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THE FABRICATION OF ISRAEL
About the usurpation and destruction of Palestine through Zionist spatial planning

A UNIQUE PLANNING ISSUE

V

Killing the Cities - the Example of Jerusalem/Al Quds, Hebron/Al Khalil and Jaffa in Israel

Viktoria Waltz

1. Jerusalem within the Zionist Project

Conclusion from last part (general IV)

Israel claimed the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Region (beside Golan Heights and the Sinai) as a defence against Arab aggression, a question of survival - however after having revealed the facts it might be clear, that this occupation was nothing less but a further step in the Zionist fight for an Israel in wider borders, the Mandate borders at least. The strategies are so much similar to what happened from 1948 on in Israel and part of the Judaisingprocess. That was judaising through usurping as much as possible of landscape, agricultural land, villages, historical sides, water resources to establish Jewish presence and eliminate Palestinian existence as far as possible.

Changing the map, changing geographical landmarks, creating exclusive Jewish communication strings, roads and infrastructure networks, thus disconnecting the existing Palestinian society and its living areas from each other - was one part of that ongoing usurpation. Expropriation of Palestinian property was basic for that second criminal part of the usurpation of Palestine. A bunch of fantastic 'laws', faked reasons, always labelled 'security demands', was used fuelling the self made crucial circle: create a problem, ask for soldiers to protect 'our' people, and if protest against occur it gives reason for more pressure, family punishment, finally expropriation and so forth.

Less than 20 percent of a former Palestinian unity was left – and this not even under real Palestinian control. Instead we find a handicapped and scattered mosaic of pieces of a cake that Israel is eventually going on to swallow. Nothing happened plan less, each step had a purpose, and each measure had an aim. Architects were planners implementing Zionist programs for achieving eventually the complete judaising of Palestine 'from the coast to the Jordan River'. The Zionist Movement, the World Zionist Organisation (WZO) is still a forcing powerr, developing outlines for further occupation, land and water grab.

Most shocking is the fact that the international community, having established a United Nation, a Geneva Convention and declared the principles of Human Rights as universal is watching, knowing and not interfering at all. The United Nations in 1947 decided against such principles to divide Palestine, and also promised to

guarantee a Palestinian State. This responsibility still exists. And it will be still a challenge to prove creditability of those organisations, principles and decisions and should be taken seriously.

Given the UN decision is a fact to be accepted, given Israel is a reality based on this international agreement, given this is to be accepted by the powerless and defeated Palestinians, the question is still to rise why Israel is not forced to go back to the borders that UN once proposed. Why no international body can or will force Israel to leaving East Jerusalem, the occupied territories of the West Bank, all Gaza region and Syrian Golan?

Furthermore, Israel too has to fulfil its responsibility and proving what it claims to be: a democratic state that respects other nations and the civic rights of their own citizens. However, Israel is even hurrying up to grab more Palestinian land, to divide more what rests and to enter pure Palestinian living areas, creating a hell for the inhabitants. Intending to make Palestinians moving out and to judaising entire cities in the West Bank like Jaffa, Akka in Israel, or East Jerusalem and Hebron in the West Bank is still fact. Breaking Palestinian identity par force and fabricating instead an image of an 'ancient Israel' is going on, a political entity that in reality only played a small role during a small period in the area of ancient geographical Palestine. How this is going to happen in pure and historic Palestinian cities is a question of the next section.

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Killing the Cities - the Example of Jerusalem/Al Quds, Hebron/Al Khalil and Jaffa in Israel

Religion and ancient history gave according to Herzl an important impulse for colonising and judaising the land of Palestine. In this context the occupation of Jerusalem and Hebron had first priority after 1967. Hence, both cities, Jerusalem, the 'City of Salomon and David' and Hebron the 'City of Abraham', became delicate targets of planners and were suffering and undergoing a deep change in social, cultural and demographic sense.

While Jerusalem is against international law seen as the Israeli Capital and officially usurped into Israel via Knesset decisions, Hebron is conquered in another mode. Hebron had lost its Jewish community since revolts in the end of the 20ties. After occupation Israel started planting the colony Kiryat Arba beside Hebron (Arabic Al Khalil) and fundamentalist Zionist groups entered from there step by step into this Palestinian city by means of demography, history, culture and social life. The gradual usurpation progressed slowly until the division of the centre of Hebron by the 'agreements' after Oslo in 1993.

Jaffa is another case in Israel itself, a victim of the first phase of Israeli governance over Palestine and the ongoing ethnic cleansing from 1948 until now. At 1948 a historic Palestinian community that existed since centuries was completely chased out and European Jews came in. Some of the Palestinian refugees, who were chased out, settled in parts of the new town, remaining in an unsecure situation until today. Hundreds of them are threatened to be thrown out again during the years of 2009/2010. In Israelis new interpretation of history Jaffa is called the 'Old City of Tel Aviv', which is absurd.

The following chapters will reveal the story of this judaizing process - again with methods of planning. The story of Jerusalem will be told in 2 steps, at first a general overview about the meaning and phases of the judaizing of Jerusalem in terms of planning and legal frames will be presented (Waltz), followed by an actual view and an approach for justice (Amro).

The story of Hebron follows with a description of the ongoing judaizing steps since the occupation. Jaffa's story will be told through the changing process since 1950 when it was declared part of Tel Aviv and tackle the actual battle.

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Viktoria Waltz

1. Jerusalem within the Zionist Project
Results after one century of Zionist planning in Jerusalem: ‚judaizing`through ‚hebronising’

Sharon's ‘visit’ in October 2000 to the Haram al Sharif, the ‘Holy Place’ in the Old City of Jerusalem, was the trigger point for the outbreak of the second Intifada.

Sharon's visit to Jerusalem's holy place did not only symbolise the Israeli claim of the city, but also planned as a starting point for the ongoing central offensive to the city, regarding citizenship, economy, borders and land properties. This process culminated in the isolation of Jerusalem after Oslo, the construction of the wall at 2003 and the government decision in July 2004 to apply the absentee property land law from 1950 and the Mandate Plan RJ/5 to the Jerusalem case (see section III). Step after step, during the last ten years the Israeli government restricted Palestinian presence and life in the eastern, Palestinian City of Jerusalem with its historical centre, the Old City. It began after Oslo, when Jerusalem was excluded from the decisions and (in a unilateral procedure) segregated from the West-Bank and Gaza Region. From that time, only Palestinians who have a special permission from the Israeli Army are allowed to enter the city. From that time on, the historical passage from south to north of Palestine and the West Bank which ran through Jerusalem is blocked.

Judaizing Jerusalem began already in the first days after the occupation in 1967. More than 200.000 illegal settlers were meanwhile transferred into large housing estates forming a ring, ‘suffocating’ the Palestinian and Arab Jerusalem and the historical Old City. Moreover small satellites of Israeli colonies were implanted amidst the Palestinian residential areas, in Sheikh Jerah, the Kidron Valley, Abu Dees, Souwane, Silwan, Tur, Essawiyye or Ezzariye and particularly in the different Palestinian quarters of the Old City. This ongoing process is neglecting the historical shape and value of architecture, society and atmosphere. With the segregation wall rings around Jerusalem will become denser and more strangling Palestinian development.

Through a sophisticated strategy of setting facts by planning, also the historic map of the city has been turned upside down in terms of religion and ethnicity. The western Gate of the Old City for example, the Jaffa or Hebron Gate, has all means of convenience for the Jewish believers; an area equipped with close-by huge bus parking lots on the historic Mamilla ground, access for cars and taxis. Accordingly, on Friday evening and Sabbath, thousands of religious Jews enter smoothly

through the Jaffa or Hebron Gate to the wailing wall from the western New City of Jerusalem. Subsequently, this area and the Citadel has become a complete Israeli Jewish terrain, along with the Jewish Quarter, which lies on the southern part of the Old City and is also hosting a huge traffic hub. In contrary to that the entrance to the 'Via Dolorosa' from Lion's gate, which is of main interest for Christian believers, remain neglected, has difficult access, no parking space, however police control all over.

One century of Zionist planning has changed fundamentally the whole fabric and spatial use of the city. Particularly, and since 1967, the Israeli government has followed rigorous spatial policy in the city to judaise its quarters, changing its Arab identity through planning and building. Since the beginning of the so-called peace process in 1993 these efforts multiplied to suppress depriving the Palestinian side more and more, reducing their presence and controlling and hindering social and economic life of the Palestinian inhabitants.

Tools were similar and even more sophisticated than what was implemented after 48 on the Israeli side:

- Land confiscation and occupation of land and buildings, water and nature resources,
- Destruction of Palestinian habitat, areas and buildings,
- Establishment of new Israeli presence in occupied buildings in the Old City,
- Creation of an Israeli Jewish majority by implanting thousands of settlers in new colonies,
- Establishment of new roads, bypass roads and road networks,
- Destruction of Palestinian cultural, economic and social infrastructure,
- Arbitrary fixing of (new) boundaries on the basis of strategic criteria.

This was most of all done with the already described spatial planning instruments, through master plans, definition of land use and refuse of building licenses.

The purpose of this policy is obvious. Jerusalem should become a Jewish city, the capital of Israel, the Jewish State. The Palestinian existence in the city should be reduced to a minimum (plans say still maximal 30%) – if not completely cleaned off. Let speak two important strategists of the Zionist project, to understand it.

> "If we ever get Jerusalem and I then still will be able to do something, I would begin to clean the city from everything that is not holy" (Herzl in his diary, 31.10.1897)

> "The question of Jerusalem is not a question of arguments or policy, it has first priority and is an issue of possession and power. Do we have the military power a. in order to take the Old City, b. to secure a broad passage from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, not only for better access, but also to establish a space for settlements, which will connect Jerusalem firmly to the Jewish State, and c. to destroy the spatial continuity of the Arab communities in the Triangle? If we do not reach, we cannot say, that we, Israel, have liberated Jerusalem." (Ben Gurion 1951: 164)

For Palestinians, Jerusalem is the crucial question, whether there will be a state of Palestine with its capital Jerusalem (East Jerusalem, including the Old City in the borders after 1947) - or whether Palestine will remain a patched carpet of partly autonomous areas, controlled inside and outside and surrounded by Israeli areas,

with an administrative centre in Gaza Strip, Ramallah, or Abu Dees – while Jerusalem will be in turn the capital of Israel, ‚liberated' or better 'cleaned' as much as possible from Palestinians.

Looking back to the last century, the Zionist planning under British Mandate since the end of the 30ies had already converted Jerusalem from an aspiring internationally oriented and world-open metropolis into an ethnical segregated 'front city' with the most aggressive and fierce battles to influence and overtake each meter of Arabic Palestinian land.

1.1 Jerusalem Before and During the British Mandate: a Time of Changes

Until the middle of the 19th century, Jerusalem constitutes the Old City in the boundaries of the medieval walls, surrounded by many related villages. This changed since the fifties, and building outside the walls developed rapidly. The main motor of expansion at that time was a handful of wealthy Palestinian Jerusalem families, who left the crowded Old City quarters in order to build their villas outside the walls on their family lands, leading in a later stage to the founding of new urban residential districts and commercial areas, the 'New City'.

The earliest documented newly populated Palestinian areas developed in the south of the Old City like Baq'a, and Beit Jala, Qatamon and Talbiya, Mal'ha in the south-west as well as Bab al Sahra, Mamilla, Musrara, Sheikh Jerah in the north of the Old City. (see general view images 1,2)

Image 1 Jerusalem at the end   **Image 2 Today view from**
of the 19th century   **Mount of Olive**
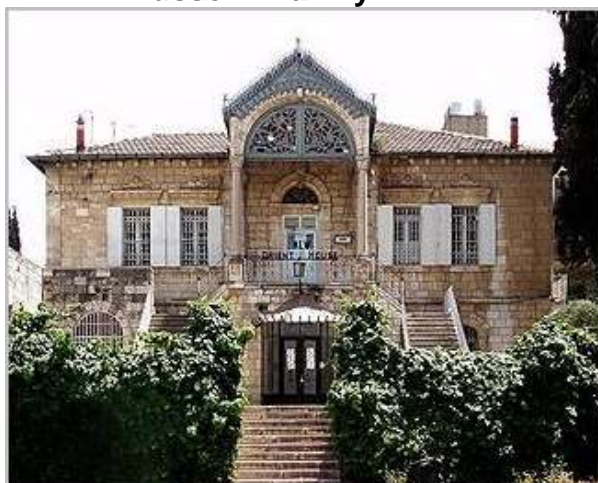

Source. www.palestinerembered

From the end of the 19th centuries Jerusalem had become a symbol of modern lifestyle': Luxurious buildings with European 'Bauhaus' elements 'Art Deco' style, columns, balconies, verandas and European roofs with red bricks expressing the openness to the international world that the wealthy Palestinians enjoyed. (see images 3,4,5,6)

**Image 3 Palestinian House
in Qatamon, looted 48**

**Image 4 The Orient House of
Husseini Family**

Image 5 Villa in Qatamon looted 48

Image 6 Villa in al Baqa before looting

Source 3,5,6: www.palestinerembered   Source 4 P/25 2004

Jerusalem had become the centre of large trading ventures, banks and small factories. Clubs, international schools, book and newspaper publishers enjoyed national endorsement and were representatives of a new cosmopolitan and open climate. Finally the 'New City' consisted of a multi-cultural mosaic of ethnical and different religious social groups.

The overlapping edges of all the various neighbourhoods and communities formed a basis for peaceful inter-religious and internationally mixed areas in the city and the further urban development, in which coexistence developed as well as common social, cultural and economic dependence and relations. (Davis 1999).

The 'sneak in' of the international community

Furthermore the changes in the Ottoman land and property laws of the late fifties, allowing non Muslims to purchase land and to build on it, pushed the increasing expansion of the city of Jerusalem outside the Old City walls (see sector II). Consequently, for instance the Christian monasteries, German 'Templer' and Jewish communities began to establish residential districts in the suburbs, buildings of simple forms and mainly on the western hills outside the Old City. They were not

at all architecturally comparable with the generous style of the summerhouses and mansions of the Palestinian extended families.

In a further wave of suburban settling, and around 1900, the imperialistic interest in the 'Orient', especially in the fading Ottoman Empire, and in the 'Holy Land' took the form of missionary activities, claiming to provide the "unattended ethnic minorities" in Jerusalem with schools, workshops, hospitals and on the other hand filling the new residential areas with all kinds of Europeans, from Roman catholic to Greek orthodox and Lutheran. Many of their projects can still be seen nowadays within the city fabric: the German 'Schmitt School', the 'Auguste Victoria-Hospital', the Russian complex in Musrara, Talbiya and Qatamon as well. (see images 7-11). (Elan 1984, Mejcher/Schoelch 1981, Lagerloef 1901/1902/1950)

Image 7 French Notre Dame Pilgrims Hotel founded 1885

Source: P/25 2004

Image 8   First houses of the Templers 1898 close to the later railway station

Source: Elan 1984: 27

Image 9 The Palestine Museum built 1933-1936 by Rockefeller

Source: www.Palestineremenbered.com

Image 10   German Schmidt's Girls School founded 1886

Image 11 Musrara neighbourhood, one of the first Palestinian urban housing projects outside the Old City

Source: Tamari 1999: 31, fotografer unknown

The entering of the Zionists, first colonies

The first Jewish Zionist housing project outside the Old City walls was the windmill quarter sponsored by an English philanthropist. Sir Moses Montefiore around 1880 designed this quarter to settle poor immigrants (Mishkenot Sha'ananim) on the hill opposite the mountain Zion. Today it had become an artist quarter and belongs to those 'historic Jewish places' renovated and modernises according to a new masterplan. The windmill quarter is a touristic place with souvenir shops and galleries (see image 12).

Image 12 Windmill Quarter today, renovated, - view to the western new city

Source: wwwe.jerusalemshot.com 15.09.07

Since the 1st World Zionist Congress 1897 in Basle, the Zionist 'Palestine Exploration Fund' became responsible for the construction of Jewish housing

projects in the New City, however the construction remained as small patches within the expanding city fabric.

The slowly increasing presence of Jewish neighbourhoods was due to the fact, that the Zionist movement had not given its first attention to colonise Jerusalem. The Jewish community of Jerusalem consisted at the end of the Ottoman period around 25% of the inhabitants, however they were not considered Zionists. While in 1910 the original Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem composed half of all the Jewish population of Palestine, in 1944 they formed only one fifth, because most Jewish migrants were settling preferentially in the coastal towns, particularly in the new European city of Tel Aviv. (Davis 1999)

"During the first Aliya (immigration phase 1882-1903) Jerusalem served more as a symbol than as a colonisation goal contrary to the second Aliya (1904-1914) where the status of Jerusalem was seen as the most important centre for the Jews, although few activities happened" (Kellermann 1996:153)

At the end of the 30's, and after the first UN partition plan for Palestine became public and especially in 1937 when the Peel Commission suggested a limitation of European Jews immigration, Jerusalem was seen as an area for strategic settlement. Mostly the Zionists outside of Palestine promoted Jerusalem. The political and military fight for the city became an important issue after the revolts in 1937 (Rempel 1999:191).

Expansion of land and change in properties at the end of the British Mandate in 1947

The population of the entire town increased rapidly. In 1870, there were between 14.000 to 22,000 inhabitants (Ben Arieh 1986, Schoelch 1990) registered in Jerusalem and in 1905 the population had augmented to reach approximately 32.000 (Mc Carthy 1990). In 1917 there were about 62.500 of them 35,000 - 40,000 inhabitants living in the New City, nearly half of the total Jerusalem urban population. The majority of those living outside the Old City walls was composed of about 29,000 Jews from about 34.000, 13.400 Muslims from which 2,000 - 2,400 lived in the New City, and finally around 5.000 - 6,000 of the 15,000 Christians (Ben Arieh 1986a: 241; Kark/Landmann 1980:113 – 153). In 1922 according to the 1st Census of the British Government (Mc Carthy 1990) the Jerusalem population augmented to 62.500 (Census 1922) (see table 1)

Table 1 Population development in Jerusalem from the last Ottoman years to the beginning of the British Mandate

Year	Total population	Muslims	Christians	Jews
1870 (1)	14.000	6.000	4.000	3.800
1905 (2)	32.000	11.000	8.000	13.000
1917 (3)	53.000			31.000
1922 (4)	62.500	13.500	15.000	34.000

Sources: (1) Schoelch 1990; Ben Arieh 1986. (2) Mc Carthy 1990; (3) Survey of Palestine; (4) Ben Arieh 1986 a; Mc Carthy 1990

During the mandate time the city in its new form along with its surrounding villages had reached a size of approx. 20,000 dunam (10 dunam app. 1 hectar) including the Old City with 800 dunam. Around 26% of the New City land was in Jewish possession, and Palestinians owned 40% and around 14% was the property of Christian institutions, mostly waqf land (waqf means: Islamic ownership dedicated for social or religious purpose, see section II). Around 3% of the Jerusalem land belonged to the municipality and 17% were dedicated for roads and the railway-net (see The Palestinian Arab Refugee Office, 1946).

In the early forties of the 20th century, and under the English Mandate, the new Palestinian residential districts of Jerusalem had expanded towards the neighbouring villages Lifta, Malha, Deir Yaseen and 'Ayn Karim. Under the mandate's protection as well, small residential districts for Jewish migrants were established such as Mekor Hayim, Yemin Moshe, Mea Shearim and Rehavia, beside other migrants colonies, like the German Colony, the Greek colony etc.. (see map 1, image 13)

Map 1 Jerusalem and its suburbs 1948

Source: Survey of Palestine in: Davis 1999: 67/68

Image 13 Ayn Karim 1900, one of the western Jerusalem district villages

Source: photographer unknown, reprinted in Tamari 1999: 49

At the end of the British Mandate, Jerusalem became the second largest city in Palestine, with over 164.400 inhabitants, approx. 99,320 Jews, - the majority from Europe - and 65,010 Christians and Muslims - the majority Palestinians. Most of the Jews and about half of the Christians and Muslims lived meanwhile in the New City.

The cosmopolitan flair of the city changed radically with the fight for the establishment of the state of Israel and the military occupation of the western New City by Zionist troops.

1.2 The Usurpation of West-Jerusalem after 1948

The partition resolution of the UN in November 1947 (see map 2), and the retreat of the British Mandate Power from Palestine was the start of a bitter war between 1947 and 1949, followed by the unilateral declaration of the Jewish Israeli state at 15. May 1948. This has finally set an end to the cosmopolitan character of Jerusalem and created a deep segregation until today. (see map 2,3) During 1947 and 1949 also Jerusalem and the surrounding was targeted from the 'ethnic cleansing program' planned by Ben Gurion and his military group (see section II, Pappe 2006: 86pp). The usurpation had different steps as before: exteriorisation, expropriation, further ethnic cleansing and colonisation. Most important step was the official declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel that eventually was realised after the total usurpation of the city in 1967.

Map 2 UN Partition Plan 181, 29.11.1947   Map 3 The Partitioned City 1948

Source: UN webside UNSPAL 2007   Source: Sachar 1979, in: Passia 2005

Step one: The separation of the city

Most of the western New City fell under Israeli governance and became part of Israel, the Old City and the eastern living quarters of the New City came under Jordanian governance (see map 3). After the end of war and later cease-fire agreement, around 30,000 Palestinians, what was nearly half of the Palestinian population of Jerusalem, had to leave the western New City while about 2,000 Jews had to leave the Old City. All of them lost their properties.

The Palestinian Jerusalemites who where displaced became refugees, lost their houses, business, offices, factories and all what they had established during the last period of nearly 100 years, and were deprived of their bank accounts, estates, assets and the land. The total loss was estimated as 3 million Palestinian Pounds at that time and 30 million Pounds for land and buildings. Some refugees found accommodation in the Old City, others who fled to the 'West Bank' during the war found themselves later in the refugee camps of the United Nations or emigrated out of the country (Davis, 1999:32 f).

Step two: Expropriation of Palestinian properties

When the state of Israel was established, around 16,000 dunam of land was declared as 'abandoned' and then passed over to 'Jewish property'. Thirty-five percent of the West Jerusalem land had been Palestinian property. The status of 850 dunam of it was changed into so called 'no man's land' or to UN-area, including the Jewish Hadassah University compound between the fire lines and remained as such till the occupation in 1967 (The Palestinian Arab Refugee Office 1946, see map 3).

Immediately after the Israeli usurpation, those Palestinians who had left and were not registered as Israeli citizens were declared as 'absentees' and their properties became 'absentees' property' in accordance with the 'Absentees Property Law' of 1950 (see section III). Subsequently, the Israeli authority backed with the already used property laws had managed to transfer the ownership of Palestinian expropriated lands and buildings into Jewish Israeli property. This land was later used for settling new Jewish immigrants into new colonies. Furthermore, the expropriation process was executed for 10,000 dwellings, beside the commercial buildings, factories and workshops. After negotiations and intervention of the UN, the Palestinian properties – besides up to 10.000 at that time Israeli Pounds - were nor compensated neither given back (Rempel, 1999, 201ff).

The partition of the city along with driving out the Palestinian population from the New City and its surrounding villages was the result of a systematic plan later known as 'Plan Dalet' (see section II). According to this plan the whole area in and around Jerusalem was 'cleaned from Arab villages and hostile or potentially hostile inhabitants for ever' (Morris 1987:111; Waltz/Zschiesche 1998:97 pp).

### Step three: 'Cleansing' the surrounding of the 'New City'

The 1948 boundaries of Jerusalem were not at all satisfying for the Zionist politicians. It consisted only of the western part of the New City, and was connected with the rest of the country only by a narrow passage, surrounded by Palestinian villages and the eastern city. (see map 4,5) In addition its position was in direct proximity of the two large Palestinian cities Ramallah and Bethlehem. The Israeli part of Jerusalem was considered to be in an 'isolated' position. Hence what Zionist military groups according to plan D had began during the war, the new government

continued: 38 Palestinian villages in the west of Jerusalem vicinity were depopulated, moreover, about 28,000 Palestinians were driven out if not killed like in Deir Yassin and over 50% of the directly bordering villages were destroyed completely like Beit Durik or Biddu (Pappe 2006: 90p, www.palestineremembered and see maps 4,5). On the ruins of some villages new colonies were erected – no Palestinian was allowed to return. The right of return was refused - against UN-intervention. (Tamari 1999:77; Krystall 1992; Khalidi1992: 265 pp).

Another policy to wipe out Palestinian presence was declaring the 'cleansed' areas as parks and natural reserves. The Jewish National Fond (JNF) was and is the institution which is responsible for such planning. (see section III). The 'Lions International Israeli Reservation' on the lands of Bayt Mahsir is one example, and the national 'Two Hundred Year Park' with the 'Hubert Humphrey Walk' on the remnants of Deir El Hawa is another and also the military base 'Kanaf Staim', located on the land of former Al Burayj. They where somehow intentionally established in order to dust off the left traces of Palestinian existence around Jerusalem (Khalidi 1992:275 - 286). However, an attentive visitor can still discover the remains in form of dwells, ruins and the famous sabra cactus, which typically embraced Palestinian farm houses. Also, the remaining Palestinian quarters and buildings in and around West Jerusalem, which escaped demolishing, were quickly occupied and dwelled with Jewish immigrants. (see images 14,15)

Map 4 Operation Plans 1948
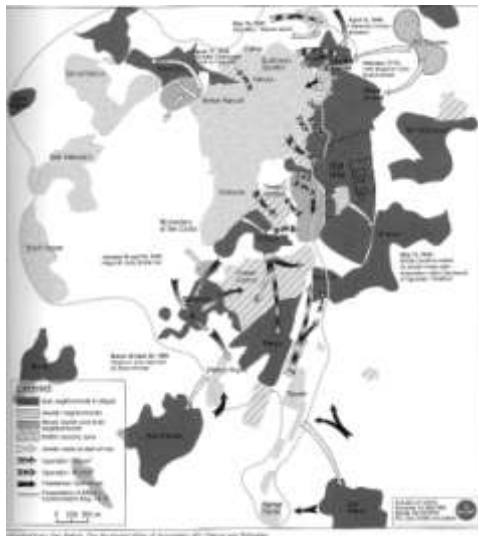
Source: Dan Bahat in: Tamari 1999: 89

Map 5 Jerusalem District Villages destroyed in 1948
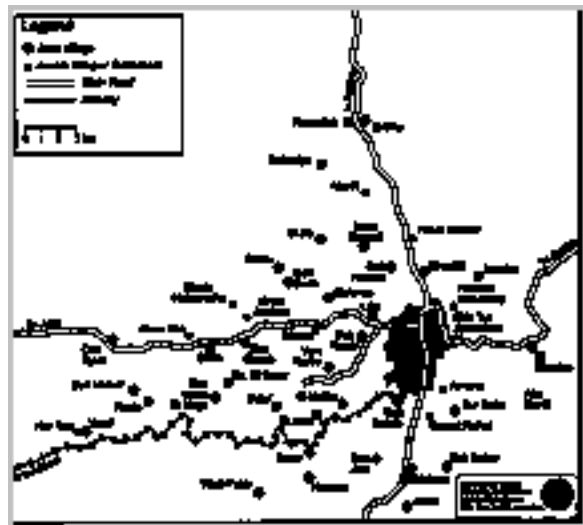
Source: House of Maps Ramallah, in Tamari 1999: 147

Image 14 Zionist forces attack Qatamon home 1. May 1948

Source: Tamari 1999:149, photographer unknown

Image 15 New Jewish immigrants moving into Palestinian houses in Musrara neighbourhood 1948

Source: Tamari 1999:153

Most important step: Claiming Jerusalem as the capital of Israel

From the beginning Israeli Zionist politicians and planners began to prepare Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel. In 1950, the Knesset has declared Jerusalem as the capital of Israel by law. After that the government systematically transferred most ministries and government offices from the coastal towns (Tel Aviv as an interim location) into the New City. In addition, the development of roads and motorways, the building of central institutions and the enlargement of the Jewish Israeli neighbourhoods, the urbanisation in general underlined the national importance of the city for Israel as the 'Capital'.

1.3 East Jerusalem and the Old City – Development under Jordan Governance

The east city expanded likewise under Jordan governance. Suburbs and quarters like the Salaheddin Street and the Bab al Zahra quarter that had been part of the New City outside the Old City Walls eventually developed as the new shopping and commercial areas because of the disconnection of Jaffa Street, that belonged to Israel after 1948. The Old City within the walls remained the heart of the city and was still the important historical shopping centre for the 'West Bank' inhabitants with its markets and business institutions, banks, chamber of commerce etc. The refugees who came from the West (new) City and the villages made the Old City dense and crowded. The historical buildings and 'hosh's' (historic family living ensemble) where not at all appropriate to accommodate new and large families. Under the Jordanian administration, the city suffered from lack of modern services and infrastructure and from negligence. Due to the density and poor housing conditions, the missing jobs and training possibilities further emigration waves followed consequently. Many families were depending on work in the Arab countries. However, the natural population growth led to more urbanisation and new habitat in the eastern suburbs of the Old City.

Besides, Jerusalem and especially the Old City remained a central attraction for foreign visitors, tourists, Muslim and Christian pilgrims as well. In times of holy religious seasons like Easter, Christmas, Ramadan or the Holy Sacrifice Jerusalem doubled its inhabitants and shop keepers and business men in general had a good income.

East and West Jerusalem expanded their built up areas inevitably. The Jerusalem City Scheme of 1959 and 1964 under Jordan Law reveal an extended outline border, including Abu Dis, Anata until Kalandia in the north into the city scheme. (see map 6, 7)

Map 6 Jerusalem City Borders and built up areas 1947, 1949 and 1967
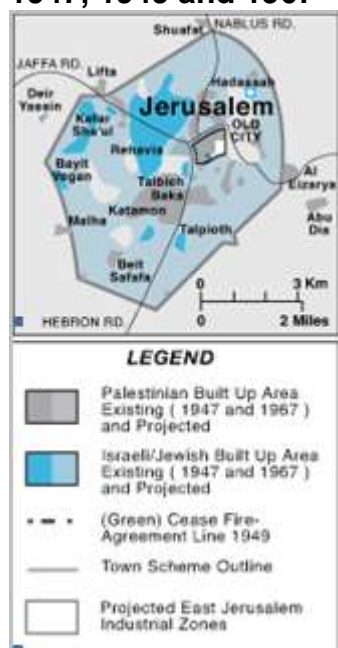
Map 7 City Scheme borders 1964

Source: fmep.org 2007

1.4 Jerusalem after 1967: Unification by Force - Further Ethnic Transformation

The State of Israel was already experienced in judaizing Palestinian lands and sources. Again, with the military conquer of the city in 1967; all kinds of measures were taken immediately to occupy the area, to throw out Palestinian population and to settle Israeli in the emptied places as soon a possible. Existing services and the political and administrative structure of the Palestinian capital were destroyed. Jerusalem came under full Israeli control, in somehow extended borders of the drafted in 1964. (see maps 8,9)

Map 8 East Jerusalem in borders before 1948 **(grey), acc. to** UN proposal of 1947 (white),

Map 9 East Jerusalem in new borders after Israeli occupation in 1967

Source: FMEP 2007

Source: FMEP 2007

1.4.1 The Expropriation Process in the First Year after the Military Conquest of East Jerusalem

The year of 1967 can be seen as a 'second round' of the Zionist fight for Jerusalem. After the occupation on 7 June 1967 the most affecting steps were as follows and realised during the first weeks of military conquest:

- the destruction of the Maghreb (Magharbeh) quarter and expulsion of its 6,000 inhabitants within few hours;

- the clearing of the Jewish quarter and eviction of about 4,000 Palestinian inhabitants;

- the demolition of all houses and shops from Jaffa Gate to the New Gate and in the Musrara quarter as well, moreover, the flattening of the plastic goods factory at the Armenian quarter. They all were buildings partly placed in the 'no man's land'; the land was later planned to become the so-called 'green belt', for the 'David City Project' and the by-pass roads around the Old City walls;

- the total cleansing of the other parts of the 'no man's land' area since 1948: abandoned buildings like the convention of the Reparatrice Sisters, the old post-

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office building, the shops, which had belonged to the Greek orthodox Patriarchy, the Franciscan Terra Santa school, the Syrian-catholic church, as well as some private houses;

* the 'Census', which has started on 26.7.1967, and has forced the east city under strict curfew, only the 'present' Jerusalemites were registered as inhabitants, those who were out by accident or had fled from the clashes between Palestinians and Israelis, were not registered (like in the whole West Bank and Gaza region, see section IV); only 66,000 Palestinians were registered as Jerusalemites, among them only 22,000 of the living quarters outside the Old City, which technically did not belong to Jerusalem according to Jordanian disregard. It was assumed, that around one third of the real Palestinian Jerusalemites had lost their status by this 'Census'. Again the so-called 'absentees' tried later to return according to the internationally embodied 'family unification law' – however, this right was denied from Israel in most of the cases;

* the classification of the East Jerusalem Palestinians as 'permanent inhabitants' with only 'residency' right), hence not citizens like the Jewish immigrants after the Israeli 'Law of Entry' of 1952 (see section III);

* the 'formal' annexation of East Jerusalem by the Knesset Law on 27.7.1967;

* the forced 'unification' of the city's administration on 28.7.1967 and the extension of the city's boundaries three times of its former size, from north of Bethlehem until Kalandia in the south of Ramallah (sea maps 7/8); densely populated Palestinian suburbs such as Al-Ram, Abu Dees, AL-Ezariyya and large parts of the Kalandia refugee camp, belonging to the Jordanian Jerusalem governorate, were excluded; this fact has still an impact on Palestinian residency and identity, as the wall is cementing this exteriorisation and displacement of former Jerusalemites;

* the closure of all banks, commercial institutions and firms, followed by a forced connection to the Israeli administration, bank and commercial system.

(Tleel 1999:30 FF).

Hence the newly by Israeli occupied East Jerusalem exteriorised the Palestinian part of Jerusalem, grabbed more West Bank land under Israeli law and territory, looted houses and properties, expatriated thousands of Jerusalemites and the remained lost their citizenship, becoming from now on only 'residents' in an Israeli town, who have to prove their existence every 7 years through different documents like foreigners and immigrants.

1.5 Colonising Jerusalem and Turning it into a Jewish City, the 'Capital of Israel'

The judaizing of East, Palestinian Jerusalem followed strategies and planned steps as known from Israel after 1948 and in accordance with the policies in the West Bank and the Gaza region. Furthermore, Jerusalem East, including the Old City was supposed now to become from now on the Jewish religious centre and the capital of Israel.

In official terms: "The analysis of the role of Jerusalem for the national and the meaning as the capital [...] was the first step when planning. [...] The desire to maintain a Jewish majority and the hope to secure the status of Jerusalem as the national capital – led the idea of a fast development and a fast implementation. [...] The outstanding and out of question principles for planning in Jerusalem is the

implementation of the unit" (Kroyanker 1982: 2). "Since the reunification of Jerusalem in the year 1967 we created the building of two rings of new housing settlements around the city centre, a kind of new barriers, which are to work primarily as political barriers against a renewed division" (Kroyanker 1985:82.)

To follow these aims we can identify the following planning issues:

- confiscation of Palestinian land and buildings,
- building of new colonies,
- transfer of Jewish-Israeli inhabitants into the confiscated areas and buildings,
- tight restrictions on the spatial expansion of Palestinian inhabitants,
- reduction of Palestinian inhabitants within the newly created borders of Jerusalem to the minimal,
- separation of Jerusalem from the rest of the 'West Bank' and thus
- destruction of the traditional economic, cultural and social relations between East Jerusalem and it's hinterland.

This is still the purpose of using planning methods and instruments, which were already approved during the Israeli colonisation policy after 1948 in the borders of 1948. To achieve this in East Jerusalem (and the West Bank and Gaza Region as well, see sections before), national and local Israeli institutions, along with Zionist organisations and settler groups acted in a wide spectrum of legal, half-legal and illegal ways, supported by the state and the military, and sponsored by many well-known and unknown sources (Silbermann 1998:31 pp). Main strategy was and is until now the construction of colonies and the settling of Jewish Israeli amidst of Palestinian neighbourhoods in order to create facts on the ground and always using power.

1.5.1 *Colony Groups Blocking the Three Accesses to the City: the North, East and South 'Corridors"*

Jerusalem planners developed long- middle and short term plans to secure a Jewish character for the city. A "ring of settlements will provide a necessary buffer in case of any political or military pressure. The creation of satellite belts is part of a long-term plan." (Kroyanker, 1982: 27)

Since 1967 colonies were established continuously and were exclusively Jewish Israeli colony groups, which eventually surrounded East Palestinian Jerusalem following three historic corridors, the northern, western and southern, hence Jerusalem sits on a crossroad of important communication axes from Nablus, Damascus and Asia Minor in the north, to Hebron and Mecca in the south and from Jordan and the Jordan Hills to Jaffa and the Coastal Plane. The new built up Jewish colonies along these corridors and supposedly forming belts, however are separating the city in the long run from its historic rural hinterland with an additional net of new roads and motorways, connecting them to Israel and the western Jewish Israeli New City and to the Jordan:

- ‚*the northern corridor*`: with the largest colony of Givat Zeev and Ramot Allon, and nowadays consisting of approximately 90,000 Israeli Jews;
- ‚*the eastern corridor*`: with the biggest and still expanding colony Maale Adumim and satellites, with a nowadays population of about 50,000 Israeli Jews;

- *,the southern corridor* `: including the largest colonies of Gilo and Efrat, part of today Etzion Bloc, accommodating approximately 50,000 Israeli Jews.

Including them into a 'Greater Jerusalem' boundary was once published and discussed in the eighties. (see map 10, image 15)

(Kroyanker 1982: 2pp; The Jerusalem Institutes for Israel Studies, 1982/1985)

Map 10 'Greater Jerusalem' **Image 16 Gilo, a 'Fortress'**
Including Givat Zeev (north-west),
Maale Adumim (east), Efrat (south)
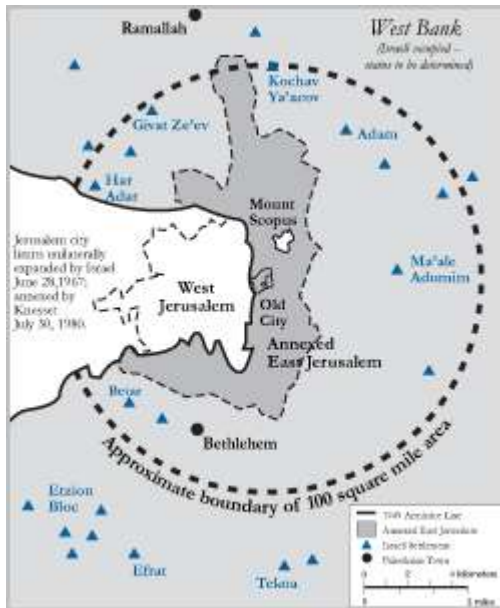
Source: FMEP 2007   Source: Kroyanker 1985: 6

For the establishment of these huge colonies the land of 20 villages along with lands from Bethlehem, Beit Safafa and Beit Jala was confiscated. Furthermore hundreds of Bedouin families were driven out from their traditional pastureland and living areas (The Closure of Jerusalem 1999: 12).

1.5.2 Colony Groups as Belts Forming Barriers

The colony groups in the long run were aimed illegally usurping more land, creating Jewish majorities and blocking the access to Jerusalem through building wider belts. This happened in three stages:

- The f*irst settlement belt*, 1968 - 1973: representing the northern connection between the Hadassah University on Mount Scopus to the West (new) City and separates thereby the Old City and Sheikh Jerah from the northern quarters of East Jerusalem Shuafat and Beit Hanina.

- The *second settlement belt*, 1970 - 1985: representing the southern connection between the two parts of the city and forms a further circle around Eastern Jerusalem and the city centre between Gilo in the south and Ramot Allon in the n north-west, which at the same time restricts the expansion of Bethlehem and Beit Jala.

- The *third settlement belt*, 1975 until today: covering three large colonies in the far peripheries of the East City with Bet El in the north, Maale Adumim in the east and Efrat in the south, restricting Palestinian expansion, dividing it from Abu Dees and Essawiye and forming the platform to link with Jordan.

- (see map 11, map 12)

Map 11 Israeli colonies in East Jerusalem, Map 12 Ma'ale Adumim Bloc Palestinian neighbourhoods   and expansion 2006 borders after 1967, 2000
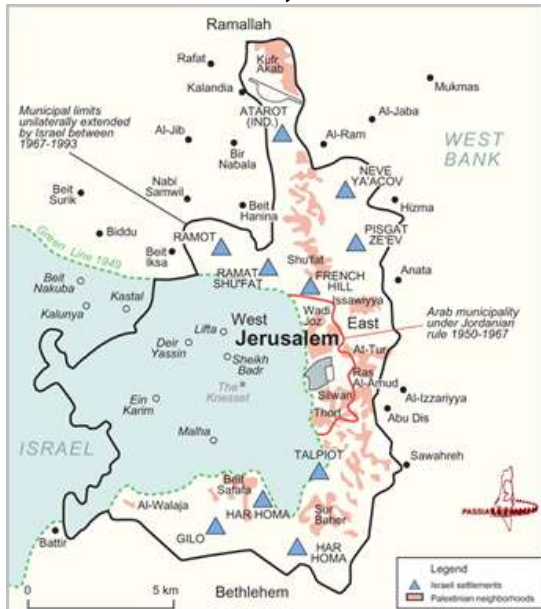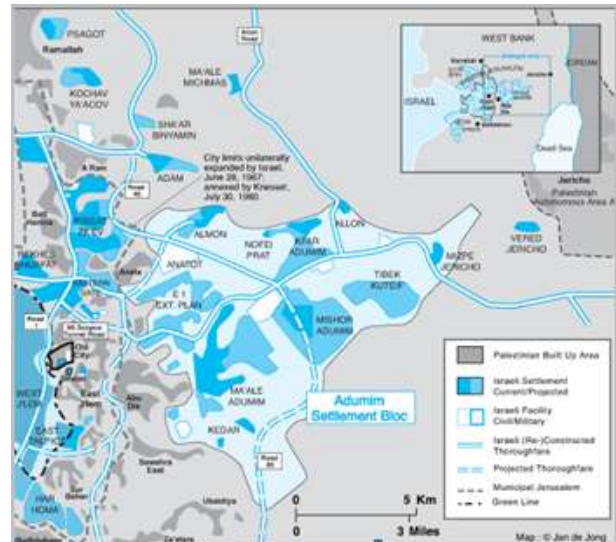
Source: PASSIA 2003^   Source: FMEP 2007

These colonies are becoming the corner pillars for building the future 'Metropolitan Jerusalem', a plan, published in 1980, according to which Bethlehem and Ramallah is aimed to include within the city boundaries. (see map 12) Colonies however are destroying historical landscape of Jerusalem and its surrounding, as we can see clearly at the Abu Ghneim - Har Homa project, what was a beautifully wooded hill between Jerusalem and Bethlehem before becoming a colony area placed as a barrier between Jerusalem and Bethlehem (see image 16)

Image 17 Abu Ghneim, today Har Homa

Source Arij 2005

In the meantime large parts of the hills between these three main strategic colonies are covered with small colonies, so that the third belt will eventually be consolidated to a colony chain closing East Jerusalem completely from its surrounding – as well as from the Palestinian parts of Jordan Valley. The actual construction of the wall is making this aim complete.

(PASSIA 2003:304, Waltz/Zschiesche 1986:350 f):

Map 13 'Metropolitan Jerusalem'
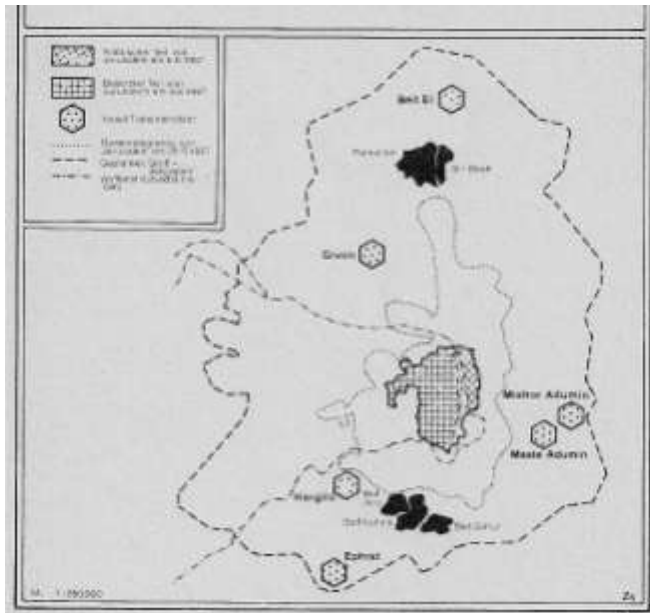
Source: Waltz/Zschiesche 1986: 374

Furthermore, appropriate road networks and systems supplement the concept of the division and separation of the Palestinian areas from each other. They also connect Israeli areas and colonies by new bypass roads with one another, as well as with the West (new) City. This also prepares the direct connection between Israel and the Jordan valley, which is meanwhile completely under Israeli military control. The planning for the 'Metropolitan Jerusalem' will thus become part of dividing the West Bank into Bantustans.

1.5.3 Colonies and Projects in the Surrounding Area of the Old City: the Seam Project

Israeli officials tend to explain the development concepts in the direct periphery of the Old City as the most strategic idea for the 'unification' of the city. Especially the removal of the so called 'Seam' is seen as important, but additional projects for greenery and cultural institutions belong to that idea as follows:

- the *'green belt'* around the Old City ramparts, various small parks between the Old City and the Palestinian residential areas such as Souwane and Silwan,

- the transformation of the *Musrara* area into a central taxi and bus service area for the West Bank,

- creation of an Israeli service area: Bus and parking lots and the project of ‚*David's City*` with shops and hotels on the *Mamilla* area,

- the '*culture mile*' with Windmill Quarter, open air theatre at the Salomon pools and the Cinematheque,
- the '*Archaeology Park*' underneath the Maghreb quarter and Al Aqsa-mosque,
- the integration of the *Silwan spring* into a part of the 'Archaeology Park' different new buildings and the occupation and destruction of Palestinian houses belonging to that,
- the '*Promenade*' in the south-east on land of Abu Tur,
- the area of the '*Government House',* UN head quarter, a police centre, a hotel and buildings for congresses,
- converting large areas of the 'Mount of Olives' as the *Jewish main cemetery* near the 'Garden Gethsemane' from Ras al Amud until El Ezzariya.

(The Jerusalem Institutes for Israel Studies, 1982/1985)

Figure 1 The Cultural Mile Project at the western entrance (Bab al Khalil/Jaffa Gate) : Promenade (1), Open Air Theatre at Sultan's Pool (6) Windmill project (7) a.o.
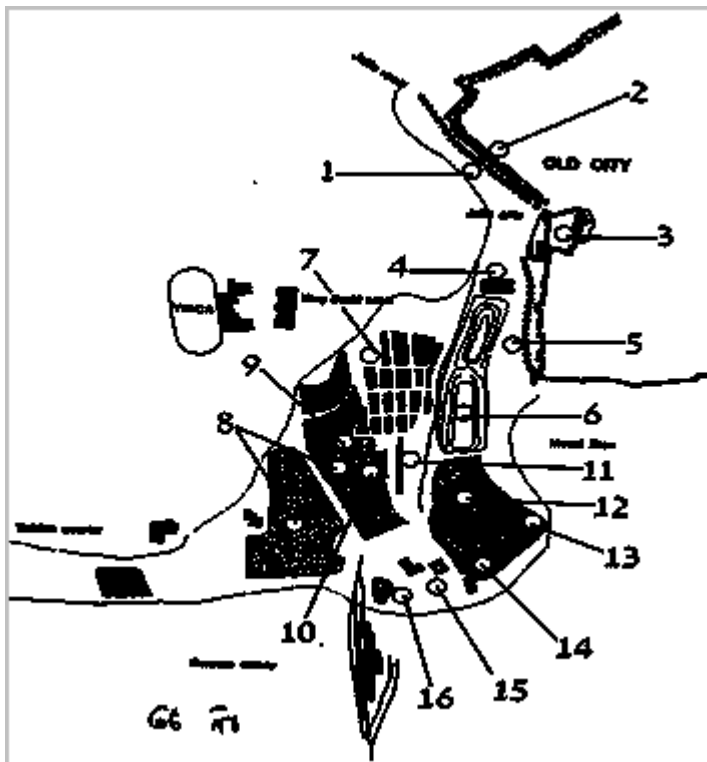

Source: Kroyanker 1982: 66

Furthermore, the waste water sewer in '*the Kidron valley*', which drains waste water from Hebrew University, is demolishing parts of the historical valley.

Actual an underground metro, a 'light railway' is nearly finished, which will be a vital link connecting the western New City with the Israeli Jewish colonies Ramot Eshkol and French Hill. The use of this metro is expected to be confined on Israelis only, though piercing through the Palestinian areas. The project is issued as a private partnership with two French groups. Actually the project is under worldwide public critics within the BDS (boycott, devestemt, sanctions) movement (Le Monde Diplomatique février 2007: 18, see map 14)

Map 14 CityPass - the Jerusalem Light-Rail Project (- - - -)

wall

67 border

- - train. route

 Source: http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/461
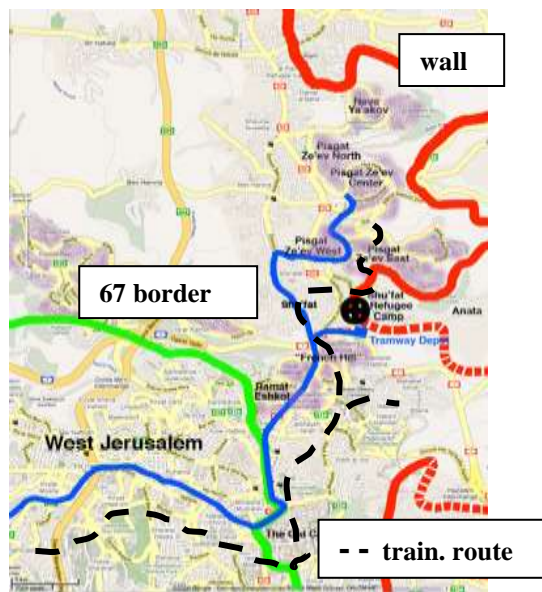
In accordance with municipality activities, Jewish groups are occupying building complexes and houses in the densely inhabited Palestinian neighbourhoods inside and close to the Old City, e.g. in Silwan, Abu Dees, Sheikh Jerah and Jibl Zeitun (Mount of Olives). This is not only disturbing daily life of the Palestinian Jerusalemites, but meant to judaizing and eventually separating the Palestinian living quarters from each other and throwing the Palestinians out of the city. (Silbermann 1998:31 f; Waltz/Zschiesche 1986:350 pp; Kroyanker 1982:27)

1.5.4. Judaising the Old City

Israeli town planners of Jerusalem like to spread the impression that the official planning activities are only pursuing the upgrading of the Old City (see map 15) and strengthening the historical and cultural heritage (so done for example by the Israeli member in the assembly of the UNESCO session about Jerusalem in November 1987).

Map 15 The Old City Quarters

Source: Weidenfeld/Nicolson 1989

However, it is too evident that the Israeli municipality is pursuing nothing but to control the Palestinians, reduce their existence and strongly strengthen the Jewish character of the city. 'Upgrading' is rather a dressing or a make-up, and not even adapted to the place – like the case of the mosaics in front of the 12 stations at Via Dolorosa. In all other aspects official planning cares a little about the daily needs of the inhabitants, or the standard of housing, social infrastructure, health supply or social or cultural centres for the Palestinian population. On the contrary, building and modernisation permission are withheld or building applications are used to declare the building as outdated, to classify it as dangerous and uninhabitable so that it is advisable to refuse such permission and advise the inhabitants to leave the place. While the Jewish Quarter enjoys each support, the Palestinian quarters are dependent on family resources or help from the Islamic foundation, the Auqaf, if not foreign funds. All these means are limited. Again, to say that changes especially in the social fabric is against UN resolutions and international Law!

Changing the face and the meaning of historical places by official planning

The judaizing of the Old City can be identified in the following areas or projects:

- The *Jewish Quarter*: apartments and houses are renewed or modernised, funded by international and Jewish donors. In large scale some parts are rebuilt or newly built; some of the new buildings are destroying the historic sites, like the Jewish Center opposite to the 'wailing wall', an architectural crime. The larger Palestinian part of the Old City, which is lively and vibrant, is visibly poorer. The Jewish Quarter and above all the huge place in front of the 'wailing wall' became a highly controlled Ghetto with barriers and presence of police and weapons, and Palestinians are hindered from entering;

- The destruction of the Maghreb Quarter, 'cleansing' it from homes, a school and a garden, converting it into the main Jewish religious centre in front of the 'wailing wall', closed by fences and check points, with a special entrance and even more restricting one of the historic accesses to the Al Aqsa Mosque (see figure 11,12)

Image 18 Maghreb Quarter 1934   **Image 19 Maghreb Quarter today**

Source: www.palestinerememebered   Source: wwwe.mosaic.lk.net/g-wall.html

- The *Via Dolorosa*: important route for pilgrims and a historical place; some parts and the stations are 'renewed' in European style pedestrian areas, such as the entrance to the Damascus Gate and the inner space of the Hebron/Jaffa Gate;

- The *Citadel:* the image and symbolic of the Citadel underwent a complete change, is called 'David City' and converted into a Museum of Jewish roots of history only;

- The '*Tunnel*': in 1998 and against international protests, the Israeli municipality opened a tunnel with an entrance starting at the Wailing Wall, with an exit emerging into the Via Dolorosa at the third station. Since then and on a daily basis, hundreds of Jewish visitor groups turn up, accompanied by body guards, policemen and soldiers, poisoning the atmosphere between Lion Gate and the Austrian Hospice in Al Ward Street.

(Waltz, 1996, Kroyanker 1985, 1982)

Judaising the space by force of Jewish groups

In all other respects, the planners leave the real transformation of the city to the hands of aggressive Jewish groups such as Shuvat Banim and Young Israel - groups, which co-operate with the ultra right wing settler movement Gush Emmunim and pursue a concept of 'hebronising' or ,bantustanising' Jerusalem, mirroring the future of the Old City of Jerusalem with that of Hebron (see map 16). (Silberman 1998:31 f, Dumper 1992, see next section). No Palestinian quarter is excluded from these actions, whether Muslim or Christian. These groups occupying buildings threatening the Palestinian inhabitants and eventually forcing them to leave are destroying the structure and the view of the Old City. Once these groups appear, destroy, evict and occupy, police and military are following them for 'protection' and 'security'. Thus, official and unofficial planning is working 'hand in hand'. Since 2000, the millennium cameras all over are controlling the daily life hence the Palestinians day and night. (Waltz 1996; Dumper 1992:32)

Map 16 Areas usurped by Jewish settler groups (blue stars) and area expropriated for extension of the Jewish Quarter 2007
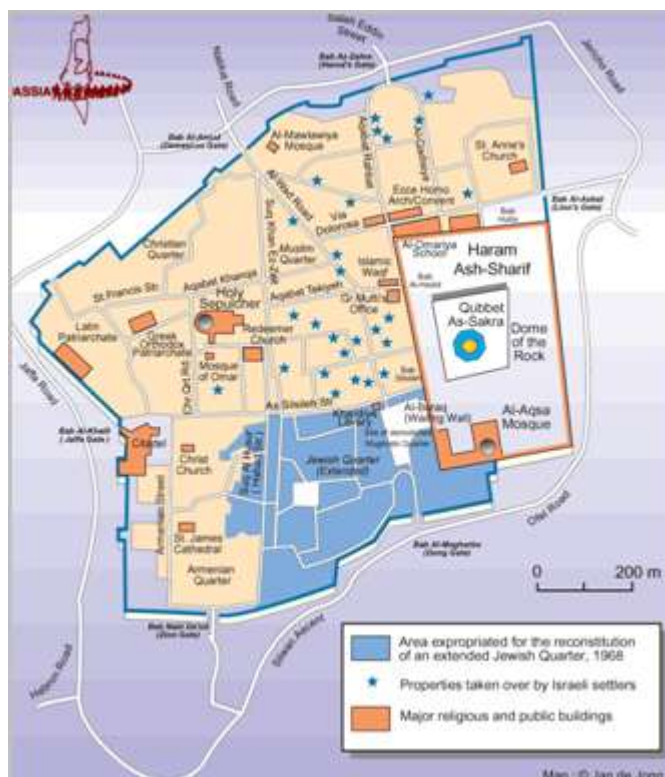
Source: Jan de Jong in: Passia 2007

1.6 The Role of the Planning Instruments

As before (chapter III/IV) the classical planning set of judaizing again came into action: Master plans, confiscation, refusal of building permission and demolition of already built houses (Ir Shalem 1998, see map 17):

- *Master Plans*: master plans for the Palestinian quarters are never promoting the spatial development of the Palestinian areas, however, limiting the building zones substantially and converting large areas of Palestinian lands, approximately 40%, to green areas and extension areas for Jewish colony areas - without an official approved master plan; altogether only about 11% of the East Jerusalem master plan areas are approved for the extension of the Palestinian populated areas – which is not at all enough for the natural growth of the Palestinian population;

- *Confiscation*: Confiscation of Palestinian land and property can be identified for various urbanisation purposes, more than one third of the area of East Jerusalem was expropriated; more than half of the East Jerusalem Palestinian property was defined as 'absentees land' after 1967, according to the absentee law from 1950;

- *Low Building Density*: While the Jewish-Israeli populated areas are allowed 120% or 136% density, the Palestinian areas are restricted to a density of 25% to 50% (in two floor buildings); only in the northern quarters of Beit Hanina and Shuafat a density of 75% is allowed; this nevertheless allows buildings of a maximum up to four floors. Israeli planners dare to explain this with respect to 'cultural' habits (in an interview with German students in: P 25: 2004)

- *Building Licenses*: a complex of obstacles for getting licences still exist; the costs to get a building licence is extremely high, it takes years to get one, and after receiving a license Palestinians are forced by law to finish construction within a year; but most of all, building licenses are rejected for different reasons; this encourages the phenomena of building without license ('illegal building'); most of these unlicensed buildings are built regarding the current needs of the families and due to the limitation of housing areas through these master plans to an approximate number of 5,000 units;

- *Demolishing of Houses*: Demolishing of so-called 'illegal buildings' follows consequently; since the occupation ICAHD estimates that 24,145 houses have been demolished in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza together since 1967. In Jerusalem between 2004 and 2008 449 houses were demolished from 3.753 buildings threatened by demolition orders (ICAHD 2009, see following images);

Image 20 Bulldozing a house   **Image 21 House demolition in Abu Tur**

Source ICAHD 2009   Foto: Amro 2006

- *Zoning for Business Areas*: Only 0.5% of the entire Palestinian East Jerusalem area is sited in the proposed master plans for trade, shopping, industry areas.

(Ir Shalem 1998, B'Tselem 2003, 2002, The Closure of Jerusalem 1999:30)

Map 17 Master Plan and Land Use Plan as Restriction

        (red expropriated for colonies, light green: unplanned, dark green:
        open space areas,black: built up (Palestinian) residential)
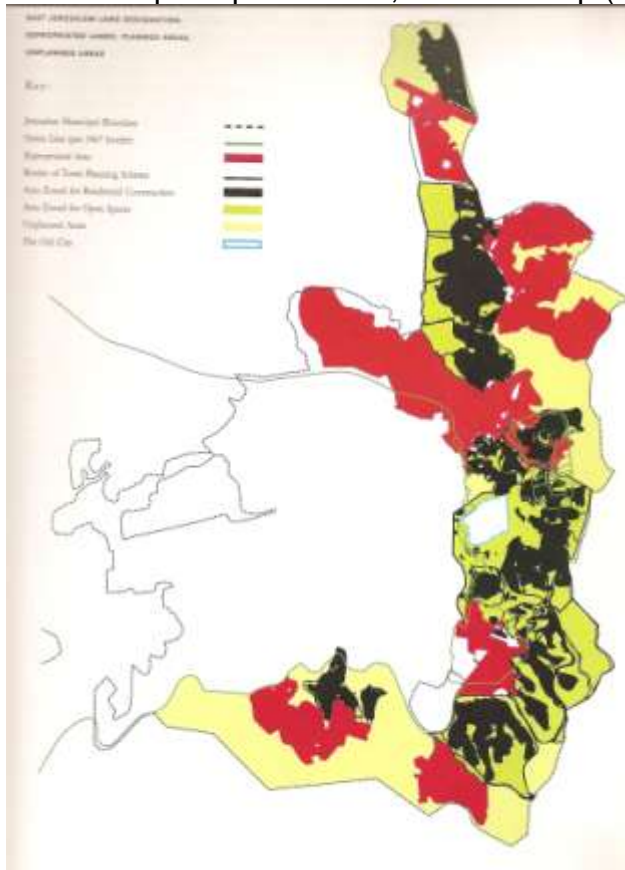
Source .Irshalem 1998: 7

The list of such discrimination by intentional different treatments through official planning can be expanded to other sectors of urban infrastructure such as supply of water, waste water and waste deposal, as well as for the social sector, such as education and health care and also regarding the job market and professional vocational training (see PASSIA 2003:305 pp, PASSIA 1999:264 f; Irshalem 1998:8).

1.7 The Results of Segregation and Discrimination of the Palestinian Jerusalemites

Comparing the developing in East (Palestinian) and West (Israeli) Jerusalem during 29 years of occupation, Brik found between1967 and 1996 the discrimination of the Palestinian Jerusalemites evident as follows:

- In the Palestinian part of the city 2.2 housing units per dunam were established, while 6,1 in the Israeli part;

- In the Palestinian part of the city the inhabitant density amounts to about 14.6 persons per dunam, however, in the Israeli part it is 21,7;

- In the Palestinian part of the city the average density amounts to 2.2 persons per room, while in the Israeli part it is 1,1;

- In the Palestinian part of the city 27.8% of the population live with 3 or more than 3 persons per room, however, in the Israeli part its only 2.4%;

- In the Palestinian part of the city 61.5% of the population live with 2 or more persons per room, in the Israeli part its only 13.5%;

- In the Palestinian part of the city between 1967 and 1995 10,473 housing units were built in addition to the existing 12,600, however in the Israeli sector there were 70,692 buildings added to the existing 57,500 housing units, i.e. in the Palestinian sector the housing stock grew by 83%, while it grew in the same period in the Israeli sector by 123%;

- Related to the growth of the population it is a fact that in the Palestinian sector one new housing unit per 9,7 inhabitant was built, while in the Israeli sector one new housing unit per 3 inhabitants.;

- Related to the building permits 6,3 were given for new West Jerusalemites, but only 2,6 for new East Jerusalemites. (Brik 1996)

Besides building, taxes and loads imposed on the Palestinian inhabitants have a more catastrophic effect, which led to a level of income of one third of the western Israeli side (Ir Shalem 1998:53).

Moreover, there is a political discrimination of Palestinian Jerusalemites, as they are constantly subjected to confiscation of their identity documents. (PASSIA 2003:301 f, The Closure of Jerusalem 1999:27 f)

Conclusion

The peace process did not ease at all a solution for the so-called 'Jerusalem Question'. On the contrary: Reality shows that the Israeli policy in East Jerusalem is part of the judaizing process in whole Palestine, nowadays concentrating on Jerusalem. Israel enforces – and each Israeli government was and is involved - by planning matters the judaizing of the Old City, the environment of the Old City and the remaining eastern, northern and southern residential areas of East Palestinian Jerusalem.

The effect of all mentioned projects and measures is an intended substantial change of the historical and the Palestinian character of Jerusalem. They also influence the economy and the future of the East Jerusalem Palestinian society, which substantially depend on tourism, since the relations to the hinterland are cut off. The different activities since the occupation destroyed the central economical basis and tourism.

While the Western (new) City has all the needed means to serve international tourism with parking space, bus connections, guides and tourist information centres, the Eastern (Palestinian) City is deprived more and more from modern tourist infrastructure. Keeping and upgrading the historical landscape, valleys, villages, and the important places for the Muslims and the Christians in the east are facing more and more difficulties and obstacles, while the Jewish defined places receive the

most care and attention from the Israeli governed municipality. This is fact even more in the Old City of Jerusalem.

Since the illegal and total closure for Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza following the peace agreements in Oslo, Jerusalem has lost its existential role for the Palestinian hinterland. The provocation of Sharon and the following outbreak of the Al Aqsa Intifada made tourism completely dead. The political, economic, cultural and social situation of the Palestinian inhabitants of the city, declined dramatically. Moreover, the Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza region are denied access to basic social institutions like hospitals and schools. The Segregation Wall will complete the total isolation of the Palestinian Jerusalemites and intends to hinder establishing East Palestinian Jerusalem as the Palestinian capital in a Palestinian State. Again the geographical, demographic and cultural usurpation of Jerusalem is part of the long time before planned cleansing program for Palestine and actual since the right wing parties came into power 2008 a 'par force' judaization is on teh way, threatening Palestinians' history, identity and socio-economic basics. The so called 'unification' is understood and cemented by facts and planning as a Jewish unification of Jerusalem, hence part of the cultural genocide already started since last century.

The next section will go deeply to the effects of planning and especially the Segregation Wall in terms of destroying the geographic and demographic continuity of Palestinian Jerusalem.

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