

In Danger: Israel's Sovereignty Over Jerusalem

Inside: Ten Important Articles About Jerusalem

Founded 1897



Zionist Organization of America

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Heroes insuring Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalen

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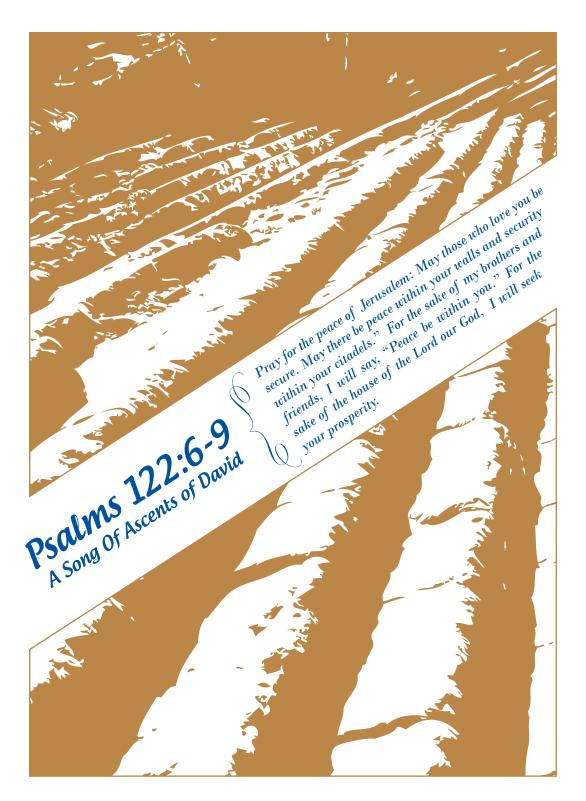
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### Jerusalem Matters

### GARY L. BAUER

oes Jerusalem belong to the Israeli people? Is it the capital of the Jewish nation? May Jews live with their families anywhere in the city they choose? Can other nations decide Jerusalem's future, with or without the consent of Israel's government? Is dismemberment in Jerusalem's future?

It is a sign of the moral and historical derangement prevalent

in our age that such questions can even be asked. But make no mistake about it—serious, powerful people on both sides of the Atlantic, in and out of governments, are embracing the Palestinian Muslim narrative that demands that Jerusalem must at the very least be divided, with East Jerusalem



becoming the capital of a new Palestinian state.

In 1906, Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann met with Britain's Arthur Balfour. Britain had offered Zionists land in East Africa for a Jewish homeland, and the Zionists turned the offer down. Balfour wanted to know why.

he preservation of Jerusalem as the political and spiritual capital of the Jewish state is vital to Israel's existence.

Weizmann answered with this: "Mr. Balfour, if you were offered Paris instead of London, would you take it? Would you take Paris instead of London?" A surprised Balfour responded, "But London is our own!" Weizmann retorted, "Jerusalem was our own when London was a marsh!" And indeed it was.

Palestinian propagandists and their allies in the Middle East have argued for years that Jerusalem is not, and has never been, legitimately Jewish. They make this absurd claim even though Jews have been living in Jerusalem continuously for nearly two thousand years. They have been the largest single group in the city since the 1840s. The holiest site in the Jewish faith. the Western Wall of the Temple, is in Jerusalem.

In spite of the clear history and ongoing discovery of historical relics that essentially confirm what the Bible tells us about the history of the Jews in Jerusalem, the Palestinian Authority continues to teach Palestinian children historical lies that incite hatred about Jewish "occupation" of Jerusalem. The goal of this invidious campaign is clear: If Jews can be delegitimized in Jerusalem, the whole existence of the modern Jewish state can be called into question.

Michael B. Oren, Israel's new ambassador to the

United States, understands what is at stake. He recently wrote this about the importance of Jerusalem to the future of Israel:

American, it has become obvious that President Obama increasingly seems committed to dividing Jerusalem, followed by making a dismembered East Jerusalem the capital of a new Palestinian state.

The preservation of Jerusalem as the political and spiritual capital of the Jewish state is vital to Israel's existence. This fact was well understood by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, at the time of the state's creation in 1948.

Though Israel was attacked simultaneously on all fronts by six Arab armies, with large sections of the Galilee and the Negev already lost, Ben-Gurion devoted the bulk of Israel's forces to breaking the siege of Jerusalem. The city, he knew, represented the raison d'être of the Jewish state and without it. Israel would be merely another miniature Mediterranean enclave not worth living in, much less defending.

Sadly, for me as an American, it has become obvious that President Obama increasingly seems committed to dividing Jerusalem, followed by making a dismembered East Jerusalem the capital of a new Palestinian state. Astonishing as it may seem, the Obama administration has insisted that construction of new buildings in East Jerusalem for Israeli Jews be halted, in effect treating that part of the city as a "settlement."

The reaction of Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu was swift and firm. He reminded the president that Jerusalem is an open, undivided city and he pointedly told the president, "We cannot accept the idea that Jews will not have the right to live and purchase [property] in all parts of Jerusalem."

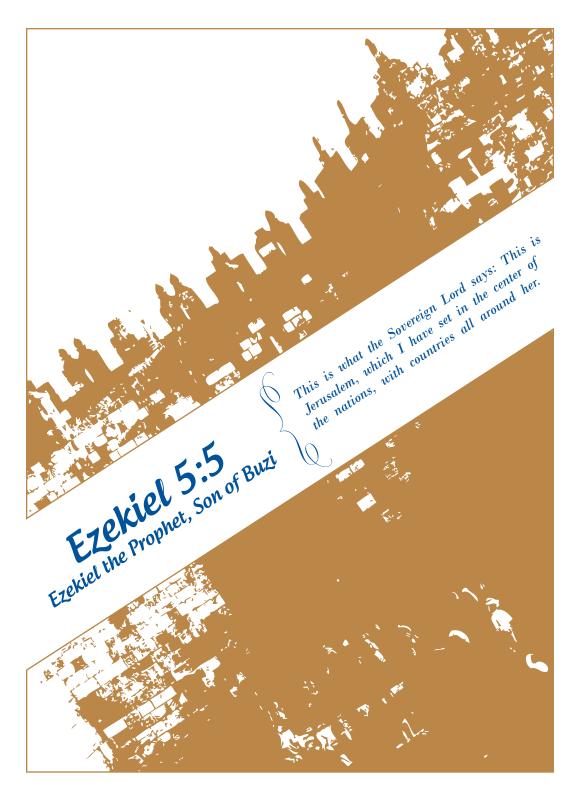
Prime Minister Netanyahu is right. Those of us who care about Israel— Jews, Christians, and all people of good will must stand together now in defense of a united Jerusalem in a united Israel—free, democratic, and safe.

Gary L. Bauer is one of America's most effective spokesmen for pro-life, pro-family, and pro-growth values. Bauer is a frequent guest on a wide variety of political talk shows and a much-in-demand speaker nationwide.

Bauer served in President Ronald Reagan's administration for eight years, as Under Secretary of Education and as President Reagan's Chief Domestic Policy Advisor.

A staunch supporter of President Bush's war on terrorism, Bauer is also a leading Christian advocate for a strong and secure Israel. Since the atrocities of September 11th, Bauer has devoted considerable time and energy to strengthening the shared values of the Israeli/American alliance.

After the 2000 presidential campaign, Mr. Bauer founded American Values, a non-profit educational organization.



# Why the American Embassy Should Be in Jerusalem

### U.S. SENATOR JON KYL

erusalem should remain an undivided city. Jerusalem should be recognized as the capital of the State of Israel, and the United States Embassy in Israel should be relocated to Jerusalem.

The United States government has refused official recognition of Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem for various reasons since Israel's inception, at first in line with the never-implemented 1947

U.N. General Assembly partition recommendation for western Palestine. U.S. policy supported a special international status—corpus separatum, as it was called—for the city of Jerusalem. The impractical notion actually appealed to neither the Jews nor the Arabs, and in 1948, the Arab Legion conquered east Jerusalem, including the Old City, as part of the general Arab military offensive to prevent Israel from coming



into being. Israel retained control over west Jerusalem.

When east Jerusalem was under Arab rule, many Jews were prohibited from visiting their holy places, and the synagogues in the Old City were razed and Jewish burial places were desecrated.

In 1967, as Egypt and Syria moved again toward war with Israel, the Israeli government urged King Hussein of Jordan to sit out the fighting, and promised the territories he controlled would be left alone if he did so.

The king failed to heed the warning. He attacked Israel and, as we all know, in the ensuing fighting he lost east Jerusalem and the West Bank.

Israel, under the Labor Party leadership at the time, declared that Jerusalem will remain undivided forever, as Israel's capital, and all people will have free access to their holy places.

Since 1967, the policy and practice of the U.S.

government regarding Jerusalem have, unfortunately, been somewhat inconsistent.

he only thing consistent about United States policy on Jerusalem, unfortunately, is its antagonism to Israel's claim there.

United States officials have often explained our government's unwillingness to recognize Israeli sovereignty over any of Jerusalem on the grounds that the city's status should be resolved through Arab-Israeli negotiations, or that at that particular moment in time it was difficult, if not a good thing to do, in view of the relationships existing between the parties at those time.

On the other hand, our government has repeat-

edly said that we do not favor redivision of the city. Yet the State Department makes a point of prohibiting United States officials from visiting east Jerusalem under Israeli auspices. In other words, for purposes of official visits to Jerusalem, the United States government distinguishes between east and west Jerusalem.

But as proposals have been made over the years to move the United States Embassy to west Jerusalem—I note, west Jerusalem—the State Department refused on the grounds that we do not distinguish between east and west Jerusalem, and do not recognize anyone's sovereign claims to any of Jerusalem.

The only thing consistent about United States policy on Jerusalem, unfortunately, is its antagonism to Israel's claim there. In my view, this policy is unprincipled, notwithstanding the fact that on many occasions it was urged in support of positions on which we were supporting

the government of Israel. But I still believe that the policy has not been viewed as principled, but rather entirely too pragmatic depending on the circumstances of the time, and that view is unworthy of the United States and, I believe, unhelpful to the cause of peace.

Notwithstanding the several peace agreements that Israel has signed with its neighbors, Arab enemies of the Jewish state continue to insist that Israel is not legitimate that it has no right to exist on what they deem to be Arab land.

The international community, acting through the League of Nations and in the United Nations, based its acknowledgment of the Jewish people's national rights in Palestine and the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine.

Though the long war against Zionism and Israel is now checked on the military level, it continues on the battlefield of ideas.

That is why the actions of the United States with regard to a very tangible matter, the location of our embassy, is so very, very important. It matters what position the United States takes in this battle-ground of ideas. And in this particular war, Israel's enemies have worked to delegitimize Israel, to

deny the significance of the historical connection between the Jews and Zion, and to foster hope that someday Israel, perhaps then abandoned by its friends and exhausted by the unremitting hostility and violence of its foes, can be made to disappear, just as the Christian Crusaders of the Middle Ages were worn down and ultimately expelled from the Holy Land.

This belief that Israel's friends are unreliable and Israel's resolve is weak is a major impediment to true Arab-Israeli peace. Unrealistic expectations on the part of Arab parties about Jerusalem make peace harder to achieve.

U.S. Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona has been one of the leaders in the effort to relocate the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. These remarks are adapted from one of his recent speeches on the floor of the U.S. Senate.



### Forgotten Facts About Jerusalem

### MORTON A. KLEIN

he propaganda war by the Palestinian Arabs that began as soon as the Oslo agreements were signed has recently expanded to include an all-out assault on the idea that there has ever been any real Jewish connection to Jerusalem. Like the "revisionist" historians who claim

that the Holocaust never happened, Palestinian Authority (PA) officials are attempting to falsify history in order to undermine the Jewish connection to the Holy City. Consider this recent posting on the official web site of the PA, written by Walid M. Awad, director of foreign publications for the PA's ministry of information:

The city [Jerusalem] took the bulk of its shape, its divine character and historical ambiance since the Muslim Caliph Omar Ibn Al Kattab took Jerusalem without bloodshed in 639 AD....Almost 30



years of Israeli excavations did not reveal anything Jewish, no tangible evidence of theirs was unearthed....Jerusalem is not a Jewish city, despite the biblical myth implanted in some minds.

rerusalem is not mentioned even once in the Koran, while it is mentioned more than 600 times in the Jewish Torah.

In a similar vein, PA official Sari Nusseibeh has written that "the historical ties and attachments of Palestinians" to Jerusalem "precede any Jewish claim to it." Nusseibeh has gone so far as to accuse King Solomon of "exploiting Canaanite labor" in order to build the Temple.

Many journalists have fallen for at least a por-

tion of these Palestinian Arab propaganda lies. For example, media reports routinely refer to the parts of the city that Israel won in the 1967 war as "historically Arab East Jerusalem." In fact, the accurate description would be "historically Jewish East Jerusalem."

There has been a Jewish majority throughout Jerusalem since the 1800s. The Jewish majority in "eastern Jerusalem" was interrupted only by the 1948 Arab war against newborn Israel, when the Jewish residents of that part of the city were forced to flee for their lives. Indeed, many homes in what are today mostly-Arab sections of the city still have on their doorposts indentations where mezuzahs were once posted, before their Jewish residents were expelled. Other homes where Arabs now reside have, in the upper corners of the doorways, conspicuously new rock installed to replace the old rock that had the mezuzah-indentation.

Other notable Jewish sites in eastern Jerusalem, dating back to the 1930s, include the Jewish National Library, Hadassah Hospital, and Hebrew University.

During the Jordanian occupation of eastern Jerusalem (1948–1967), the Jordanian authorities destroyed 58 synagogues, tore up the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives, and used the tombstones (including the tombstone of Hadassah founder Henrietta Szold) to pave roads and to build latrines in Jordanian army barracks.

During the Jordanian occupation of the Old City, the Jordanians also mistreated local Christians. The Jordanian government severely restricted the number of Christians who were allowed to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem, restricted the opening of Christian schools in the city, required that the Koran be taught in Jerusalem's Christian schools. and abrogated the right of Christian institutions to acquire real estate in

Jerusalem. Because of this mistreatment by the Arab Muslim authorities, more than 60 percent of Jerusalem's Christian population emigrated from the city during 1948–1967.

Recent Christian emigration from Jerusalem is also the result of pressure by Muslim extremists who want to "Islamicize" the area, according to Father Georges Abou-Khazen, a parish priest in Bethlehem, writing in the journal Terra Sancta in 1994. (And in Bethlehem, Muslims are offering Christians "astronomical" sums to sell their homes and property. Some of those who refuse to sell are subjected to assaults and harassment. As a result, large numbers of Christians have emigrated, and Bethlehem now has a Muslim majority.)

A powerful but littleknown book, by the distinguished Israeli historian, Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, sheds important light on the crucial historical questions surrounding the Holy City. His Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century (Tel Aviv: Mod Books) is truly must-reading.

Dr. Ben-Arieh notes that although at first glance Jerusalem seems to have a number of Muslim features, "these characteristics are, in fact, external ones."

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The Dome of the Rock mosque, for example, is regarded as the third holiest place in Islam. But the holiness of the spot on which it is situated, the Temple Mount, "is connected to its earlier sanctity," which was determined centuries earlier by the significance of the Temple Mount to Judaism. "Thus, the mosque is not in the center of the city, as in other cities, but in this place, which was determined for it in the pre-Muslim period." Ben-Arieh writes.

Dr. Ben-Arieh's research reveals the historical irrelevance of many of the phrases and clichés that are in vogue today. The label "Quarters," for instance—referring to the Jewish Quarter, Muslim Quarter, Christian Quarter, and Armenian Quarter in the Old City—was imported to the Holy Land by European visitors during the 1800s. The boundaries of these quarters were often blurred. As Ben-Arieh shows, there were many Jews living in the Christian, Muslim, and Armenian "Quarters" throughout the 1800s, right up until they were driven out by Arab pogromists in the 1930s. "In the period of the First World War," Ben-Arieh recalls, "there were more Jews living in Hebron

Street, which was in the Muslim Quarter, than in the Street of the Jews, in the Jewish Quarter." Ben-Arieh also mentions that some contemporary Arab neighborhoods in eastern Jerusalem, such as Silwan, were originally Jewish neighborhoods whose residents were murdered or expelled by Arab pogromists, who then occupied their homes and made these neighborhoods de facto Arab villages.

the capital of the Biblical Jewish kingdoms during the eras of David and Solomon and has been the site of three thousand years of Jewish inhabitation—

Ben-Arieh emphasizes that the transformation,

in the early 1800s, of Jerusalem from a small town in a country district into a thriving metropolis, which became the most important city in the country by the mid-1800s, took place for one reason: "the intense Jewish yearning for the eternal city and the flow of [Jewish] immigrants into it."

This Jewish yearning focused on the eastern part of Jerusalem because that part of the city includes the Western Wall and the Temple Mount (Judaism's holiest site). It was the capital of the Biblical Jewish kingdoms during the eras of David and Solomon and has been the site of three thousand years of Jewish inhabitation hence the "Jerusalem 3000" celebrations initiated by the government of Yitzhak Rabin.

Even when the Jews were forcibly exiled from the Land of Israel, Jerusalem—historic Jerusalem—remained uppermost in their hearts and minds. Jews face Jerusalem when they pray, and Jerusalem

features prominently in the three daily Jewish prayer services. At every Jewish wedding, a glass is broken to symbolize the Jewish people's mourning over the destruction of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem.

reunification of Jerusalem in 1967 has put an end to Arab mistreatment of the city and to the Arabs' apartheid-like policy of banning Jews from residing in the city's eastern neighborhoods,

Napoleon is said to have walked past a synagogue on the ninth day of the Hebrew month of Av (the fast day of Tisha B'Av) and heard the sound of weeping and wailing from inside.

The emperor's aides explained to him that the Jews were mourning the destruction of their ancient temple. Napoleon is said to have remarked, "A people that remembers to mourn so long the loss of a city and a homeland is sure to regain both."

Muslims, by contrast, face Mecca when they pray. Jerusalem is not mentioned even once in the Koran, while it is mentioned more than 600 times in the Jewish Torah. Muslims claim that a vague reference in the Koran to "al masjid al-aqsa," or "the furthest place," actually means the Muslims' Dome of the Rock shrine in Jerusalem.

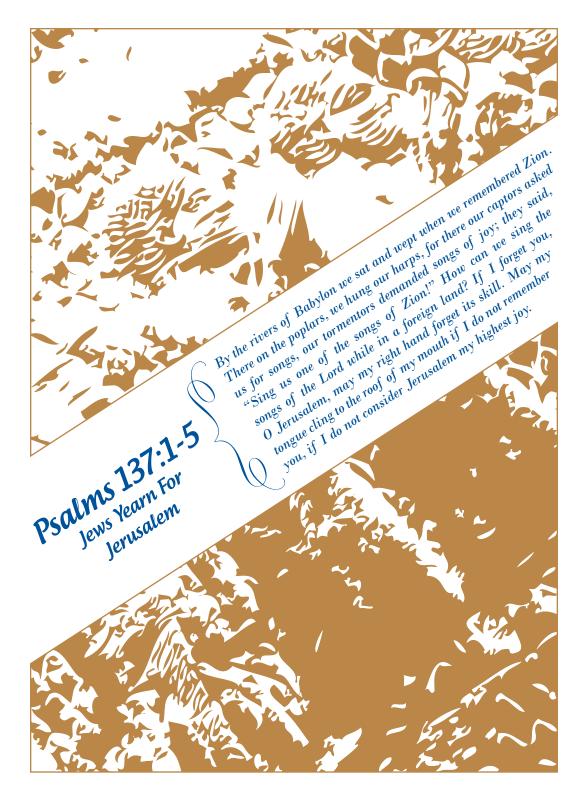
But that makes no sense, since the Dome of the Rock was not built until 60 years after the death of Mohammed, author of the Koran. During the centuries of Muslim occupation of the city, Jerusalem was never made into a regional or provincial capital, and no major institution of Islamic study was ever established there. More recently, during the Jordanian occupation of the eastern part of the city (1948–1967), no Arab leader (except Jordan's King Hussein) even visited Jerusalem.

What did the Arabs do with eastern Jerusalem when they occupied it? Did they treat it as a holy city? Did they beautify it? On the contrary, Jordan had so little interest in eastern Jerusalem that

it neglected to provide the city with the most basic municipal services. Eastern Jerusalem's residents lacked electricity, plumbing, health care services, and even a steady water supply. Jordan established its capital in Amman, not Jerusalem. Amman's population grew by 500 percent during 1948–1967, while Jerusalem's population didn't grow at all.

The Israeli reunification of Jerusalem in 1967 has put an end to Arab mistreatment of the city and to the Arabs' apartheid-like policy of banning Jews from residing in the city's eastern neighborhoods, which, like the city's western neighborhoods, have a solid Jewish majority. That is truly something to celebrate.

Morton A. Klein is National President of the Zionist Organization of America.



### Forget Thee...

### DANIEL PIPES

(This article was originally written in 1998.)

he architects of the Oslo peace accords understood Jerusalem's power. Fearing that even discussing the holy city's future would detonate the fragile truce between Israelis and Palestinians, they tried to defer the issue until everything else had been settled. But it is now all too clear that this approach has failed. Last September, riots met the opening of a new entrance to the ancient Hasmonean tun-

nel, while the recent building of apartments on an empty plot in eastern Jerusalem has brought the Netanyahu-Arafat dialogue to a bitter and bloody standstill. And so the international actors must begin to do what they had hoped to postpone: sort through the Jews' and Muslims' conflicting claims on the city King David entered three millennia ago.

hey built
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grand structure,
the Dome of the Rock,
on top of the remains
of the Jewish Temple.

The debate matters. In Jerusalem, theological and historical arguments matter, serving often as the functional equivalent of legal claims. The strength of these arguments will ultimately help determine who governs the city. Already we hear the ritual and relativistic cliché that Jerusalem is "a city holy to both peoples." But, like many clichés, this one is more false than true. Jerusalem stands as the paramount religious city of Judaism, a place so

holy that not just its soil but even its air is deemed sacred. Jews pray in its direction, invoke its name at the end of each meal, and close the Passover service with the wistful statement, "Next year in Jerusalem."

In contrast, Jerusalem is not the place to which Muslims pray. It is not directly connected to any events in Mohammed's life. And it is not even mentioned by name in the Koran. The city never became a cultural center or served as capital of a sovereign Muslim state. Jerusalem has mattered to Muslims only intermittently over the past thirteen centuries, and when it has mattered, as it does today, it has been because of politics.

The story begins in 622 CE, when the prophet Mohammed fled his hometown of Mecca for Medina, a city with a substantial Jewish population. He adopted a number of practices friendly to Jews—a Yom Kippur-like fast, a synagogue-like house of

prayer, and kosher-style dietary laws. Mohammed also adopted the Judaic practice of facing the Temple Mount in Jerusalem during prayer. "He chose the Holy House in Jerusalem in order that the People of the Book [i.e., Jews] would be conciliated," notes at-Tabari, an early Muslim commentator on the Koran, "and the Jews were glad."

ven the Crusade conquest of the city in 1099

initially aroused only a mild Muslim response.

Modern historians agree: W. Montgomery Watt, a leading biographer of Mohammed, interprets the prophet's "far-reaching concessions to Jewish feeling" as part of his "desire for a reconciliation with the Jews."

But Jews criticized the new faith and rejected Mohammed's gestures,

leading Mohammed eventually to break with them, probably early in 624. The most dramatic sign of this change came in a Koranic passage (2:142-52) ordering the faithful no longer to pray toward Syria, but toward Mecca instead. (The Koran and other sources only mention the direction as "Syria"; other information makes it clear that "Syria" means Jerusalem.) This episode initiated a pattern that would be repeated many times over the succeeding centuries: Muslims have taken serious religious interest in Jerusalem at times when it has most conspicuously served them politically; and when the political climate has changed, the religious interest has flagged.

In the century after Mohammed's death, politics prompted the Damascusbased Umayyad dynasty, which controlled Jerusalem, to make the city sacred in Islam. Embroiled in fierce competition with a dissident leader in Mecca, the Umayyad rulers were seeking to dimin-

ish Arabia at Jerusalem's expense. They sponsored a genre of literature praising the "virtues of Jerusalem" and circulated accounts of the prophet's sayings or doings (called *hadiths*) favorable to Jerusalem. In 688–91, they built Islam's first grand structure, the Dome of the Rock, on top of the remains of the Jewish Temple.

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'n 715, the

They even reinterpreted the Koran to make room for Jerusalem.

The Koran, describing Mohammed's Night Jour-

ney (isra'), reads: "[God] takes His servant [i.e., Mohammed] by night from the Sacred Mosque to the furthest mosque." When this Koranic passage was first revealed, in about 621, a place called the Sacred Mosque already existed in Mecca. In contrast the "furthest mosque" was a turn of phrase, not a place. Some early Muslims understood it as metaphorical or as a place in heaven. And if the "furthest mosque" did exist on earth. Palestine would have seemed an unlikely location, for that region elsewhere in the Koran (30:1) was called "the closest land" (adna al-ard).

But in 715, the Umayyads built a mosque in Jerusalem, again right on the Temple Mount, and called it the Furthest Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa, or al-Aqsa Mosque). With this, the Umayyads not only inserted Jerusalem into the Koran, but retroactively gave it a prominent role in Mohammed's life. For if the "furthest mosque" is in Jerusalem, then Moham-

med's Night Journey and his subsequent ascension to heaven (mi'raj) also took place on the Temple Mount.

But Jerusalem still mattered theologically only when it mattered politically, and, when the Umayyad dynasty collapsed in 750. Jerusalem fell into near-obscurity. For the next three and a half centuries, books praising the city lost favor and the construction of glorious buildings not only stopped, but existing ones fell apart (the Dome over the rock collapsed in 1016). "Learned men are few, and the Christians numerous," bemoaned a tenth-century Muslim native of Jerusalem. The rulers of the new dynasty bled Jerusalem and the surrounding country through what F.E. Peters of New York University calls "their rapacity and their careless indifference."

By the early tenth century, notes Peters, Muslim rule over Jerusalem had an "almost casual" quality with "no particular

political significance." In fact, even the Crusade conquest of the city in 1099 initially aroused only a mild Muslim response: "One does not detect either shock of a sense of religious loss and humiliation," notes Emmanuel Sivan of the Hebrew University, a scholar of the era.

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Only as the military effort to retake Jerusalem grew serious in about 1150 did Muslim leaders stress Jerusalem's importance to Islam. Once again, hadiths about Jerusalem's sanctity and books about the

"virtues of Jerusalem" appeared. One had it put words into the prophet Mohammed's mouth saying that, after his own death, Jerusalem's falling to the infidels is the greatest catastrophe facing Islam.

Once it was safely back in Muslim hands after Saladin's reconquest, however, interest in Jerusalem dropped, to the point where one of Saladin's grandsons temporarily ceded the city in 1229 to Emperor Friedrich II in return for the German's promise of military aid against his brother. But learning that Jerusalem was back in Christian hands again provoked intense Muslim emotions. As a result, in 1244. Muslims retook the city. The psychology at work bears note: that Christian knights traveled from distant lands to make Jerusalem their capital made the city more valuable in Muslim eyes. Sivan writes, "It was a city strongly coveted by the enemies of the faith, and thus became, in a sort of mirror-image syndrome,

dear to Muslim hearts."

The city then lapsed into its usual obscurity for nearly eight centuries. The Temple Mount sanctuaries were abandoned and became dilapidated. Under Ottoman rule (1516–1917), Jerusalem suffered the indignity of being treated as a tax farm for non-resident, one-vear (and therefore very rapacious) officials. The Turkish authorities raised funds by gouging European visitors, and so made little effort to promote Jerusalem's economy. The tax rolls show soap as the city's only export. In 1611, George Sandys found that "Much lies waste; the old buildings (except a few) all ruined, the new contemptible." Gustav Flaubert, of Madame Bovary fame, visited in 1850 and found "ruins everywhere." Mark Twain in 1867 wrote that Jerusalem "has lost all its ancient grandeur, and [has] become a pauper village."

In modern times, notes the Israeli scholar Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, Jerusalem "became the focus of religious and political Arab activity only at the beginning of the present century, and only because of the renewed Jewish activity in the city and Judaism's claims on the Western Wailing Wall." British rule over the city, lasting from 1917 to 1948, also galvanized Muslim passion for Jerusalem. The Palestinian leader (and mufti of Jerusalem) Hajj Amin al-Husayni made the Temple Mount central to his anti-Zionist efforts. raising funds throughout the Arab world for the restoration of the Dome of the Rock. Arab politicians made Jerusalem a prominent destination; Iraqi leaders frequently turned up, where they demonstrably prayed at al-Aqsa and gave rousing speeches.

But when Muslims retook the Old City with its Islamic sanctuaries in 1948, they quickly lost interest in it. An initial excitement stirred when the Jordanian forces took the walled city in 1948—as evidenced by the

Coptic bishop's crowning of King Abdullah as "King of Jerusalem" in November of that year—but then the usual ennui set in.

o foreign Arab leader came to Jerusalem

between 1948 and 1967, and even King Hussein visited only rarely.

The Hashemites had little affection for Jerusalem, where some of their most devoted enemies lived and where Abdullah himself was shot dead in 1951. In fact, the Hashemites made a concerted effort to diminish the holy city's importance in favor of their capital, Amman. Jerusalem had once served as the British administrative capital, but now all government offices there (save tourism) were shut down. The Jordanians also closed some local institutions (e.g., the Arab Higher Committee) and moved others to Amman (the treasury of the Palestinian waqf or religious endowment).

Their effort succeeded.
Once again, Arab Jerusalem became an isolated provincial town, now even less important than Nablus. The economy stagnated and many thousands left Arab Jerusalem.

espite the loud assertions that Jerusalem is essential to Islam, the religion does contain a recessive but persistent strain of anti-

Jerusalem sentiment.

While the population of Amman increased fivefold in the period 1948–1967, Eastern

Jerusalem's Arab population did not increase as Jordan was focused on building up Amman. Amman was chosen as the site of the country's first university as well as of the royal family's many residences. Perhaps most insulting of all, Jordanian radio broadcast the Friday prayers not from al-Aqsa Mosque, but from a mosque in Amman.

Nor was Jordan alone in ignoring Jerusalem; the city virtually disappeared from the Arab diplomatic map.

No foreign Arab leader came to Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967. and even King Hussein visited only rarely. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia often spoke after 1967 of yearning to pray in Jerusalem, yet he appears never to have bothered to pray there when he had the chance. Perhaps most remarkable is that the Palestinian Liberation Organization's founding document, the Palestinian National Covenant of 1964, does not even mention Jerusalem once.

All this abruptly changed after June 1967, when the Old City came under Israeli control. As in the British period, Palestinians again made Jerusalem the centerpiece of their political program. Pictures of the Dome of the Rock turned up everywhere, from Yasir Arafat's office to the corner grocery. The PLO's 1968 Constitution described Jerusalem as "the seat of the Palestine Liberation Organization."

Nor were Palestinians alone in their renewed interest. "As during the era of the Crusaders," Lazarus-Yafeh points out, many Muslim leaders "began again to emphasize the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islamic tradition," even dusting off old hadiths to back up their claims. Jerusalem became a mainstay of Arab League and United Nations resolutions. The formerly stingy Jordanian and Saudi governments now gave munificently to the Jerusalem waqf. As

it was under the British mandate, Jerusalem has, since 1967, again become the primary vehicle for mobilizing international Muslim opinion. A fire at al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969 gave Saudi King Faisal the occasion to convene twenty-five Muslim heads of state and establish the Organization of the Islamic Conference, a United Nations for Muslims.

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Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran's one-rial coin and 1,000-rial banknote have featured the Dome of the Rock. Iranian soldiers at war with Saddam Hussein's forces in the 1980s received primitive maps marking a path through Iraq and into Jerusalem. Ayatollah Khomeini decreed the last Friday of Ramadan Jerusalem Day.

Since Israeli occupation, some ideologues have sought to establish the historical basis of Islamic attachment to Jerusalem by raising three main arguments, all of them historically dubious. First, they assert a Muslim connection to Jerusalem that predates the Jewish one. Ghada Talhami. a scholar at Lake Forest College, asserts that "There are other holy cities in Islam, but Jerusalem holds a special place in the hearts and minds of Muslims because its fate has always been intertwined with theirs." Always? Jerusalem's founding antedated Islam by about two millennia, so how can that be? Ibrahim Hooper, national communications director for

the Washington-based Council on American-Islamic Relations, explains: "The Muslim attachment to Jerusalem does not begin with the prophet Muhammad, it begins with the prophets Abraham, David, Solomon and Jesus, who are also prophets in Islam."

In an attempt to purify Islam of accretions and impieties, Ibn Taymiya dismissed the sacredness of Jerusalem as a notion deriving from Jews and Christians, and from the long-ago Umayyad rivalry with Mecca.

Second, and equally anachronistic, is the claim that the Koran mentions

Jerusalem. Hooper (and others) argue that "the Koran refers to Jerusalem by its Islamic centerpiece, al-Aqsa Mosque." But this makes no sense: A mosque built a century after the Koran was delivered cannot establish what a Koranic verse originally meant.

Third, some Muslims deny Jerusalem's importance to Jews. Abd al-Malik Dahamshe, an Arab member of Israel's parliament, flatly stated last month that "the Western Wall is not associated with the remains of the Jewish Temple." A fundamentalist Israeli Arab leader went further and announced that "It's prohibited for Jews to pray at the Western Wall." Or, in the succinct wording of a recent Palestinian protest banner: "Jerusalem is Arab."

Despite the loud assertions that Jerusalem is essential to Islam, the religion does contain a recessive but persistent strain of anti-Jerusalem sentiment. Perhaps the most prominent adherent of this view was

Ibn Taymiya (1263–1328), one of Islam's strictest and most influential religious thinkers. (The Wahhabis of Arabia are his modern-day successors.) In an attempt to purify Islam of accretions and impieties, Ibn Taymiya dismissed the sacredness of Jerusalem as a notion deriving from Jews and Christians, and from the long-ago Umayyad rivalry with Mecca. More broadly, learned Muslims living in the years following the Crusades knew that the great publicity given to hadiths extolling Jerusalem's sanctity resulted from the Countercrusade—that is, from political exigencyand treated it warily.

Recalling that God once had Muslims direct their prayers toward Jerusalem and then turned them instead toward Mecca, some early hadiths suggested that Muslims specifically pray facing away from Jerusalem, a rejection that still survives in vestigial form; he who prays in al-Aqsa Mosque not coincidentally shows his back to the Temple area toward which Jews pray.

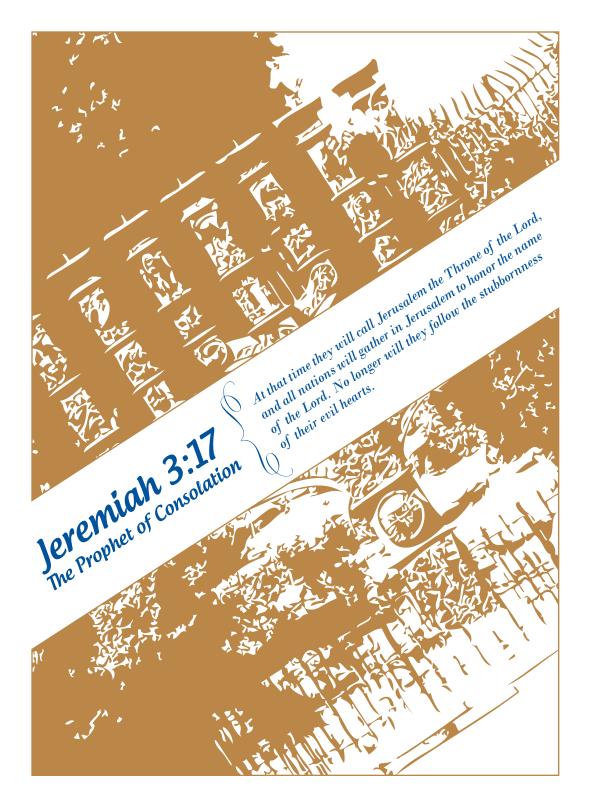
In Jerusalem, these theological and historical arguments are in essence legal claims, crucial to who prevails. In this context, the fact that politics has so long fueled the Muslim attachment to Jerusalem has two implications.

ome early hadiths suggested that Muslims specifically pray facing away from Jerusalem, a rejection that still survives in vestigial form; he who prays in al-Aqsa Mosque not coincidentally shows his back to the Temple area toward which Jews pray.

First, it points to the relative weakness of the Islamic connection, one that arises as much from

mundane need as from the immutable claims of faith. Second, it suggests that the Muslim interest lies not so much in controlling Jerusalem as in denying control over the city to anyone else. Jerusalem will never be more than a secondary city for Muslims. Mecca, by contrast, is the eternal city of Islam, the place where Muslims believe Abraham nearly sacrificed Isaac's brother Ishmael and toward which Muslims pray five times each day. Non-Muslims are strictly forbidden there, and the city's "very mention reverberates awe in Muslims' hearts," writes Abad Ahmad of the Islamic Society of Central Jersey. Very roughly speaking, what Jerusalem is to Jews, Mecca is to Muslims. And just as Muslims rule in an undivided Mecca, so Jews should rule an undivided Jerusalem.

Dr. Daniel Pipes is director of the Middle East Forum and editor of Middle East Quarterly.



## "Judaizing" **Jerusalem**

### A.M. ROSENTHAL

(This article was originally written in 1997.)



The Israelis are trying to Judaize Arab East Jerusalem." All friends of Israel, of whatever faith, whatever thoughts about achieving Israeli-Palestinian peace, should grasp what meanings lie beneath those words.

They have been used in public often, but until recently only by Arabs for whom control of Jerusalem is a goal never to be abandoned and hatred of Jews never forgotten.

Now it pops up in the Western press as a dangerous reality. The December 23 issue of *Newsweek*,



in its "news" columns, says as a matter of regrettable fact that religious Jews are "part of an effort to Judaize Arab East Jerusalem." Even when the specific words are not used, the meaning is often clear, as in a recent 60 Minutes segment on Jerusalem.

But to deny the right of Jews to live anywhere in Israel makes them lesser in nationhood than any other people.

The thrust is plain: Any plans of Jews to live in any part of Jerusalem to which Palestinians lay particular claim at the moment is wrong and will destroy the chances for peace.

The attitude behind the "Judaization" charge is of utmost importance to those who wish Israel to live free and proud.

The right to live anywhere is separate from the decision to exercise that right at any given time.

A case might be argued that this is not the time for more Jews, no matter how few, to set up homes in the eastern part of their capital or the West Bank.But to deny the right of Jews to live anywhere in Israel makes them lesser in nationhood than any other people.

"Judaization." Those who use the word should say it more plainly: the Jewing of Jerusalem.

I asked a colleague the word that sprang to mind when he heard Judaization. "Hymietown," he said. For me, it recalls the antonym—Judenrein.

Arabs are familiar with that. It is what they accomplished when Jordan occupied the West Bank from 1948 to 1967—all Jews out.

Eight former secretaries of state and national security advisers in a letter to Israel, endorsed quickly by President Clinton, warned Israel against "unilateral" action—
meaning increasing settlements on the West Bank
or anywhere.

eace is feasible technically and even politically. But under Labor or Likud, it will not endure as long as Palestinians and their apologists talk of the Israeli Jews as interlopers.

They certainly do not talk of Judaization. But the warning is that more settlers could destroy peace. This amounts to advance justification of any Palestinian attack against settlers on the grounds, true or false, that they were newcomers.

Long before Israel's

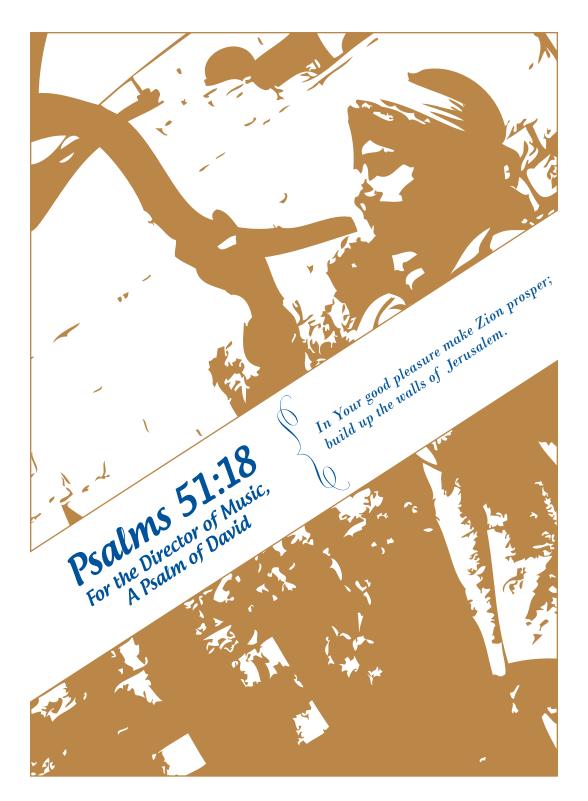
creation and ever since, Arabs have been fighting not "settlements" in any particular place, but the very presence of Jews among them.

And foreign governments constantly denounce Israel—a situation that arises because it was so ordained that the Arabs would get the oil and the Jews the matzo.

Peace is feasible technically and even politically. But under Labor or Likud, it will not endure as long as Palestinians and their apologists talk of the Israeli Jews as interlopers.

It is Mr. Netanyahu's urgent task to explain that to the world. all who hold worthy the concept of Israel must understand what it means—this talk of Judaization, the Jewing of Jerusalem.

A.M. Rosenthal, former executive editor of the New York Times, was a syndicated columnist.



### Jerusalem the Free

### MSGR. JOHN M. OESTERREICHER

### An Open Letter to the Ambassador of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

(This article was originally written in 1972.)

I listened with an open mind, I felt more

everal weeks ago, two friends of mine received from you a recorded message of His Majesty, King Hussein of Jordan, entitled "Jerusalem in Captivity." I understand that you sent the same record to members of Congress and "other leaders of public opinion." Though I was not so honored, I assume that your personal request "to listen... carefully" was also addressed to me. From the moment I heard the King's voice, I lent him a willing ear. Yet, while

and more embarrassed; I felt I was eavesdropping on a soliloquy.

Still, King Hussein is dead serious: He wishes to win Christians to his side. I will not dispute his right to seek allies in his battle for regaining the power and reputation he has lost in the last four years but I question the means he employs. He tells his hearers that to Muslims, "both Christians and Jews are People of the Book."

he Koran calls
both Christians
and Jews
"infidels."

This is indeed Islam's stance. Yet why does the King hide from us less friendly sayings of the Koran? There, Jews are seen as cursed, Christians as hate-ridden. Allah Himself is said to have stirred hostility and strife among various Christian communities, as a pun-

ishment for their refusal to accept the Prophet's message (V, 15). With the exception of a few, Jews are deceitful (V, 14). Worse than that, the Jews of Eilath, the Koran tells, not only broke the laws of the Sabbath but scornfully persisted in their wrongdoing; hence they were severed from society and "changed into detested apes" (VII, 167).

The Koran calls both Christians and Jews "infidels." Time and again, Allah's true followers are warned against making friends with them (V, 52). They are even bidden: "Believers, wage war against the infidels who dwell around you. Deal severely with them" (IX, 123). Please, do not think that I wish to cast aspersions on Islam's sacred book; I am sure there are mitigating circumstances for these harsh sayings. It is not the sayings themselves that gall me; what I object to are King Hussein's efforts at obscuring the Koran's fierceness toward non-Muslims.

Again, I am disturbed at

King Hussein's attempt to win the support of Christians by telling them that "to us [Muslims] Jesus Christ was more than a prophet." I cannot claim any special Islamic scholarship, Mr. Ambassador, but I can read. And this is what Allah is made to say in the Koran: "Jesus is nothing but a servant on whom I bestowed favor" (XLIII, 60). In fact, the Jesus of the Koran is little more than the forerunner of Mohammed: "I am... bringing the good tidings of an apostle who is to come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed" (LXI, 7).

Stranger still is the way the Koran explains away the death of Jesus. The Koran considers it a monstrous falsehood to maintain that Jesus was crucified; it asserts that a double of his was slain instead.

This is not said to protect Jews against the horrible accusation of collective guilt (IV, 159). The reason for this remarkable twisting of facts is Islam's firm opposition to any doctrine of redemption. However much Judaism and Christianity differ in their interpretation of redemptive events, they are one in their belief that God is not only the Maker of the universe and its Lord, but also its Redeemer.

I have no intention of entering into a religious controversy or reviving the charges and countercharges of the past. Yet I cannot sink into silence when King Hussein woos Christians with alluring words that cannot stand careful examination. Unfortunately, the King does not stop at his selective use of the Koran; he also writes "optative" history. His recorded message proclaims: "My people and I regard ourselves as the guardians and custodians of Jerusalem on behalf of the entire Muslim world as well as on behalf of the Christian and Muslim populations of the city and all Palestine." I have no doubt that this self-portrait is part of the King's dreams; mighty though their magic may be, they cannot be admitted as evidence. Who gave him the mandate he speaks of? When and how did he receive it?

The King seems to have forgotten that only a few years ago his country was largely barren land, physically and morally unable to make any claim whatever. In fact, it did not become a separate entity until the British government in 1922 carved it out of Palestine—which the League of Nations had entrusted to it as a Mandate for the express purpose of carrying out the Balfour Declaration—and severed it from the area meant to become the Jewish national home and put Emir Abdullah in charge, one of the desert chieftains who during World War I fought, not oversuccessfully, the Ottoman army. Thus "Transjordan" came into being.

During the 1948–1949 Arab-Israeli War, the country's British-trained "Jordan Legion" occupied the Old City of Jerusalem and the West Bank of the Jordan River. By "legisla-

tive" fiat, the wasteland and the fertile grounds were united; in other words, Transjordan annexed the occupied territory, and the "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan" was born. With Great Britain and Pakistan as conspicuous exceptions, the community of nations refused to accept the unilateral act of Transjordan-no plebiscite had ever been held to allow the native population to determine their own destiny. Much more disastrous for the King's claim is the fact that the "Arab League" vehemently protested against the annexation, that its members even considered Jordan's expulsion from their ranks.

That the threat was not carried out, Jordan owes to the intervention of Iraq—today its most bitter foe. These facts certainly do not establish a claim to guard the Holy City, in the name of the Islamic world or of any other group. The events leading to, and following on the creation of, the State of Jordan, Mr. Ambassador, compel me to

consider King Hussein's claim to be the appointed guardian of Old Jerusalem and its Holy Places illegitimate and thus unacceptable.

uring Jordanian rule, thirty-four out of the Old City's thirty-five synagogues were dynamited. Some were turned into stables, others into chicken coops. There seemed to be no limit to the work of desecration.

Would that the King and his people had, at least, lived up to the responsibility that he wrongly maintains is theirs. The execution of this duty speaks an unmistakable language. During Jordanian rule, thirty-four out

of the Old City's thirtyfive synagogues were dynamited. Some were turned into stables, others into chicken coops. There seemed to be no limit to the work of desecration. Many thousand tombstones were taken from the ancient cemetery on the Mount of Olives to serve as building material or paving stones. A few were even used to surface the footpath leading to a latrine in a Jordanian army camp.

With the financial assistance of Pan American Airlines, Jordan built the Hotel Intercontinental a plush hotel on the hill of Jesus' agony! Obviously a road was needed, worthy of the triumphant showpiece. Of all the possible routes, the one chosen cut through hundreds of Jewish graves; there were torn open and the bones scattered. An Israeli collection of photographs of the mutilated graveyard bears this lament: "Because of this is our heart made sick; for these things our eyes are dimmed" (Lam. 5:17).

While Jordan controlled East Jerusalem and the West Bank, Jews were not permitted to approach, much less to pray at, the Western Wall of the Temple Court, Rachel's Tomb, or the Cave of Machpelah, the burial place of the Patriarchs near Hebron.

This prohibition violated not only the basic right of any man to worship according to his conscience but also the obligations Transjordan had taken upon herself when she signed the Armistice Agreement in 1949.

In Article 8, Paragraph 2, the Jordanian authorities pledged themselves, among other things, to the "free access to the holy places and the use of the cemetery on the Mount of Olives." In the light of the desecrations I have just described, the King's assurance: "It is thanks to us, for example, that the Wailing Wall of the Jews was preserved throughout the centuries of Muslim rule" appears to be highly ironic, not to say insulting. His "for

example" is particularly graceless, since the Wall is the only example of an exclusively Jewish site of worship that was left intact. I am sure, Mr. Ambassador, that King Hussein did not wish to offend, but it is exactly this insensitivity that compels me to write.

Space does not allow me to discuss in detail the various curtailments of Christian activities by Jordan. To mention only a few: Petty restrictions were imposed on pilgrims; institutions were prohibited from acquiring new property; Christian schools were subjected to control of the education they offered. Nor can I do more than mention the crudity with which Jordan, together with Saudi Arabia, for many long years barred their fellow Muslims from making their traditional pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Medina, and Mecca. But I must deal with the King's notion that destiny has forced the guardianship of the Holy City upon him. "For centuries our custodianship has been

accepted by the Christian Churches. It was to Arab families of Jerusalem, for example, that the keys of the Holy Sepulcher were and still are entrusted. This is our responsibility, and we will not surrender it." As so often in his brief speech, the King writes his own history, one based not on facts but on wishful thinking.

In 636, Arab armies conquered Jerusalem for the first time. For a period, Christians in the Holy Land remained undisturbed. But like the rest of the non-Muslim population, they were treated as second-class citizens. They were forbidden to build new churches or display the cross; the supreme rule that governed their lives was not to offend Muslim susceptibilities. No Christian was allowed to marry a Muslim, ride on horseback, or carry a sword. Public prayer was restricted. No tapers could be kindled or church bells rung.

After the Arabs had ruled the Holy Land for a little more than three hundred

years, trouble broke out among their own ranks. Turkish generals rebelled against their Arab lords. In the struggles that followed, two churches were destroyed while the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was severely damaged. In the 960s, the Byzantine emperor Focca defeated the Arabs in battle; in retaliation, Muslim assassins slew the Patriarch John VII in 966, thereby profaning the Church of the Holy Sepulcher once again. These few sketches do not quite square with King Hussein's boast: "The Arabs have for centuries been worthy custodians of the whole city. It was they who built and preserved the Holy Sepulcher..."

King Hussein seems to believe—I have no doubt, honestly—that throughout the centuries the Christian Churches accepted Muslim custodianship. The big question is how the verb "accepted" is understood. If it means "tolerated," the King is right; if its connotations are "favored," he is wrong. His story about

the key to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is typical of his rewriting of history. When one listens to the King, one gets the impression that Christians eagerly committed the key to two Arab families.

he senseless and shocking destruction of Jewish houses that could have been used temporarily for Arab refugees, and the obscene desecration of Jewish synagogues... simply because they were Jewish.

In reality, Christian communities constantly quarreled among one another about the time and duration of their respective services. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the Saracen rulers of the time, tired of the persistent disputes, decided to put an end to them. They turned the key over to the Judeh family and charged the Insaibe family with opening and closing the door. The Muslim doorkeepers, occupying a divan in the vestibule of the Church, are reimbursed for their "work." Until 1831, they even exacted entrance fees from pilgrims. When I reflect on these not exactly uplifting realities, I find the King's pathos, "This is our responsibility, and we will never surrender it" (I am sorry, Mr. Ambassador), a bit ludicrous.

Earlier in this letter, I spoke of the King's desire to regain the annexed territories he had lost during the Six-Day War. Now I wonder whether his motives are not much more psychological than political. I hope you will not take it amiss if I suggest that he wishes not only to secure again his hold on the Old City but, most of all, restore

to his land a significance that goes far beyond its size or history. Created on a drawing board, the former Transjordan was the least important of Arab states: It could neither point to a great past nor boast of momentous achievements.

Yet, if King Hussein could prove his claim to a providential mission, if he could once more pose as the protector of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian sacred sites, his country would assume the stature of a spiritual giant. Strong though this search for meaning and status may be, the King must at the same time realize that his title to the "possession" of the Old City and to his "mission" is vulnerable, indeed untenable. How else can we explain his use of "Jordanians," "Arabs," and "Muslims" as if these were interchangeable designations?

The King knows, of course, that Arab rule over the Holy Land after its conquest in 636 lasted only until 1099. The Mamluks (1291–1517), who

followed the Crusaders in holding sway over Palestine, but also over Syria and Egypt, were certainly not of Arabian stock, even though they firmly established the Islamic hold over the Middle East. The Turks who succeeded them (1517–1917) were Muslims, too. They appeared on the scene of history at the beginning of the 13th century, as a band of tribesmen whom the Mongols had driven from their native land in central Asia. In all likelihood, they were not mere victims of a Mongolian advance but rather "Ghazis," fighters for the faith, or, as the *Encyclopaedia* Britannica puts it, "men sworn to wage ceaseless war on the infidel, through motives of religious zeal or greed for loot or both" (XXII, 590).

The warlike spirit of the Turks did not stop at the attempt of conquering Christian countries; Syria and Egypt were conquered as well and incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. Thus Arabs became the subjects of their fellow Muslims, the

Turks, exposed almost as much as the non-Muslim population to the harsh methods of Ottoman tax collectors. The several periods of Muslim domination in no way strengthen the King's case; they offer the most tenuous argument, the most fragile basis for the King's alleged tenure as Jerusalem's warden of peace. The switch from "the Arabs" to "we Muslims" and then to "my people and I" is but a device to deaden our judgment.

Mr. Ambassador, since King Hussein has taken his case to the American public, I, too, think it my obligation to state publicly that I find his brief unconvincing. Far from having shaken my trust in Israel, it has confirmed my opposition to a divided Jerusalem. King Hussein begins his appeal to the sentiments of the Christians in the United States by accusing Israel of having annexed "Jerusalem against the repeated resolutions of the United Nations." This is a strange argument on the King's part.

Does he rely on the short memory of his listeners? Does he think that most of them will no longer remember how his grandfather annexed the West Bank and the Old City. even though the Armistice Agreement was then in force? Even Great Britain, Transjordan's fairy godmother, who gave her blessing to the union of the West Bank with Transjordan, withheld her approval from the inclusion of Old Jerusalem.

King Hussein regards the present status of Jerusalem with gloom. I do not. The King is, no doubt, entitled to the view that the unification of Jerusalem is a near disaster. Yet it ill becomes a king to decry, and blame others for, a situation that he brought upon himself. Most listeners to the King's message are, I fear, unaware of Prime Minister Eshkol's efforts to keep Jordan out of the Six-Day War. The late Prime Minister assured the King of Israel's peaceful intentions and warned him against making common cause with President Nasser.

King Hussein brushed the warning aside, waged war on Israel, and lost. Instead of taking, with nobility and moral courage, the responsibility for having fired the first shells and bullets, he puts the blame on Israel. In his book MyWar with Israel, however, he admits that President Nasser did not hold him to their mutual "defense agreement": "Nasser never called on us. It was we who called on him."

This seems a rare admission, for the beginning of the Six-Day War is otherwise covered by a web of lies. In the spring of 1967, Egypt had closed all international waterways to Israel, in itself an act of war. Yet a broadcast from Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs," on May 23, made it appear that Arab integrity was being violated: "The Gulf of Aqaba is Arab. To defend its Arab character is the responsibility of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Jordanian Kingdom, and all Arab states.

We are determined to defend it—by destructive

weapons—against any Israeli attempt or even an American attempt in favor of Israel which seeks to use the gulf and pollute [sic] its Arab waters. We have prepared the Gulf of Aqaba to be a graveyard for Israel and a graveyard, too, for American gangsterism against peoples. We challenge you, Israel. No,...we challenge you, gangsters of the Bay of 'Pigs'...." In this vein, the broadcast continued but after the Sinai desert had become the gravevard of the "invincible" Egyptian army, Nasser posed as an innocent victim of Israeli aggression.

Jordanian occupation, the number of Christians dropped from 25,000 to 10,800.

Again, Nasser was only too eager to "believe" a Syrian alarm and Russian information that Israel was massing troops at the Syrian border. When one day, in the latter part of May, the Soviet Ambassador to Israel called on Prime Minister Eshkol, in the dead of night, to deliver Moscow's protest, the Prime Minister offered to take him instantly to the Galilean border so that he could see for himself how untrue the charge was. The Soviet Ambassador. however, declined, I wish I could say that deceit stopped right then and there. But the game was carried to its bitter end.

When the Israeli High Command realized that Egypt was getting ready for total war, it knew that to save Israel it had to anticipate the Egyptian threat. It went all out to annihilate Egypt's fighting power. On June 5, the first day of the war, in a well-timed attack, Israel's air force hit Egypt's eleven key bases, pounding them steadily for eighty minutes and destroying over four hundred planes on the ground. Though the Egyptian authorities were aware of this mortal

blow, they permitted Radio Cairo to continue its extravaganzas—if I may use this theatrical term, this expression of gaiety, for a most tragic propaganda. The "Voice of the Arabs" encouraged the soldiers in the field with wild fantasies of victory and illusions of omnipotence: "Welcome to the *jihad*, 'the holy war,' waged to recover Palestine. Your eagles, my brother soldiers, shot down twenty-three aircraft. Brothers, haul down the flag of Israel in Tel Aviv."

The climax of deception came on June 6. Unable to hide the defeat suffered the day before and unwilling to credit Israel with its superior strategy, President Nasser charged that United States and British planes had entered the war on Israel's side—a charge which the two powers promptly denied. Unfortunately, Mr. Ambassador, your King helped fabricate this story. On June 8, the Israeli government released tapes of an intercepted conversation between

President Nasser and King Hussein, in which the two rulers agreed to denounce the United States and Great Britain as fighting side by side with the Israeli air force. If press reports are correct, the King later, when addressing the National Press Club, regretted his complicity in circulating the allegation.

To be candid, Mr. Ambassador, as I look at King Hussein's accusations. I am startled by their vagueness. The King charges that "the rights of [Old Jerusalem's] Arab population" are infringed upon. Which rights? One of the first acts of the municipal government of the united city was to have the Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem share in the water supply of West Jerusalem. The Jordanian administration had neglected to install a modern system of piped water. All public facilities, like sanitation, public health, electricity, serve Arabs as much as Jews. Histadrut, the Israeli Federation of Labor, sees to it that all Arab workers

get a living wage, in fact the same pay as Jews. Thousands, incidentally, have become members of the Federation, Jews and Arabs have embarked on joint commercial and industrial projects; they have banded together in clubs devoted to sports or cultural pursuits. Does this really give the impression that Jerusalem today is a city in which the rights of men are trampled on?

I think the King was ill-advised to speak of the violation of rights. Does he not remember the uprisings against his rule? On April 23, 1963, for instance, several demonstrations in favor of a Jordanian-Arab republic took place, which the Jordanian army suppressed ruthlessly. In Jerusalem alone, eleven demonstrators were killed and one hundred fifty wounded, seventeen girl students among them. Or take the way Jordan ushered in its occupation of the Old City. In the words of an English writer, C. Witton-Davies: "It was the Arab Legion that advanced on

[it]....What followed? The senseless and shocking destruction of Jewish houses that could have been used temporarily for Arab refugees, and the obscene desecration of Jewish synagogues... simply because they were Jewish" (*The Tablet*, London, June 12, 1971).

How does King Hussein dare blame the Israeli authorities for trying to reconstruct the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, in which at the turn of the century 15,000 Jews lived? The ruins created by the Legion and the slums that sprang up around them had to be cleared. Incidentally, why should the Jerusalem municipality not undertake slum clearance?

It is, after all, one of the major tasks of every decent city government. Thus housing is now being provided for Arabs and Jews whose homes are dilapidated. There are at least five thousand Arab and four thousand Jewish families who live in substandard dwellings. Jerusalem's Arabs do not seem to be as upset as the King by Israel's humane policy.

Ten thousand of them, men and women, defied the threats of terrorists and voted in the municipal election.

hough the Holy
City is indeed
"the symbol of
God's universal rule," it
is a Jewish city. It was
a Jewish singer, not a
Muslim or Christian,
who prayed: If I forget
you, Jerusalem, may
my right hand lose its
grip.

By the way, in the last election under Jordanian rule, only 3,500 went to the polls. In the eyes of all political analysts a decisive majority gave their vote to the Jewish mayor, Teddy Kollek.

Again, King Hussein complains that "the religious sensibilities of over seven hundred million Muslims" are violated. Why? Because two shrines dear to Islam are on Jewish territory, in the land of the "infidel"? If this is indeed the King's feeling, he unwittingly undermines his own position. How can he, with an attitude like this, demand a return of the Old City to Jordan? Jews and Christians have their sensibilities, too. What if they followed the example of Muslims and considered offensive the location of their holy sites on "alien" territory? Perish the thought! For Catholics, it would mean a return to the Crusaders' mentality, a mentality contrary to the gospel and the spirit of the second Vatican Council.

With his preference for imprecise statement, King Hussein speaks of "thousands of acres of land belonging to Arab families and religious

foundations [having] been expropriated." He gives no names, no exact figures, no location, nor does he discuss the question of compensation. May I ask you, Mr. Ambassador, to compare the obscure language of the King with the plain style of the Israeli government? A decision of that government, dated August 20, 1970, declares that the Minister of Finance has been empowered to expropriate "plots of land in the Jerusalem district of a total area of some 3,000 acres. They are located"—I am quoting verbatim—"in the Jerusalem commercial center North Northwest. Southwest, and Southeast Jerusalem, the proposed national park at Shama'a and Ramat Rahel." The government decree gives as its purpose "to permit the competent authorities to develop the Jerusalem district systematically and progressively. The development is designed to serve the overall population of the city—Arabs and Jews alike."

The decision goes on to promise "generous com-

pensation," to explain the needs as clearly as possible, and to describe the plots in great detail. Most of the plots are unsettled and untilled wasteland. Of the houses in question, about twenty belong to Arabs, while the homes of three hundred fifty Jewish families are involved. Neither agricultural land nor land belonging to the Muslim religious endowment (waqf) are included in this plan; similarly, holy places and public property have not been part of this program. Whom am I to believe, Mr. Ambassador, your King with his obstructionist attitude or the Israeli government with its creative outlook and its desire to heal? Have you ever seen King Hussein or his government propose any project that would help Jew and Arab alike? I am sure you have not, you could not have witnessed such care, for Jordan has, long ago, been made Judenrein.

Christians did not fare well either. According to a statement by Israel's Foreign Minister Abba Eban in the Israeli Parliament, on June 30, 1971, Jerusalem harbored 25,000 Christians in 1948—that is, prior to the Arab-Jewish war.

During the Jordanian occupation, the number of Christians dropped from 25,000 to 10,800. Since 1967, their numbers have risen: In 1970, there were 12,465 Christians in the Holy City. Some enemies of Israel like to tell that the government seeks to strangle Christian life. The opposite is true. Not only are the Christian shrines open to all who wish to pray there, but the number of pilgrims is increasing from year to year. Contrary to the assertions of hatepeddlers, the government of Israel and the municipality of Jerusalem have not hindered but helped the work of many Christian institutions. All those whose buildings were damaged by the war between Jordan and Israel—even those fired upon by the Jordanian army—seventeen in all, were compensated. Furthermore, many

religious institutions have received financial aid. To speak only of the Christian ones, the Armenian and Greek Orthodox Patriarchates, Franciscan Friars and Sisters, the Sisters of Sion, for their convents in Jerusalem ("Ecce Homo") and in En Karem, the Catholic **Church and Community** Center at Beit Hanina, St. Peter in Gallicantu. the Lutheran Church at Beit Jalla, the American Institute for Holy Land Studies, and others have enjoyed official support.

Mr. Ambassador, when I keep in mind all the facts mentioned in this letter. I cannot but agree with those evangelical Church leaders who, on June 17, 1971, issued a statement in support of unified Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. They declared themselves "committed to the integrity of Jerusalem, the Holy City, the birthplace of our faith"; they thanked the State of Israel for the "scrupulous care" of "Christian places and people." "Since the Six-Day War," they continued, "all people are free to worship in the place of their choice, unlike the situation that pertained during the period from 1948 to 1967." I can testify to the truth of this statement from personal experience and join the signers of this declaration in their demand: "The unity of Jerusalem must be preserved at all costs."

King Hussein has asked me, together with other believers in God, to raise my voice "to save our common heritage." I am happy to raise my voice but not to clamor for the restoration of Jordanian rule over the Old City. The Jerusalem of today is not a city "in captivity," as the King likes to think. It is free, as it has never been before.

Whoever has walked its streets during these last four years must have felt as I did that he was privileged to breathe the air of holiness, of God's special presence. He must have perceived that it was a city in search of peace, not one given to strive and hate. Of course, the city has problems; among

others, it has to protect itself against the terrorists who have been threatening the lives of its citizens. I watched armed guards near the Western Wall search the briefcases, handbags, and bundles of those who wished to enter the area. I was moved by the delicate courtesy with which they handled their difficult task. I could not help feeling that the city was in good hands.

No, I cannot agree with the King that Jordan or the Arab world is the City's "rightful owner." Biblically speaking, Jerusalem is God's city, as the land is God's land. Men are but tenants. The glory of the Israelis is to have been good stewards, to have been worthy of His trust. Though the Holy City is indeed "the symbol of God's universal rule," it is a Jewish city. It was a Jewish singer, not a Muslim or Christian, who prayed:

If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand lose its grip (Psalms 137:5).

Again, not Muslim or

Christian but Jewish pilgrims pleaded:

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem! May your friends be secure! Salutation be within your walls, *And peace within your towers* (Psalms 122:6,7).

Finally, for generations, Jews, not Muslims or Christians, kept hope alive: "Next year in Jerusalem!" (Passover *Haggadah*).

Today, these words are no longer a devout wish; the people whom God made His own, out of sheer love, has gathered in Zion; the divided city is one again! Because

this is my conviction, I must decline the King's offer to assist him in his struggle for the return to Jerusalem: I must stand by the people of Israel, so that it may live within secure boundaries, and by the men, women, and children of Jerusalem, Jews as well as Arabs, so that they may continue to dwell in peace and harmony. I must take this stand; it is not blind impulse but my conscience that makes me echo the passion of the prophet:

For Zion's sake I will not be silent, for Jerusalem's sake I will not be quiet, Until her light shines forth like sunrise and her deliverance like a blazing torch...

You shall be a glorious crown in the hand of the Lord, a royal diadem held by your God (Isaiah 62:1,3).

May I, despite our disagreements, ask that you kindly convey to King Hussein my thanks for his beautiful parting words in Arabic? May I answer with the Hebrew greeting: Shalom u'berakhah! God's peace, salvation, and blessing be with us all!

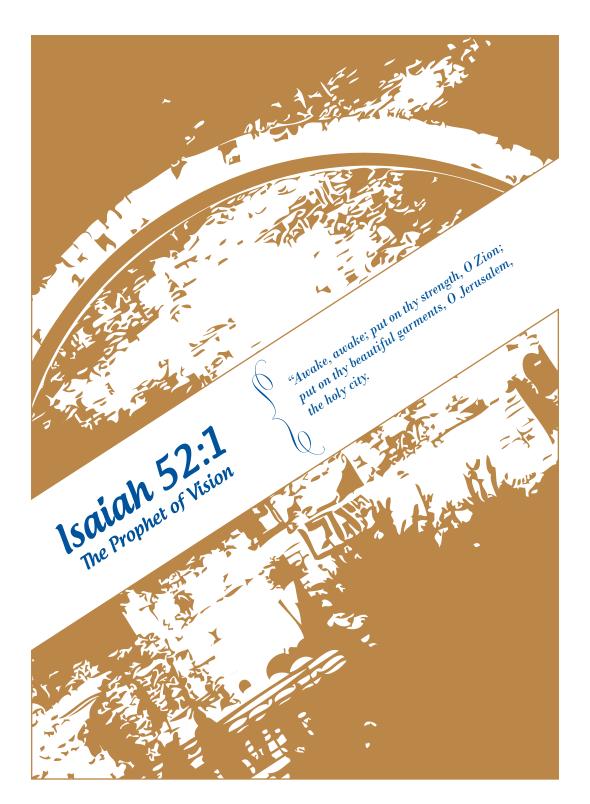
Yours devotedly,

Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher

Monsignor John Maria Oesterreicher, born Johannes Oesterreicher (February 2, 1904 – April 18, 1993) was a Roman Catholic theologian and a leading advocate of Jewish-Catholic reconciliation. He was one of the architects of Nostra Aetate or "In Our Age," which was issued by the Second Vatican Council in 1965 and which repudiated antisemitism.

In 1953, Oesterreicher founded the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University. He was appointed a Papal Chamberlain, with the title of monsignor, in 1961. In the 1960s, Oesterreicher was in a group of 15 priests who petitioned the Vatican to take up the issue of antisemitism.

He was the author of several books and numerous scholarly articles. His books include The New Encounter Between Christians and Jews; Racism, Anti-Semitism, Anti-Christianism; and God at Auschwitz?



## Desecration in the Old City

#### HAIM SHACHTER

(This article was originally written in 1967.)

hen Israel granted freedom of access to the holy places of all religions, a hue and cry was raised throughout the non-Jewish world. Many governments, influenced by the Soviet Union, that protectress of religious liberty, expressed deep perturbance over the fate of the holy shrines. Yet the world had kept silent when the safe-keeping of the places in and around Jerusalem sacred to Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, fell to

Jordan 19 years ago.

The destruction and desecration of the centuries-old Jewish cemetery on the

Mount of Olives—the resting place of some of the nation's most renowned saints, sages, and scholars down the ages, as well as of the many synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem, failed to arouse one voice of protest from those who are now perturbed over Israel's authority over the Old City.

In the War of Liberation in 1948, the Jews of the Old City of Jerusalem put up a heroic and desperate struggle against overwhelming odds. They held out for several months, but finally were forced to surrender. The combatants and all males of military age were taken prisoner and transferred by the Arab Legion to a POW camp in Jordan, while the aged and infirm, the women and children were left to the mercy of the Arab mob who, in many cases, molested them. They were then transferred to the Jewish part of Jerusalem.

Razed to the ground: No sooner had the Jews been evacuated, then the Arab Legion, under British command, began demolishing and burning the synagogues and houses of Jewish learning, while the Iraqi forces began pillaging and plundering Jewish property in the city.

he destruction and desecration of the centuriesold Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives as well as of the many synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem, failed to arouse one voice of protest from those who are now perturbed over Israel's authority over the Old City.

There were 57 synagogues and houses of study in the Old City of Jerusalem. The overwhelming majority of these were razed to the ground while the few remaining buildings were desecrated and defiled, some of them being converted into dwelling quarters or worse still, stables for draught animals.

The oldest extant synagogue at the time of the surrender was the Sephardi synagogue known as the Synagogue of Rabban Yohanan Ben-Zakkai. According to tradition, it had been built on the foundations of the home of Rabban Yohanan Ben-Zakkai, the Jewish sage and leader of the time of the Second Temple and the revolt against the Romans. According to legend, a hidden subterranean passage led from the site of the synagogue to the Temple Mount.

It is believed that the synagogue destroyed by the Arab Legion had been erected in the 15th century on the foundations of a still more ancient structure in the Holy City. This was the Cathedral Synagogue of Sephardi Jewry in Eretz Israel.

There, all Sephardi Chief Rabbis were inducted into office. On the night of Shavuot (the Feast of Weeks) worshippers from all parts of the country would converge to this synagogue to observe the traditional Shavuot vigil of study and prayer.

The Cathedral Synagogue of Ashkenazi Jewry was the "Hurva" or, to give it its full name, "Hurvat Rabbi Yehuda Hehassid." The spiritual center of Jerusalem Jewry for many decades, this minor sanctuary was inaugurated on the eve of Rosh Hashana 5624 (1864). It had been erected on the site of what had been, a century previously, a house of worship built by the disciples of Rabbi Judah the Pious, a 17th-century saint of Shedlits, who had come over to Jerusalem in the year 1700.

The ruins of that synagogue, which had been built on the foundations of a still earlier place of worship, had remained uncleared for almost a century because the Muslim authorities in

the city had refused permission for its repair or reconstruction. In the '60s of the last century, the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem obtained a firman (royal permit) from the Sultan to build a house of prayer of their own.

The idea of constructing a synagogue worthy of the Jewish community of Jerusalem fired the imagination of every Jew, rich and poor, young and old alike. The work of construction continued for fully eight and a half years, and every Jew in the city contributed, whether in money or in labor, to its erection. The small Jewish community of Jerusalem at the time realized that in erecting this central house of prayer in the Holy City they were strengthening the foundations of the Jewish Yishuv in the whole of Eretz Israel.

In the Hurva Synagogue, all Ashkenazi Chief Rabbis of the Holy Land were inducted into office; there, too, all the central events in the life of Jewish Jerusalem took place. Some of the older residents of Jerusalem still recall the Sabbath when the first British High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, walked the whole of the distance from Government House, then on Mount Scopus, to the Old City and was called to read a portion of the Law in the Hurva Synagogue.

Here, too, were deposited the standards of the Jewish Legion of World War I. Its ornate Ark of the Law and impressive cupola and murals left an indelible impression on all visitors. The courtyard of the Hurva Synagogue housed Jerusalem's leading Torah institution the "Etz Chaim" Yeshiva. Emperor's gift: Shortly before the inauguration of the Hurva Synagogue, which was the religious center of the "Perushim," or opponents of Hassidism, the construction was commenced of a large synagogue for the followers of Hassidism. The construction of this synagogue, called "Tiferet Yisrael," after Rabbi

Israel, the founder of the Rizin Hassidic dynasty, took fourteen years.

This synagogue, popularly known in Jerusalem as the Nissan Back School, was inaugurated in 1973. Nissan Back, a prominent communal leader in his time, the son of Israel Back, who had established the first Hebrew printing shop in Jerusalem, took a leading part in the foundation and completion of this impressive house of worship.

Pinchas Grayevsky, the history of the old Yishuv, relates that on Thursday, November 14, 1869, the Emperor Franz-Josef of Austria visited Jerusalem and was conducted around the Jewish Quarter by Nissan Back, who was an Austrian subject. After visiting the Rabban Yohanan Ben-Zakkai Synagogue, he took the monarch to Tiferet Yisrael, which still lacked a roof.

"Who is the architect of this building?" the Emperor asked.

"I, myself, your Majesty," Back replied.

"And have you studied architecture?"

"Yes, your Majesty, in my own private room."

The Emperor smiled, and inquired why there was no roof to the building. "The synagogue has doffed its hat in deference to your Majesty."

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City.

Pleased at this answer, the Emperor there and then donated the sum of 1,000 gold francs toward its completion. It took another four years before sufficient money was raised to finish the structure.

Thousands of worshippers were in the habit of praying at the Nissan Back Synagogue, particularly on the three Pilgrimage Festivals, because from its lofty height a clear view was to be had of the Temple Mount, to which the worshippers turned in their prayer.

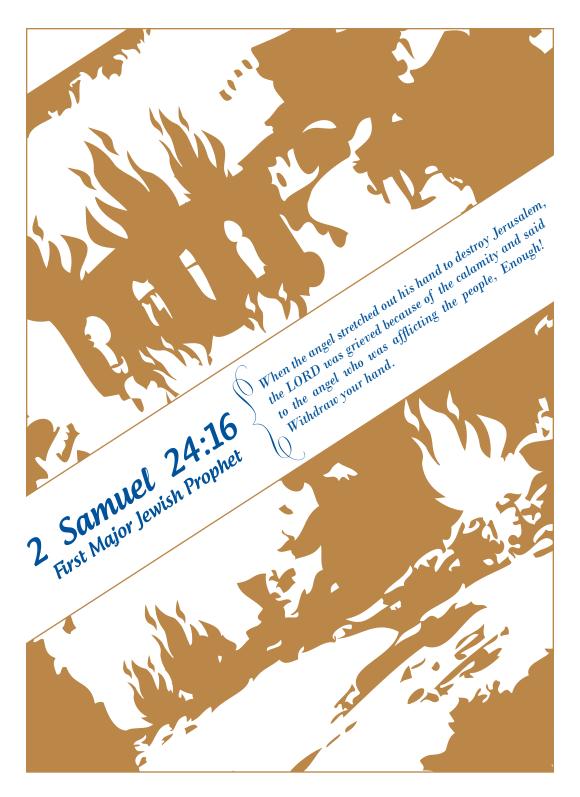
The "Beth El" synagogue was not only a house of worship but the cultural center for the Kabbalists of Jerusalem. Founded in 1737, Beth El was the meeting place of followers of the Kabbalistic school founded by Rabbi Isaac Luria, who wielded considerable influence on life in Jerusalem. Its members lived a life of seclusion. renouncing all worldly pleasures.

The "Porat Yosef" Yeshiva, a famous seat of learning in the Old City, which included a splendid and ornate synagogue, was founded through

#### [ IN DANGER: ISRAEL'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER JERUSALEM ]

the munificence of a rich Jewish merchant from Calcutta, India. Situated on the way to the Western Wall and facing the Old City walls, the building consisted of sixty rooms and a large auditorium. Forty of these rooms served as living quarters for the students, while the remaining rooms served as classrooms and a library of many thousands of volumes of priceless value. The Yeshiva and all that it contained was set on fire by the Arab Legionnaires the day after the fall of the Old City.

A movement has now been set on foot to rebuild some of the synagogues and shrines in the Old City.



## Sixty Synagogues Destroyed

#### SYLVIA MANN

(This article was originally written in 1968.)

he War of Independence in 1948 took a heavy toll on the Israeli nation. Scarcely a single family in what was then Palestine escaped unscathed, and property damage was severe. Jerusalem suffered most of all.

Under siege for six months, its many casualties included the historic synagogues of the Old City's Jewish Quarter. What was not destroyed by the fighting was razed by the Jordanians during their nineteen years of occupation of the Old City.

The Jewish Quarter in itself is something distinct and apart in Jerusalem just as Jeru-

salem is something very special in Israel. From the moment the Jews were banished from the Holy City in 70 CE, they lived in undying hope of returning. Through the centuries, despite war, famine, pestilence, and oppression, they succeeded in making their way back to Zion. And when they returned, as though drawn by a huge magnet, they converged on the Temple's last remaining wall. Here, at the southeast corner of the walled city, the Jewish Quarter slowly and steadily grew—except for a brief period in the 12th century when the Crusaders forced a sparse Jewish community to relocate in a northern section near the Lions' Gate.

Today, Zion Gate, opening out from Jerusalem's southern ramparts, leads directly into the former Jewish Quarter, where almost sixty synagogues, Talmud Torahs, and other religious and charitable institutions still existed in May 1948. When Jerusalem was reunited after the Six-Day War, they were

found to be little more than a shambles. To be sure, some of the synagogues remained standing but their interiors were completely destroyed. Others were mere heaps of rubble.

nly the few high walls that survive and a few lofty window arches recall the majestic Ashkenazi synagogue that stood here until 1948.

Three of the best known were the 700-year-old synagogue of Rabbi Moses ben Nahman, or the Ramban; the famous Hurva Synagogue; and Tiferet Israel.

Ramban Synagogue is situated in the Street of the Jews, immediately inside Zion Gate. Least damaged of all the structures—for it was surrounded by Muslimowned property—its black iron door opens into a small vestibule and an unimposing chamber with two squat marble pillars.

Its unimpressive appearance cannot detract from its fascinating history. It goes back to 1267, when Rabbi Moses ben Nahman left his family and friends in Spain and came to settle in Jerusalem. Writing to his son, he lamented, "Jerusalem is in ruins, especially the holy places," but no whit discouraged, he found an empty hall "with marble pillars and a fine cupola." He vigorously dedicated himself to the task of converting the shell into a synagogue and joyously climaxed his efforts by bringing to it Scrolls of the Law from Shechem.

In 1488, Rabbi Ovadia of Bartenura wrote to his father, "The synagogue of Jerusalem is long, narrow and gloomy, with no light except from the entrance, and there is a well-mouth in it." Presumably the cupola, with windows around its supporting drum, had been destroyed and the roof closed over, sealing off the light.

Rabbi Moses Basula, who visited the Holy Land in 1523, reports, according to an article by the late President of Israel, Yitzhak ben-Zvi, that "the Jewish community under the Turks is growing. There is but one synagogue in Jerusalem—a beautiful synagogue with four pillars in a row... with no light except for a small window over the door. Candles are kindled all around."

Apparently the structure taken over by the Ramban in 1267 was in excellent condition—it may have been a Crusader church or possibly a synagogue of the Byzantine era. Sixty-six feet long, its two aisles were separated by a central row of massive columns, of which only the upper third of two can now be seen. It is believed to have harbored a double ark on the eastern wall and a central pulpit, over which rose a high dome. The original floor was at

least 13 feet below the present level.

Adjacent to the Ramban Synagogue stands the wreckage of the Hurva—the Ruins (in Hebrew, Hurvot)—of Rabbi Yehuda the Hassid. Its destruction has been thorough. Only the few high walls that survive and a few lofty window arches recall the majestic Ashkenazi synagogue that stood here until 1948.

Il of the synagogues of the Jewish

Quarter suffered severe damage between 1948 and 1967.

It was in the year 1699 when Rabbi Yehuda and many of his disciples left Poland for the land of their ancestors. Soon after their arrival in Jerusalem they bought an empty plot adjoining the Ramban Synagogue

and began to build. Rabbi Yehuda died shortly afterward and the structure was left unfinished for fifteen years, thereby earning its name of the Ruins of Rabbi Yehuda the Hassid.

In the latter part of the 19th century, a fresh start was made, and in 1864 the synagogue was ceremonially opened by Sir Moses Montefiore and Baron Alphonse de Rothschild. More luxurious than any other in Jerusalem, its large square prayer hall was flooded with light from a dome rising to a height of 79 feet. A wide terrace circled the outside of the dome and a narrow balcony ran around the inside, while the women's gallery lined three sides of the hall. The ark was sumptuously ornamented with fine wood carvings and colorful paintings covered the vaulted ceilings and the eastern wall behind the ark.

Tiferet Israel stood close by the Hurva. Also known as Nissan Bak Synagogue, after the builder who completed it in 1873, it was dedicated by Nissan's father, Rabbi Israel Bak, the first Jew to set up a printing press in Jerusalem in 1839.

Today, its reconstruction has begun, but it will be a laborious task, for when the city was reunited last year only four graceful arches rising above a pile of stones bore witness to the former beauty of Tiferet Israel—the Pride of Israel. The late Dr. Jacob Pingerfeld described it as having a large prayer hall surmounted by a 33foot round cupola, while in the basement was an elaborate mikvah—ritual bath—with a heated central pillar to warm rainwater collected from the roof. A richly ornamented ark and central hexagonal pulpit made Tiferet Israel one of the most attractive of all 19th century synagogues.

Immediately opposite was the courtyard of the Karaites, a medieval sect, the first Jewish community from the diaspora to settle in Jerusalem as far back as the eighth century CE. Here can still be seen the steep, narrow stairway descending to the underground synagogue established, according to tradition, by Anan ben David, founder of Karaism.

History relates that in 767 CE, the Exilarch—head of the Babylonian Jewish community—died, leaving his nephews, Anan and Josiah, as candidates for the high office. Josiah was appointed, whereupon Anan, in fury, left Babylon with a group of his disciples and settled in Jerusalem, founding a community which lasted until 1948.

Today, 1,200 years later, no Karaites remain in Jerusalem but their synagogue still exists, and one can see above the entrance a clearly incised inscription which reads:

...he was afraid, and said, How terrible is this place!...This is none other but the house of God (Genesis 28:17).

Within a hundred yards

or so of the courtyard of the Karaites is a compound of four Sephardic synagogues—Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, the Istanbuli, Elijah the Prophet, and the small Middle Synagogue—the interiors of which were completely destroyed during the Jordanian occupation and the area used as a midden.

As one enters the Istanbuli Synagogue under a lintel decorated with a pair of hands raised in blessing, it is easy to imagine how handsome it must once have been with its four massive piers supporting the lofty vaulted ceiling and its high dome. On the right are three rounded steps leading up to a recess where the ark was located.

A doorway leads to the long narrow Middle Synagogue, from where one turns into a tiny enclosed court, and then into the light, spacious synagogue of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, the sole building in the group again being used as a place of worship. No trace is left of

the ornate double ark that graced the two alcoves on the eastern wall, nor of the fine central pulpit, the women's gallery, the furniture, lamps, and drapes. However, the carved stucco fragments on the ceiling and the faded paintings over the ark recess afford clues to the appearances of the synagogues as they used to look.

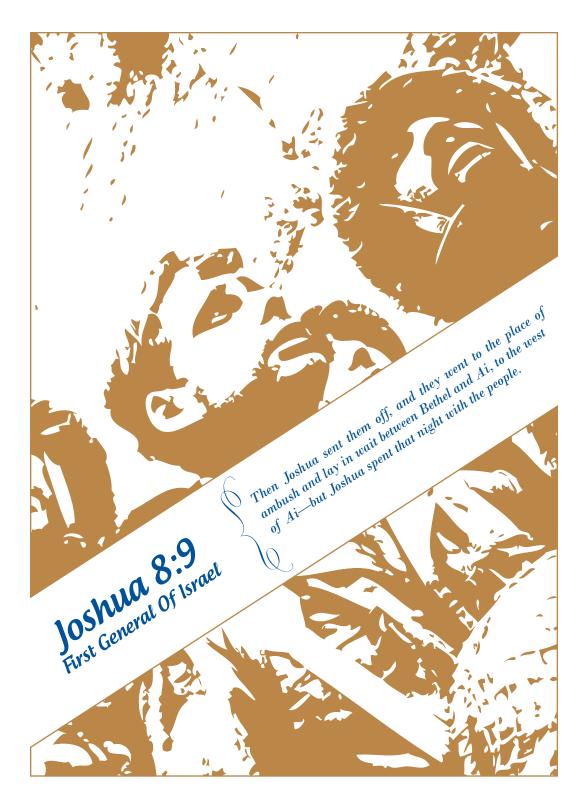
Oldest of the four is the synagogue of Elijah the Prophet. Originally

erected at the beginning of the 16th century, when Jews fleeing the Inquisition in Spain settled in Jerusalem, it is high-ceilinged and domed like the others. Two small chambers deserve special comment—the partitioned-off geniza, or repository for disused religious documents, and the traditional Elijah's cave.

All of the synagogues of the Jewish Quarter

suffered severe damage between 1948 and 1967. Some—like the Hurva and Tiferet Israel—lie entirely in ruins, a number of empty shells, while several have completely disappeared. An important task lies ahead for Israel and world Jewry: to rebuild and restore to these synagogues their splendor and beauty.

Mrs. Sylvia Mann is a well-known writer on historic sites in the Holy Land.



## We've Waited a Thousand Years

#### COLIN SIMPSON

(This is an excerpt from a report by British journalist Colin Simpson, who was present in the Old City of Jerusalem immediately after Israel liberated the city.)

n the Mosque square, more and more Israeli troops were pouring in. All wanted to find the Wailing Wall. Many asked me where it was, and we went together.

There was already a crowd there, and an Army Chaplain was playing a sacred instrument, a Shofar. Then General Moshe Dayan arrived to say his prayers and give thanks.

I felt embarrassed to intrude at such a moment, but as he left I asked him how he felt. His reply was simple: "We deserve this city."

Other dignitaries showed up but it was the ordinary soldiers who were the most impressive. Sweating, frequently wounded, they patiently waited their turn at

the wall—covering their heads with anything available, even pieces of paper. My handkerchief, and most of my notebook, went this way. They stood there often weeping with emotion, or brighteyed and unsmiling, their faces stiff with the day's tension.

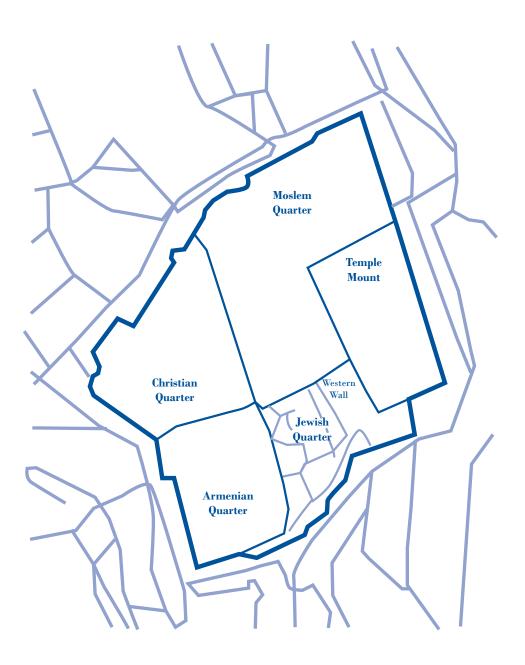
It was an electric and disturbing experience, and for a minute I began to get a glimmer at the driving, all-consuming love that the Jews have for this city—a city they have been kept from for so many years.

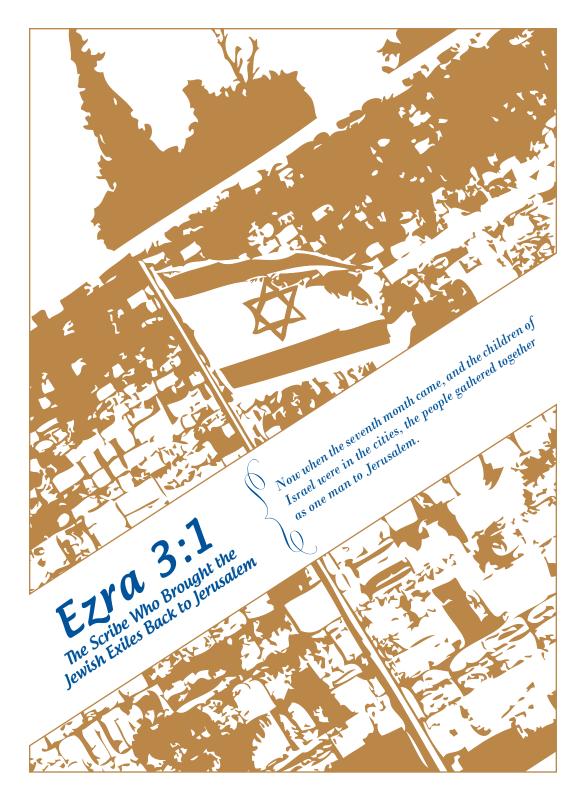
Toward evening Premier Eshkol and the Chief Rabbis of Israel and the Army arrived. Eshkol hopped through St. Stephen's Gate with the same aplomb as his soldiers strode briskly through, the soldiers greeting him. He was shaking hands with as many as he could reach. He shook mine, and addressed me in Hebrew. I explained who I was.

"Tell them," he said, "Tell them that all may worship in this city—that this city will be open to all."

I replied I would tell them how his soldiers opened it. At that moment a burst of firing came from the commercial sector. Eshkol did not even turn his head. "Tell them," he said. "Tell them that."

At last, we reached the Wailing Wall. The soldiers kept coming up to me and saying the same thing, "You've seen the most historical event you will ever see...we've waited a thousand years for this." They were hugging and kissing each other, and lifting each other off the ground. They were doing all this while the snipers were still firing, and every now and again a bullet would ricochet off the wall itself.





# Jewish Presence in Jerusalem Throughout the Ages

#### DR. MENASHE HAR-EL

(This article was originally written in 1971.)

hroughout history, and particularly under Jewish rule, Jerusalem has been the main city in the Judaean Hills, and the chief reason is its geography. Jerusalem stands atop a range of hills, encircled and

protected by deep valleys, at the junction of mountain highways, and has always enjoyed an excellent economy, between grain fields to the west and the desert to the east, and with a good supply of water.



#### The Canaanite Period (330-1200 BCE)

The city is called "Rushalmam" in Egyptian execration texts of the 19th century





BCE; Kathleen Kenyon discovered a nine-footthick wall of this period near the Spring of Gihon. In the days of the Patriarch Abraham, Jerusalem was governed by Melchizedek, described in chapter 14 of Genesis as "King of Salem" and "the priest of the most high God," a description suggesting its importance and holiness even in Abraham's time and hinting at identification with Mount Moriah.

It probably gained its sacred character from the Spring of Gihon, the largest source on the hilltop and held by the ancients to be of miraculous property, as its waters rise and fall at regular intervals. Hence, too, several kings of Judah were crowned beside it.

Jerusalem is mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters, written in the 14th century BCE, as the principal town of Canaan. At the time of the Israelite entry into the Promised Land in the following century, its Amorite king, seemingly a vassal of Egypt (Joshua 10), led

an alliance of the kings of the mountains and the plains, banded together to fight the Tribes.

## The First Temple Period (1200–586 BCE)

In the reign of David, Jerusalem was a Jebusite city (II Samuel 5:6). David brought the Ark of the Covenant from Kiryat Ye'arim to Jerusalem, and bought a threshing floor from Araunah the Jebusite as site of an altar (II Samuel 24:24). By this act, he made Jerusalem the center of worship of the Tribes, but the Temple was built by his son Solomon, and thenceforward Jerusalem became the unique focus of Jewish creed and nationhood.

Solomon did more: He launched a vast building program and concluded pacts with the kings of Egypt, Ammon, Moab, Tyre, and the Hittites, that gave the city international renown. From its foundation and throughout the Canaanite period, Jerusalem had been a provincial capital and no more; only under the kings

of Israel did it become the national and political capital of Jewry, the very heart of its faith and philosophy, symbolizing the unity of the Tribes.

#### The Second Temple Period (586 BCE-70 CE)

Jewish authority in Jerusalem and Judah became firmly entrenched again after the return from the Babylonian Exile. Under the Hasmoneans, sovereign Jewish sway was extended over the entire Land. Nehemiah had repaired the city walls in fifty-two days (Nehemiah 4). Hasmonean Hyrcanus rebuilt them and their watchtowers.

Ten thousand builders and a thousand priests toiled to build Herod's Temple, a thousand chariots hauled the building materials. The courtyard and colonnades took eight years to finish, the Sanctuary itself only eighteen months. The Sages could rightly say, "Who has not seen the Sanctuary has not seen a magnificent building." But the total

rebuilding of Jerusalem and its walls in Herod's days took approximately forty-six years.

During the Second Temple period, a span of about six hundred years, Jerusalem drew the prayers and commanded the allegiance of every Jew in the Land and the Diaspora alike; the First Temple had been a center of veneration and national liturgy for Jews in the Land alone. The sanctity of the city was evident in learning of the Torah, pilgrimages, the establishment of schools and synagogues. Synagogues were built for public worship, but the Temple was the hub of communal life in Jerusalem and the supreme national institution of Jewry throughout the world.

Jews were under religious commandment not only to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, but to settle there. Christians and Muslims were content with pilgrimage. Even when the Temple no longer stood, Jews

everywhere regarded it, nonetheless, as a Divine behest to make their devotions in a Jerusalem that lay in ruins.

## The Roman Period (70–324 CE)

Jews lived on in Jerusalem and worshipped their God amid the wreckage of the Temple Mount. Such was the strength of this passionate attachment that, when the Emperor Hadrian sought to establish a Roman town upon the Mount, defiling the holy city, rebellion broke out under Bar-Kochba and the Jews recaptured it for a time (132–135 CE). The revolt was bloodily suppressed and the Romans forbade Jews to dwell in Jerusalem, on pain of death.

Yet, the lament entitled Arzei Levanon ("Cedars of Lebanon"), written immediately after the rising collapsed, tells that a certain "Rabbi Hanina ben-Taradion gathers after him congregations in ravished Zion," an indication,

perhaps, that the anti-Jewish decree was not, in fact, enforced, and the soil of the Land was still sacred to Jews. Defying Roman edicts, synagogues were established in the third century on Mount Zion in Jerusalem itself and throughout the Land, particularly in Galilee.

## The Byzantine Period (324–637)

Jerusalem had become holy to a rising Christianity, and, early in the fourth century, Constantine the Great and his mother Helena built magnificent churches there, but now Jews were excluded, and for a time Jerusalem was the only city in the Land with a Christian majority. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, mentions that Jews might only enter on the Ninth of Av, to mourn the quenching of past glory: "Silently they come and silently they go, weeping they come and weeping they go, in the dark night they come and in the dark night they go," as the Sages told.

The Traveler of Bordeaux, writing in 333, speaks of that marked stone on the Temple Mount whither Jews went to pray. In 362, at least, the Emperor Julian promised a delegation of Syrian and Cilician Jewry: "I shall rebuild the Sanctuary of the most high God with all vigor." But a mysterious fire that broke out on the Temple Mount during the early stage of the building operation brought the project to an abrupt halt, and it was never renewed. In 443, heartened by the goodwill of the Empress Eudocia, Jewry again dreamt of the Day of Redemption, and from Jerusalem a message went to the Diaspora:

The time of the Exile of our people has already passed and the Day of the Ingathering of the Tribes come. The kings of the Romans have bidden that our city, Jerusalem, be returned to us. Make haste and come up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles, for our Kingdom in Jerusalem shall be established.

Manifestly, Jews were being vouchsafed to dwell peacefully in Jerusalem. St. Cyril of Scythopolis records that St. Sabbas journeyed to Constantinople in 512 to persuade the Emperor to exempt the poor of Jerusalem from taxation while a certain Marianus went to the Emperor to denounce the exemption of the Jews: It may be inferred that the Jewish population enjoyed a modicum of equal rights.

But Justinian, in the early sixth century, enacted discriminatory laws and Jews were denied the holding of government office: Humiliation was carried to such lengths that their stone of prayer on the Temple Mount was littered with garbage.

## The Later Persian Period (614–638)

Upon the Persian conquest of Palestine, a pact was concluded between the Persians and its Jews, one mutually desirable: The Jews hoped for the restoration of Jewish autonomy, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple, the Persians needed Jewish help to gain control of the eastern Mediterranean. A Jewish administration was, indeed, established in Jerusalem and worship renewed. But, in 629, the Byzantine Emperor Heraelius seized the city and decreed the expulsion of the Jews to a distance of three miles. In 638, it fell to the army of the Caliph Omar.

#### The Early Muslim Period: The Umayyad Caliphate (638–750 BCE)

Jewish soldiers had served in Omar's victorious army, and he countenanced the renewal of Jewish settlement in Palestine and Jerusalem, declaring that the Muslims had come to the country because they were kinsmen of the Israelites, both being scions of Abraham. Contemporary Arab writers record that stones were piled on the Temple Mount by the Jews, in readiness for the rebuilding of the Temple; the Muslims did, in truth, deliver the Mount into

Jewish hands, and Jews could celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles upon it.

So now Jerusalem was a city holy to three faiths, if not in equal measure. Arabia was to Islam what the Land of Israel was to Judaism, and, in any event, Palestine was never independent under Muslim aegis; its governance throughout that period was entrusted to overlords in Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, or Constantinople.

But Omar at least proclaimed the Temple Mount to be a place of Jewish prayer. By the Jews this was eagerly and happily interpreted as a sign of the beginning of Redemption. "Omar asked the Jewswhere do you wish to live in the city? And they answered—at the southern end of the city, which is the Jews' market. And [the reason for] their plea was the proximity of the Temple and its relics and the waters of Siloam for immersion. And the Emir of the Faithful gave this to them." The Jewish

quarter—or market—lay near the Western Wall.

Under the Umayyad Caliphate, Syria and Palestine were the major provinces of the Muslim empire with its capital in Damascus, Between 691 and 697, Abd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as monument rather than mosque, and his elder son al-Walid built the mosque of al-Aqsa beside it, and in al-Aqsa, since Mecca was far away, the Muslims of Syria and Palestine began to hold their festal services.

Mughir ad-Din says that Jewish families were actually appointed guardians of the Haram of Abd al-Malik. Suleiman, his second son, chose to live in Palestine and built Ramla to be its capital, relegating Jerusalem to humble provinciality. The townsfolk of Palestine consisted of Jews, Arabs, Persians, and Samaritans, all living side by side—in Tiberias and its surroundings, in Dan, Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and

Hebron, and as far south as the Jewish settlement of Eilat. Jews flocked to Jerusalem after the Muslim conquest, and their community had quickly become the more important in the country, so that Jewry everywhere looked no longer to Tiberias but to Jerusalem.

## The Abbasid Caliphate (750–969)

Baghdad, not Damascus, was the capital now. In the Abbasid heyday, the importance of Jerusalem dwindled by reason of its remoteness from the "metropolis," and Mecca became the magnet of the Muslim devout. Haroun al-Rashid made that pilgrimage every second year, but never once to Jerusalem, for the Abbasid Caliphs, in general, neglected Jerusalem; only Mamoun (813-833) gave money to repair Muslim institutions on the Temple Mount. The viceroys of the Abbasids and of their successors, the Fatimids, governed Palestine from Ramla. Meanwhile Jewish life went on. It is of this period that Rabbi

Ben-Meir, principal of the Palestinian Academy, tells that the courtyard of the Temple Mount was a meeting place for Jews.

## The Fatimid Caliphate (969–1071)

Al-Hakim, Fatimid despot of Egypt, first ordered that the synagogues and churches of Jerusalem be destroyed, but in the end relented and Jews and Christians were permitted to rebuild them. Salmon Ben-Yeruham, the Karaite, writes in the middle of the 10th century: "When the Kingdom of Ishmael appeared, Israel was given license to enter and live there [Jerusalem] and the courtyards of the House of the Lord were handed back to them, and there for years they prayed."

The Seljuks took Jerusalem in 1071 in an assault of unbridled devastation. As Seljuks and Fatimids fought thereafter, the citizenry of Palestine grew less and less. The Arab historian, al-Muqadassi, who lived in Jerusalem in that century, writes that, after four hundred years of Muslim rule in Palestine, "the scholar of religious law is forsaken, and the secular scholar is not to be seen...the Jews and the Christians have long since superseded them, and the mosque is empty of worshippers and of the secret of study."

Salah Ben-Matzliah, a resident in Jerusalem at the end of the previous century, writes: "Our brothers knew that Jerusalem in this time was a sanctuary for every fugitive, a comfort for every mourner, and a repose for every pauper, and the worshippers of the Lord congregate within it, one from the town and two from the family [meaning, in large numbers]..."

Never again—from the Seljuk conquest until the 20th century—was Jerusalem to be under Arab hegemony.

## The Early Crusader Period (1099–1187)

Crusader Jerusalem was circumscribed in area, and its walls followed

the lines of those standing today. Godfrey de Bouillon always stressed that the territory which he had conquered was the Land of Israel: the letter in which he informed the Pope of his taking of Jerusalem bore the superscription: "de Terra Israel." But in the ravaging of Jerusalem, the Crusaders slaughtered Muslims and Jews indiscriminately, and set fire to the Jewish quarter, in those days sited to the north of the Temple Mount, burning its synagogues, one of them with all its worshippers.

A Crusader ordinance specifically banned Jewish and Muslim settlement in Jerusalem as profane, and the wrecked and deserted Jewish quarter was given over to Syrian Christians. But Benjamin of Tudela (1170) could report: "And there is a dye factory there, which the Jews rent yearly from the king, so that no man but the Jews shall do any dyeing work in Jerusalem, and there are about two hundred Jews living

below the Tower of David at the limits of the City-State."

#### The Late Crusader Period (1187–1260)

The Ayyubid Sultan Saladin and his successors favored the dwelling of Eastern Jews and Christians in Jerusalem. That great soldier and statesman recognized the Jewish right to the Land, but was also mindful that Jews had fought in the Arab ranks to take Jerusalem from the Crusaders. Alharizi (1170–1235) recounts that, after Saladin's proclamation, "three hundred rabbis" from France and England came to live in Palestine, and Jews from North Africa, accompanied by Muslims, to live in Jerusalem itself.

## The Mamluks (1260–1516)

Saladin had permitted
Muslims and Jews once
more to live at least in the
hilly parts of Palestine,
and the ban on Jewish
residence in Jerusalem
was formally lifted, but
Jews did not begin to re-

turn in any numbers until the coming and encouragement of Nahmanides. In 1267, he had found two lonely Jewish families, and wrote to his son: "Only two Jews, brothers, dyers by trade, did I find. And behold, we pressed them, and we found a ruined house with marble pillars and a beautiful dome, and we took it [to serve] as a synagogue... and they already began to build, and we went to the town of Shechem [Nablus] to bring thence the Scrolls of the Law, which had been in Jerusalem and had been smuggled out when the Tartars came, and, behold, they built a synagogue and they will pray there, for many come to Jerusalem all the time, men and women, to see the site of the Temple and weep over it..."

A. Lunz notes that "the Jews then established a special quarter in the south of the Old City near Mount Zion, and the life of the Jewish settlement centered around the synagogue of Nahmanides, which the

Muslims sought to seize from them."

The Mamluks ruled Jerusalem from Cairo. Accordingly, many Jewish citizens left what was again a provincial city, and went to Damascus and Egypt, and thence, on to Turkey.

Earthquake, epidemic, drought, locust, plagues, and famine precipitated this migration; but there were, as well, the tyranny of the court in Cairo, persecution by petty satraps governing from Syria, and the cruelty of local emirs, whereof the upshot was anarchy, peasant uprisings, and Bedouin raids. Arab writers speak of Mamluk recognition of the links between the Jewish people and its Land, and of Mamluk plans to discuss the restoration to it of the whole of Palestine. All the same, Jews had to wear yellow turbans, Samaritans red ones, and Christians blue ones; the Muslim turbans were white.

But the Mamluks op-

pressed their Muslim subjects in Palestine no less: According to a Muslim account, the fate of a slave was preferable to a farmer's. When Rabbi Ovadia of Bartenura (1415-1510) settled in Jerusalem, things improved for the Jewish community under his inspiring leadership, and there was an influx from Spain and Portugal. At this stage, the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the end of the Byzantine empire, and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain marked a turning point in the history of Jewish congregations in the Land of Israel, and signified a new and large return.

## The Ottoman Period (1516–1917)

The Turks ruled Palestine for four hundred years. Though still denied autonomous statehood, Palestine now entered the global scene of merchant and trader. Suleiman the Magnificent repaired and rebuilt the walls and gates of Jerusalem (1537), restored the Citadel of David, improved

the city's water supply; like his predecessor, Selim, he employed Jewish physicians at his court. In the late 16th century, Sultan Bayezid II called upon Jews to settle in his new domain; Spanish Jews from Salonica, Constantinople, Adrianople, and other Turkish centers responded to the call, settling in Tiberias, Safed, and Jerusalem. Palestine's status as the spiritual home of Jewry rose momentously.

With the arrival of Spanish refugees, the Jewish population rose, and this Sephardic element was to characterize Jewish settlement for virtually the next four centuries. It was now that the splendid complex of four Sephardic houses of worship came into being on the traditional site of the Academy of Rabbi Yohanan Ben Zakkai, Yet the community in Jerusalem began to contract as a result of burdensome taxation and confiscation of property, until only the poor were left: The Ottomans levied a poll tax, a watch-and-ward

tax, a tax on gifts at festivals, a government aid tax, and a land tax.

After the massacres in the Caucasus in 1648 and 1656, Jews made their long way to Palestine from Russia and Poland. In 1700, Rabbi Judah Hehassid assembled his disciples and set out for Palestine with fifteen hundred of them, to hasten the coming of the Redemption. He bought the plot of land upon which Nahmanides had built his synagogue, and on it set up his own conventicle, which, after his death, came to be known as the "Hurva." In 1721, the Arabs burnt it down with its forty Scrolls of the Law, and the Ashkenazi Jews then prayed in the principal Sephardi place of worship; the Hurva was rebuilt in 1837.

In 1777, the Hassidic Rabbi Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk brought three hundred of his followers from the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Romania.

After Sir Moses Montefiore visited Palestine

in the mid-19th century, the condition of the Jews of Jerusalem became better and their area of settlement wider. The first Jewish quarters were established outside the city walls, and Jewish hospitals and educational institutions founded.

Yitzhak Ben-Zvi wrote: "There were periods of devastation and ruin in Jerusalem, as occurred in Safed; yet the Jewish population withstood the onslaught, and settlement was never abandoned."

For, in truth, no town in Palestine could be likened unto Jerusalem. Jerusalem was the only city in which Jews had succeeded in holding out for two thousand years after the fall of the Second Temple, despite religious and economic sanctions, pain of death for entry, and widespread havoc. The Jews always believed that they were but regaining what had been taken from them by force. Under alien domination Jerusalem was never a great city; on the contrary, it lost size. Only under Jewish rule did it expand, and its population, Jewish and non-Jewish, increase.

#### Population and Extent of the City Throughout the Ages

Under Melchizedek, in the days of the Patriarchs, and under the Amorites at the time of Joshua, Jerusalem was the capital of the southern region of the Hills of Judah and the plain. Jebusite Jerusalem covered only ten acres. Under Solomon, it was the capital of the Land of Israel and, under the kings of Judah, the upper and lower cities extended over an area sixteen times as large. Jerusalem was constricted under Persian rule, but expanded again under the Hasmonean dynasty, and attained its zenith in the late Second Temple period, to cover four hundred fifty acres and house a population of two hundred thousand (equal to the total population of Palestine at the end of the 19th century). It was at its highest level of development in respect to water supply and neighborhood farming. After the death of Herod, and until the Bar Kochba revolt, the Roman governors ruled Judaea from Caesarea, and, from Hadrian's reign onward, the limits of the neglected city shrank to two hundred acres.

The Byzantines, too, dignified Caesarea as the capital of Palestine, although Christendom held Jerusalem—now peopled by only eighty thousand souls—in holy regard. The Muslim conquerors shifted the capital to Ramla, as we saw, and at its peak was a Muslim city under the Fatimids in the 11th century. Jerusalem's population was no more than thirty thousand and its area less than a square kilometer, not half its dimension in Second Temple days. When the Crusaders entered. the count of citizens was about the same—Arabs and Jews, but thereafter it dropped to a handful of three thousand, even including Syrian Christians and the Christian Bedouin attracted to Jerusalem

by Baldwin by pledges of tax exemption. True, the Crusaders had regarded Jerusalem as a sacred city, and expelled its Jews and Muslims, but they chose Acre as their political and economic capital. At its peak, Crusader Jerusalem's population reached thirty thousand.

Under Mamluk control, Jerusalem's fertile hinterland was ruined by systematic robbery, so that, from the final Mamluk period, and through the era of Ottoman rule up to the 18th century, the population of the city swung sparsely from ten to fifteen thousand. By the end of the century, the total population was only two hundred thousand, a density lower than any since the Canaanite period.

From 1860 onward, Jewish and Christian quarters were established outside Jerusalem's walls. The city was linked to the telegraph network and a carriageway built to Jaffa and other towns. In 1892, the Jerusalem-Jaffa line, one of the

earliest railways in the Middle East, began to run. Toward the end of the 19th century, Jerusalem had a population of twenty-five thousand; with Zionist aliyah it rose to seventy-five thousand, fifty thousand of them Jews. At the close of the century, 60 percent of all Palestinian Jewry lived in Jerusalem. Thereafter, the Arab population also rose, both in Jerusalem and throughout Palestine and Transjordan.

At the termination of the British mandate in 1948, there were one hundred sixty-five thousand residents in Jerusalem as a whole, of whom one hundred thousand were Jews; of the Arabs and others. thirty-three thousand lived in the Old City. The area of the Jewish city was 25.76 square kilometers, double its size at the beginning of the 20th century. The Arab part had an area of 2.6 square kilometers, of which the Old City constituted a third. Twenty years later, in a reunified Jerusalem. the Jewish population had doubled to approximately two hundred thousand, equal to the population in the late Second Temple period; the Arab population was unaltered at sixty-five thousand, twenty-four thousand residing in the Old City.



## About the **Zionist Organization of America**

The Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) is the oldest, and one of the largest, pro-Israel organizations in the United States. Founded in 1897 to support the re-establishment of a Jewish State in the ancient Land of Israel; its presidents have included such illustrious Jewish leaders as U.S. Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and Rabbi Stephen Wise. The ZOA was the principal organization mobilizing the support of the U.S. government and the American public which

Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said: "When I think of the ZOA, I think of an organization that refuses to compromise on the truth regardless of prevailing fashion... The Zionist Organization of America. under the leadership of Morton Klein, has done important work in explaining Israel's case to the American public, media, and Congress. The ZOA has performed a vital service by documenting and combating anti-Israel media bias; and by helping Americans understand the shared values and mutual

ZOA works to counter the existential threats that Israel faces. The ZOA is the leader in making a serious issue about the Palestinian promotion of hatred and violence against Jews in their schools, media and speeches.

The ZOA has also played a major role in fighting anti-Semitism and Israel bashing on college campuses. ZOA's testimony on campus anti-Semitism led to landmark findings and recommendations to combat this problem by the U.S. Commission on Civil

#### "I urge you to support the ZOA and its efforts on behalf of Israel."

-- Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

led to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

With a national membership of over 30,000 and active chapters throughout the United States, the ZOA works to strengthen U.S.-Israel relations through our Divisions of Government Relations, Campus Activities, and our Center for Law and Justice. ZOA leaders frequently appear on TV and radio programs including O'Reilly Factor, CNN, CNBC, MSNBC, Fox, NPR, BBC and others. We also publish articles and letters in the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Jerusalem Post and elsewhere. The ZOA produces and disseminates publications such as "The Dangers of a Palestinian State" and "In Danger: Israel's Sovereignty over Jerusalem.'

strategic interests that are the basis of U.S.-Israel friendship... The ZOA has been a bulwark in the defense of Israel and the Jewish people... I urge you to support the ZOA and its efforts on behalf of Israel."

The Wall Street Journal said "The ZOA is the most credible advocate for Israel on the American Jewish scene today." The Jerusalem Post called the ZOA "one of the most important and influential Jewish groups in the U.S. today." The New York Times wrote that the ZOA "ferrets out anti-semitism wherever it is."

The ZOA's Government Relations department continues to educate members of Congress about the truth of the Arab War against Israel and the mistaken policies pressuring Israel to make one-sided concessions.

Rights. We triggered an internal investigation at UC Irvine to examine the possibility that a student group was illegally soliciting funds on campus to support Hamas.

We bring in speakers, distribute literature, and set up programs at colleges across the country. We teach students how to respond to anti-Israel propaganda and each year we bring a large group of students to Israel including visits to Judea, Samaria, and the Golan Heights, the only major Jewish organization to do so.

The ZOA's Kfar Silver School, on a 400-acre campus near Ashkelon, has provided education and vocational training to more than 50,000 new Jewish immigrants and others, and has a current student body of 1,000.

