestrians and a guest house for the poor. Today, al-Adhami Mosque is situated next to it.

One of the most important buildings outside the walls is the Sultan's Pool built by Sultan el-Zaher Barquq in 1399. It was later renovated and reconstructed by Sultan Suleiman the Great in 1540 (18) to collect water for the Old City. It is now an Israeli open-air theater.

In the 17th, 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries, the beginnings of construction were summer residences, built in the vineyards and gardens surrounding the Old City, followed by some permanent palaces built by the upper

class. The first to build a palace outside the walls in the 17th century were two major employees, Sultan al-Nather, who built in Wadi el-Joz, and al-Amawi, who built near *al-zawiyeh al-Jirahiya*. In 1711, Sheikh el-Khalili built his winter palace at Sahreh Gate. The palace was situated where the Palestinian Archeology Museum is situated now. The palace was later named the Karm esh-Sheikh Palace. Next, a summer palace was built in el-Baqa'a in 1719 by el-Khalili himself(19) followed by the Khatib family palace in Wadi el-Joz (1730) and al-Shihabi palaces in the Masharif Mountain (Scopes) area. These initial buildings were limited to wealthy Arab families, but beginning in the late 1800s to the early 1900s, a wider pattern of construction activity emerged to accommodate the needs of the Arab population. Improved economic, security and public health conditions in Jerusalem resulted in overcrowding, which propelled building beyond the city walls. Schools, hospitals and places of worship were constructed, and, later, markets, stores and official institutions. The result was the emergence of several Arab neighborhoods outside the walls:

1. **Sheikh Jarrah:** The Palace of el-Mufti, built in 1840, constituted the first point of attraction in this neighborhood. Beginning in 1890, notable Jerusalem families-Nashashibi, Jarallah, al-Sallahi, al-Aref, Murad, Ghosheh and others-built homes in the area. The present-day Ambassador Hotel is the former home of Rashid al-Nashashibi, which was built in 1890.
2. **Al-Husseinieh (the American Colony):** The first homes in this neighborhood belonged to Jerusalem mayor Saleem al-Husseiny (1882), and Rabah al-Husseiny (1885). In 1896, a 77-member group of Swedish-Americans rented the Rabah al-Husseiny house, and later bought it. They then rented an adjacent house and connected the two. The group undertook agriculture, teaching and crafts and lived with the Arabs. They also worked in photography. Their archives contain 15,000 photographs, which serve as historical references for the area and are now found in the Library of Congress (20). The neighborhood later assumed their name, which remains until today. One of the most famous buildings in the neighborhood is the Orient House built in 1897 by Mr. 'Aref al-Husseiny.
3. **Wadi el-Joz:** Development in this neighborhood began in the 1880s, but with less grandeur than those previously mentioned. Homes were smaller and were built closer together. Its residents worked in crafts, trade and agriculture. The most prominent families living here were Aslan, al-Hidmi, al-Disi and Abu Jibneh.
4. **Sahreh Gate:** This neighborhood developed in close proximity to the Old City walls. With the exception of the Sheikh palace, modern construction began in 1860 and developed up until the time of the British Mandate. One of the most important architectural landmarks established here was al-Rashidiya School, built in 1906 (21), which later became one of the best educational institutions in Palestine.
5. **Damascus Gate:** Construction in this neighborhood began in the Saa'd and Si'ed area in 1875. Arab-Jewish construction developed there, though later it became exclusively Arab. Many European architectural landmarks also were established. The most prominent of these were the St. Georges Close, developed

between 1890 and 1903, consisting of a church, the St. George (*Mutran*) School, housing and Ecole Biblique library, considered one of the largest in Jerusalem . The Schmidt compound was completed in 1910.

6. **Al-Musrara:** This area developed as a commercial and residential neighborhood, starting in 1875. Early on it was mixed, but later became exclusively Arab until 1948.
7. **Al-Thuri:** In 1596, the area was home to nearly 120 people; today it retains some of its ancient buildings. Gradually, the neighborhood spread across the mountainside toward Wadi al-Rababa, and, beginning in 1870, a new neighborhood was established on that mountain, inhabited by the al-Asali, al-Jaouni and al-Istanbuli families, among others.
8. **al-Khalil Gate:** This neighborhood was established in the courtyard facing al-Khalil Gate. Beginning in the 1890s, a number of commercial centers and residential areas were built.
9. **Maaman-Allah:** A mixed Arab-Jewish neighborhood, construction began in 1866. Later it became exclusively Arab and was established near Maaman-Allah cemetery and pool. It is worth mentioning that after 1948, the cemetery was invaded and a large part of it was transformed into a public park and a Jewish commercial and residential area.
10. **El-Baqa'a:** A German colony, construction began in this neighborhood in 1873 and included a school, and commercial and crafts centers. Gradually, Arabs began to enter the area. This was followed by the emergence of the Namamra and el-Wa'riya neighborhoods, a Greek colony built and cared for by the

Orthodox Church. The neighborhood was further developed by its proximity to the Jerusalem - Jaffa railroad in 1892.

11. **El-Qatamon:** The first buildings in this neighborhood emerged in 1875, though major development did not occur until the first half of the 20th century. It was eventually transformed into one of the most beautiful Arab neighborhoods in New Jerusalem.
12. **Talbiyeh:** Construction began in the early 1900s, however major development took place only with the development of Qatamon.
13. **Mixed Arab and Jewish neighborhoods:** These areas were established at the meeting points between Arab and Jewish neighborhoods. At the beginning of the century, before the national problem between the Jews and Arabs erupted, they constituted places of coexistence and security. These neighborhoods developed between 1874 and 1900 and included Ratisbone (1874), northwest of Maaman-Allah; Prophets Street (1889) (al-Aqbat); Jorat al-Inab (1892) and al-Shama'a (1900), both of which developed along the Jerusalem-Bethlehem Road.

Yaffa Street also was a mixed area and became a bustling commercial and administrative strip, with a number of stores, banks and official institutions (post office, municipality) housed there. Many Old City stores established branches on Yaffa Street. Residential construction also took place on this road through the initiative of individuals or wealthy establishments, particularly the Orthodox and Armenian churches who built here fast hotel. Yaffa Street may be divided into three sections. The first section extended from al-Khalil Gate to the Russian Compound; the majority of the

residents were Arabs. The second section extended from the Russian Compound to Mahaneh Yehudah market; this section was mixed. The third section was west of the market and mostly Jewish. We end our discussion of Arab urban construction by pointing to the most important European establishments built during this period. These institutions had strong ties and relations with the Arabs in terms of the services they offered them.

1. **The Russian Compound:** Established on Ras al-Midan lands, the compound consisted of a church, a hospital and housing. Construction began in 1858. The English, then the Israelis, turned most of it into a prison and police station.
2. **Notre Dame Compound:** Considered one of the largest buildings in Jerusalem, Notre Dame includes more than 400 rooms. Construction began at its Damascus Gate - Jaffa Road location in 1884.
3. **Ratisbone Compound:** The compound led to the establishment of a neighborhood by the same name. Completed in 1914, it included a church, a school, warehouses and housing.
4. **El-Baqa'a Optic Hospital:** The hospital was established in 1882 on *amiriya* lands south of Sultan's Pools, presented to the English by the Ottomans. In more recent years, the Israelis turned it into the Mount Zion Hotel.
5. **Syrian Orphanage (Schniller):** Construction began in this German center in 1860. It developed over time to include a school, workshops, a print shop, commercial warehouses, housing and 5,000 dunums of land. The orphanage was built east of Khalit al-Tarha in the far northwest part of New Jerusalem.
6. **Augusta Victoria Compound:** The Germans established this fortress in 1910

to include eight wings, dining and study halls, dormitories, a church and a 60-meter-high tower. At present, the Augusta Victoria Hospital is located here.

Jewish urban construction

In this period, the Zionist project to establish a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine was fully underway. Because the Old City was already overcrowded with the Arab population, it was not possible for many Jewish immigrants to settle there. So, with support from Zionist organizations and wealthy Jews from around the world, Jewish construction began in earnest outside the Old City. The Jewish neighborhoods were densely organized and close to one another, concentrated in the northwest part of the city. For a more detailed and extensive look at Jewish construction during this period, refer to Yehoushua Ben Arie's 1986 book *Jerusalem in the 19th Century - The Emergence of a New City*, published in Jerusalem. (See map of Jerusalem 1850 - 1914).

The most important Jewish neighborhoods outside the walls before 1882: The year 1882 is considered a turning point in Palestinian history, after which the country witnessed wave upon wave of Jewish immigration, which continues today. Residential neighborhoods were established outside the walls in order to accommodate the newcomers, as well as alleviate overcrowding in the Jewish neighborhoods of the Old City. Among the most important neighborhoods established during this period (which continue to expand at the expense of neighboring quarters) are:

1. **Montefiore Compound (Mishkenot Sha'ananim):** Established in 1860 near the

Wind Mill which was built in 1857, the compound became a part of the Yemen Moshe neighborhood, established in 1892, just to the north.

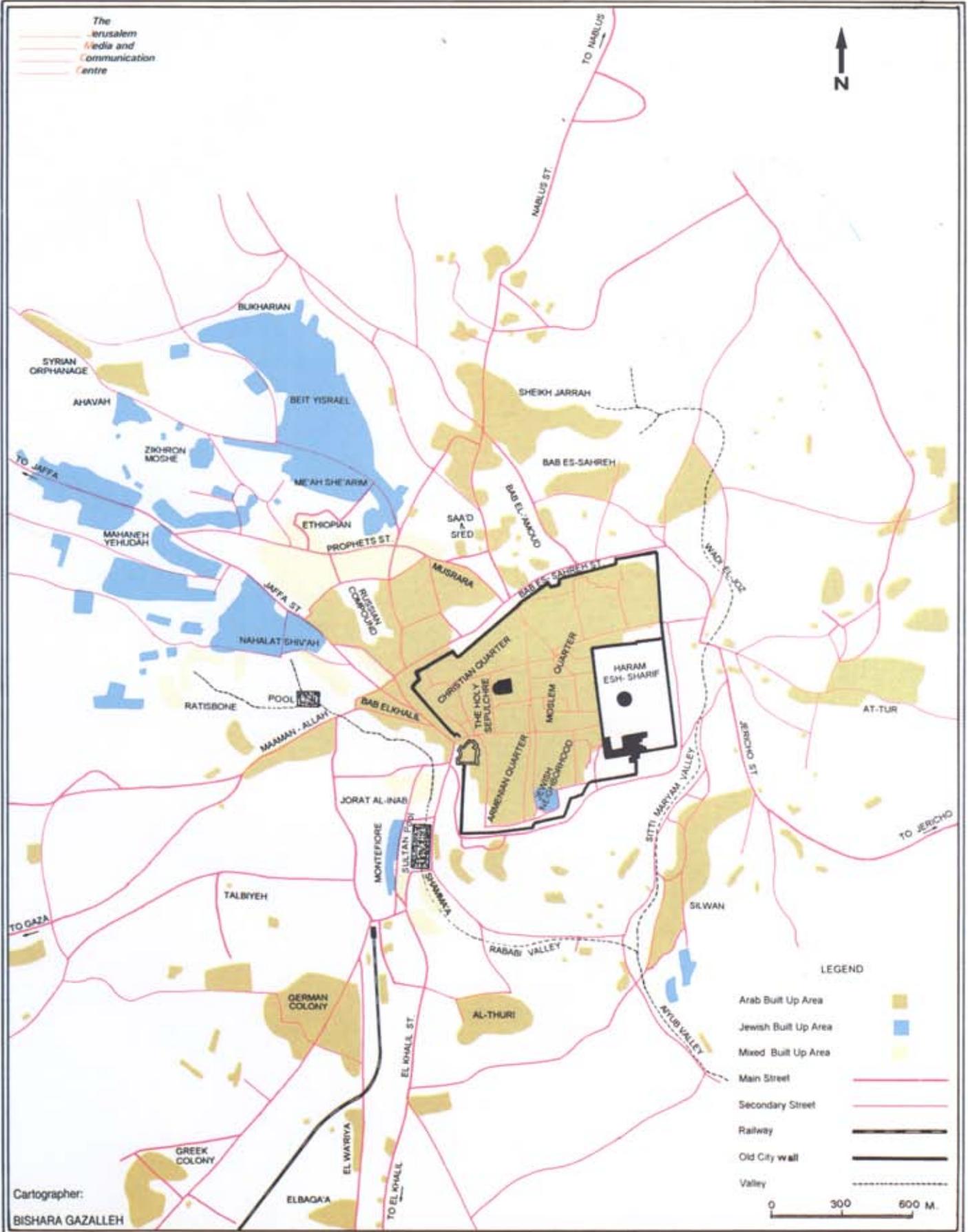
2. **Nahlat Shiva'h:** Construction began in 1869.
3. **Mosheerim (Me'a She'arim):** Construction began in 1874.

The most prominent Jewish neighborhoods between 1882 - 1897:

1. **Beit Yisrael:** This neighborhood was established in 1886, north of the Mosheerim neighborhood, on land called al-Berkeh and al-Masbanah.
2. **Mahaneh Yehudah:** Work began for the area's establishment in 1887, but it later expanded into nearby neighborhoods and came to constitute the center of West Jerusalem's Jewish neighborhoods.
3. **She'ari Tzedek neighborhood:** Established in 1889.
4. **Bukharian neighborhood:** Construction began in 1891, attracting Jewish immigrants from the Uzbekistan region in central Asia, in particular the cities of Bukhara, Tashkent and Samarkand. Considered one of the most beautiful Jewish neighborhoods, the homes here were spacious and built far apart from each other.

The most important Jewish neighborhoods established between 1898 - 1914: In this period, more expansion to the west took place, creating Zikhron Moshe and Ahavah (1906), and Giva'at Shaul (1910).

JERUSALEM (1850 - 1914)





Population in Jerusalem 1850 - 1914

The main problem in studying the population of Jerusalem and Palestine during this period is that no precise population statistics exist. Different sources provide varying estimates, the majority of which come from the accounts of travelers or scholars who visited Jerusalem at the time. Most estimates are biased according to the interests of the providing party, or they are exaggerated because the visitor happened to make his count during a time of pilgrimage, when the city's numbers were higher than normal.

In this study, we relied on Ottoman statistics, which we consider the most objective (22). Since these statistics did not always give numbers for the population of Jerusalem alone, we had to rely on the population of the Jerusalem district, as shown in the following table. On this basis, we tried to approximate the city's Arab population. As for the Jewish population, we considered the number existing in the district as representative of their number in the city, given that the vast majority of Jews lived in the city, and not in other towns within the Jerusalem district such as Ramallah, Bethlehem or Jericho.

Population development in the Jerusalem district (1872 - 1922)

	1872 ⁽¹⁾		1886 ⁽²⁾		1911 ⁽³⁾		1922 ⁽⁴⁾	
	Number of households (population estimation) ⁽⁵⁾	Ratio	No. of population	Ratio	No. of population	Ratio	No. of population	Ratio
Arabs	9083 (54,498)	93.5%	73954	91.2%	102731	85%	113378	76.7%
Jews	630 (3780)	6.5%	7105	8.8%	18190	15%	34431	23.3%
Total	9713 (58278)	100%	81059	100%	120921	100%	147809	100%

1. Scholsh, Alexander. *Palestine in Transformation*, op.cit., p. 20, from Salname of Syrian Wilayet. 1288 Hijri. (1871 - 1872).

2. Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*; May 1978, p. 271.

3. MacCarthy, Justin. The population of Palestine. Ibid. p. 53. From Statistics of the Ottoman Empire, 1330 Hijri, (1912).

4. Palestine Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1992, op.cit., p. 13.

5. Alexander Scholsh notes that multiplying the number of households by six will give a true population figure.

To estimate the population of Jerusalem for the years 1886 and 1911, we compared the number of Arabs in 1886 with the number in 1872. We made the same comparison with 1911 and 1922 (See attached table). We were encouraged to use this comparison because the growth in

population in both Jerusalem and its district during this period was due to natural growth. In other words, the population was not subject to upheaval or trauma that would have impacted its growth in an unnatural way (23).

Based on the comparison of the Arab population in Jerusalem with the population in the district, according to 1872 statistics, we estimate the city's population to be at 19.4 percent (24). By implementing this standard to statistics for 1886, we conclude that the number of Arabs in Jerusalem that year was close to 14,354. By adding the number of Jews according to the same statistics, (7105), our estimation of the city's total population that year is 21,459.

Using the same procedure, we see that the percentage of Arabs in Jerusalem compared with their number in the city's district, was, in

1922, 24.8 percent. In 1922, the number of Arabs in Jerusalem reached 28,118 (25). Based on this, if we adopt the same percentage for the Arab population of Jerusalem and its province for 1911, we conclude that the city's Arab population that year was approximately 25,477. If we add to that the number of Jews, estimated at 18,190, then the population of Jerusalem in 1911 comes to approximately 43,667.

Using Ottoman statistics and some math, our estimates for the population of Jerusalem between 1850 - 1911 are as follows:

Population development of Jerusalem by ethnicity 1849 - 1922

Ethnicity	1849 ⁽¹⁾		1872 ⁽²⁾		1886 ⁽³⁾		1911 ⁽⁴⁾		1922 ⁽⁵⁾	
	no.	%								
Arabs	9892	84.7%	10578	73.7%	14354	66.9%	25477	58.3%	29118	44.9%
Jews	1790	15.3%	3780	26.3%	7105	33.1%	18190	41.7%	33971	54.3%
Total	11682	100%	14358	100%	21459	100%	43667	100%	62578	100%

1. Scholsh, Alexander, op. cit. p. 30.

2. Salname of Syrian Wilayet, 1288 Hijri (1872), from Scholsh, *ibid.*, p.20

3. Statistics from 1881 - 1893 from Kemal Karpat, op. cit. Arab population estimates according to the study .The number of Jews in the Jerusalem district.

4. Statistics of the Ottoman Empire, 1330 Hijri/1911, op. cit. Estimate of the city's population, according to the previously mentioned note.

5. Palestine Report and General Abstracts of the census of 1922, op. cit.

Based on this, Jerusalem witnessed tremendous progress in the second half of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. During the period 1849 - 1922, the city's population increased fivefold. The Arab population more than doubled, and the Jewish population increased by 19 times. This phenomenon of development and expansion was not limited to Jerusalem. New economic and demographic conditions spurred growth in other cities, such as Yaffa, Haifa, Gaza, al-Khalil and Nablus. However, Jerusalem grew to become the largest of Palestine's 12 cities, in terms of population, with more than 50,000 residents. By 1922,

twenty seven percent of the total urban population lived in Jerusalem.

In terms of population, the figures we have adopted in this study are, in our opinion, the most accurate. We believe that figures used by a number of scholars are inflated, in order to show that the Jewish population in Jerusalem was the majority, even before the waves of immigration took off in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This desire is ideologically motivated to justify the right to control Jerusalem as a Jewish city. In order to inflate the Jewish population, the city's overall population had

to be drastically inflated as well. For example, in order to establish that the Jewish population in Jerusalem had reached 45,000 on the eve of World War I, an exaggeration of the city's population had to have taken place for decades past. This is what we find, for example, with Yehoshu Ben Arie, who estimated the population of Jerusalem at 30,000 in 1800, 43,000 in 1897 and 70,000 on the eve of World War I (26). See also:

- *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century*, Martin Gilbert, Chatto and Windus. London, 1966. p. 129.
- *Statistical Handbook of Jewish Palestine*, Department of Statistics. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem. 1947, p. 48.

In the face of official British Mandate statistics for 1922, which put Jerusalem's population at 62,600, and its Jewish population 33,900, these scholars justified their positions in the following ways:

1. Exaggerating the number of Jews expelled from Jerusalem and sent to Alexandria and Europe.
2. Indicating that the sufferings of World War I resulted in great losses for the Jews in particular.
3. Claiming that Turkish statistics do not include the Jewish population, who were not citizens of the Ottoman Empire. (Though they ignore that between 1919 - 1922, the immigration doors were flung open to Jews and that during this four-year period, 27,018 Jewish immigrants came to Palestine. This is nearly half the number that came between 1882 - 1914 (27).

In fact, there is an intelligent discussion of these claims, exaggeration in numbers, and neglect of official Turkish statistics by the author Justin

MacCarthy in his book previously mentioned in this study. Here we summarize its main points:

1. The number of Jews deported from Palestine by the Ottomans at the end of 1914 was around 600, whose families later followed (p. 20). There was no collective deportation from Jerusalem (p. 22).
2. The number of those who reached Alexandria from Palestine and Syria, up until January 1915, was estimated at between 6,000 and 7,000. These individuals were of different nationalities, among them Jews (p. 21).
3. The number of Jews who reached Alexandria from Palestine, Syria, Turkey, North Africa and the Balkans during World War I ranged between 8,000 and 12,000 (p. 21).
4. Reports issued in 1917 by neutral commissions (Swedish, Danish and Spanish) looked into the claims of expulsion and massacres of Jews in Jerusalem and strongly refuted these claims. One expulsion did take place, but was targeted at a limited number of families, most of who remained in Palestine (p. 22).
5. The maximum estimate of Jews from all over Palestine who left during the war ranged from 3,000 to 4,000. But the overwhelming majority of them returned to Palestine with the invading British troops in 1917. Therefore, it is not accurate to suggest that there was a decrease in the number of Jews in 1922 (p. 23).
6. The exaggeration in the number of Jews in Palestine and in Jerusalem comes from the assumption that all those who immigrated to Palestine remained there, without paying attention to the large number who left Palestine, in particular

during the second wave of immigration (1904 - 1914). David Ben Gurion indicated that 80 percent of these immigrants left Palestine after having arrived only a few weeks or a month prior (p. 23).

7. Many Jewish immigrants obtained Ottoman citizenship or were considered legitimate residents and were registered in Ottoman statistics. The maximum number of new Jews who reached Palestine between 1890 - 1914 and were not considered Ottoman citizens was 18,000. They lived throughout Palestine (p. 23), and we estimate that between 5,000 and 6,000 of them lived in Jerusalem.

We add to this:

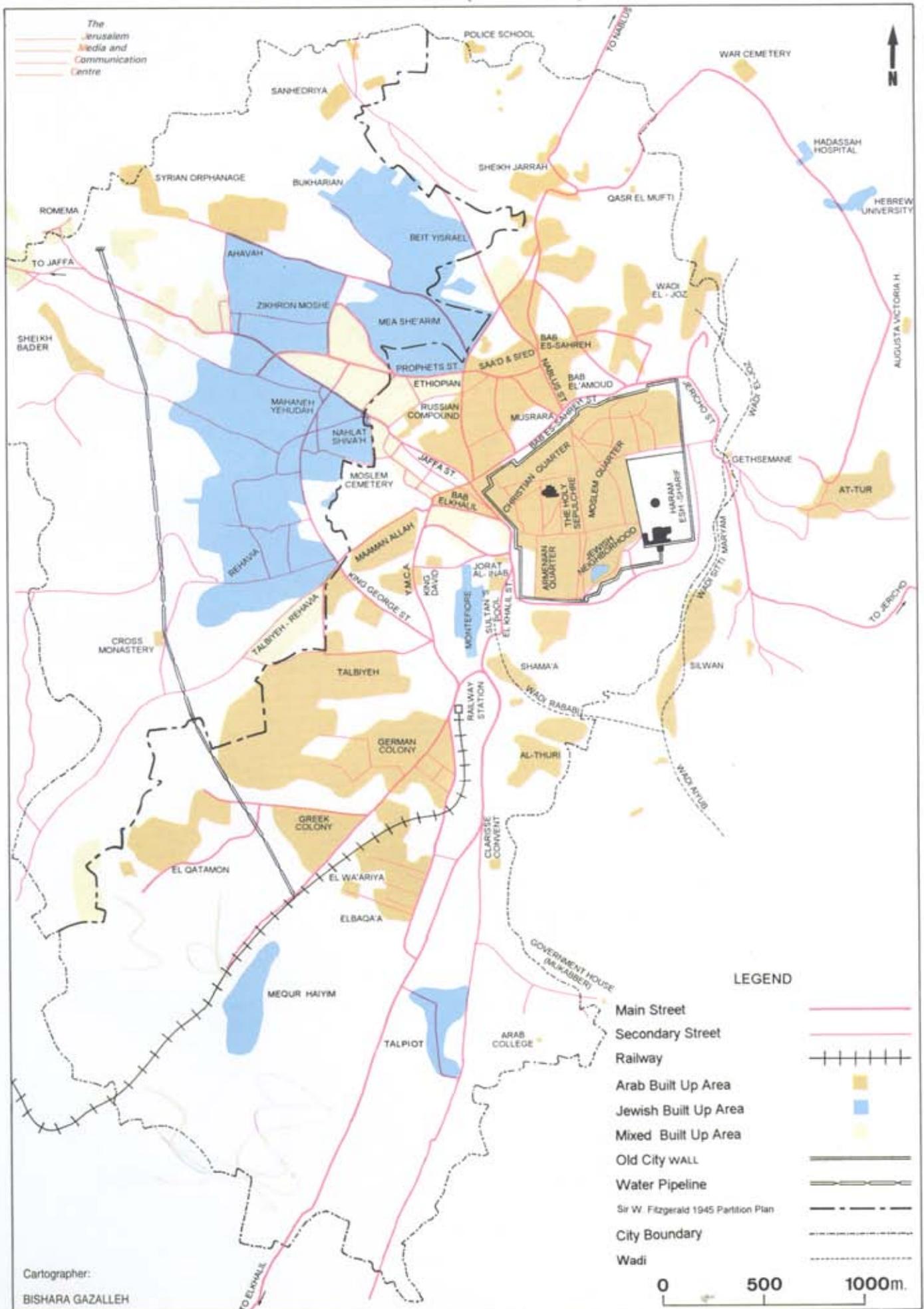
1. The area of the Jewish neighborhood did not exceed 5 percent of the area of the Old City before its expansion and the confiscation and destruction of the neighboring Arab neighborhoods (Magharbeh, al-Maidan, al-Sharaf and part of the Assyrian neighborhood) in 1967. Since the maximum human capacity of the Old City was around 40,000, it is inconceivable that the Jewish population in Jerusalem could have reached 45,000 on the eve of World War I, or that 25,000 people could have resided in the Jewish neighborhood before World War I. Statistics from the Zionist Agency in Palestine in 1916 estimated the number of Jews outside the walls at approximately 20,813 (28). The same applies to Ben Arie, who estimated that the Jewish population of the Old City reached 16,000 by 1914.

If we consider that residence outside the walls also attracted Jews from the Jewish neighborhood, then the number given for the Jewish neighborhood in the Old City in the 1922 statistics-5,639-reflects more or less the reality of their numbers on the

eve of World War I.

2. In general, the Turks, during their reign, did not harbor a hostile policy toward the Jews. On the contrary, they facilitated their influx into Palestine and other parts of the empire after the Arabs and Jews left Andalous at the end of the 15th century. The same applies to the situation of the Jews on the eve of and during World War I. The Ottoman authorities took into consideration the influence of the German Zionist movement, which had close ties with the capital of the Ottoman Empire.
3. If we follow the development of the population of Tel Aviv on the eve of and during World War I, according to Zionist statistics, the population in 1914 had reached 1,491; in 1915 it had reached 2,026; and in 1916 it had dropped to 1,813. In 1917 the number was 1,837 (29). In other words, the population of the city, which was purely Jewish, was in constant development. So how could it continue to develop in light of the expulsion and massacres of Jews in Jerusalem?
4. When the British entered Jerusalem, the city did not witness gruesome battles. There was one battle on its outskirts, but for the most part, the people of the city handed it over to the British General Edmund Allenby, who entered peacefully. Hence, the expulsions and shellings that happened in other places and could have impacted the number and make-up of Jerusalem's inhabitants, did not take place in Jerusalem.
5. In conclusion, we can estimate the population of Jerusalem on the eve of World War I at between 48,000 and 49,000. This includes the 5,000 to 6,000 Jews who were living in Jerusalem without residency or who were not considered citizens of the Ottoman Empire.

JERUSALEM (1917 - 1948)



Chapter Three

Jerusalem 1917 - 1948



This period, which fell under the rule of the British, witnessed an organized construction plan that corresponded to laws adopted by the British Mandate government. On the one hand, the Mandate authorities were committed to the creation of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine; on the other, they sought to improve the living conditions for the country's indigenous Arab population. Consequently, by the middle of the 20th century, Jerusalem had become quite a different city than the one that had existed fifty years prior. By 1947, the city's area had increased by 20,459 dunums (20.46 km²)(1), and its population had jumped to 164,400 (2), with Jews comprising 60.4 percent of the population. On the eve of 1948, Arabs owned roughly 40 percent of the land, Jews owned 26 percent, and foreign and governmental institutions owned the remainder (3).



Urban Construction in Jerusalem 1917 - 1948

The radical changes in Jerusalem can be attributed to the following key factors:

1. The Mandate Authority was committed to creating the conditions for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. This commitment, in accordance with the Terms of Mandate, as ratified by the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, was also an international obligation. Several of the great powers that were victorious in World War I, worked to realize this obligation and ensure the appropriate conditions for it. This international decision resulted in opening the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration. Between 1919 and 1948, some 483,000 immigrants arrived (4), at least 65,000 of whom went to Jerusalem. This figure is arrived at by accounting for the difference between the total Jewish population and the total natural increase of Jews who were living in Jerusalem in 1914. In the previous chapter, we estimated that their number was approximately 24,000. Also, we took into consideration the one-percent average growth rate of the population of Palestine among Jews in the first half of the 20th century. It is important to note that between 1922 and 1931, some 20,000 new immigrants arrived in Jerusalem, followed by 26,000 German Jews, between 1931 and 1939 (5). Building an infrastructure to accommodate the new state also was permitted. From 1922, the Jewish Agency, recognized as a representative for Jews, was allowed to set up local offices. The Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod acted jointly to buy

land and organize educational, health and social affairs for the Jewish population.

In the meantime, some considerations were made for the Arab population, yet they fell within the limits of the Mandate, which denied local residents their genuine aspirations. Arthur Balfour recorded his bias toward Israel in his August 1919 memoirs, telling his successor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "We will never suggest in Palestine the formula of considering the desires of local residents ... Zionism is of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit the ancient land"(6).

2. Construction in Jerusalem was developed according to municipal standards, regulations and laws issued by the Mandate Authority. The laws assisted in giving the city a more modern feel. The Mandate Authority worked out several zoning plans for the city. The first scheme was prepared by William Mclean, the architect of Alexandria and approved on July 22, 1918 and included an area of 3.5 km² that was four times the size of the Old City, extending all the way west to Deir al-Saleeb (Cross Monastery). Successive zoning plans were developed in 1922, 1929 and 1946, resulting in the city's expanding borders. The first law of the municipality was issued in 1926, the second in 1934. Accordingly, the city's municipal council was established, creating an election plan, defining its jurisdiction and designing its borders.

Elections for the municipal council took place twice during the British Mandate period, the first in 1927. The council consisted of 12 members, eight Arabs and four Jews, and was headed by Ragheb al-Nashashibi. In the 1934 elections, 12 members were also elected (six Arabs, six Jews); the mayor was Hussein al-Khalidi (7). Two deputies were appointed, one a Christian Arab, and the other a Jew.

We can summarize the major results of the municipal zoning and planning as follows:

- The Old City was considered at once a residential area and an archeological zone, requiring it thus to be dealt with as a comprehensive unit in need of special care. For example, jurisdiction over the Old City walls was transferred to the Department of Archeology. Some restoration took place near Damascus Gate, the Citadel, some areas of the walls were cleaned, and all construction near Sahreh, Damascus and Khalil gates was demolished. In 1921, for example, the Clock Tower near Khalil Gate, built in 1907 by the Ottomans, was dismantled. A green zone was established around the wall and construction was banned.
- Starting April 8, 1918, a military order was issued banning construction, demolition or renovation within the radius of 2.5 km of Damascus Gate without a permit from the Department of Archeology. Housing areas were categorized as A, B and C, and there was tight control over the shape and height of any building constructed in stone. Some materials were banned from use, such as corrugated iron and stucco inside the Old City, and cement and wood facades outside the walls.
- The plans included establishing public

gardens, and a network of roads stretching off the main roads of Jerusalem - Nablus, Jerusalem - Haifa, Jerusalem - Yaffa and Jerusalem - Jericho, with a major road encircling the city (8). Several important roads emerged such as Ben Yehuda Street, in 1922, and King George Street, in 1924, which connected Yaffa Road with the railway station. A campaign for naming the new roads also took place.

Several public and private institutions of great influence were built such as the Hebrew University on Masharif Mountain. Construction began in 1918, and the university was officially inaugurated in 1925. Terra Sancta and Jesuit Colleges were established in 1927, followed by the King David Hotel, Palace Hotel, the Generale Building of the Italian Insurance Company, and the Jerusalem Municipality in 1930, the Addison Cinema in 1932 and the West Jerusalem YMCA in 1933. The post office on Yaffa Street and the Palestinian Museum (Rockefeller) were established in 1934, followed by the Arab College on al-Mukabber mountain in 1935, and Hadassah Hospital on Masharif Mountain in 1939.

- The Mandate also began to solve the problem of water. In the past, the main source of water came from various wells, Umm ed-Daraj Spring and the Turkish-built pipeline that pumped water from Sulieman pools and used to provide the city with 90 cubic meters of water per day. In 1918, the Mandate government installed a pipeline from the village of al-Aroub to Sulieman pools, which increased the yield to 1,250 cubic meters per day. Beginning in 1935, water was supplied to Jerusalem from al-Fawar Spring in Wadi al-Qelt. And, in 1937, a 65-km pipeline that

extended from Ras al-Ein Spring, near the coast, to Jerusalem was installed (9).

- Areas for architectural development in the Jerusalem municipality were identified and restricted to the northern, western and southwestern areas. This is where Arab and Jewish urban construction began outside the walls in the second half of the 19th century and continued in the first half of the 20th century. Construction was banned in areas east and southeast of the Old City, particularly on the Mount of Olives. This left a clear impact on the municipality boundaries. The farthest eastern extension of these boundaries reached approximately 300 meters from the Old City, near Gethsemane Church. The farthest western point extended more than four km from the Western Wall.
3. The British Mandate government declared Jerusalem the capital of Palestine. It also established basic governmental departments. The castle of the High Commissioner was housed in the Augusta Victoria building until official headquarters for the Government of Palestine were completed on Jabal al-Mukabber in 1934. The declaration escalated the struggle between Jews and Arabs over Jerusalem. The Arabs did their utmost to maintain their major architectural and cultural symbols in the city. They also protected their economic, demographic and social existence, in what they saw as their capital. The Old City, in particular, continued to play a chief role in Arab life. Meanwhile, attempts to build in other Arab quarters continued. Populated sites in Talbiyeh, al-Qatamon, German Colony, Greek Colony, el-Baqa'a and southwest Jerusalem expanded and began to connect with each

other. They formed a large Arab population center, where some 25,000 Palestinians were living on the eve of 1948. Arab areas located to the north and northeast of the city included Musrarah, Sahreh Gate, Damascus Gate, Sheikh Jarrah and Wadi el-Joz. Urban construction expanded in these locations, and their capacity to absorb Arab population increased. Meanwhile, Arab-Jewish common quarters also expanded, such as Yaffa Gate, Jorat al-Inab, al-Shama'a, Yaffa Road, Ratisbone, Maytam al-Suri (Syrian Orphanage), Sheikh Bader. (See map of Jerusalem 1917 - 1948).

Jewish urban construction at the time was given great importance and focus in the western areas by the establishment of several religious, economic, cultural, educational and health institutions. Construction continued to expand in these quarters to absorb more Jewish immigrants. Meanwhile, because of the British Mandate and the official work of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, Jews were able to buy more and more Jerusalem land. Consequently, land ownership by Jews in 1947 increased to 5,100 dunums (nearly 26 percent of the municipal area). This allowed already existing locations to expand, while new locations were established such as: Talpiot (1921), Rehavia (1922), Kibbutz Ramat Rahel (outside the municipality borders, 1926), Sanhedriya and Mequr Haiyim (1927). (See map of Jerusalem 1917 - 1948).

In general, the number of houses in Jerusalem rose from 21,403 (including 5,853 in the Old City) in 1931(10) to 40,000 on the eve of 1948, covering 51 percent of the municipal area (11).



Population in Jerusalem 1917 - 1948

During this period, areas of the city were developed and converted into attractive population centers. This was due to progress in construction and roadways, as well as increased trade with the West. It was natural that Jerusalem maintained its prominent role

among Palestinian cities, as it had for centuries, especially after becoming the capital of Palestine. Between 1922 and 1948, the city's population had increased by 265 percent, as demonstrated in the table of population growth in Jerusalem (1922 - 1947).

Population growth in Jerusalem 1922 - 1947

	1922 ⁽¹⁾			1931 ⁽²⁾			1947 ⁽³⁾		
Jerusalem	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs	Jews	Total
Old City	16608	5639	22247	19961	5222	25183	33600	2400	36000
New City	11510	28332	39842	19319	46001	65320	31500	97000	128500
Total	28118	33971	62089 ⁽⁴⁾	39280	51223	90503	65100	99400	164500

1. Source: Report and General Abstract of the Census of 1922. Op. Cit.

2. Source: Census of Palestinian 1931 - Op. Cit.

3. Source: al-Mufasal fi Tarikh al-Quds - Arif al-Arif - Op. Cit. From the report of John Martin, the advisor of British High Commissioner in UN.

4. The number of Jerusalem population is minus 489 from the total census of population in Jerusalem, which is the number of Indians, Sikh who came with the British army and settled Jerusalem.

From the previous table, we note that the Jewish population remained in the majority throughout the period of the Mandate, experiencing only a slight dip, from 64.3 percent in 1922 to 60.4 percent in 1947. Jews were able to protect this majority status because of continuous immigration, particularly to Jerusalem, and the focus on the new western quarters. The population in these quarters increased between 1922 and 1947 by 293 percent. Meanwhile, Jewish concern over the Old City decreased, and the Jewish population there decreased by more than half.

By contrast, Arab interest in the Old City increased, and its Arab population rose by an average of 200 percent. Soon, 51.6 percent of

Jerusalem's entire Arab population resided in the Old City. It should be noted that the Arab population in the city's new neighborhoods also greatly increased at this time. Between 1922 and 1948, the population in the new neighborhoods had increased by 270 percent, and the overall Arab population in these new areas grew from 41 percent to 48.4 percent.

During the British Mandate, other large Palestinian cities developed, in addition to Jerusalem. Thus, by 1945, the population of 24 municipalities in Palestine had reached nearly 806,000, or 45.6 percent, of the total population. Of this number, nearly 19.5 percent (12) lived in Jerusalem. This showed a decrease from 1922, when Jerusalem was home to 27.3

percent of Palestinian city-dwellers. This does not mean that the status of Jerusalem retreated, but rather it accounts for the appearance of new urban centers. Tel Aviv was built in 1905 expressly as a Jewish city that would absorb the largest possible number of Jewish immigrants. It also served as a Jewish industrial, trade and scientific center. Haifa observed its biggest development in the early

1930s, as the main Palestinian seaport, receiving ocean-going ships and exporting Iraqi oil which had arrived via the Karkouk - Haifa pipeline. An oil refinery-as well as other economic and cultural installations-also were established. The same applied to Yaffa, which emerged as an Arab trading and cultural center, neighboring Tel Aviv.

Population growth in Palestine's largest cities 1922 - 1945

City	1922 ⁽¹⁾			1931 ⁽²⁾			1945 ⁽³⁾		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs	Jews	Total
Jerusalem	28118	33971	62089	39280	51223	90503	60080	97000	157080
Jaffa	27429	5090	32597	47597	7749	55346	66310	28000	94310
Tel Aviv	120	15065	15185	249	45852	46101	660	166000	166660
Haifa	18404	6230	24634	34560	15923	50483	62800	75500	138300
Gaza	17423	54	17477	21634	1	21635	34170	80	34250
Hebron	16147	430	16577	17396	135	17531	24560	-	42560
Nablus	15784	163	15947	17332	166	17498	23050	200	23250
Total	123425	61008	184433	178048	121049	299097	271630	366780	638410

1. Report and General Abstract of the Census of 1922 - op. Cit.

2. Census of Palestine population 1931 - op. Cit.

3. Village Statistics 1945 - Op.cit.



Various proposals concerning the status of Jerusalem 1932 - 1947

After less than a decade of British Mandate rule, the future became clear for the Palestinians. The Jewish national homeland would be created at their expense, denying them the right to their land, their villages and cities, and to their economy. Forms of Palestinian resistance began to emerge. This resistance ranged from petitions presented to the British Mandate authorities and the League of Nations, to various forms of violence. The most important of these actions was the 1929 al-Buraq uprising, which occurred as a consequence of the Zionist movement's attempt to change the status quo around the Wailing Wall. Later, in 1936, a Palestinian revolution began, lasting until after the start of World War II in 1939. If the conditions of war had contributed somewhat to restoring things to normal, disturbances and instability returned after the end of World War II in 1945. Meanwhile, the Zionist movement was busy establishing the infrastructure for the coming Jewish state. Its best weapons were immigration and settlement construction. Approximately 482,800 new immigrants (13) came to Palestine from 1919 - 1948, increasing the Jewish population from 8 percent in 1914 to 32.5 percent in 1948. At that time, 257 settlements were established, in addition to the continuing focus on Tel Aviv and other mixed cities. Additionally, new land purchases increased Jewish ownership from 650,000 dunums before 1920 to 1,624,000 in 1948 (14). This meant that Palestinian land owned by Jews had increased from 2.4 percent to 6 percent. The Zionist movement also was able to establish a military force of some 67,000 well-

armed soldiers. (15).

Meanwhile, the problem of how to create a Jewish national home, while protecting the rights of the Palestinians, persisted. The Mandate government sought at every opportunity to heat up the conflict in order to push forward its proposed solutions. We will focus on the major projects that attempted to present solutions to the problem, including the issue of Jerusalem, which continues to be at the core of the conflict.

1- The project of the Jewish Agency's political department, January 7, 1932 (16).

This project was presented to Sir Herbert Samuel, the former British High Commissioner and then a top employee in the British Home Office. The project can be summarized as follows:

1. The continuation of the British Mandate in Palestine.
2. The division of Jerusalem into Arab and Jewish sectors.
3. The Arab sector would consist of the Old City and the neighboring southern areas (Talbiyeh, el-Baqa'a, Qatamon, etc.), where the majority of the population was Arab.
4. The establishment of the Jewish sector in the western part of the city, where the vast majority of the population was Jewish.
5. In every sector, a special municipal council would be established with special jurisdiction.

6. The two sectors would be joined by a United Municipal Council with jurisdictions of sponsorship and guidance.

Considered premature, the proposal was rejected by the British government.

2- The project of Peel Commission, July 7, 1937 (17).

After the revolution of 1936, the British government dispatched diplomat Lord Earl Peel, a former State Minister in India, to Palestine to form a committee that would find solutions to the conflict. The British government adopted the suggestions of the Peel Committee. The major important suggestions were:

1. The establishment of an Arab and a Jewish state in Palestine. The Arab state would be established in the mountainous areas and the Negev desert, and the Jewish state would be established along the coastal areas and in the Galilee.
2. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the area of Lake Tiberias, and a corridor extending from the coastal area to Jerusalem, would be under the protection and control of the British Mandate.
3. Mandate authorities would protect religious sites and guarantee free access to them.

The Palestinian political leadership rejected the partition of Palestine, instead insisting on the establishment of one independent state and demanding a halt to Jewish immigration. The Jewish Agency, however, suggested the following amendments to the committee's proposed partition map:

1. The Old City and the Arab quarters north and southwest of the city would be put under the authority of the British Mandate.
2. West Jerusalem, in addition to Ramat Rahel, Hebrew University, Talpiot, Mequr Haiyim would be part of the Jewish state. The agency said it was ready to accept the four other Arab quarters to be under the control of the British Mandate (18).
3. The guarantee of a passage between Jerusalem and the Jewish state on the coast.

When the British government rejected these amendments, the Jewish Agency, in turn, announced its rejection of the committee's recommendations.

3- The project of Judge William Fitzgerald, August 28, 1945 (19).

Head of High Court Judges in Palestine William Fitzgerald was mandated by the British High Commissioner to prepare a report for solving the problem of the Jerusalem municipality. The municipality's work was obstructed with the deportation of Mayor Hussein al-Khalidi to The Seychelles in 1937 and the subsequent appointment of his Jewish deputy Daniel Oster. Other measures followed, resulting in the appointment of six British employees on July 11, 1945, who supervised the council's work until the end of the British Mandate.

The main recommendations of Judge Fitzgerald in his report:

1. The city of Jerusalem should not be divided, even though it is home to two different communities who do not cooperate with each other and it is difficult

to incorporate them into a single municipal body.

2. Jerusalem should be treated as an administrative province under the supervision of a municipal council, similar to the London province, which includes the districts of Westminster, Paddington and Marlboro, etc.
3. Jerusalem should be divided into Arab and Jewish geographic sectors (See the line dividing the city according to Fitzgerald's proposals in the map of Jerusalem 1917-1948. The northwestern area would form the Jewish sector, while the area east and south of the line would be the Arab sector). The value of buildings, industries and lands in the Arab sector were estimated at 18 million Palestinian pounds, while the Jewish was estimated at 16 million.
4. Each sector would elect its municipal council and head of the council. Each council would retain the right to impose taxes and revenues. The declared purpose was to grant the boroughs the greatest possible measures of autonomy.
5. An administrative council, composed of 11 members, would oversee the work of the two municipal councils. Every year, each division would elect four members. The mayor would be appointed by the British High Commissioner, in addition to two other members, neither Arab nor Jew, to represent the traditional and historical interests in the city.
6. The mission of the administrative council would be to monitor the holy and archeological sites in Jerusalem and to form a central committee to organize the city and sponsor its work. The council would replace the government in leasing water and sponsoring the main sewage system.

7. The status quo would be maintained pertaining to holy sites.

The Jewish Agency refused to meet with the Fitzgerald committee or to cooperate with it. This is one of the reasons why the British government neglected its report in the period that followed.

4- Partition resolution 181, issued by the UN General Assembly, November 29, 1947 (20).

According to international law, this resolution formed the basis for implementing international legitimacy in Palestine. It represented the opinion of the international community in the wake of World War II. The basic tenet of the resolution was to establish two states in Palestine for two peoples, with close economic ties between them.

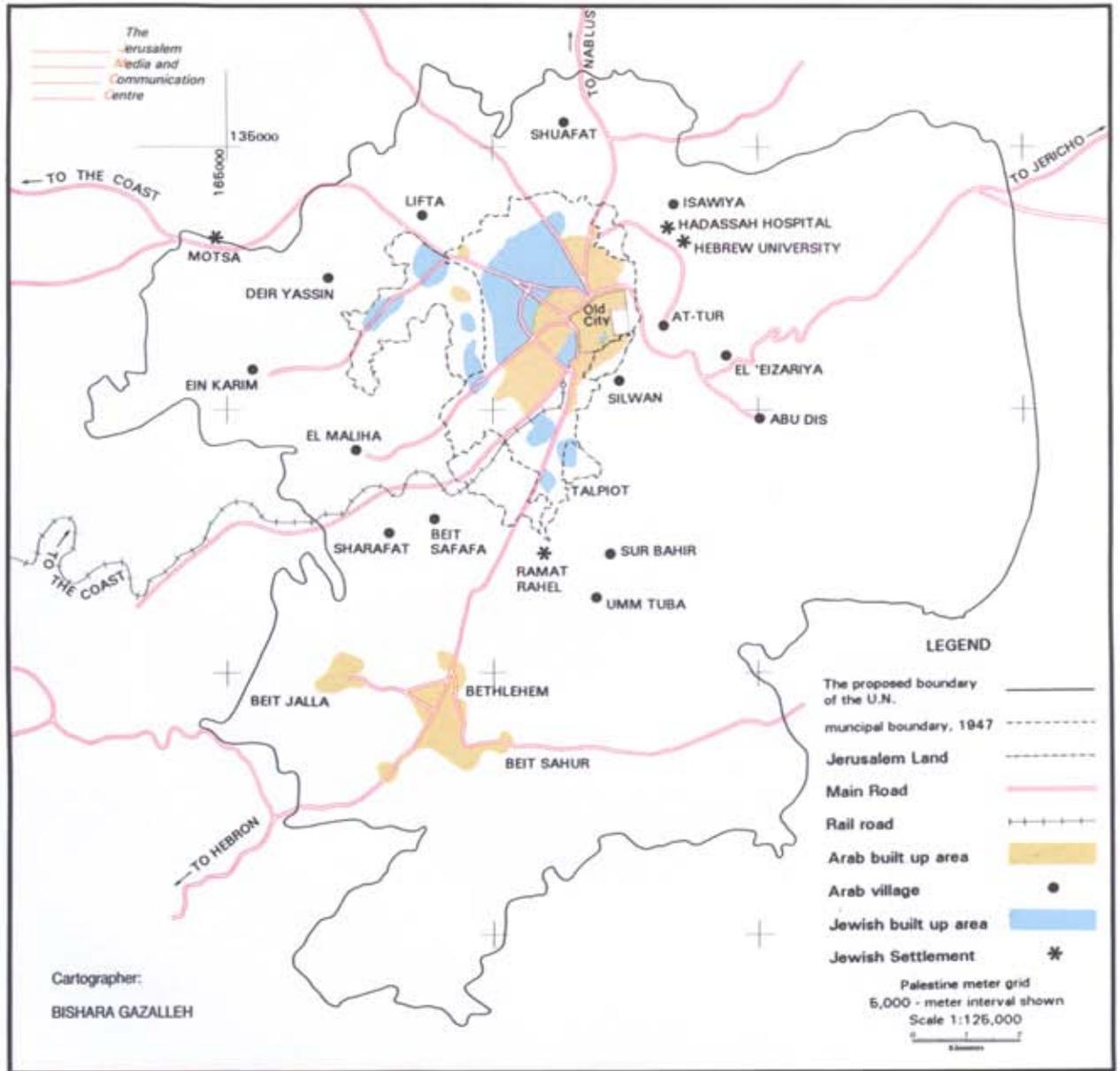
The resolution made Jerusalem a "corpus separatum," or separate body, from both the Arab and Jewish states. This body was to be characterized by the following:

1. Jerusalem would be considered an independent, administrative unit (international), administered by the United Nations through an advisory council, which would appoint a governor. The governor would handle all administrative and foreign affairs, protection of holy sites and the formation of an international police force.
2. Expanded administrative power would be granted to existing municipal, local and village councils belonging to Jerusalem, while the governor would be granted authority for establishing new councils.

3. A legislative council would be elected in Jerusalem on the basis of proportional representation. The council would take responsibility for issuing legislation and imposing taxes, on condition that they not contradict the status quo.
4. According to this resolution, the area of Jerusalem would be expanded to 258,000 dunums (21). In addition to Jerusalem, the municipality would include the villages of Sur Bahir, Umm Tuba, Beit Safafa, Sharafat, Kibbutz Ramat Rahel to the south; the towns of Bethlehem, Beit Sahur, Beit Jalla, also to the south; the villages of Silwan, al-Tur, el-'Izariya, Abu Dis, Arab es-Sawahira to the east; the villages of el-Maliha, Deir Yassin, Ein Karim to the west; and Lifta, 'Isawiya and Shua'fat to the north of the city. (See the map of Jerusalem according to the partition resolution 181 / 1947).

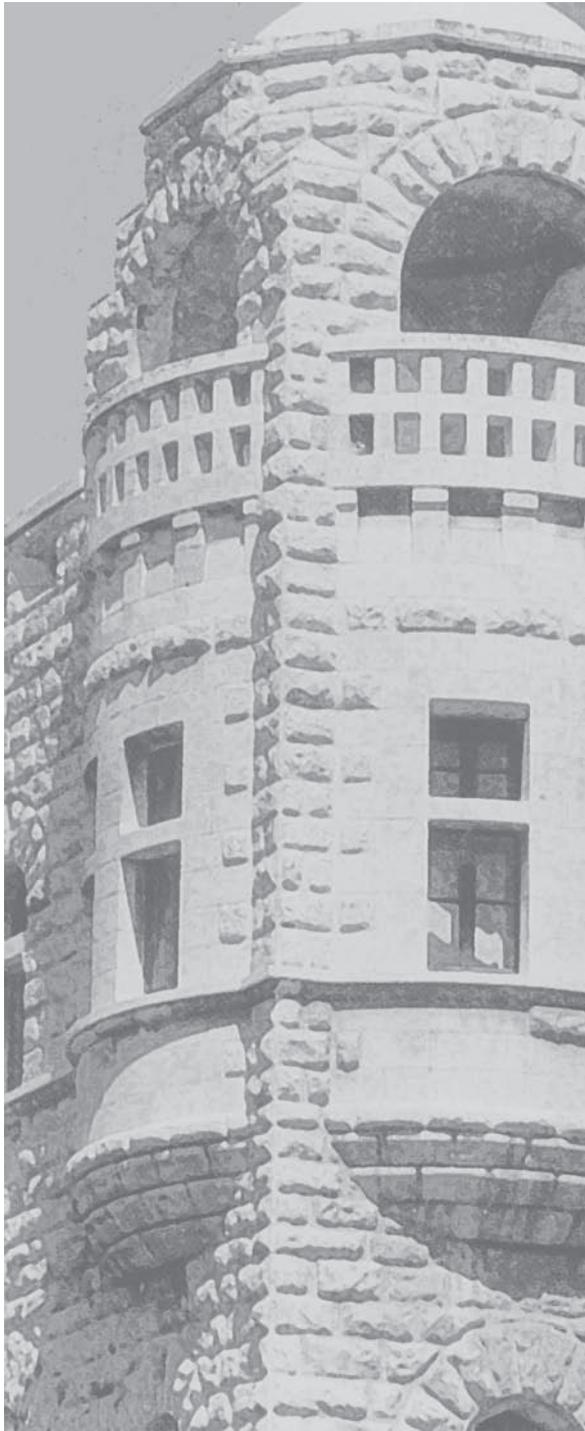
In 1947, the Arab population in the proposed International Jerusalem had reached approximately 105,000, and the Jewish population had reached 100,000. The Palestinian leadership's rejection of the partition resolution, in addition to the outbreak of the 1948 war, had hindered its implementation. However, this did not prevent the UN from continuing to refer to resolution 181 in subsequent resolutions concerning the Palestinian issue. Additionally, the UN continued to demand a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem, according to its resolutions, and to enable the Palestinian people to practice their right to self-determination and to establish an independent state. Palestinians have been denied this right because of the outcome of the war and the subsequent policy of imposing "facts on the ground" by force.

INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF JERUSALEM ACCORDING TO U.N. RESOLUTION 181/1947



Chapter Four

East Jerusalem 1948 - 1967



After the Zionist movement had completed most of the needed infrastructure for the creation of the Jewish state, and the British Mandate government had fulfilled its pledges, a new state in the Middle East became a reality. This state was not established beside a Palestinian state, as stipulated by the Terms of the Mandate or UN resolutions, however, but at the expense of the indigenous Palestinian people. In 1948, battles between Jewish military forces and Palestinian and Arab fighters resulted in the Israeli occupation of 78 percent of Palestine, creating some 750,000 Palestinian refugees (1). Approximately 472 Palestinian villages were destroyed (2). Between 1948 and 1967, the Israeli government established around 446 (2) new settlements, dozens of which were built on the wreckage of destroyed Arab villages. The State of Israel was set to attract 1.27 million new Jewish immigrants (4).

The newly established state, whose tragic legacy has affected the region for more than half a century, was basically the responsibility of the Mandate government. It participated in preparing for the Jewish homeland, while not helping to build a Palestinian society capable of defending itself and coexisting beside the Jewish state. As the British army prepared to leave Palestine, Jewish society had begun to take shape. We cannot say the same thing about Palestinian society, however. When the Mandate government addressed the United Nations on April 2, 1947, to announce its wish to end its mandate over Palestine, there were, in fact, two completely different societies

living there, separated by numerous differences. The situation was at odds with what the British government had pledged when it accepted the mandate over Palestine-to develop Palestinian society, protect the interests of Palestinian masses, safeguard their civil rights and encourage their advance toward independence (5).

The Zionist movement also bears responsibility for what took place. In its haste to establish a national homeland, it completely ignored the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. The Zionist movement may have paid lip service to partition schemes, but, in reality, it actively denied the creation of the Palestinian part. This was seen very clearly during the 1948 battles, where the main goal was not to establish the Jewish homeland according to the partition resolution, but to establish a Jewish state on the largest possible area of Palestine. Meanwhile, the Zionist movement used different means to prevent a Palestinian state, including uprooting Palestinians from their land and blocking their return. According to Ben Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, the land was not big enough for two peoples (6).

At the risk of blaming the victims, the Palestinian leadership also bears a share of the responsibility regarding the defeat, expulsion and loss of the Palestinian homeland. In our opinion, the responsibility of the Palestinian leadership came down to its inability to absorb the changes in the world after World War I and

World War II. It failed to find common ground between the interests of the Palestinian people and those of the newly emerging world powers. Moreover, the leadership adhered to the absolute right of the Arabs in Palestine, without possessing the needed power to maintain that right. At the same time, the Zionist movement was busy mobilizing to establish a Jewish society in Palestine, fastening its presence to the land and preparing for the declaration of its state. The Palestinian leadership failed to empower Palestinian society to defend its national rights and face this new society growing up in its midst.

While the Palestinian leadership was simply unable to grasp the new international realities, it received little from the backing of various Arab regimes that, with little competence, stood behind the Palestinian leadership to defend Palestinian national rights. They rejected schemes of partition in 1937 and 1947, and engaged in battles where their loss was predetermined because of their weakness in the face of Jewish military forces (7). Additionally, the leadership did not understand the meaning of World War II, the Allied Forces or the international conflict that resulted in the formation of the United Nations. The results led to destruction, pain and suffering for the Palestinians, who to this day still seek a just solution to the conflict, one that permits the creation of their independent state beside the State of Israel.



The immediate consequences of the 1948 battles

After the British government announced its intention to end the mandate and after the partition decision of 1947 was issued, Palestinians and Jews failed to come to an agreement over the future of the country. Beginning in November 1947, clashes, friction and military battles erupted and spread. The dispute over Jerusalem, the country's capital, was at the heart of the conflict.

Jewish forces aimed to control all of Jerusalem, including the Old City. They launched several attacks for control over the corridor connecting the coastal area and Jerusalem, penetrating through Jerusalem's mountain chains. The corridor was 20 km long, and between 8 km and 15 km wide. The entire populations of the 36 villages along the corridor were evicted. In 1945, approximately 30,804 Palestinians inhabited these villages (8). Between 1948 and 1956, the villages had ceased to exist and 20 Jewish settlements were established on their lands. Two villages, excluded from destruction, were Qaryat al-Inab (Abu Ghosh) and Beit Naqouba.

Jewish forces also conducted a series of explosions between November 29, 1947 and March 11, 1948 in Arab quarters, located to the west and southwest of Jerusalem. As a result, the Samiramis Hotel, in the Qatamon, was shelled on January 5, 1948, followed by Khalil Gate on January 7 and on January 13, 1948 the destruction of 20 homes in the village of Sheikh Bader. Palestinians retaliated by shelling Ben Yehuda Street on March 22, 1948, as well as the Jewish Agency headquarters on

March 11, 1948. All of these attacks contributed to escalating tensions in the city and the beginning of mass emigration of Jews and Arabs from Jerusalem. Many Jews left for coastal areas, namely Tel Aviv, while Palestinians sought refuge in East Jerusalem, the Old City and Bethlehem.

Meanwhile, Arab quarters in the west underwent continuous attacks. Abdul Qader al-Husseini was killed in the battle of al-Qastal on April 8, 1948. On April 10, 1948, the Stern and Etzel gang conducted the Deir Yassin Massacre, taking the lives of 249 Palestinian civilians. Other evicted residents of the village were abused in the streets of Jerusalem, while military forces tightened their grip on West Jerusalem. Two days after the commander of the British garrison in Jerusalem left through Qalandia airport on May 14, 1948, and his forces through Haifa, Jewish forces occupied el-Baqa'a, Talbiyeh and the Greek and German colonies. None of the Palestinian residents remained in these quarters. The same applied to other Arab population centers in west Jerusalem, such as Sheikh Bader, Schniller, Karm es-Seilah, Lifta, Musrara, Maaman-Allah, and Yaffa Street and Khalil Gate. West Jerusalem had become empty of Arab residents, in accordance with orders issued by David Ben Gurion on February 5, 1948 to leader of the Hagana organization David Shaltiel in Jerusalem. According to the orders, Shaltiel was to "occupy more Arab quarters and settle Jewish residents in the defeated and evicted quarters." Ben Gurion added, on March 7, 1948, in a meeting of the party leadership in

Tel Aviv, "From your entry into Jerusalem through Lifta-Romema, on down the Jaffa Road to King George V Avenue, there were no 'strangers' but '100 percent Jews'". He added, "Since Jerusalem's destruction in the days of the Romans, it hasn't been so Jewish as it is now. In many Arab districts in the West, one sees not one Arab. I do not assume that this will change"(9).

If Palestinians were too weak to defend themselves in West Jerusalem, they fared much better in terms of the Old City and the city's northern and eastern quarters. On May 17, 1948, the sixth Jordanian brigade under the leadership of Abdallah al-Tal arrived in Jerusalem to defend the Old City and quarters to the north. The presence of Egyptian forces in Bethlehem served to protect the southern areas of East Jerusalem. Consequently, Palestinian fighters and the Jordanian army (10) were able to frustrate various Jewish attacks to occupy the Old City and the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood. On May 28, 1948, the attacking forces failed to occupy the Old City, and residents of the Jewish neighborhood surrendered and left the Old City under UN protection. Around 1,300 Jewish residents went to West Jerusalem, while 340 prisoners were taken to the East Bank of the Jordan River.

The battle over the new Jewish state, including the West Jerusalem, was decided to a certain extent, and, due to international pressure, an armistice was signed. Regarding the

surrounding areas of Jerusalem, an agreement was signed June 11, 1948, but was defied by Israeli forces a month later, as they sought to tighten control over the Jerusalem corridor. On July 13, they occupied the village of el-Maliha; two days later, they occupied Ein Karim. On July 16, the Israelis launched another failed attack on the Old City.

After that, the Jerusalem front remained stable, and on November 30, 1948, a primary signing of cease-fire maps took place between the Israelis and the Jordanians. On April 3, 1949, a permanent cease-fire line was ratified. The line remained until Israel launched a major attack on June 5, 1967.

Dividing Jerusalem according to the 1949 cease-fire line

On December 9, 1949, Jerusalem was divided into eastern and western sectors. This was the result of the war over Jerusalem and the Israeli refusal to implement UN resolutions concerning the establishment of a Palestinian state and the return of refugees, according to resolution 194 of the UN General Assembly passed on December 11, 1948. The division of Jerusalem was also the result of Israel's disregard for Jerusalem's international status, as defined in the partition resolution that was reaffirmed in resolution 303 by the General Assembly on December 9, 1949. (See the attached map of East Jerusalem 1949 - 1967).

Ownership of land in Jerusalem in 1948, according to the cease-fire line (in dunums)

	Jerusalem as a whole, in 1948 ⁽¹⁾		West Jerusalem		East Jerusalem ⁽²⁾	
	Area	Percent	Area	Percent	Area	percent
Arabs	7827	40%	5544	33.7%	2283	73.4%
Jews	5107	26.1%	4941	30%	166	5.3%
Christian and European institutions	2712	13.9%	2501	15.2%	211	6.8%
Public ownership	3913	20%	3464	21.1%	449	14.5%
Total	19559	100%	16450	100%	3109	100%

1. Area of Jerusalem excluded old city which is 900 dunums. Jewish ownership in the old city (Jewish neighborhood) was no more than five dunums where three synagogues and their attachments were established. However, the entire ownership of the Jewish quarter is basically belong to the Islamic waqf.

2. 856 dunums, which were under sponsorship of UN according to cease-fire agreement are considered as no-man land (buffer zone), were included as part of East Jerusalem. These lands were divided as follows: 449 public land, 204 dunums belong to European Christian institutions, 166 dunums owned by Jews including Masharif Mountain (Hadassah and the Hebrew University) and 37 dunums belong to Arabs.

The source: Land Ownership in Palestine, Sami Hadawi, The Palestinian Arab Refugee Office, New York, 1957, p. 29, 31.

The war had devastating effects on land ownership, as demonstrated in the table above. Nearly 80.5 percent of the entire area of Jerusalem, (20,430 dunums) fell under Israeli control. East Jerusalem comprised no more than 3,117 dunums, or 15.3 percent of the city's overall area; the remaining 4.2 percent consisted of lands that either came under UN supervision or were considered no-man's land.

The table shows that Jerusalem's Arab residents lost 70.8 percent of their land after the city

came under Israeli control. The total amount of Arab land in West Jerusalem comprised 33.7 percent of the West Jerusalem area. By contrast, Jewish residents lost nothing. Their land, located in East Jerusalem, remained under their control according to the 1949 cease-fire agreement that stipulated free access to Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital on Masharif Mountain. These areas were put under UN supervision, and a convoy from West Jerusalem to Masharif Mountain was organized every two weeks.



Urban Construction in East Jerusalem 1948 - 1967

After the battles of 1948, with Jerusalem split in two, East and West Jerusalem grew and developed as separate cities. Signs of this separate development are still visible, despite Israel's unilateral attempts to obliterate, expand and annex the eastern part of the city, following the 1967 war, when it gained control over the remaining 22 percent of Mandate Palestine.

Thus, in this chapter and the last chapter, we will restrict our analysis to East Jerusalem, with some general notes on the development that took place in West Jerusalem. We will combine the statistics for the Jerusalem municipality with the statistics specific to the areas that were annexed to the boundaries of East Jerusalem after 1967. This is done in order to envision the future situation in East Jerusalem.

After the cease-fire agreement was signed, it became clear that the partition resolution regarding Palestine, in general, and Jerusalem, in particular, was incapable of being implemented. In Jordan's capital, Amman, it was announced that the partition of Jerusalem had become a reality. The Jordanian administration began operating according to this fact, particularly after the Jericho Conference Declaration on December 1, 1948, requesting that the West Bank, including Jerusalem, be annexed to Jordan. On December 1948, King Abdallah appointed a Mufti for Jerusalem, Sheikh Hussam ad-Din Jarallah, to replace Haj Amin Husseini, who had been at the post since 1921.

The Jordanian Kingdom also adopted various

administrative measures, issued by the military governor Abdallah al-Tal. Beginning in 1949, for example, a municipal council was appointed, headed by Anwar al-Khatib, who remained in office until August 1, 1950, when he was succeeded by Aref al-Aref (11). The law for municipalities was issued in March 1951, and amended in 1955. Accordingly, several Jerusalem mayors were elected, including Mr. Rawhi al-Khatib, who began his work in 1957 and continued in office until June 29, 1967, when the Israeli occupation resulted in the end of the municipal council and al-Khatib's deportation to Jordan. Even in exile, however, al-Khatib continued to hold his title and conduct activities on the international level until his death in 1994.

Among the measures affecting the development of the city, was the announcement in September 1959 of a municipal council in Jerusalem and the city's status as a second capital of Jordan. Consequently, Jerusalem played a historic role as the main administrative, urban, and economic center in the West Bank. Of course, the transfer of the capital to Amman affected the development of Jerusalem because most of its central governmental departments as well as a major segment of its economic and cultural activities also were transferred. However, Jerusalem continued in its role as a major center in the West Bank, and it became a place of refuge for people who left West Jerusalem and neighboring areas.

At the beginning, the municipal area of East

Jerusalem was no more than 3,117 dunums and consisted of the remaining eastern areas of the Jerusalem municipality that had existed under the British Mandate. The areas were: the Old City, Sahreh Gate, Damascus Gate, Sheikh Jarrah, American Colony, Wadi el-Joz and al-Thuri. The Jerusalem Municipal Council, headed by Omar al-Wa'ri, had done its utmost to expand the municipality's boundaries, in order to play its well-known role. On April 1, 1952, the council annexed Silwan, Ras al-'Amoud, Aqabet el-Suwana, es-Sammar Land and the southern parts of Shua'fat. Consequently, the area of the municipality reached 6,000 dunums (12). At that time, zoning in Jerusalem remained as it had before 1948, with no new construction on the Mount of Olives. Thus, construction prevailed in the northern and southern areas, which had formed a reserve area for the city's excess population. Along the Jerusalem - Nablus Road, new quarters appeared in Shua'fat, Beit Hanina, ar-Ram, Qalandia and Kufr 'Aqab. Since those areas were outside the Jerusalem boundaries, the Jerusalem Municipal Council wanted in 1964 to expand its boundaries to 75,000 dunums in 1964, stretching to Qalandia airport in the north, and to Bethlehem in the south (13). It seemed that the Jerusalem Municipal Council's tendency to increase the city's boundaries was related to the increasing area of West Jerusalem, whose boundaries grew to 38,100 dunums by July 26, 1964 (14).

However, plans for expanding East Jerusalem failed to come to fruition until the Israeli occupation in 1967, when it was undertaken with different goals that we will discuss in the next chapter.

The numbers in the next table demonstrate that between 1952 and 1967, urban construction activity in Jerusalem and its suburbs developed at an average rate of 303.7 percent. A new reality had been imposed on the city due to the influx of Palestinian refugees and because of Jerusalem's abiding role as the West Bank's economic, religious, cultural and administrative center. It should be mentioned that the number of housing units in the Old City in 1967 excludes the 1,048 units that were destroyed on June 28, 1967, at Magharbeh, al-Sharaf, al-Maidan and Nabi Daood neighborhoods with the establishment of Plaza of the Wailing Wall and the reconstruction of the Jewish neighborhood.

Construction development in the suburbs exceeded development in the city. New quarters appeared along Jerusalem - Ramallah Road, in Beit Hanina al-Foukah, Dahiat al-Barid, Qalandia airport, Kufr 'Aqab and the expansion of Shua'fat. Jerusalem (Qalandia) airport was expanded to receive bigger planes and facilitate flights to the Arab Gulf through the neighboring airports of Amman, Beirut, Cairo and Damascus.

Development of urban construction in East Jerusalem and its neighborhoods 1952 - 1967

Name of the Quarter	1952	1967
	Number of housing units	Number of housing units
Old City	2369	2574
Wadi el-Joz	Included in the Old City	526
Sheikh Jarrah	Included in the Old City	382
Amoud Gate(Nablus Road)	Included in the Old City	160
Sahreh Gate and American Colony	Included in the Old City	678
Shua'fat	143	605
Silwan	747	1271
al-Tur	208	935
'Isawiya	107	288
Beit Hanina al-Foukaho ⁽¹⁾	-	660
Dahiat al-Barid, Qalandia Airport, and Kufr 'Aqab ⁽²⁾	-	205
Al-Thuri	635 ⁽³⁾	672
Sur Bahir and Umm Tuba	325	855 ⁽⁴⁾
Beit Safafa and Sharafat	167	267
Total	4702	12368

1. Al-Tur, 'Isawiya, Beit Hanina al-Foukah, Dahiat al-Barid, Qalandia, Kufr Aqab, al-Thuri, Sur Bahir, Um Tuba, Beit Safafa, Sharafat and Arab al-Sawahreh were added to the figures of East Jerusalem Municipality although they were not part of the municipality until the aggression in 1967, in order to facilitate the comparison in the development of Jerusalem in the next phase.

2. These quarters were developed after 1952 on Jerusalem - Ramallah road.

3. 1952's data joined Arab es-Sawahreh to Thuri.

4. Data of 1967 included Arab es-Sawahreh.

Sources: a. Census of Housing for 1952 - Sect. z - Statistics of Towns and Villages in Jerusalem district, Publications of General Bureau of Statistics - Amman 1953.

b. East Jerusalem, Census of Population and housing, 1967, Jerusalem, The Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968.



Population in East Jerusalem 1948 - 1967

We have previously mentioned the administrative and organizational measures taken by the Jordanian authorities pertaining to Jerusalem. In addition to migration, the Jordanian authorities maintained Jerusalem as a point of attraction for residents. Jerusalem was second to Amman in terms of population. Being the capital, it was customary to see the rate of natural growth in Amman higher than that of Jerusalem. Amman's population increased from 108,300 in 1952 to 246,500 in 1961(15), an increase of 227.6 percent. Meanwhile, in Jerusalem, the population grew during the same period from 46,700 to 60,500(16), an increase of 29.5 percent, a ratio 1.2 percent higher than the average population

increase in Jordan as a whole during the same period. However, the development and growth of Jerusalem's population, as noted in the following table, was interrupted and affected by the Israeli occupation.

Israeli statistics (see table below), gathered in September 1967 and including residential quarters annexed to East Jerusalem that year, show virtually no Palestinian population growth over a 15 year period (dating back to the 1952 housing census). This contradicts sharply with the comparative population index of 1961, which shows a population increase of up to 20 percent over 1952.



Photo: Itto Barardah
The old city. 1997

Population in East Jerusalem according to quarters 1952 - 1967

Name of Quarter	September/1952	November/1961	September/1967
Old City	46,713	36,802	23,675
Wadi el-Joz	Within the old city	23,686 ⁽¹⁾	3,418
Sheikh Jarrah	Within the old city	-	1,743
Amoud Gate (Nablus Road)	Within the old city	-	873
Sahreh Gate and American Colony	Within the old city	-	3,559
Silwan	6,460	-	7,243
al-Thuri	4,061 ⁽²⁾	-	3,858
Shua'fat	1,436	2,541	3,400
Mount of Olives (al-Tur)	2,455	4,289	5,701
'Isawiya	775	1,163	1,613
Upper Beit Hanina	-	2,000 ⁽³⁾	3,609
Dahiet al-Barid, Qalandia Airport, Kufr 'Aqab	-	1,306	1,123
Sur Bahir and Umm Tuba	2,431	5,760 ⁽⁴⁾	4,710 ⁽⁴⁾
Beit Safafa and Sharafat	1,303	1,153	1,332
Total	65,624	78,800	65,857

1. These figures include Jerusalem Municipality quarters that fall outside the Old City (Wadi el-Joz, Sheikh Jarrah, Damascus Gate, Sahreh Gate, American Colony, Silwan and al-Thuri)

2. The figures include al-Thuri and Arab es-Sawahira.

3. The statistics in 1961 show that the population in Upper and Lower (the original village) Beit Hanina numbered 3,067; residents of Upper Beit Hanina were estimated at 2,000(17). We agree with this estimate because Upper Beit Hanina was expanded at the same time that the village witnessed a large migration to North and South America.

4. With Arab al-Sawahira.

Sources:

1- Statistics of Housing in 1952- op. Cit.

2- First Census of Population and Housing, interim report no. 7, Jerusalem district, Department of Statistics, Amman, 1963.

3- East Jerusalem, Census of Population and Housing, 1967. Op. Cit.

Israel's occupation of Jerusalem led to the loss of 23,400 residents(18), who left the city for neighboring regions of the West Bank, or to the eastern part of Jordan. The war atmosphere severed communication among residents, and the natural population growth that had occurred in Jerusalem, from 1949-1967, was terminated as Palestinians flooded out of the city.

The highest reduction of population was seen within the borders of the Old City. About 6,000 Palestinians who had been living in the Magharbeh Quarter and its surrounding neighborhoods were evicted just prior to the area's destruction at the hands of the occupation authorities. These residents were then forced to live outside Jerusalem.



Photo: Itto Baradah

Wadi al-Rababi and Mt. Zion. In the background appears Silwan.1997

Chapter Five

East Jerusalem 1967 - 2000



Photo: Itto Barardah

Aqabat el-Suwana from one corner of al-Aqsa Mosque, The Mount of Olives appears to the right. 1997



Israeli occupation changes features of Jerusalem

Never in its history has East Jerusalem seen such dramatic events as those that occurred after the Israeli invasion of June 5, 1967. During the ensuing military occupation, the city's demographic, architectural, economic and social features faced a wave of Israeli measures that sought to fundamentally change the Arab character of the city. It soon became clear that Israel's aggression in the region had been premeditated, resulting in the capture and occupation of not only East Jerusalem, but the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and Sinai Peninsula—a total area more than three times the size of Israel. Twenty days later, when the Israeli government felt safe from the possibility of retaliation from the defeated neighboring Arab countries, it began implementing new measures to change the features of the Occupied Territories, imposing massive Jewish housing settlements, or "facts on the ground," that would be difficult to uproot.

The most significant measures pertaining to East Jerusalem were the following:

- 1- The June 27, 1967 Israeli Knesset declaration of the application of Israel law, jurisdiction and administration to East Jerusalem (1).
- 2- The decision, also issued June 27, that allowed the Interior Minister to increase the area of the Jerusalem municipality, broadening the borders of East Jerusalem to an area of 69,000 dunums. The decision was published in the Official Gazette the very same day (2). On March 10, 1985, the city's borders were expanded once again, to 70,400 dunums (3), nearly 12 times the area under Jordanian rule. (Dunum = 1,000 m²).
- 3- The destruction of the Magharbeh Quarter, which was blasted with dynamite after giving local residents three hours to evacuate their homes. The move literally paved the way for the Israeli government to construct the Wailing Wall Plaza and the Jewish Quarter (4). The Israelis confiscated 116 dunums of Old City property, including the Magharbeh, al-Sharaf, Nabi Daood, al-Maidan, Jewish and parts of the Assyrian neighborhoods. The confiscation included 700 stone buildings (437 workshops and stores, and 1,048 apartments, inhabited by more than 6,000 Palestinians). Prior to 1948, Jews had owned only 105 of those buildings (5). (See map of the Old City 1968 - 1994).
- 4- The dissolution, on June 29, 1967, of the Jerusalem Municipal Council, elected in 1963, the confiscation of its records and properties, and the integration of the council's Arab employees with the West (Israeli) Jerusalem municipality. The Jerusalem Mayor, Mr. Rawhi al-Khatib, was expelled to Jordan on March 7, 1968.
- 5- Confiscation and seizure of Arab lands located in the extended municipality borders, as of September 1, 1968. Other areas were subject to "closure" as green areas or military zones (there are four

military camps in East Jerusalem, Sheikh Jarrah, Anata, Nabi Ya'cob, ar-Ram) to be used later for Jewish settlement.

Between 1968 and 1991, a total of 23,548 dunums were confiscated in East Jerusalem, equivalent to 33 percent of the total area, to be added to nearly 37,348 dunums outside the zoned areas (green areas, streets, camps, etc.). The majority of this land was reserved for continued expansion of Israeli urban construction.

Teddy Kollek, Jerusalem mayor from 1965-1993, said: "We decided from the first session of the (expanded) Jerusalem Municipal Council to classify vast areas of lands in East Jerusalem as green zones where construction is banned, and we refused the structural zoning maps presented by Arab residents" (7). Due to this policy, Palestinians in Jerusalem were left with only 9,504 dunums on which to build and expand.

The division of East Jerusalem land according to usage for 1994

Area in dunums	
37,348	Outside the zoned areas (green areas, roads, closed areas)
23,548	Confiscation to establish Jewish settlements
9,504	Allocated for Arab construction
70,400	Total

6- Beginning in 1968, the Israeli government began to change the building and housing features of East Jerusalem, erecting 15 settlements inside its borders. In 1999, the 16th illegal settlement began on Mount Abu Ghneim, near Bethlehem. The settlements drastically changed the Jewish-Arab ratio. In 1967, only a few dozen Jews lived in East Jerusalem (at Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital), but by 1998, the figure had reached 156,412 (8), or 48 percent of the city's residents. The settlements were built in strategic locations to prevent the expansion and collusion of Arab areas, which could become the capital of a Palestinian state. While Jewish settlements were expanding, constraints were imposed on Arab construction through zoning schemes and delays in the issuing of building permits. Even when

permits were granted, applicants were required to pay enormous sums, ranging from \$15,000 - \$20,000; such fees constituted nearly half the cost of a first-class independent building on a 200-meter area (excluding the cost of the land). Between 1967 and 1993, Arab residents could build only 10,492 housing units in East Jerusalem, compared with 44,481 units erected for Jews. The annual ratio of Jewish-Arab construction during this period was 4.4:1. Another contributing factor in this disparity was the fact that Jewish construction was basically state-funded, while Arab construction was not.

7- On July 30, 1980, the Knesset issued a basic law, considering all of unified Jerusalem the capital of Israel (9), in an attempt to remove the question of

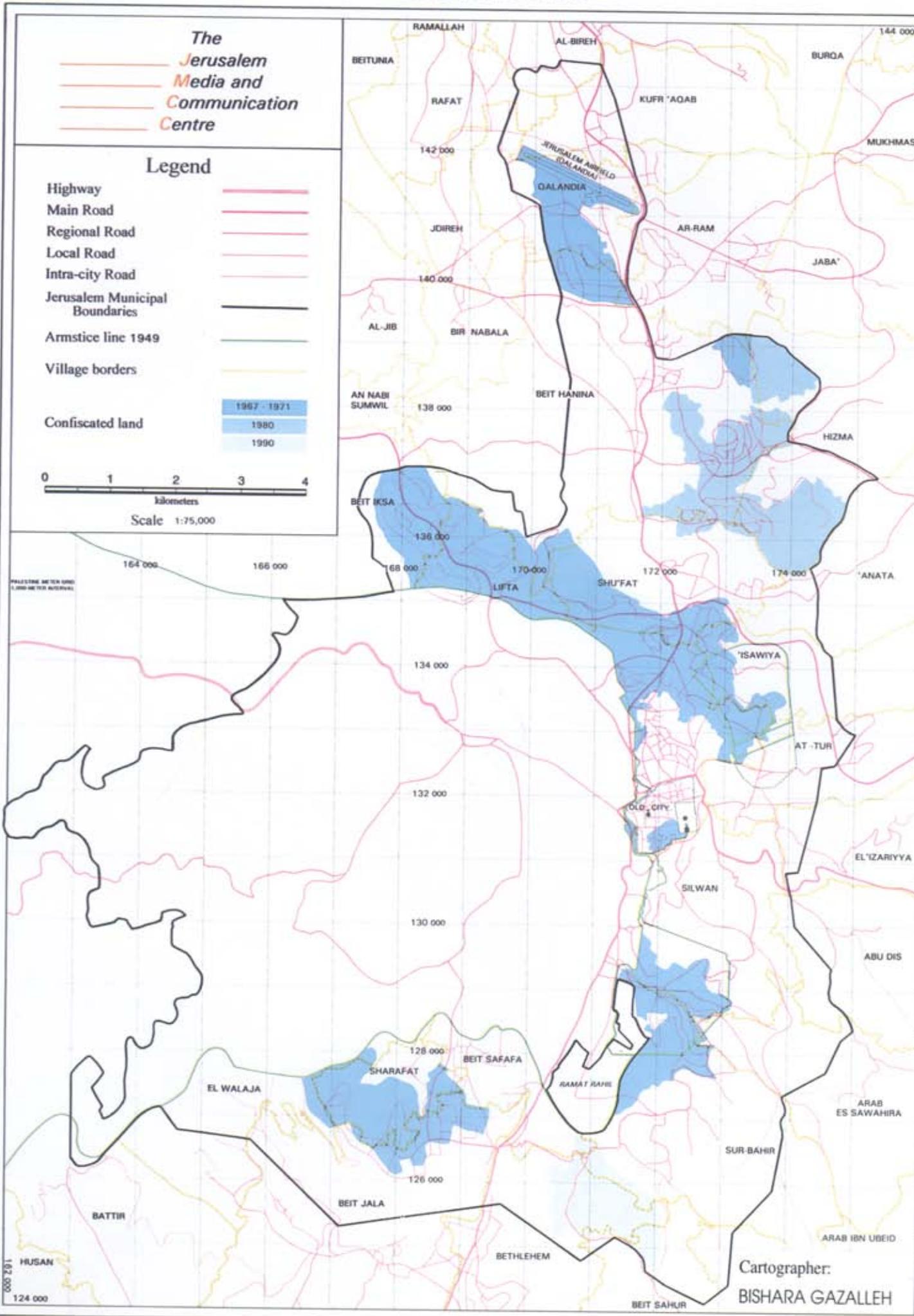
Jerusalem from any future peace negotiations. This step came after the Egyptian-Israeli peace deal was ratified, and the solution for the Palestinian question was headed toward "self-rule."

This is, in fact, the essence of the Israeli position at the present time, nine years after the Madrid negotiations and seven years after the signing of the Oslo Accords.



Photo: Itto Baradah
The Wailing Wall Plaza. 1997

EAST JERUSALEM 1968-1994 CONFISCATION OF ARAB LAND





Israeli measures and international legitimacy

During more than 33 years of Israeli occupation in East Jerusalem, Israel has imposed massive realities on the ground, all of which contradict the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention and the international laws that protect residents of occupied territories.

According to international law, specifically the 1947 UN resolution that "internationalized" Jerusalem (still the international position on the city), the international community rejected the Israeli Knesset decision of January 23, 1950, declaring West Jerusalem the capital of Israel. The vast majority of countries maintain their embassies in Tel Aviv, not in Jerusalem.

The second international reference dealing with the issue of East Jerusalem was the UN Security Council Resolution 242, issued November 22, 1967, which considered Jerusalem part of the Occupied Territories, and thus did not recognize any unilateral Israeli measures.

Based on these two resolutions, the UN General Assembly and the Security Council passed several additional resolutions regarding the status of occupied Jerusalem, and condemned the Israeli unilateral measures. These were mainly:

a- Resolution no. 2253, issued by the UN General Assembly on July 4, 1967, in response to measures by the Israeli occupation authorities in Jerusalem, regarding the inclusion of East Jerusalem within the Israeli jurisdiction, the expansion of its borders, the dissolution

of the Arab Municipal Council and some neighborhood demolitions it had carried out in the Old City. In a meeting held especially to discuss the aggression of June 5, 1967, the General Assembly considered invalid all Israeli measures to change the status of the city, demanded their cancellation and prohibited any further such acts. Moreover, the General Assembly expressed concern regarding the prevailing conditions as a result of those measures in Jerusalem. In resolution no. 2254 (July 14, 1967), the General Assembly reaffirmed its previous resolution and reiterated demands to implement it, expressing consternation over the Israeli government's refusal to implement the General Assembly's previous resolutions (10).

b- Resolution no. 252, issued by the UN Security Council on May 21, 1968, stressed resolutions 2253 and 2254, and expressed the inadmissibility of seizing the land of others by force; the Security Council affirmed that Israeli measures to confiscate land and property in order to change the city's status were null and void. The Council also demanded that Israel stop taking such measures. These resolutions were reaffirmed by UN Security Council resolution no. 267, (July 3, 1969), resolution no. 271, (September 15, 1969), and resolution no. 298, (September 25, 1971) (11).

c- The resolutions issued by the Security Council - no. 452 (July 20, 1979); no. 446 (March 22, 1979); and no. 465 (March 1, 1980) - considered the establishment of Israeli settlements on occupied Arab land, including Jerusalem, illegal, and deemed them a dangerous obstacle in securing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. It also declared that settling new immigrants in the Occupied Territories was a blatant violation of the Geneva Convention. The resolution demanded a halt to settlement construction and the dismantling of existing settlements, calling on all countries to refrain from offering Israel any assistance that could be used for settlement building in the Occupied Territories (12).

d- Two resolutions issued by the Security Council, no. 476 (July 30, 1980) and no. 478 (August 20, 1980), considered the measures brought about by Israel's issuing of the Basic Law of Jerusalem (declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel), along with other Israeli administrative and legislative actions as an occupying force, null and void. It was also decided not to recognize any measures that aimed to change the status of Jerusalem, calling upon countries with diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to withdraw them (13).

e- The two resolutions issued by the UNESCO General Conference, no. 15c/3.43 (October - November 1968) and no. 20c/7.6 (November 28, 1978), declared the Old City a center of human heritage important to all; it demanded that Israel refrain from executing excavation work in the Old City, so as not to change the city's historic features. It then declared the Old City a region under cultural protection and part of endangered human heritage (14).

f- The Declaration of Principles agreement, registered with the UN as an international covenant and signed between the PLO and the Israeli government on September 13, 1993, stipulated that both parties refrain, during the interim period, from taking any action that would preempt the final-status negotiations. The agreement stipulated that Jerusalem be one of the issues postponed to the final-status negotiations, which meant not recognizing the measures executed by Israel in Jerusalem. The agreement also called for both sides to look at the "West Bank and Gaza as a unified geographical unit, with unity and security maintained during the interim period" (15).



Land confiscation in East Jerusalem

The occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in June 1967 whetted the Israeli appetite for expansion in a manner similar to what followed in the wake of 1948. Then, the newborn Israeli state evicted Palestinians from their land and banned them from returning. The Israeli occupation authorities passed several laws that enabled it to seize land through legal procedures. For example, the Law of Absentee Properties (1950) allowed the Department of Absentee Properties to sell, exchange or lease the land of any Palestinian living outside his normal place of residence. The Law of Expropriation for Public Benefit (1950) allowed the state to seize private land for public use. The Barren Land Law (1949) made it possible for the state to seize lands that had gone uncultivated for a year or more. In 1953, the Israeli occupation authorities issued the Law of Land Expropriation, giving the state the right to own any piece of land it wanted, where previous laws did not apply.

The Israeli occupation authorities proceeded in a similar manner after 1967. Finance ministers began to sign confiscation orders one after the other, based on The Law of Expropriation for Public Benefit (1950). They also published them in the official newspaper (Official Gazette). Once land was confiscated, its original owners were barred from planting or building on it. New Jewish settlements were then established, preventing the land from ever being returned to its real owners and changing the Arab character of East Jerusalem.

As illustrated in the following table, 71.7

percent of East Jerusalem land was confiscated from Palestinians primarily from 1968 - 1970, so as to quickly establish settlements and attract Jewish residents to live in them. The Israeli plans worked, and the first construction began on Ramat Eshkol, French Hill settlements and the Hebrew University (See table of East Jerusalem settlements).

The following table and attached map showing confiscated land in East Jerusalem demonstrates how Arab lands were seized in several strategic regions for the purpose of Israeli expansion:

- 1- Land was seized along the western borders of East Jerusalem, including what was considered "no-man's land," in order to secure a connection between West and East Jerusalem. The idea was to create one contiguous bloc of Jewish settlements, where Ramat Eshkol, Giv'at Hamivtar, French Hill, Hebrew University, Maa'lot Dafna, Rekhes Shufat and Ramot would form an extension free of Arab residential barriers.
- 2- Land was confiscated in locations where Arab villages and towns, if expanded, might have formed a unified Arab residential area. For example, land was confiscated to erect the Gilo and Har Homa settlements, so as to prevent the expansion of Bethlehem, Beit Sahur and Beit Jalla to connect with Beit Safafa, Sharafat, Sur Bahir and Umm Tuba. The same situation occurred when the no-man's land and Arab areas in Jabal el-Mukabber were grabbed to build the Eastern Talpiot settlement, thus

Arab land confiscated in East Jerusalem according to date and site(1)

Date of confiscation	Area in dunums	Site
June 28, 1967	116	The Old City (Magharbeh, al-Sharaf, Nabi Daood, al-Maidan, Jewish and Assyrian neighborhoods)
January 8, 1968	485	No-man's land, northwest of East Jerusalem
January 8, 1968	3,345	Sheikh Jarrah, se-Sammar land, Wadi el-Joz, Khallit Nooh, no-man's land
April 14, 1968	765	Beit Hanina
August 30, 1970	4,840	Beit Iksa, Lifta and Shua'fat
August 30, 1970	2,240	Sur Bahir
August 30, 1970	2,700	Beit Jalla, Beit Safafa, Sharafat
August 30, 1970	470	Beit Hanina
August 30, 1970	1,200	Qalandia, Beit Hanina
August 30, 1970	230	Around the Old City wall
August 30, 1970	600	Sur Bahir
March 20, 1980	600	Beit Hanina
February 3, 1980	3,800	Beit Hanina, Hizma and Anata
July 1, 1982	137	Qalandia
June 12, 1991	1,850	Beit Sahur, Sur Bahir
June 12, 1991	170	Beit Safafa
Total	23,548	

1. Sources:

- Official Gazette, the Hebrew publication, January 11, 1968, p. 688.
- Official Gazette , the Hebrew publication, August 30, 1970, p. 1,656.
- Official Gazette, the Hebrew publication, July 1, 1980, p. 2,390.
- Official Gazette, the Hebrew publication, March 20, 1980, p. 2,614.
- Aronson, Geoffrey. Future of Israeli Settlement in the West Bank and Gaza, Settlements and Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations. An Overview, Institute of Palestinian Studies - Beirut, 1996. (In Arabic).
- Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, Khalil Tufakji, Arab Studies Society, Palestinian Geographic Center, Jerusalem, 1994. (In Arabic).

preventing any extension between es-Sawahira Gharbiyye and Sur Bahir. At the same time, it forms the eastern extension of western Talpiot and, therefore, the continuous extension of Jewish construction.

- 3- Land was confiscated in areas that could allow continuous Palestinian construction, and Jewish settlements were built to obstruct this continuity. This can be seen clearly if one looks at the Neve Ya'akov, Pisgat Ze'ev and Pisgat Omer settlements, which constitute a settlement unit east of ar-Ram, Dahiet al-Barid, Beit Hanina and Shua'fat, and thus prevent expansion in that

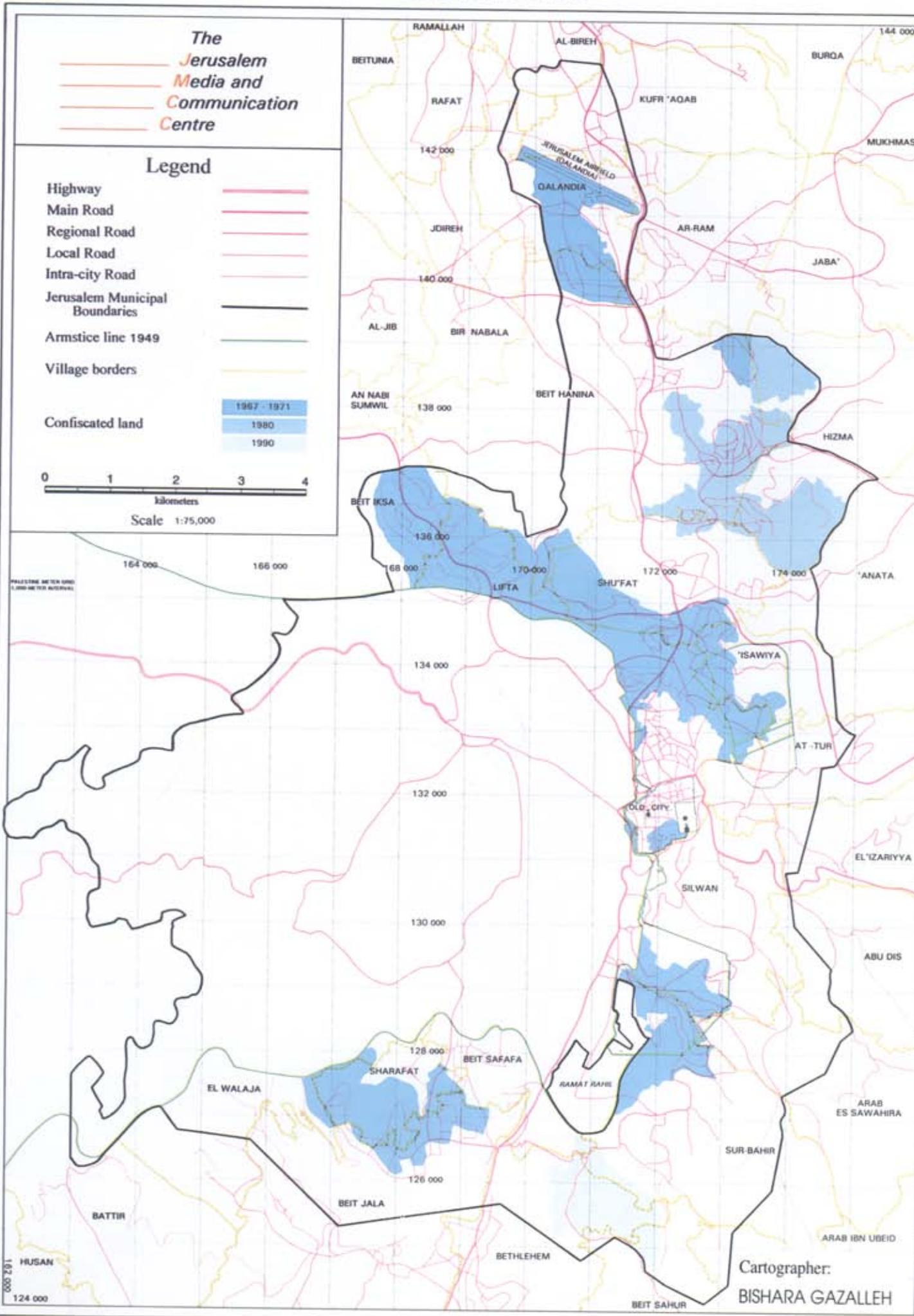
area. The settlements prevent these quarters from connecting with Arab residential areas to the east, such as Jaba', Hizma and Anata. The same situation applies to the Ramot, Rekhes Shufat and Giv'at Ze'ev settlements and the Giv'on group (on the northwestern border of Jerusalem), which obstruct connection between Rafat, Qalandia, al-Jib, Bir Nabala, Beit Hanina and Beit Ikksa. Similarly, the settlements of French Hill, Giv'at Hamivtar, Ramat Eshkol, the Hebrew University and Maa'lot Dafna prevent connection between Shua'fat and the Arab quarters in al-Tur, the Mount of Olives and the Old City.



Photo: Itto Barardah

Ramot. 1997

EAST JERUSALEM 1968-1994 CONFISCATION OF ARAB LAND



Cartographer:
BISHARA GAZALLEH



Arab population and urban construction in East Jerusalem

During this period, two important factors played a role in influencing population and construction in East Jerusalem. The first of these was the attempt by Palestinians to end the Israeli occupation of lands occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, and to work rapidly to conserve the Arab identity of Jerusalem and limit the changes that the Israeli authorities were undertaking. However, the Israelis successfully obstructed these efforts, since the Palestinians, being the occupied party, were far weaker. Second, Israel, being the occupying power, continued with its changes, declaring the annexation of East Jerusalem and issuing laws that served its purpose, regardless of their legitimacy.

The Israeli occupation authorities implemented a discriminatory policy against Palestinians, based on the premise that Palestinians were residents and not citizens with full rights. This sharply contradicted international law, which considered the Palestinians to be citizens of an occupied land, but it worked to the advantage of the Israeli authorities, who imposed taxes on Jerusalem's Palestinians but denied them many rights. Municipal services in East Jerusalem fall far short of those offered in the area's Jewish settlements and in West Jerusalem. In truth, this policy of discrimination is nothing new; it has been implemented for the past half century against Arab Israeli citizens, who still confront economic, cultural and social inequalities.

However, the most decisive factors concerning discrimination in East Jerusalem were land

confiscation and closure, as well as the impediments placed on Arab construction, such as delaying the approval of zoning maps, denying Palestinians licenses to build and imposing high fees on such licenses when they were granted. The Israeli government also failed to take into consideration the differences between Arab and Jewish construction patterns. The Israeli municipality has been implementing a clear policy in the following areas:

- 1- Neutralizing the effect of Arab population growth by imposing social and economic restrictions on Arab residents and thus encouraging them to leave Jerusalem. Continuing to confiscate the IDs of Jerusalem Palestinians, on the basis that they are in violation of residency laws that define them as temporary residents and not as centuries-old inhabitants of the city.
- 2- Preventing the integration of Jerusalem's Arab neighborhoods, so as to block a unified regional entity that could constitute the capital of a future Palestinian state. Dividing the neighborhoods also helped Israel maintain control of them.
- 3- Imposing restrictions on Palestinian architectural activities by banning construction in certain neighborhoods, such as Wadi el-Joz, el-Suwana, Silwan and the Nablus Road area. (See map of East Jerusalem 1968 - 1994, the effect of Israeli occupation on population and housing). This means that if the average rate of population growth in East Jerusalem continues, as in the first half of the 1990s, and if the rate of Israeli construction

remains steady, 20,000 more Palestinians will be forced to relocate outside Jerusalem by the turn of the century. This has been an ongoing process since the 1970s, when the Arab residents of Jerusalem were forced to build in areas outside their city such as ar-Ram, Bir Nabala and Abu Dis.

- 4- Since March 1, 1993, Jerusalem has been severed from the West Bank through the policy of closure, whereby residents of the West Bank are prohibited from entering Jerusalem without special security passes. These passes are hard to obtain and rarely granted. Because Jerusalem is the

economic, cultural, religious and social center for its immediate surrounding areas as well as adjacent parts of the West Bank, closure has had a devastating impact (See map of Jerusalem and the West Bank). This segregation and forced isolation has led to Jerusalem's economic decline, in particular, thus forcing more and more Palestinians to leave the city in search of other markets.

These measures have had an impact on construction and population growth in East Jerusalem, as shown in the following table:



Photo: Itto Barardah

The Western Wall of Jerusalem appears in the background Mount Zion appears to the right and Wadi al-Rababi in the center. 1997

Urban Construction and population in East Jerusalem's Arab quarters

Quarter	Area in dunums	Dwellings by 1998	Total population 1998
Old City	900 ⁽¹⁾	5,064	28,948 ⁽²⁾
Kufr 'Aqab	2,441	1280	9,567
Qalandia ⁽³⁾	3,327	285	with Kufr 'Aqab
Beit Hanina	5,294	3,271	19,215
Shua'fat	4,277	2,938	25,579
'Isawiya	2,394	1,315	8,333
Aqabet el-Suwana	851	2,287	3,484
al-Tur and el-Shayah	1,745	With el-Suwana	13,843
Wadi el-Joz	347	864	6,177
Sheikh Jarrah	711	547	2,475
Sahreh Gate and American Colony	427	716	4,801
Nablus Road	396	160	1,670
Wadi el-Hilwe	506	93	3,865
Silwan	537	2,083	7,908
Ras al-'Amud	1,262	2,257	10,137
al-Thuri	1,736	390	11,857
Arab es-Sawahira	5,291	1,930	10,756
Sur Bahir and Um Tuba	5,333	1,646	9,006
Beit Safafa and Sharafat	10,516	784	5,533
Total	47,291	27,910	183,154

1. Including the Jewish Quarter

2. Without residents of the Jewish Quarter

3. Qalandia with the Industrial Zone in Atarot

Source:

-*Statistical Year Book of Jerusalem No. 16 - 1998*, edited by Maya Choshen and Naama Shahar, Jerusalem, 1999.

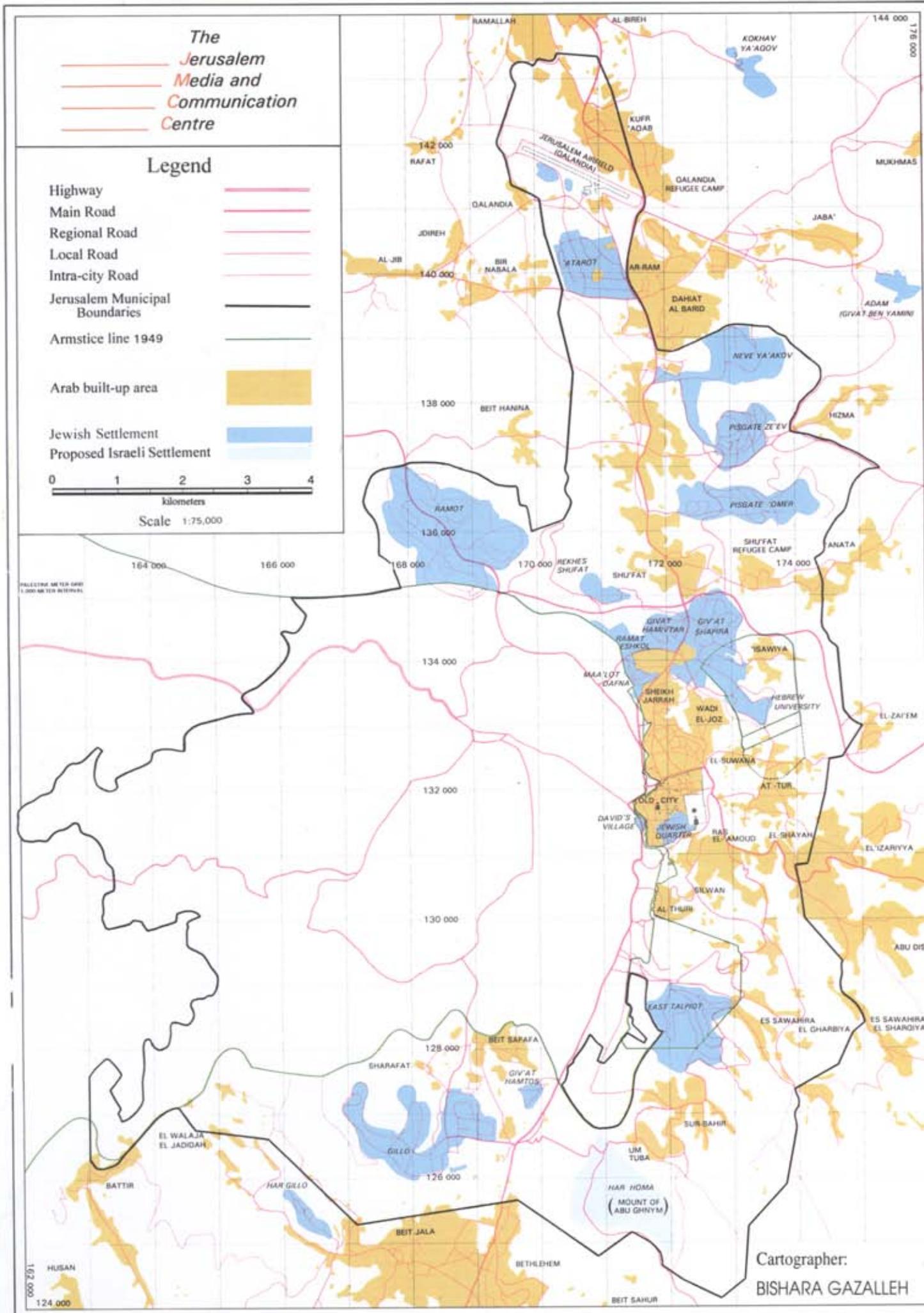
In mid-1994, it was revealed that a strict quota system had been applied to Arab urban construction in Jerusalem for more than 20 years. The goal was to limit the city's percentage of Palestinians to no more than 26 percent. The ministerial committee had clearly adopted this ceiling for Arab construction in 1973 (16).

This is the core Israeli position that has been imposed on the Arab population by force and through laws. The percentage of Arab residents in East and West Jerusalem combined has remained nearly the same since 1967, when Israel occupied East Jerusalem and annexed it to West Jerusalem. The percentage of Arab residents in "unified" Jerusalem in 1967 was 25.8 percent, rising to 27.8 percent in 1977, and 28.3 percent in 1987. By 1998, the figure had reached 30.9 percent. This percentage was maintained by two methods:

- 1- The construction of Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem to house by 1998 around 156,000 Jews.
- 2- The imposition of restrictions on Arab residents in the areas of construction, economics and politics, which encouraged emigration from the city.

If we compare the number of housing units mentioned in the previous table with those that existed in 1967, one notices that 15,542 housing units were erected during 31 years of Israeli occupation, an average of 501 units per year. The average between 1952 and 1967 was 511 units per year. Considering the increase in the average growth of the population in East Jerusalem and the subsequent need for new housing, one notices a sharp reduction in building in East Jerusalem under Israeli occupation, as compared with previous eras. This forced Arab families to resort to building without permits, thus subjecting themselves to fines, court cases and house demolitions.

EAST JERUSALEM 1968-1994
THE EFFECT OF ISRAELI OCCUPATION ON POPULATION AND HOUSING





Jewish population and urban construction in East Jerusalem

Since the early days of the occupation of Jerusalem, on June 7, 1967, the Israelis made clear their goal of annexing East Jerusalem, regardless of any future negotiations over the Palestinian territories. Thus, the measures mentioned earlier were aimed at stripping East Jerusalem of its Arab features. This was carried out through a major construction operation in East Jerusalem on confiscated Arab land, according to the pattern previously described. An intensive Israeli presence was therefore created, with Israeli decision makers allowing "facts on the ground" to decide the prospects for the future. (See map of East Jerusalem 1968 - 1994, the effect of Israeli occupation on population and housing).

Based on the above premise, 15 Jewish settlements were erected inside the municipal borders of East Jerusalem between 1967 and 1996, while the construction of the 16th settlement (Har Homa) on Mount Abu Ghneim started in 1999. By 1998, those settlements have included a total of 43,440 housing units, where 156,412 settlers live. Municipality schemes were prepared to expand these settlements to include a total of 63,500 housing units by the first decade of the new century, with a capacity to house 223,000 Jewish settlers.

Size of Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem

Name of settlement	Starting date of implementation	Area in dunums	Number of dwellings 1998	Population 1998	Arab land where settlements are located
Jewish Quarter	1968	122 ⁽¹⁾	550	2,282	Old City
Ramat Eshkol and Giv'at Hamivtar	1968	985	2,357	6,341	No-man's land and Lifta
The French Hill	1968	970	2,102	7,338	Land of Louise and es-Sammar land
Mount Scopus	1969	1,048	With the French Hill	1,261	es-Sammar land and Wadi el-Joz
Gilo	1971	2,859	8,509	26,604	Beit Jalla, Beit Safafa and Sharafat
Neve Ya'akov	1972	1,759	4,744	19,960	Beit Hanina
Ramot	1973	4,979	8,503	37,167	Beit Iksha, Lifta and Shua'fat
Eastern Talpiot	1973	1,196	4,303	13,348	No-man's land and Sur Bahir
Maa'lot Dafna	1973	380	1,052	3,666	No-man's Land and Sheikh Jarrah
Atarot	1973	1,337 ⁽¹⁾	Industrial Zone	-	Beit Hanina and Qalandia
Pisgat Ze'ev and Pisgat Omer	1985	5,468	9,100	31,150	Beit Hanina, Hizma and Anata
Rekhes Shufat	1990	1,126	1,934	6098	Shua'fat
Giv'at Hamtos	1991	310	286	1,197	Beit Safafa and Beit Jalla
Har Homa	1999	2,523	-	-	Beit Sahur and Sur Bahir
Total	-	23,603	43,440	156,412	

1. Figures of the area of the Jewish neighborhood and Atarot are included in the figures of the Old City and Qalandia in the table of Arab neighborhoods.

Source:

-*Statistical Year Book of Jerusalem No. 16 - 1998*, edited by Maya Choshen and Naama Shahar, Jerusalem, 1999.

-*Jerusalem Housing Capacity Report-1993*, published by the Jerusalem Municipality, Department of City Planning, political unit, August 1, 1993 (in Hebrew).

- Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, Khalil Tufakji, Arab Studies Society, Palestinian Geographic Center, Jerusalem, 1994, p. 28-43. (In Arabic).

Israeli future schemes for Jerusalem

The schemes of expansion and seizure of Palestinian lands by Israeli occupation authorities have no limits, especially in Jerusalem. The main trend, which is gaining consensus in both the Likud and Labor parties, is to expand Jerusalem's borders to the east to reach a total area of 260 square km, more than double the area of East and West Jerusalem combined. This "Greater Jerusalem" will come at the expense of West Bank lands occupied in 1967.

The settlement of Maale Adumim with a total population of 22,200 in 1998, would constitute Jerusalem's eastern borders. The city OF Maale

Adumim would be expanded so as to bring the population to 60,000, and a regional corridor of Jewish settlements would extend all the way to Virid Yeriho settlement, which overlooks Jericho.

In the north, expansion is planned in the Giv'at Ze'ev settlement compound and in Giv'on 1, 2 and 3 to form one bloc with the largest population concentration in Ramot.

In the south, bypass roads, tunnels and bridges have been erected to link Gilo with the Gush Etzion settlement compound, avoiding Bethlehem, Beit Sahur and Beit Jalla, until the borders of Greater Jerusalem reach Gush Etzion, as planned.



Photo: Itto Barardah

Ma'ale Adomim. 1997

Jerusalem History

Important Years



- 1879 BC The city is mentioned in Egyptian sheets, called "Execation Texts," by the name of Urosalem; it was again mentioned in the Tel Amarnah tablets in 1300 BC, when the city was inhabited by the Jebusites.
- 1000 BC King David occupies the city, giving it the name Yerushalayim.
- 970 BC Shishak- I, Pharaoh of Egypt, occupies the city.
- 735 BC The Assyrian King Tiglath Pileser II occupies the city. The Assyrians will return to occupy the city between 678 BC and 644 BC.
- 610 BC Necho II, Pharaoh of Egypt, occupies the city.
- 599 BC Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II occupies the city for the first time. In 586 BC, he occupies it for a second time, at which point Jews living there are made slaves, and the Judean Kingdom comes to an end
- 538 BC Persian King Cyrus occupies the city after subverting Assyr and Babylon; he allows the Jews to return.
- 332 BC Alexander of Macedonia occupies the city, ushering in the Greek era, under the control of the Ptolemis, then the Seleucids in 168 BC. Greek becomes the official language and Aramaic remains the language of Jerusalem residents.
- 65 BC The Roman leader Pompey occupies the city, declaring the beginning of the Roman era. Latin becomes the official language, while Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek remain in use among residents.
- 1 BC The birth of Jesus Christ and his crucifixion in 29 AD.
- 70 AD The Roman ruler Titus burns down the Temple.
- 139 AD Hadrian builds a new Roman-style city and calls it Aelia Capitolina, or "center of the sun."

- 325 AD Roman Emperor Constantine converts to Christianity.
- 328-335 AD Saint Helen has the Church of the Holy Sepulchre built in seven year's time.
- 395 AD The Roman Empire is split between Rome and Byzantine; Jerusalem comes under Byzantine control.
- 614 AD Kisra, King of Persia, occupies Jerusalem.
- 629 AD Byzantine King Hercules defeats the Persians and enters the city.
- 636 AD Caliphate Omar bin al-Khattab enters the city, marking the beginning of Arab domination, which lasts until the beginning of the 20th century. The terms Bayt al-Maqdas and al-Quds come into use, and the old name Aelia ceases to be used.
- 684 AD The beginning of the war between al-Qays and al-Yemen, as a consequence of a conflict between Marwan bin al-Hakam (al-Qays) and Abdullah bin al-Zubaer (al-Yemen).
- 685 AD Construction on the Dome of the Rock begins under the sponsorship of the Umayyad Caliph Abdal Malik bin Marwan, lasting until 691.
- 692 AD The Arabization of governmental administration by Abdal Malik bin Marwan, the issuing of Arab currency, and, later, the adoption of Arabic as the official language, replacing Latin
- 693 AD Construction begins on al-Aqsa Mosque (concluded in 705) during the reign of Caliph al-Waleed bin Abdal Malik.
- 747 AD A big earthquake hits Jerusalem and partially destroys al-Aqsa Mosque; the Abbasid Caliphate Abu Ja'efar al-Mansour orders its renovation.
- 774 AD Another earthquake hits Jerusalem causing damage to al-Aqsa Mosque.

- 780 AD Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi orders the reconstruction of Al-Aqsa Mosque.
- 831 AD Caliph Ma'amoun orders the renovation of the Dome of the Rock.
- 945 AD King Mohammed al-Akhshidi is buried in Jerusalem.
- 1010 AD Fattimiad Caliph al-Hakem Bi'amr Allah orders the demolition of the Holy Sepulchre, then, in a later reign, orders its reconstruction.
- 1016 AD A major earthquake hits Jerusalem, affecting the Dome of the Rock and the walls of Jerusalem.
- 1027 AD el-Zaher Li'zaz Deen Allah, the Fatimiad Caliph, reconstructs the Holy Sepulchre and starts renovating the Dome of the Rock and the walls of Jerusalem.
- 1066 AD Another major earthquake hits Jerusalem.
- 1072 AD The Saljuqi Sultan Alb Arslan occupies the city.
- 1077 AD The Saljuqi Sultan Jalal ed-Dawla Abu al-Fateh occupies Jerusalem and kills 3,000 of its residents.
- 1099 AD The Franks occupy Jerusalem and commit a massacre resulting in 40,000-70,000 deaths; the Kingdom of Jerusalem is declared, and Al-Aqsa Mosque is transformed into a church.
- 1187 AD Salah ad-Din al-Ayyoubi liberates Jerusalem while the Ayyoubids erect several architectural sites that come to characterize the city.
- 1219 AD The Ayyoubid Sultan al-Mo'azam Issa orders the destruction of Jerusalem's walls, fearing the Franks would occupy the city again and use it as a fortress.
- 1228 AD The Ayyoubid Sultan el-Kamel Ibn al-Adel surrenders Jerusalem to Emperor Fredrick.
- 1239 AD Sultan Nasser Daood al-Ayyoubi liberates Jerusalem but returns it to the Franks due to

conflict with his brothers over authority.

- 1245 AD King Saleh Nijim ad-Din Ayyub regains Jerusalem and starts reconstructing parts of the walls, which were demolished by his uncle al-Mo'azem Issa.
- 1260 AD el-Zaher Bebars visits Jerusalem. His visit marks the second most important architectural period, shaping the architectural landscape of Jerusalem during the Mamluk era. The Mamluks leave a lasting impact on city's character, especially during the reigns of Sultan Qalowoun in 1283, al-Nasser Mohammed Qalowoun, who visited in 1317, King el-Zaher Barqouq, who assumed power in 1382, and King Qaetbai who visited Jerusalem in 1475 and lived there for several years.
- 1517 AD Saleem I occupies the city without a fight, ushering in the Ottoman era, which also has its architectural impact on the city.
- 1536 AD Reconstruction begins on the present Jerusalem walls, during the reign of Suleiman the Great, lasting until 1540.
- 1670 AD Turkish traveler Ulia'a Jilbi counts around 2,405 commercial establishments in Jerusalem.
- 1831 AD Ibrahim Basha occupies Jerusalem.
- 1834 AD Residents of Jerusalem revolt against the rule of Mohammed Ali, who was represented by his son Ibrahim Basha.
- 1837 AD An earthquake in northern Palestine destroys parts of Safad, Tiberias and Jerusalem.
- 1838 AD A one-month cholera epidemic breaks out in Jerusalem, then recurs a year later, lasting six months.
- 1840 AD The Turks reoccupy Jerusalem.
- 1840 AD The Mufti's palace is established in Sheikh Jarrah, thus beginning the spread of construction outside the walls. This leads to the creation of

openings in the city's gates, called "al-khokha," to allow entry after the gates were closed at sunset.

- 1840 AD-1888 AD Nine foreign consulates are opened in Jerusalem, a sign of international interest in the city's future. The consulates were the following (listed chronologically): British, French, Prussian (Germany), American, Austrian, Greek, Italian, Iranian and Russian.
- 1853 AD A small pox epidemic hits the city.
- 1867 AD Paving begins on the Jerusalem-Yaffa Road (concluded in 1870).
- 1874 AD Jerusalem is declared as an independent *sanjaq*, an administrative unit under Istanbul's direct control.
- 1881 AD Paving begins on the Jerusalem-al-Khalil Road (concluded in 1889).
- 1882 AD Paving begins on the Jerusalem-Jericho Road.
- 1882 AD Waves of organized Jewish immigration to Palestine begin.
- 1889 AD Construction begins on the Jerusalem-Yaffa railroad (concluded in 1892).
- 1889 AD The Jdid (New) Gate is opened to serve residential areas outside the walls, especially the Notre Dame hospital.
- 1897 AD German Emperor Wilhelm II visits Jerusalem; an opening is created near al-Khalil Gate, which is later used as a passage for vehicles and carts.
- 1903 AD Construction begins on the Jerusalem-Nablus Road (concluded in 1907).
- 1906 AD Al-Rashidiya School is completed.
- 1913 AD A railroad connecting Afoula, Jenin, Tulkarem, Lod and the coast is completed.

November 2, 1917	The Belfor Declaration
December 9, 1917	The British army occupies the city.
April 24, 1920	The League of Nations at San Remo officially declares the British Mandate over Palestine.
July 24, 1922	The League of Nations ratifies the British Mandate decree.
July 11, 1927	An earthquake hits Palestine, registering 6.3 on the Richter scale.
August 9, 1928	The al-Buraq (Wailing Wall) conflict occurs.
October 21, 1930	The first British White Paper issued.
April 25, 1936	A general strike in Palestine is declared, lasting until October 12, 1936.
July 7, 1937	Peel Committee decision to divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab states.
May 17, 1939	A second British White Paper is issued, recommending an independent Arab-Jewish state.
August 28, 1945	Sir William Fitzgerald issues a report concerning the partition of Jerusalem between Arabs and Jews.
July 22, 1946	The King David Hotel is bombed by the Zionist organization Etzel.
April 20, 1947	The British government informs the UN of its desire to terminate its mandate over Palestine.
November 29, 1947	The UN issues its partition resolution for Palestine, including the internationalization of Jerusalem.
December 29, 1947- March 11, 1948	A series of bombings are exchanged in Arab and Jewish quarters.
April 9, 1948	Abdul Qader al-Husseiny is buried at al-Khatunia School.
April 10, 1948	Deir Yassin massacre.

May 1-5, 1948	The fall of West Jerusalem's Arab quarters.
May 15, 1948	Arab armies enter Palestine; the Jordanian sixth battalion arrives in Jerusalem on May 17.
May 28, 1948	The surrender of the Jewish neighborhood in the Old City.
September 17, 1948	The assassination of international envoy Count Folke Bernadotte .
November 30, 1948	Initial cease-fire maps between the Jordanians and Israelis are signed; the permanent cease-fire arrangement is finally adopted April 3, 1949.
December 1, 1948	The decision of Jericho Conference to annex the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, to Jordan
January 23, 1950	West Jerusalem is declared the capital of Israel, and the Knesset and government are transferred there.
May 20, 1951	Jordanian King Abdulla is assassinated.
July 13, 1951	The first municipal elections take place in East Jerusalem, after the city is divided.
August 14, 1952	West Jerusalem is expanded to an area of 33 square km.
April 1, 1952	East Jerusalem is expanded to an area of 6 square km.
September 1, 1959	Jerusalem is declared the second capital of Jordan.
January 6, 1964	Pope John Paul VI visits Jerusalem.
May 28, 1964	The Palestinian National Council convenes for the first time at the Intercontinental Hotel on the Mount of Olives; the Palestine Liberation Organization is established.
June 7, 1967	The Israeli army occupies East Jerusalem.

June 27, 1967	Israelis laws are imposed on East Jerusalem, and the city comes under Israeli jurisdiction.
June 28, 1967	East Jerusalem is expanded and annexed to West Jerusalem.
June 28, 1967	The confiscation of 116 dunums in the Old City, the demolition of the buildings on the Magharbeh neighborhood, and the building of the Jewish Quarter
June 29, 1967	The Arab Municipal Council is dissolved.
July 4, 1967	The UN General Assembly issues resolution no. 2253, declaring all Israeli measures in Jerusalem null and void.
May 21, 1968	UN Security Council Resolution no. 252 is issued, considering the seizure of land by force unacceptable and expressing regret for Israel's noncompliance with UN resolutions.
September 1, 1968	Confiscation of 3,345 dunums from Sheikh Jarrah and Lifta, and the establishment of Maa'lot Dafna, Ramat Eshkol, the Hebrew University and, later, French Hill
August 21, 1969	An attempt is made to burn down Al-Aqsa Mosque.
August 30, 1970	The confiscation of 11,680 dunums from land in Shua'fat, Beit Ikxa, Lifta, Sur Bahir, Beit Jalla, Beit Safafa, Qalandia, Beit Hanina and around the Old City wall, and the construction of Gilo, Neve Ya'akov, Ramot, eastern Talpiot, Atarot settlements and, later, the settlement of Rekhesh Shufat
September 25, 1971	UN Security Council issues resolution no. 298, declaring illegal Israeli legislative and administrative measures.
November 28, 1978	UNESCO declares the Old City a region subject to cultural protection and part of endangered world human heritage; the UN General Assembly reconfirms this point in an October 28, 1981 resolution.

July 20, 1979	The UN Security Council issues resolution no. 452, demanding a halt to Israeli settlement construction on Arab land, including Jerusalem.
February 3, 1980	The confiscation of 4,440 dunums from the land of Beit Hanina, Hizma and Beit Safafa, the construction of the Pisgat Ze'ev and Pisgat Omer settlements, and the expansion of previously-built settlements such as Gilo in Beit Safafa
July 30, 1980	The Israeli Knesset passes the Law of Unified Jerusalem-an attempt to make Jerusalem the capital of Israel.
August 20, 1980	The UN Security Council issues resolution no. 478, declaring null and void East Jerusalem's annexation and Israel's unilateral declaration of a unified Jerusalem as its capital. The UN demands that Israel withdraw such measures.
July 1, 1982	The confiscation of 137 dunums in Qalandia Industrial Zone (Atarot).
June 12, 1991	The confiscation of 1,850 dunums from the land of Beit Sahur and Sur Bahir in preparation for building the Har Homa settlement on Mount Abu Ghneim.
October 8, 1990	The Israeli army commits a massacre in el-Haram esh-Sharif area resulting in 17 deaths.
March 31, 1993	Israel imposes the closure of Jerusalem, limiting entry only to those with permits issued by the Israeli authorities and, thus, isolating the city from the West Bank and Gaza.
September 13, 1993	The signing of the Oslo Accords (Declaration of Principles) between the PLO and the Israeli government, thus delaying discussion on the issues of Jerusalem, settlements, borders and refugees to the final-status negotiations.
September 24, 1996	The Israeli government declares its plan to open a tunnel beneath Al-Aqsa Mosque, causing a Palestinian mass uprising that lasts several days. Clashes with Israeli troops result in the deaths of 62 Palestinians, 15 Israelis and hundreds of wounded.

Footnotes of the Introduction and Chapter One

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 - 12- Hutteroth and Abdul Fattah, Op. Cit. p. 112 - 122.
 - 13- Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922, Palestine. Greek Convent Press. Jerusalem, 1923, p. 14-20.
 - 14- Ben Arie, Op. Cit. p. 22.
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 - 16- Ibid. p. 151.
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 - 19- Landman, Shimon. Op. Cit. p. 9, 20, 63.
 - 20- Ben, Arie. Op. Cit. p. 278.
 - 21- al-Arif, Op. Cit. p. 445.
 - 22- According to Ottoman divisions, the Wilayat(province) included several Sanjaqs; the Sanjaq included several Liwas and the Liwa included several Nahiyas or Qadas. The figures adopted in this study depend basically on the following Ottoman statistics:
 - a. The General Statistics of the Ottoman Empire in 1313 (1895 - 1896).
 - b. Statistics of the Ottoman Empire in 1330 (1912).
 These are adopted from the book: Mac Carthy, Justin. The Population of Palestine, Population History and Statistics of the late Ottoman Period and the Mandate. Columbia University Press, New York - 1990.
 - c. Karpat, Kemal, Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/2- 1893. It is published in the International Journal of Middle East Studies, May, 1978.Great Britian.
 - 23- One might say that the events of the First World War must have left their destructive impact on the population growth in Palestine; however, and with due respect to this interpretation, we believe that the results of the war on the region's population were minimal when compared with other locations in the world, especially in Jerusalem region that did not witness any of the destructive battles.
 - 24- Statistical reports from Salname of Syrian Wilayet of 1872 point that the number of population in Jerusalem district reached 9,083 households and the number of population in Jerusalem city in the same year was 1,763 households (Scholch, Alexander. Op. Cit. p. 20).
 - 25- Palestine Census of 1922, Op. Cit. p. 14.
 - 26- Ben Arie, Op. Cit. p. 466.
 - 27- McCarthy, Justin. Op. Cit. p. 227. - Jewish Agency in Palestine, Op. Cit. p. 90.
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29- McCarthy, Justin. Op. Cit. p. 219.

Footnotes of Chapter Three

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There is a discrepancy between the figure we suggest regarding the area of Jerusalem and the figure mentioned in the above-mentioned reference, the difference is due to the fact that the area of the old city was considered 200 acres (810 dunums) while the area is actually 900 dunums.

2- Supplement to Survey on Palestine, Notes compiled for the information of the UN Special Committee on Palestine, Jerusalem, 1947, p. 13.

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■ The issue of Jerusalem have constituted, both in the
■ far and near past, a basic pivot in determining the
■ future and realities of the surrounding region. The
■ special importance of conducting a study on the
■ Jerusalem issue rises from the current attempts to
■ define the future of the region in the context of the
■ ongoing political process and the accompanying
■ conflicts, which are in some cases bloody and in
■ other cases peaceful.

■ Because of the importance of Jerusalem for both the
■ Arab Palestinian side and the Zionist Jewish side, the
■ determination of the future of the region, whether in
■ terms of war or peace, depends on the method in
■ which the issue is dealt with.

■ The Zionist Movement has attempted from the start
■ of its emigration to Palestine to impose new realities
■ in order to decide the issue of Jerusalem for its
■ benefit. The attempts were not restricted to physical
■ realities, but included the creation of an impression
■ and conviction through media and lots of books and
■ publications that worked on forging the past and
■ present history of the city, thus concealing the reality
■ and truth behind a curtain of false propaganda and
■ history forging.

■ Thus, this contribution from the Jerusalem Media and
■ Communications Center came to highlight the events
■ that took place during the historical epoch between
■ 1850 and 2000. We do hope that we can succeed in
■ raising discussion over this issue and highlight the
■ facts and truth and encourage others inside Palestine
■ and abroad to contribute in this discussion and enrich
■ this attempt towards reinforcing a conviction that any
■ solution that does not guarantee the historical,
■ political, national and religious rights of the Arab
■ Palestinian people in Jerusalem will never be a just,
■ comprehensive and permanent solution.

■ **Jerusalem Media and Communications Center**
■ **JMCC**