In Anticipation:
A New City Design for East Jerusalem as the Capital of Palestine

By
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Abstract

The realm of this research is the Middle East Conflict between the Israeli and the
Palestinian peoples. It tries to address the hope that a viable and secure solution to
conflict can be achieved despite all the foreseeable obstacles that the continuing worsening
of the situation suggests.

Therefore, this work aims at keeping alive the dream that one day the conflict will end
with a satisfactory outcome to all parties involved. Moreover, it suggests that, despite
the present uncertainties, Jerusalem, as probably the most sensitive component of the
just mentioned conflict, could actually become the first Shared City Capital of two
independent Nation States, Israel and the yet to be formed State of Palestine. In addition,
the present project will investigate the theoretical and practical constraints and possibilities
that exist in designing a city for the Palestinians under the supposition that East Jerusalem,
as part of Shared Jerusalem, would one day become the Capital of a future Palestine.

In addition, this research would also show the relationship between conflict and urban
design through its formal representation in the urban master plans developed for
Jerusalem, concentrating on the period between the end of the 19th century to the present
day, in form of a brief historical background, fully subordinated to the main research.

Thesis Supervisor: Michael Dennis
Title: Professor of Architecture
In Anticipation:

A New City Design for East Jerusalem as the Capital of Palestine
To my parents, Livia Muntean and Petru Ioan Muntean,
For their never ending and unconditional support.
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To

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Prema
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Introduction

What
The area of study for this research is the Middle East Conflict or more specifically the struggle for peace between Palestinians and Israelis. In particular, I will address the urban condition of Jerusalem, the most sensitive issue of the conflict, from the viewpoint of a relatively new concept that appears to be increasingly circulated, the sharing of Jerusalem. The shared Jerusalem concept proposes that in the near future, Israel and a Palestinian State, will share Jerusalem as the capital city of both Israel and a future State of Palestine.

Within the concept of a shared city, and as a premise to my study, I would suppose that the West Jerusalem would become the capital of Israel, while East Jerusalem would become the capital of Palestine. The demarcation line between these supposed capitals will be the border that existed before the Six Days war of 1967 between Israel and Jordan, when East Jerusalem was under the jurisdiction of Jordan.

Thus, more specifically, I will approach the practical question of urban design in the context of the current conflict by addressing the East Jerusalem condition as a possible Capital of a yet to be formed State of Palestine. The research question is most succinctly phrased as What does East Jerusalem need to become a good city and a Capital, and subsequently, also questions what are the design problems that an urban designer would have to face when presented with the task of designing East Jerusalem as the Capital of Palestine?

How
The process of a head on identification of the East Jerusalem’s needs to become a good capital city and of addressing the subsequent induced urban design problems, seems to be, in the view of the great complexity of the matter and especially at this point in time, an impossible if not futile task.

However, through the present work I try to argue that, given the present circumstances — and for that matter I recognize upfront that the task of designing East Jerusalem as Capital of Palestine is now impossible - there is a way of addressing the issue and, that the way address it is by anticipating it rather than addressing it directly. Moreover, I believe that anticipating such a complex future event can be only beneficial, as one can only gain further information and knowledge and thus can prepare better for it. Subsequently, this may have an overall positive impact on the future design of the Jerusalem.
As a mean of anticipation in this case I will investigate from an urban point of view a representative site chosen to resemble as much as possible the complex conditions of the present East Jerusalem. Subsequently, I will propose three urban conceptual alternatives for the site in discussion that, in my opinion, could anticipate possible future urban proposals for East Jerusalem.

Why
Given the latest developments of the Middle East Conflict, it appears that the scope and the timing of my investigation may not be too appropriate, firstly because of the perceived political sub-theme that is usually attached to such an investigation and secondly, due to the reduced probability of gaining or having access to proper un-biased data on the subject.

Despite these arguments, I think that the timing is just right, now more than ever is the appropriate time to talk about this issue, analyze it and formulate alternative solutions to it in order to keep the dream alive, to maintain alive the slim possibility that a viable solution is there in the future and that we should not give up hope in searching for it. If no one is going to do something about this issue now when the situation in Jerusalem threatens to deteriorate irremediably then when?

In addition, this thesis aims to be a way of visually representing these hopes and viable future possibilities, as it tries to fill what it seems to be a lack of physical, visual representation of the past and present solutions to the conflict. Introducing such a type of representation may be a further way to maintain and maintain the faith that a viable solution is indeed possible in the near future.
Background

The background to the subject is without any doubt one of the most written about subjects as it deals with the most sacred places of the most important religions of today's world, namely — and in order of formation - the Jewish, Christian and Muslim religion. Jerusalem is the location the Holy Sepulcher, the Wailing Wall and the Dome of the Rock, the three of the most holiest places of the Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The Holy Sepulcher is recognized by the most Christians as the place that shelters the tomb of Jesus. The Wailing Wall - the only remaining part of the Jewish temple that contained the Ark of the Covenant — is recognized as the most sacred place of the Jewish, and, the Dome of the Rock is recognized by Muslims—as the third holiest place after Mecca and Medina.

Moreover, due to the above characteristics, the struggle to conquer, acquire and retain Jerusalem induced a history of around at least 3000 years that, recently, culminates in the current conflict. To briefly go through the entire background within the present exercise, and select the most important facts that in one way or another could help to the argument of the present work, I will divide the background in three distinct parts.

The first part, the Holy City — Brief Timeline of historical and urban development from 3000BC to the late 19th Century, will try to highlight by means of a brief historical and pictorial timeline the main events that affected the City from the earliest times to the late 19th century when the city began developing outside its defensive walls.

The second part, The Israeli — Palestinian Conflict - Brief Review from the early 20th century to the Present Day will try to summarize the key elements that induced, consolidated and influenced the Israeli conflict from its inception during the British Mandate to the present day. Significant facts would have most probably omitted, as I will concentrate mainly on the ones that are strictly related, or had a certain effect on the city of Jerusalem.

The third and final part of the background to my research is Jerusalem as the Main Component of the Israeli — Palestinian Conflict - The City Urban Development from the late 19th century to the Present Day. This part will underline the link between political conflicts and the urban Master Plans proposed by different parties along the years since the City had started developing and extending outside its defensive walls. This process had been mainly induced by the increased Western European representation in the Middle East and by the beginnings of the migration of the Jewish people, at first from Russia and Eastern Europe to Palestine, at the end of 19th century, beginning of the 20th century.
The Holy City:
Brief Timeline of historical and urban development,
from 3000 BC to the late 19th Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1400 BC</td>
<td>The Semitic Urusalim (the foundation of the god Shalem) is founded in the Amarna letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-961 BC</td>
<td>Jerusalem is captured by David. He enshrined the Ark of the Covenant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>961-922 BC</td>
<td>Solomon built the first temple for the Ark of the Covenant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800 BC</td>
<td>The City expanded West of its original site on the Ophel ridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>586 BC</td>
<td>The City destroyed by the Babylonians and its inhabitants were deported.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Second Temple Period: 538 BC — 70 AD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>538 BC</td>
<td>A smaller population returned from exile in Babylon. Zerubbabel restored. Solomon’s temple. Roughly they reoccupied the area of the city of David and Solomon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170-164 BC</td>
<td>Jerusalem’s city fortifications were torn down during the Maccabaean rebellion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160-134 BC</td>
<td>A new wall was erected. The city occupied the two hills between the Hinnom and Kidron valleys. Its eastern and western limits remained fairly constant until the mid-19th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106-48 BC</td>
<td>Jerusalem fell to the Roman general Pompey in late 63 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 BC</td>
<td>Herod the Great became King of Judaea. He built the Antonia Fortress, a theatre and a hippodrome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 BC</td>
<td>Herod built himself a magnificent palace on the western hill. Parts of this palace survive as David’s Tower, now part of the Citadel. Herod’s most enduring achievement, however, was the replacement of the Solomon temple by a completely new edifice. Its gigantic platform remained a central feature of the city throughout its subsequent history. Herod’s kingdom was a key element in the defense of the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 BC-6 AD</td>
<td>Herod’s son and successor, Archelaus failed to guarantee the same security. Rome assumed direct control. Roman procurators governed Judaea from Caesarea. The reign of Herod Agrippa I was a brief exception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Jesus Christ was executed and buried in Jerusalem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Roman Period: 70 - 330

66-70 Direct Roman control stimulated the rise of Jewish nationalism, which triggered the First Revolt. The city is devastated by the Roman general and later emperor, Titus. The southern part of the city became the location of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, whose commander now controlled Palestine. It was to remain a legion camp for almost 200 years.

131 The Second Revolt. Rome is victorious, and Jerusalem is turned into the Roman colony Aelia Capitolina. Only Gentiles could become residents. Jews began to return on one day a year to lament their loss.

131-135 The stones of the ruined Herodian temple became a quarry for two public baths, the Capitoline Temple, and the four-galleried Nymphaeum. Urban development was limited to the northern half of present Old City.

135 The Capitoline Temple stood on a podium above the old quarry in which Jesus Christ had been executed and buried. It lay just West of the Cardo Maximus running South from the restored free-standing northern gate that is now Damascus Gate.

300 Damascus Gate became part of the city wall erected after the departure of the Tenth Legion.

The Byzantine Period: 330 - 638

Constantine the Great committed to Christianity. He demolished the Capitoline Temple and excavated the bedrock to reveal Golgotha and the Tomb of Christ. On the above site he erected the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This made Jerusalem a center of pilgrimage. The Byzantine city depicted in the 6th-century Madaba map.

450-460 The demand on space had become so great that the city walls were extended to include Mount Sion and the City of David.

622-624 Jerusalem, served as the first qibla or direction of prayer, for Muslims. It was the focus of Muslim attention from the earliest years of Islam.

The First Moslem Period: 638 — 1099

638 The city, known initially to the Muslims as Iliya (Latin Aelia) and later as al-Quds (The Holy), surrendered to Muslim forces. Muslims used the area of the Temple, largely abandoned in the Byzantine period, for their place of prayer.
The construction of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, the earliest Islamic monuments to survive in Jerusalem.

Muslims generally accepted Jerusalem as the third sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, as it acquired a new role as the scene of the Last Judgement and the gate to paradise. The population decreased, and earthquakes damaged several buildings, including the Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Sepulchre, which were subsequently restored.

Friction between religious communities increased in the 10th century. The Holy Sepulchre was damaged by fire (938) and pillaged (966).

The persecution of Jews and Christians by the erratic Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (996—1021) culminated in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre.

The City was left in ruins, particularly after the earthquake in which the dome of the Dome of the Rock collapsed.

The Fatimids abandoned the extension of the city walls to the South and strengthened those remaining, giving them approximately their present location. The old Cardo Maximus and the Decumanus divided this region into four quarters, which acquired distinctive religio-ethnic identities. The Northwest quadrant around the Holy Sepulchre was populated by Christians. The Jews lived in the Northeast quarter and the Muslims in the southern half.

More Christians visited the city; 7000 pilgrims arrived from southern Germany and Holland.

**The Crusader Period: 1099 — 187**

The city taken by the First Crusade and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was established. The crusaders massacred the Muslims and Jews in the city. Non-Christians were forbidden to reside in it. Christian Arabs from Syria and Palestinians settled in the old Jewish quarter, which was renamed the Syrian quarter. Armenians occupied the southwest quarter and Germans the southeast. The crusaders enlarged the Citadel in the middle of the West Wall, which protected the royal palace of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem immediately to the South. The city was a center for administration, monastic and military—religious orders.

Inside the Haram al-Sharif, the Aqsa Mosque was transformed into a palace and subsequently became the military and religious center of the Knights Templar. The Dome of the Rock, renamed the Templum Domini, served as a church. To accommodate the
thousands of pilgrims who arrived annually many new churches and buildings were built.

1142- 1165
The Holy Sepulchre was re-built.

The Ayyubid and Mameluke period: 1187 - 1517

1187 Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din (1169—93) took Jerusalem from the crusaders after a short siege. Muslims allowed the inhabitants to ransom themselves. The population became predominantly Muslim, as only Christians following the Eastern Rite remained, and Muslim refugees migrated from Ashqelon. The walls and citadel were rebuilt, Muslim shrines returned to their original function, and many Christian buildings were rededicated to Islam. The Christians retained control of the Holy Sepulchre, but pilgrimage to it was suspended until 1192.

1219 To deter the Christians from retaking Jerusalem and using it as a base, the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus dismantled the fortifications.

1260 Jerusalem was incorporated into the Mamluk sultans' domains in Egypt. The city was rebuilt as the sultans restored or repaired the great sanctuaries, provided them with water and erected major institutions. This building boom gave the city many beautiful buildings and altered its appearance as profoundly as had Herod the Great.

1200-1500 Some 90 buildings remaining from this period testify to the enormous building activity that was concentrated on the western and northern sides of the Haram and its approaches. Only two Muslim buildings were erected in the western half of the city. The buildings included such standard types in Mamluk architecture as schools, orphanages, libraries, hospices, hospitals, caravanserais, baths, latrines and fountains.

1336 Particularly splendid buildings were erected by Tankiz, Viceroy of Syria (1312—40), who repaired the aqueduct from Solomos pools and erected the Tankiziyya Madrasa as well as the Suq al-Qattatin.

1482 The Mamluk sultan Qa itbay (reg 1468—96) erected the stunning Ashrafiyya Madrasa and a lovely fountain near by on the Haram.

The Turkish Period: 1517 - 1917

1516-1517 The Ottoman sultan Selim (1512—20) took Jerusalem during his campaign against the Mamluks.
1520 — 1566
His son and successor, Sleyman (1520—66) rebuilt the walls (1537—41), renovated the Dome of the Rock, repaired the aqueduct and erected four public fountains within the city and one near the Sultan’s Pool at the foot of Mt Zion. The sultan and his wife, Hurrem (1500—88), created many endowments, including a soup kitchen (now since destroyed).

1566 — 1841
Under the early Ottomans the population tripled, and a toll was levied on visitors to the Holy Sepulchre. The city was given as a tax farm by the Ottoman Sultans by means of a grant, whose recipient changed every two or three years, and it quickly entered into a decline that lasted until the mid-19th century.

1806
The population was estimated at 8000 and was victimized by excessive taxation. The aqueduct system was not maintained.

1841
The reversal of the city’s fortunes began with the establishment of British, French and Russian consulates and the shift of the population from predominantly Muslim to predominantly Christian and Jewish.

1853-1856
Western penetration was strengthened by the Crimean War. The Christians were allowed to raise their flags and ring church bells. Christian families became important in local affairs.

1856
To win trade agreements and foreign investment at home the Ottomans were forced to make more concessions to the Europeans; they gave the Salahiyya Madrasa to the French Emperor Napoleon III, under whom it was restored to its original use.

1856 — 1860
Part of the Muristan district was presented to Prussia, and a Protestant church was erected. Improved security led to an increase of visitors, who became an important source of revenue, and to the establishment of Christian mission schools and hospitals. Jewish immigration from Europe and Russia increased, as they could claim the protection of European consuls. Ashkenazim enjoyed greater advantages than the Sephardim, who had started to arrive in the 17th century. The poverty of the Jewish community received the generosity of Jews abroad, who supplied funds to create jobs and to found hospitals and schools.

1860
The greatest of benefactors Sir Moses Montefiore (1784—1885), the first to settle Jews outside the walled city.

1864
The real stimulus to urban development was the construction of the Russian compound capable of housing 1000 pilgrims.

1869
The commercial opportunities generated by such a concentration
of visitors led to the establishment of a new Jewish quarter, Nahalat Shiva, on the other side of the newly restored road to Jaffa. These gains were consolidated by Christian and Jewish immigration throughout the century. American and European Christians concentrated in the North and South of the Old City; Jews concentrated in the western and northwestern areas. The architecture of these developments shows a continuing concern for security. Housing areas designed so that the backs of adjoining houses formed a wall, and gates that could be locked were placed at the ends of streets and the institutions were surrounded by walls. These developments happened at the expense of the local Muslim inhabitants, who did not benefit from the prosperity and protection that foreigners enjoyed. The seeds of conflict were already beginning to sprout with short-lived efforts to inhibit Jewish immigration.
Fig. 1. Jerusalem under David. In Smith, 1908, p. 38

Fig. 2. Jerusalem under Solomon. In Smith, 1908, p. 50

Fig. 3. Jerusalem under the later monarchy and after the exile. In Smith, 1908, p. 150.

Fig. 4. 37BC - 4BC Herod. In Smith, 1908, p. 487
Fig. 5 70 AD Time of Jesus. In Bahat, 1990, p. 55.

Fig. 6 135-326 Roman Period. In Bahat, 1990, p. 59.

Fig. 7 326-638 Byzantine Period. In Bahat, 1990, p. 69.

Fig. 8 638-1099 Early Arab Period. In Bahat, 1990, p. 81.
Fig. 9 1099-1187 Crusader Period. In Bahat, 1990, p. 91.

Fig. 10 1250-1517 Mamluk Period. In Bahat, 1990, p. 109.

Fig. 10 1517-1917 Early Ottoman Period. In Bahat, 1990, p. 119.

Fig. 12 1842 Ottoman Period, prior to expansion beyond city walls. In Bartlett, 1974, p. 55.
Fig. 13 1872 Ottoman Period. The Russian Compound is catalyst for expansion outside city walls. In Wolff, 1872, p. 232.

Fig. 14 1912 Ottoman Era. Westward expansion. In Vincent, 1911, plate 1.

Fig. 15 End of Ottoman Era. Result of westward expansion. In Bahat, 1990, p. 123.
The Israeli — Palestinian Conflict:  
Brief Review from the Early 20th century to the Present Day

Considering the long history of plentiful events concerning this subject, the best point in time to begin an urban investigation of the current Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is the end of the Ottoman Empire domination of the area. The Ottomans domination coincided with the start of mass Jewish immigration to Palestine from Russia and Eastern Europe supported, as mentioned earlier by the rise of the European powers in the Middle East, in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Of these European Powers, Great Britain would come to play a central role.

The territory that I will concentrate on is therefore the territory of the former British Palestine Mandate, a territory that in 1917 the British Empire conquered from the Ottoman Empire that had ruled it since the early 16th century. The British, subsequently, named the territory Palestine. About three years later, in 1920, in the treaty of San Remo, the British received the mandate to rule the said territory. They administered it until 1947, when, weakened and fatigued by the Second World War, they relinquished their mandate to the newly formed United Nations Organization, since they could no longer afford to support an army and to administer Palestine.

However, during the British mandate, in Europe of the late 1930s a main world event occurred: a new German regime came to power, that once again threatened to change the world order. This new regime started to oppress the Germans of Jewish and Slavic origins that in their view were not pure thus not in line with their Aryan race policy. Similar measures happened in Russia at the beginning of the century. Subsequently, the immigration of Jews towards a safe haven was decided at one of the Zionist congresses in the early 1900s. The place that the Zionist movement chose as a safe place was Palestine, then under British Mandate. On the other hand, the Palestinian Arabs wanted Palestine as an Arab Independent State without any Jewish immigrants.

Therefore, as mentioned before, the place is the Palestine Mandate’s territory and the main parties involved are now the Jewish emigrants (with the Zionist movement as the driving force behind them), the Palestinians (with the Higher Arab Committee as their representative) and the British Empire as the power that keeps the order and introduces security and modernization into the territory. However, before conquering Palestine from the Ottomans, the British made some promises to representatives of both the Arabs and the Jewish, in order to attract them on their side during the First World War.

The British first promised an independent state to the Arabs in 1915, in a reply letter signed by Sir Henry Mc-Mahon, High Commissioner in Cairo, to the independence demands of Sharif Hussein of Mecca. The letter states — in the view of the Arabs — that
Palestine is promised to be part of a future independent Arab State. The main reason behind the promise was to attract the Arabs in the fight against the Ottoman Empire (see appendix 1).

For the very same reason, but this time to fight against the Germans, the British made a promise in 1917, this time to the Zionist Congress, in a letter signed by Arthur James Balfour. The letter stated that: His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country (see appendix 2).

Given the above contradiction, the situation continually deteriorates even after the British conquered Palestine in late 1917. While the immigration of Jews increases, Arab opposition to it increases as well. The start of the Second World War is nearing and, therefore, the Jewish immigration peaks, thus, Arab riots broke out often. The British, begin questioning their role in the mandate. They decide that, if they cannot solve the situation properly in ten years, by either forming two Independent States, one Jewish and one Arab or by forming one Independent Arab State with a national home for the Jews within it, then they will hand over the Mandate to the United Nations.

The British were by now fighting in the Second World War. At the end of the war the cost of maintaining an army in Palestine began to prove too costly for the British. Therefore, to solve the Jewish national home and the Arab Independent State issue, the British proposed several partition plans with two independent states, one Arab and one Jewish and with either a British Mandate or an International Zone of influence to contain Jerusalem. The Zionist Movement did not clearly state their opinion, but it seems that they would have reluctantly agreed on them but as a basis for further territorial enlargement in the future. However, the Palestinians opposed these proposals.

In 1947, the mandate to administer the territory was transferred to the newly formed United Nations Organization (UN). Subsequently, within the same year, the UN, through resolution 181 (see appendix 3) proposes a new partition plan that consists of two independent states, one Jewish and one Arab and with Jerusalem this time within an International Zone of administration. Under this resolution, the Jewish fully agreeing to it proclaimed the independence of their newly formed State of Israel. Jerusalem thus becomes in theory an International Zone. However, the Palestinians refuse once again to agree. I propose that this is in part because a foreign zone of influence included
Jerusalem. Due to the Palestinian refusal and Israel’s declaration of independence on May 14, 1948 triggered the first full-scale war between the Arabs and Israel.

However, armed conflicts between Jews and Arabs had been frequent since the beginning of the Great Britain mandate for Palestine in 1920. From 1945 to 1948, Zionist waged guerrilla war against British troops and against Palestinian Arabs supported by the Arab League, and they had made substantial gains by 1948. The 1948-49 War reflected however an opposition of the Arab states to the formation of the Jewish state of Israel in what they considered to be Arab territory. Arab forces from Egypt, Syria, Trans-Jordan (today’s Jordan), Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel. The Egyptians gained some territory in the South and the Jordanians took Jerusalem’s Old City, but the Israelis soon halted the other Arab forces offensive. In June of 1948, the United Nations succeeded in establishing a four-week truce. This truce was followed in July by significant Israeli advancement before another truce. Fighting erupted again in August and continued sporadically until the end of 1948. An Israeli advance in January 1949 isolated Egyptian forces and led to a cease-fire.

Protracted peace talks resulted in armistice agreements between Israel and Egypt, Syria, and Jordan by July 1949, but no formal peace agreement occurred at that time. Under these conditions, Jerusalem became a divided city between Israel and Jordan and the main territories of the yet-to-be declared Palestinian State became part of Egypt (Gaza), Jordan (West Bank) and Israel. The Old City now fell under Arab — though not Palestinian Arab — administration. It—kept this status until a new war started in 1967. In addition, about 400,000 Palestinian Arabs had fled from Israel and settled in refugee camps near Israel’s border and their status became a volatile factor in Arab-Israeli relations.

After a period of relative calm, border incidents between Israel and Syria, Egypt, and Jordan increased during the early 1960s, with Palestinian guerrilla groups actively supported by Syria. In May 1967, President Nasser requested the withdrawal of UN forces from Egyptian territory, mobilized units in the Sinai, and closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israel. Israel responded by mobilizing.

The escalation of threats and provocations continued until June 5, 1967, when Israel launched a massive air assault that crippled Arab air capability. With air superiority protecting its ground forces, Israel controlled the Sinai Peninsula within three days and then concentrated on the Jordanian frontier, capturing Jerusalem’s Old City (subsequently annexed), and on the Syrian border, gaining the strategic Golan Heights. The war, which ended on June 10, is known as the Six-Day War.
The Suez Canal was closed by the war, and Israel declared that it would not give up Jerusalem and that it would hold the other captured territories until significant progress had been made in Arab-Israeli relations. The end of active, conventional fighting was followed by frequent artillery duels along the frontiers and by clashes between Israelis and Palestinian guerrillas.

The outcome of the 1967 Six Days war sees Jerusalem for the first time since 900 BC under Jewish administration, with Israel proclaiming it against foreign opposition as its united capital. Moreover, the Israel Army occupied the main Palestinian territories as well as territories from Egypt, Syria and Jordan. However, the long road towards an independent Palestinian State was soon to start.

The initiation of negotiations towards the establishment of a Palestinian State began with the Camp David peace accords of 1978 between Israel and Egypt at the U.South. Presidential retreat at Camp David. The official agreement was signed on Mar. 26, 1979, in Washington, D.C. by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, with U.South. President Jimmy Carter signing as a witness. Under the pact, which was denounced by other Arab states, Israel agreed to return the Sinai to Egypt, a transfer that was completed in 1982. In a joint letter, the two nations also agreed to negotiate Palestinian autonomy measures in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, but progress was not to be made on this issue until the 1990s.

The next most significant progress towards the creation of a Palestinian state was made during secret negotiations held in Oslo between members of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli government. These discussions eventually led to a mutual recognition in September 1993. The PLO and Israel then started a process of bilateral negotiations meant to bring about a definitive solution in the long-term to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Declaration of Principles (DOP) of the Oslo Agreement was signed in Washington on 13 September 1993. It gave the general guidelines for the negotiations that followed and laid the foundations for a regime of Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza for a transitional period of five years. After this period, a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 (see appendix 4) and 338 should have entered into force. This settlement was not supposed to deal only with the permanent juridical form of the Palestinian entity but also with Jerusalem, refugees, Israeli settlements, global security arrangements, borders and other matters of common interests.

However, even though significant steps towards full autonomy of Palestinians has happened since, the process often halted, or even appeared to have been abandoned due to the incapability of both sides to negotiate the details that such a transition entailed.
Moreover, a provocative visit on 28 September 2000 by the present (at that time the Likud leader) Ariel Sharon in East Jerusalem of the Temple Mount sparked a new round of violence between Palestinians and Israelis. In a few days, this resulted in violent clashes, in which tens of Palestinians, but also numerous Arab Israelis, were killed by the Israeli Army. The Palestinian youth clearly showed their frustration towards a peace process that seemed and still seems to lead nowhere. These clashes were by far the worst violence in the Israeli-Palestinian relations since the beginning of the peace process. This stage of the conflict, called the Second Intifada or the Al-Aqsa Intifada, is considered a resurgence of military and political mobilization protesting the Israeli occupation of the West Bank.
PALESTINE UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE, 1923-1948

The Palestine Mandate granted to Great Britain at the 1920 San Remo Conference as the region of a Jewish National Home.

Approximate area in which the Jews hoped to set up their National Home.

Area separated from Palestine by Great Britain in 1921, given to Egypt, abdominal and named Transjordan.

Area ceded by Great Britain to the French Mandate of Syria in 1923.

Fig. 16 1923-1948 Palestine under British Mandate. PASSIA website.

Fig. 17 1947 UN Partition Plan (Resolution 181). PASSIA website.

Fig. 18 1947 UN Partition Plan (Resolution 181). International Zone for Jerusalem. PASSIA website.
Fig. 19 1948-1967 Partitioned Jerusalem. In Tamari, 1999, appendix.

Fig. 20 1949 Armistice Lines. In Bacharach, 1976, p. 76.

Fig. 21 Detail of Border line (Green Line) in Jerusalem. In Tamari, 1999, appendix.
Jerusalem as the Main Component of the Conflict
The City Urban Development from the late 19th century to the Present Day

To further focus on the area of our discussion, I will now investigate Jerusalem’s urban evolution from the beginning of the 20th century to present day. From the background so far, we can rightly observe that the City went through three periods of development, each characterized by a certain approach towards urban design dictated by the power’s that administered the city and their interests at that particular point in time. Therefore, the three periods were as the follows, British (between 1917 — 1948), the Status Quo or Divided (between 1948 — 1967) and the Israeli or the Re-United (between 1967 — to present day) periods.

Master Plans under the British Empire Mandate to administrate Palestine
As mentioned earlier, the city, though a center of pilgrimage through the centuries, was still forgotten as a backwater of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th Century. However, with the emergence and the pressure of the European Powers upon the Ottoman Empire, the city crossed into a period of revival that started with the city expanding outside the walls. It has continued to develop rapidly, mainly towards the West along Jaffa road. However, under the Ottomans this urban development was uncontrolled as there were no Master Plans issued under their power, with the exception of some restoration and the upgrading of the main roads. All these efforts, however, were changed with the arrival of the British that conquered Jerusalem in 1917.

The entry of General Edmund Allenby (1861—1936) into Jerusalem marked the emergence of the urban era of the city, signaling a series of events that have affected its planning and design, as Jerusalem became the administrative capital of the British Mandate in Palestine. Sir Ronald Storrs (1881—1955) became the Governor of Jerusalem from 1917 to 1926. He immediately forbade the demolition of historic buildings and ordered the use of stone as a building material. In 1918 he instructed West. H. McLean (1877—1967) to draw up regulations to protect Jerusalem’s special character¹. In addition, the convening of the Pro-Jerusalem Society in the very same year, created a public consensus for civic planning in Jerusalem a city that grew to a population of 14,500.

Between 1919 and 1922, Patrick Geddes and C. R. Ashbee made three urban plans. Geddes’s formal approach could be described as a city infront of the walls. In general all these plans respected and preserved the walls of the Old City, and its picturesque boundaries. The Geddes and Ashbee plans also included guidelines on the planting of trees, zoning and the introduction of municipal by-laws.
In 1930 the new Civic Adviser, A. Clifford Holliday, prepared a plan that developed a coherent radial road system, a commercial center and highlighted rehabilitation areas. Moreover, due to two earthquakes that occurred in 1927 and 1936, new design guideline controls and height restrictions were adopted. In addition, as a political consequence of the Arab revolts of 1929 and 1936, a pattern of segregated ethnic neighborhoods was from then onwards preferred.

Finally, a last plan for the British was made in 1944 by Henry Kendall. It consolidated the plan with detailed planning areas.

The consistent principle of urban planning in Jerusalem during this period was the isolation of the Old City by means of a green belt around the walls. In addition, the overall urban design of the city was marked by the strong presence of new European concepts. The Zionist dream, the Garden City movement and picturesque ideals of Jerusalem merged to create new approaches to design in the city.

**Status — Quo or Divided Jerusalem: The City between 1948 and 1967**

As mentioned in the previous pages, the British Mandate to administer Palestine ended in 1948 and the population of Jerusalem grew to 170,000. The United Nations took over and soon after, it proposed as a solution to the ongoing conflict between the Jewish and the Palestinians, that included two states, one Jewish, one Palestinian and, an international status for Jerusalem. The Jews accepted the proposal while the Palestinians opposed it and after the subsequent war, Jerusalem became a city divided between Israel and Jordan, stunting its growth.

In terms of urban design initiatives, apart from the walled border and the no-man’s area that resulted after the war, both sides preserved the basic structure and intent of Henry Kendall’s plan of 1944. However, the Kendall’s plan was at the same time amended to cater to the new powers agendas. The plan was thus amended twice by the National Planning Authority of the Israel Prime Minister’s Office, resulting in two new Master Plans of 1950 and 1959 in Israel. In Jordan, it was continued by Kendall and Brown International with a plan drawn up in 1964 that mainly continued the neighborhood evolution of the 1944 scheme, predominantly on a South-North axis.

The agenda of the New Israel State was to transform the Western part of Jerusalem into the Capital of Israel and as its spiritual fount. It catered therefore for the development of Jerusalem as a political, religious and cultural center. At the same time, it also provided provisions for the development of the needed economic basis of such a center, in form of tourism, trade, handicraft related facilities.
In addition to the above main guidelines, the plans contained the following provisions: It planned for a future population of over 200,000; contained guidelines for residential areas in the South-West hills, commercial and industrial areas, the location of the Government Center towards the West of the Old City now in the center of the new Jerusalem, park and open spaces within a green belt that should have served the entire city. It also suggested a provision for a network of roads, mainly on a West and South orientation. In addition the plan of 1959 contained guidelines of restoration and renovation of the East and center quarters of the town and the planning of compact neighborhoods units on the western hills of the town. It was approved as a statutory law, but it was conceived for only 38 square kilometers. By 1968, the local planning area will be increased unilaterally by Israel to 108 square kilometers. As a result to this plan, in 1965, Al Mansfeld designed the Israel Museum and in 1966, Josef Klarwein designed the Knesset (the Israel parliament building) with tapestries, mosaics by Marc Chagall.

Unified or the Undivided — Divided Jerusalem:
The City between 1967 and the Present Day

The 1967 Six Day War, as shown in the previous pages, reunified Jerusalem and the city in its entirety came under the Jewish administration for the first time since the ancient times. Thus, large-scale developments took place, doubling the population within the next twenty years. New technology was developed to replace the traditional methods of cutting stone, now used as the primary facing and building material.

Moreover, as early as 1968 the Israel government started conceiving a Master Plan for Jerusalem that targeted for a city that would grow by 2010 to three times its 1967 size and, if carried out and sustained by massive building of Jewish settlements distributed to blur or affect the homogeneity of the East Jerusalem Palestinian population, would have also seen the Jewish population outbalancing the Palestinian population by two to one within the same period of time. This despite the several UN resolutions that stressed the fact that Israel should withdraw from the territories occupied in the 1967 with East Jerusalem and the Old City included. This, however, was to become the main Israeli policy and it has been in place since the end of the 1967 and the Palestinians opposition to it has also continued ever since.

This Master Plan completed by the end of 1968, had three alternatives. Two were done for the actual targeted period of time that was from 1971 to 2010. However one that catered for an interim period was done as well, and it catered for the period 1971 - 1985, as it was easier to predict growth and formulate guidelines for a shorter period of time.
Therefore, the interim one is characterized by a plan with concentric development tendencies around the Old City, while the ones prepared for 2010 were characterized by one concentric layout — that proposed a concentric development surrounding the Old city, from South, West to North, and one linear layout — that proposed a linear South — North development mainly adjacent and to the West of the Old City - for the same period. However, these alternatives were not approved, and studies by the Urban Development Agency upon it continued until the Israel government approved it partially in 1978.

Between these Master Plans, however, the urban form of the city was shaped by a series of Master Plans that were done for specific areas rather than for the entire city. One of these and the most important in my opinion was the one defined by Arieh Sharon, and others commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior and the Jerusalem Municipality. This special commission was set up to control the planning and design of the Old City and its environs in an effort to mainly preserve its character as part of a special area plan. This plan has also established a special zone that comprised the Old City and its South, East, and North environs that formed a sort of a semi-circle around the Eastern side of the Old City from South to North. The other themes of this Master Plan were to divide the areas in zones for detailed schemes, to provide survey and landscape maps population and density data and the existing communication network and to subsequently propose new densities within new residential neighborhoods, new network of roads and highlight sites for public buildings developments.

Among detail schemes that this proposed it would be worth mentioning the Jaffa Gate restoration project, The Damascus Gate improvement project, The Herod’s Gate restoration, the reconstruction of the Jewish quarter, the area adjacent to the Western Wall, and the Mount Scopus Campus Master Plan of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

In addition to the localized Master Plans, in 1970, Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem at that time, convened an international advisory body, the Jerusalem Committee, to monitor aspects of planning and design and at the same time to continue working on revising the 1968 Master Plan. This committee, together with the local public administration, brought about policy changes like restrictions on high building and development (partially lifted since), downgrading of the proposed road system and a greater emphasis on conservation, parks and other social public spaces.

In 1978, the Israeli Government approved for the first time a Master Plan for the unified Jerusalem, proposed by the above-mentioned Jerusalem Committee. The urban development main strategy of this plan was to accelerate building in the residential neighborhoods in the South of the city, and develop an additional employment center in the southwest. The targeted level of inhabitants was to be of 451,000, with 337,000
Jews and 114,000 non-Jews by 1982. After 1982, the level of inhabitants was expected to rise to 530,000, with 395,000 Jews and 135,000 no-Jews by 1992—1993. Subsequently as a first stage the Committee recommended the development of the Jewish residential quarters over a period of five years, by fully exploiting the of the remaining land of the existing ring neighborhoods, filling large vacant spaces in the existing city.

With regards to the overall metropolitan area that is far greater than the municipal area for which the above Master Plan caters for, the Municipality was concerned with the fact that new neighborhoods there would affect the city center that would therefore have to increase its central business district to absorb all the new inhabitants. Thus, it was proposed that the metropolitan neighborhoods should be large (around 30,000 people each) and with enough facilities to offer their inhabitants varied employment and a wide range of services. Moreover an East—West axis evolution was preferred in order to keep the circulation away from the city center that would have become increasingly congested should a South—North axis of development been preferred. Overall, the Master Plan supported a planning in stages method of development.

In addition, the main guidelines that can be detected by looking at the maps of the 1978 Master Plan could be stated as following: the boundary of the urban built area, the area of the open space delineation and the marking of the rural areas. In addition at a more detailed level, the plans also show the layout of open spaces within the city, the areas of stabilization, the height zoning with the high buildings zones marked on the maps, the commercial centers location and the commercial land use zones, land reserves and the proposed road network system. The plans also suggested that in the future this road network could be strengthened by an electric rail system on a South—North axis development, crossing the center—of the city adjacent to the Jaffa Gate and Sultan Suleiman (Paratroopers) Road in the North of the Old City. This new Master Plan for Greater Jerusalem has since provided guidelines for the city’s development to the present.

As a result, during the period between 1970 and 1982, two rings of residential neighborhoods were established. The first, completed in the 1970s, formed an extension of the built-up area linking the Mount Scopus enclave with the West Jerusalem in the North. The second ring, consisting of four outer dormitory suburbs, each with over 5000 units, marked a departure from the incremental patterns of past growth. These latest developments, combined with several archaeological discoveries, led to greater emphasis being placed on the conservation of the city especially in and around the Old City and the neighborhoods built in the 19th century, in the West, South-West of the Old City.
In 1982, at the end of the above mentioned period, the Old City of Jerusalem and its walls were designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. The city had at this point in time covered 10,800 hectares and had a population of 465,000.

Now, if we would briefly go back to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict we would notice that by 1982 the Camp David Accords were signed and thus, the Palestinian Liberation Organization was recognized by Israel and that by 1993 the Oslo Declaration of Principles was signed whereby a future Palestinian was for the same time agreed upon by both parties. Moreover, this Declaration also provided for a Final Status period whereby the Jerusalem issue was supposed to be put on the negotiations table prior to the announcement of an Independent Palestinian State.

Within this political context, further plans for Jerusalem were still on the drawing board. One of these was the ten years (1982 — 1992) transport development plan,7 that literally surrounded the Old City with new roads that linked the new settlements built in the former Arab territories to the Western part of the city, somewhat in opposition to what the Israeli committed to and agreed upon at the above-mentioned negotiations. Other projects worth mentioning for the period of 1980 to 1985, were all concerned with the restoration and upgrading of important central areas including the Old City such as: the Jewish Quarter revitalization,18 the Cardo - Piazza Area and the Damascus Gate,19 the New City Hall project and the Russian Compound preservation project.20 There were also plans for new settlements,21 even though at this point in time, they are inappropriate as some of them were still to be built in the former Arab territories of the West Bank towards the East of the pre-1967 border line between Israel and Jordan.

Moreover, in 1995, the Israel authorities finalized a new plan for Jerusalem, the Metropolitan Jerusalem Plan, in other words only two years after they had signed the Oslo Declaration of Principles. This plan, explains Jan de Jong, a Dutch geographer, in the article, Israel’s Greater Jerusalem engulfs the West Bank’s, is a new large-scale development plan for a region covering 40 percent of the West Bank and an equal percentage of its Palestinian residents. Moreover, it significantly enlarges the scale of previous Israeli planning efforts for the Jerusalem region, and contemplates little territorial compromise with the Palestinians across a large swath of the West Bank. This plan, together with the continuing West Bank Jewish settlements policy since 1967 - despite agreeing to Oslo accords and UN resolution 242 (mentioned in the previous pages) - confirm in my opinion, Israel’s ultimate aim regarding Jerusalem. This aim, is — and I would use here Jan de Jong words — to compromise the last remaining prospects for the socio economic rehabilitation of the Palestinian territories in the crucial core area of Jerusalem and a meaningful degree of Palestinian sovereignty in Jerusalem and its environs.
To counter such actions by Israel, Palestinians have used, during the last 30 years, different counter-measures ranging from refusing to leave their confiscated lands or their demolished houses, constructing illegal settlements on their own, to more radical ones such as terrorist attacks against the Jewish people. It seems though, that all these measures have had a limited effect on the Jewish settlement policies. Moreover, the terrorist acts seemed to have backfired as Israel retaliations further demolished and confiscated Palestinian owned land.

**Present Day Conditions and Future Plans**

At the present the population of Jerusalem consists of around 650,000 persons of which 425000 are Israeli, 225,000 are Arabs and almost 15,000 are Christians. There are 170 Christian churches that do not pay tax and that have their own agendas, mostly characterized by the wish for physical presence in the holy city. Since ownership of these properties is often foreign, this results in an absentee problem when it comes to attaining cooperation and approval for urban changes.

Due to the topography of the surroundings, the development of the city is still dictated by the two major valleys surrounding the city. In addition, the religious sites are scattered predominantly in the southeast areas, preventing the expansion of the city towards that direction.

As such, current urban proposals for the future (based on the current political situation of an unified Jerusalem under Israeli administration) attempt to cater for a city of 950,000 — 1,000,000 people by 2020. These proposals assimilate, as we have seen in the previous pages, new Israeli settlements situated around Jerusalem into the Greater Metropolitan Area of Jerusalem, thus increasing the numbers of the Israelis in the City. Moreover, there are other several current projects under construction, and future proposals that would make almost impossible a future division of sharing of Jerusalem between Israel and a future Palestinian State, since such proposals build in areas that in the future are meant to be Palestinian according to the signed agreements theoretically in effect. These current plans or projects include: light Rapid Transit lines throughout the city, mainly in the North-South direction, that currently are under construction; new roads, street detail designs such as furniture, curb detailing and signage; tourism related facilities and hotels; hospitals and, last but not least, projected new boundaries to increase the Greater Metropolitan Area.

**East Jerusalem**

Regarding this area of the city with a predominantly Palestinian population, it could be stated that there were no approved Master Plans for any of its areas until 1997. This plan however, includes only provisions for the upgrading of utilities and road systems,
along with the proposal for a major bus interchange to serve the area, to be located adjacent to the Damascus Gate. Moreover, there are currently three new hotels under constructions behind the American colony close to the pre-1967 border, but they are by Jewish developers and are locate within the no-man's land buffer zone of the pre-1967 border.

According to Arthur Spector, an architect that currently has his practice in Jerusalem and that was commissioned by the Municipality of Jerusalem for many urban studies, there are several plans in circulation for the East Jerusalem Area. They include a proposal to bring the East and the West of Jerusalem together by locating a hospital in the area. The proposal is based on the idea that the crisscross of mothers, Jewish and Arab, in such a hospital in the East Jerusalem area might contribute to mutual compassion and understanding between the fighting parties.

There are also initiatives to look for programs to service the Palestinians in terms of government facilities, since there is a need for national public buildings and for administrative structures for the Palestinians. However, the Jerusalem municipality prefers, at the moment, to build Israeli public buildings that can also cater partially for Palestinians. Moreover, it is also preferred that such buildings will be located within the eastern side of the City. Two main alternatives exist in term of locating such government structures. The first is to locate them in one area, similar to a conventional government center. The second alternative is to disperse the buildings in different areas to create growth and urban renewal. Other proposals concern the development of several hotels, since 3000 hotel beds are necessary to cater to the tourism industry in Jerusalem. Other programs suggested at the present time for East Jerusalem include parks and sports related facilities.
Figs. 21-22 Diagrams of Built-up Areas and expanding Jerusalem at beginning and end of British Mandate. In Kendall, 1948, p.4 & 26.

Fig. 23 1918, Plan by W.H. McLean. In Ashbee, 1921, p. 12
Fig. 24 1919 Master Plan by Geddes. In Ashbee, 1921, p. 12

Fig. 25 1920 Master Plan with first Park System plan by C.R. Ashbee. In Ashbee, 1921, p. 19
Fig. 26 1922 First Zoning Plan by Jerusalem Town Planning Commission. In Ashbee, 1924, p. 19
Fig. 27-29. 1929 Master Plan with green belt, by Town Planning Authority. With detail of Damascus Gate project. In Kendall, 1948, p. 15-17.
Fig. 30 1930 Master Plan by Town Planning Commission. In Kendall 1948, p. 19.
Fig. 31 1944 Master Plan by H. Kendall. In Kendall 1948, p. 27.
Fig. 32 Grouping of Neighborhood Units. 1944 Master Plan by H. Kendall. In Kendall 1948, p. 41.
Fig. 33 1944 Population Distribution Survey by H. Kendall. In Kendall 1948, p. 35.
Fig. 34 1950 Master Plan by National Planning Authority of the Prime Minister's Authority. In Sharon, 1973, p. 132

Fig. 35 1959 Master Plan by Planning Authority of the Ministry of the Interior. In Sharon, 1973, p. 133
Fig. 36 1968 Master Plan for the Jerusalem Area. In Sharon, 1973, p. 136.
Fig. 36 1968 Master Plan for 1985 of the Jerusalem Area. In Jerusalem Master Plan Bureau, 1969, p. 34.
Fig. 36 1968 Master Plan for 2010, linear layout. In Jerusalem Master Plan Bureau, 1969, p. 35.
Fig. 36 1968 Master Plan for 2010, concentric layout. In Jerusalem Master Plan Bureau, 1969, p. 34.
Fig. 37 1973 existing condition. In Sharon, 1973, p. 116.

Fig. 38 1973 Outline Scheme. In Sharon, 1973, p. 123.

Fig. 37 1973 existing condition, special zone. In Sharon, 1973, p. 144.

Fig. 37 1973 Outline Scheme, special zone. In Sharon, 1973, p. 156.
Jerusalem
Town Planning Area
Proposed
Jerusalem Outline Scheme

Control Procedures

--- Scheme boundary
Control according to:

- Traditional principles
- Parcellation schemes
- Development plans
- Landscape plans

Fig. 38 1978 Proposed Outline Scheme. In Jerusalem Committee, 1978, p. 20
Jerusalem
Town Planning Area
Proposed
Jerusalem Outline Scheme

Designated land uses

- Scheme boundary
- Residential
- Institutional
- Commercial
- Civic centre
- Governmental
- Industrial
- Open space
- Open landscape
- Cemetery
- Reserve
- Commercial centre
- Commercial street

Fig. 39 1978 Proposed Outline Scheme, Designated Land Uses. In Jerusalem Committee, 1978, p. 28
Jerusalem
Town Planning Area
Proposed
Jerusalem Outline Scheme

Transportation and Electricity

--- Scheme boundary

Road

Arterial Road

Tunnel

Number of regular lines

Number of lanes reserved for public transportation

Restricted parking area

Bus terminal

Power station

Transformation station

Top voltage transmission line

Underground top voltage transmission line

Fig. 40 1978 Proposed Outline Scheme, transportation plan. In Jerusalem Committee, 1978, p. 32
Ten-year Transport Development Plan 1982-1992. Creation of a city center bypass, additional access routes to north Jerusalem, public transport improvements, and a traffic management program are key elements in the 10-year transport development plan. The plan is widely accepted and implementation is on schedule.

Fig. 41 1982-1992. In Kroyanker, 1985, p. 91

Existing Road Network. Jerusalem's road system is radial in nature thereby unnecessarily tunnelling traffic via the city center. Massive development in North Jerusalem will render Ramallah Rd. in the Givat Hamivtar area impassable within several years.

Fig. 42 1982-1992. In Kroyanker, 1985, p. 91
Jerusalem as a Shared City?
This is a concept that is currently being assessed, by the American government, under the Bush Administration, as a viable solution to the Middle East crisis. Senior officials have stated that a future independent Palestinian State cannot be viable without a shared Jerusalem. Reports concept however, does not specify at the moment how this sharing would be implemented, nor do they provide specifics of the political and administrative jurisdictions. In addition physical concrete details have not yet been articulated. How might we conceive of Jerusalem as a shared city then? Is there a viable design solution?

In searching for other sources that may have suggested similar concepts and that ideally would have had included a graphic representation of them as well, I would hereby like to highlight the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)’s Urban Redevelopment Project in East Jerusalem, as one alternative of how a future shared Jerusalem would look like.

Moreover, this appears to be the first graphically represented statement by a Palestinian organization, concerning a future vision on the city of Jerusalem. The project was done in 1996, as a reaction to the 1995 Metropolitan Jerusalem Area plan proposed by the Israelis. This 1995 plan, as already mentioned above was set up by Israel, two years after the Oslo accords, and aimed to make East Jerusalem difficult to be recovered as a uniform part by the Palestinians in future negotiations, most significantly, because it divides the Palestinian neighborhoods by means of proposed roads and settlements. Moreover, the plan made Jerusalem visibly larger than it was already, thus further reducing the percentage of Palestinians living there. The PASSIA project therefore opposes this plan.

What I would also like to highlight is that this Palestinian project represents a new strategy to minimize the impact of new Israeli settlements on the Palestinian urban and social fabric. Thus, the PASSIA project proposes a bottom up way of countering the 1995 Metropolitan Plan of Jewish settlement growth, loss of Arab neighborhoods and of obstructing the formation of a cohesive Arab city in East Jerusalem. It argues that only by focusing on areas affected by Israeli highway and settlement growths and restructuring them with the citizens’ help would Arab East Jerusalem preserve its Palestinian character and coherent urban fabric. By focusing on the Northeast area of Jerusalem as an example, the project shows how the tight squeezing of Anata Palestinian village and other small Arab villages between the Israeli municipality and the huge bloc of Adumim Jewish settlements, resulted in the loss of the Palestinian population and coherence in the Palestinian urban fabric. As a solution, the project suggests that Palestinians could restore a quarter of the land already incorporated into the Adumim settlement, and open up suitable areas for habitation, commerce and even industry.
In addition, the project also states as a sort of a conclusion, with a mere drawing, that this could be in fact be the only avenue to a future Arab Jerusalem capital of Palestine alongside Israeli Jerusalem capital of Israel, as one open city. It is interesting to highlight here the fact that the drawing does not literally claim East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine. However, the drawing implies just this by means of color — red for the Palestinians, blue for Israel, and a line that if imposed on the 1967 armistice plans coincides with the demarcation line between West and East Jerusalem. Taken in account this demarcation line, it is clearly that this Palestinian organization claims the Old City as a part of the Arab Jerusalem of Palestine.

Following the PASSIA proposal, my project will be aligned with the design of East Jerusalem (with the Old City) as the Capital of Palestine within a shared Jerusalem concept. Moreover, I believe that this idea is in line with UN Resolutions, Palestinian desires, and could represent in my opinion the future basis for negotiation towards a viable solution for the peace process.
Fig. 43 1993 Proposed Greater Jerusalem Area. PASSIA website.

Fig. 44 Comparison of Jerusalem from 1947-2000. PASSIA website.
Fig. 48 PASSIA proposal for Jerusalem as an open city with East Jerusalem as Capital of Palestine, and West Jerusalem as Capital of Israel. PASSIA website.
In Anticipation:
East Jerusalem as Capital of Palestine within a Shared Jerusalem

Why
During the 2000 Camp David II Final Status Negotiations, several proposals regarding Jerusalem were discussed. Despite the fact that the city territories were at stake, it is worth mentioning that both Palestinians and Israeli did not bring to the negotiation table any map or other visual or graphically represented proposals.

The public perception of the Camp David Negotiations is that the Israel delegation made an incredibly generous offer regarding the final status of Jerusalem to the Palestinian Authority but to no avail, as its Chief Yasser Arafat refused it flatly. The Palestinian Authority’s policy of silence and reluctance to release written or especially visual documentation regarding the negotiations to the news media fueled this public perception. As a result, there was an immediate negative impact on Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority; the Western opinion was that he was not capable of negotiating anymore.

In response, Faisal Huseini, head of the Palestinian team that dealt with the Jerusalem issues, has stated that the Israeli team did not offer maps. In response of the criticism against the Palestinian position, Huseini prepared maps showing the Israeli proposals at Camp David. The map shows the Palestinian view of what was offered to them by the Israeli negotiators. Following the publication of this map in the news media, there was an increased understanding of Arafat’s refusal of the Camp David proposals. The map clearly demonstrates that the Israeli negotiators had only offered partial administration and not sovereignty over East Jerusalem.

As such, I believe that the importance of drawn representations is crucial to the negotiation process and towards influencing public understanding of the Palestinian position. Thus the goal of my project is to add to the visual representations of Palestinian’s views with regards to the status of Jerusalem. I believe that by visualizing the Palestinian position of having East Jerusalem the Capital of Palestine through urban design, the possibility of a concrete solution could be made — or it can become imaginable and therefore could contribute in the near future to finding a constructive solution to the peace process.

Political and Border Assumptions
Within the concept of a shared Jerusalem as capital of two states, one Israeli and one - yet to be formed - Palestinian state, a further assumption would have to be taken now, namely the physical border between the two capitals. As such, for my current exercise I will use the border that existed before the 1967 Six Days war between Israel and Jordan.
as the physical frontier between the two states now in discussion, namely Israel and a yet to be formed Palestinian State.

**Proposition**

In summary, within the present work I have chosen to investigate the wishes of the Palestinians given the possibility of a shared Jerusalem. I have chosen to study the Palestinians view, as they are in my opinion - and in the view of most international agreements and resolutions, including those of the United Nations Organization - the conquered party with its territory taken by Israel after the 1967 Six Day war. Based on this very fact, the Camp David and Oslo Negotiations agreements and the United Nations 242 Resolution, I believe that East Jerusalem is what is most desired by the Palestinians. Most importantly, this must include the Old City and the holy sites under Palestinian sovereignty too.

**Method**

Urban Conceptual Alternatives for a Site within East Jerusalem as anticipation for East Jerusalem as Capital of Palestine

Many obstacles exist to design for the future Capital of a future Palestinian State. In such a situation, one would probably discover that most of all levels of usual design processes, from identifying the programs needed for a Capital City in such conditions, to selecting the site, and from design proposal to design implementation, would be, most certainly, further complicated by the sensitive present political situation.

However, although it is difficult to design for future political conditions within the present uncertain status of Jerusalem, the design problems can still be, in my opinion, addressed to or at least firstly identified through the study of one particular site in East Jerusalem and, this is ultimately the thesis of the present research. Thus, the thesis of the current research is not per se the design of East Jerusalem as the Capital of Palestine as it is almost impossible to do just that at this particular point in time. It does, though, suggest that by studying from an urban point of view a site from East Jerusalem chosen in such a manner as to represent a micro-cosmos of the larger territorial, political, and urban condition of East Jerusalem and, subsequently proposing several conceptual alternatives for it as a new area developed exclusively for the Palestinians, one could anticipate what the future would hold for a city design for East Jerusalem as Capital of Palestine.

**Site Location**

A suitable site to represent the entire East Jerusalem in our research, within the present conditions can only be identified, in my opinion, if taking into the account and addressing to the following main factors: the topography of Jerusalem, the connections to the Old
City, the border that existed between Israel and Jordan before the 1967 Six Days war - as stated by UN resolutions 242, 338, the evolution of the City's areas around the just mentioned border and the related no-man's land and finally on site observation and analysis of the just mentioned areas.

Following through and after addressing the above set of criteria, the site in question would be therefore located adjacent to the border stated above, as part of East Jerusalem, to the North of the Old City, just in front of the Damascus gate, and flanked towards West by the highway that currently links the Jerusalem City Center with Ramallah and Nablus towards the North. With the shape of the site being almost triangular, the site is flanked towards East by the residential Palestinian neighborhood Wadi El Joz. On the northeastern side, it is flanked by the Kydron valley, which separates it from another Palestinian residential neighborhood, Sheikh Jarrah.

After visiting and documenting the area, I think that, the chosen site could rightly be characterized by its Palestinian inhabitants emotions, mixed sentiments and future aspirations. Moreover, the site is, due to its location and the evolution of the city, without any doubt the glue that could, in the near future, connect the East and West Jerusalem urban tissues scarred by the 1967 war and the current political situation. At the same time, it is the most problematic area and is in great need of improvement. The site has not been upgraded for a long time. In short, the area is in the middle of the storm but little investigation, planning or design has been devoted to address the site since 1967.

**Urban Conceptual Investigation**

**Urban Design versus Urban Conceptual Investigation**

If one would want to propose a meaningful urban design proposal for the area in discussion, and in the future for East Jerusalem as capital of Palestine, then such a full urban design investigation would, in my opinion, have to cover primarily the following main issues:

- A thorough analysis of the City evolution
- A thorough analysis of the exiting situation
- Design program identification and formulation
- The study of other proposals on the present site
- The study of other similar urban developments proposals adjacent to other Old Cities. In other words, the study of similar instances of new developments near other Old Cities in the Arab World such as Fez, Tunisia, Medina, to show how it was done and what was proposed and moreover, to find out what was the primary design idea behind these proposals
- The study of the main elements of Arab city form, including elements such as quarters, suqs (bazaars), streets and religious structures and their interrelations. Generally, the three most known Arab city urban design characteristics are: firstly, emphasis on privacy with clear differentiation between public and private life; secondly, a street pattern designed not to generalize ease, mobility and exchange but to control and compartmentalize movement; and, thirdly, the rational way in which the space is organized and adapted according to climate and the social practices of the city. These principles could suggest to us a better way of connecting the site with the Old City and, most probably, an overall improved urban design scheme.

- The study to find the optimum density required for the site. This would entail a lengthy density study to determine principles of good vibrant density and uncover sources where such densities can be found. Moreover, such a study would also need to incorporate the study of various densities in Jerusalem and the Old City. Subsequently, a proposed density for housing in dwelling per hectares and density for commercial in floors per plot area, both combine with a set plot area coverage would have to be formulated and taken into account when working on the urban design proposals.

However, given the uncertainty surrounding an eventual urban design investigation for such a problematic site, I would suggest in my thesis an alternative method in the form of an urban conceptual investigation. This conceptual investigation would address some, but not all, of the issues that an urban design investigation would have to address, since some aspects would not be possible to be adequately studied due to missing information or to the fact that it would not help to the main aim of this thesis, that is, to represent the Palestinians wishes. In addition my method suggests three new elements that will be: firstly, the overlay of known parts of cities over the chosen site, for information that suggests density and urban fabric comparisons; secondly, a brief study of past Master Plans for the site in discussion, a study based on the Master Plans already highlighted during the background section of this work; and finally, the proposal of several conceptual alternatives rather than one urban design proposal. These alternatives would yield a better view of what the future holds for our site and subsequently for East Jerusalem.

In summary the following urban conceptual investigation will comprise of five sections, site analysis and documentation, goals and urban manifesto, overlay of known contemporary cities or components, brief study of past Master Plans and the conceptual alternatives section.
Site Analysis and Documentation

Site Evolution from 1918 to the Present

The best way to represent and study the evolution of the site and the need of its development is through aerial photographs over the representative period between 1918 and the present. Such a study would yield a better view of how the site has developed and how it looked at particular times in comparison with the adjacent sites of West Jerusalem.

1918 — site aerial photo

From this photo we can distinguish Nablus road as the main connector towards the North starting from Damascus Gate. In a similar manner, Prophets Street links Damascus Gate with the West Jerusalem. The main institutions at that time were located along Nablus road, and these were the American Colony, the Saint George Anglican Cathedral, and the Dominican monastery of Saint Etienne (now Saint Stevens church and school complex).

Salah eh-Din Street joins Nablus Road with Herod s Gate. To the East of Herod s Gate, adjacent to Sultan Suleiman Street, the only important structure is the Arab School Rachidiem. Another road leads from Herod s Gate to the Arab settlement called Bab ez-Zahara, founded in 1890. A second Arab settlement is just founded eastward, of Bab ez-Zahara, and is called Wadi el-Joz. Compared to adjacent sites in West Jerusalem, the site looks practically rural.

1945 — site aerial photo

The Arab residential settlements Bab ez-Zahra and Wadi el-Joz grew further under the British Mandate. The Palestine Museum, now the Rockefeller Museum, built in the 1930s, appears on the site as the most important landmark, towards the East of the site. At the corner of Salah eh-Din and Al-Zahra roads is the American School of Oriental Research (now the Albright Institute). In front of Damascus Gate is Schmidt s College and Sisters of Mary Convent, both along Nablus Road. Although some growth, mostly residential, is evidenced on the site, it is at a slower pace than the growth in West Jerusalem around the Russian compound and beyond.

1967 — site aerial photo

Both Arab residential settlements Bab ez-Zahra and Wadi el-Joz joined to form a new Arab city center. New hotels and substantial commercial buildings have been built along Salah eh-Din, Al-Zahra, and Haron-al-Rasied streets, forming the first traces of today s busiest commercial triangle on the site. Other important structures include the Army barracks and Courthouse along Salah eh-Din, and along Sultan Suleiman, the bus interchange and a pilgrim s hotel. Most importantly, the darkened area between West and East Jerusalem is the no-man s land or buffer zone between Israel and Jordan,
that was decided after the 1948 war. The density of the Israeli side is far greater than that of the Jordanian side.

1994 — site aerial photo
After the unification of Jerusalem after the 1967 war, on the former 1948 buffer zone between Israel and Jordan, a new highway has been built, linking the center of Jerusalem with Ramallah, and Nablus towards the North. In a way, the highway still divides, like a border, East from West Jerusalem. Otherwise, there are no substantial changes in the urban fabric, despite major growth elsewhere in Jerusalem, as can be seen on the Western side.

2000 — Jerusalem city center aerial photo
The photo shows the city center of Jerusalem. The highway mentioned before can be seen clearly dividing East from West. Moreover, new structures appear in the form of three hotels (Israeli-financed) along the highway on the Eastern side. There remain empty areas along the highway that are currently used as surface carparks, and an open market just West of Damascus Gate, adjacent to the Old City walls.

2000 — the site’s southern edge aerial detail photo
Common to all the photos from 1918-1994, and clearly seen in this photo is the Muslim Cemetery located behind the bus stop and the pilgrim’s hotel. The Cemetery is flanked by the commercial strips along Salah eh-Din and Sultan Suleiman streets in front of Herod’s Gate. The photo also highlights the three major open spaces: the cemetery, the park adjacent to the Rockefeller Museum and the park adjacent to the highway. The topography of the Kidron Valley on the East serves as the eastern edge of the site. Compared to the Old City to the chosen site, there is a major change of urban fabric. The Dome of the Rock complex, which can be seen from most points of the site, serves as a dominant visual landmark.

Existing Physical Situation
Edges and Connections
The site has an almost triangular shape defined by the following three edges: the Old City walls in the South, a solid hard physical edge; the Wadi el-Joz residential neighborhood and Kydron valley towards Northeast which has a predominantly permeable and soft character, formed by green areas and scattered residential dwellings; and the main South—North highway towards West.

This western edge coincides with the border between Israel and Jordan from the period between 1948 and 1967. This division between East and West Jerusalem still exist at the present despite the reunification of the city after the war of 1967. At first, it seems that
the division is not at all physical. Streets and even blocks are seemingly leaping on top of the green line, with buses connecting the East and West Jerusalem daily. However, from my observations, people do not use the areas that overlap the green line often, as though the site is subconsciously unused. From my observations, Palestinians do not go at all across these areas, nor even towards the new gate that is situated adjacent to the Sultan Suleiman road that links the West and East areas of the city and that is adjacent to the northern walls of the Old City. In fact, this road had been diverted towards North and, in the space left by the street’s diversion a new open market has been located. This market thus becomes the first physical and social barrier. This market represents also the starting point or the signal that highlights further physical barriers that have however a stronger social background. Some of them are elements of the city’s urban fabric. They do not outright form barriers that restrict circulation between the West and East of Jerusalem, however they rather suggest that this is still a restricted area and that using it could be dangerous. Such partial barriers consist of open blocks that have their perimeter walled by low stone walls, the main highway, (route number one) that goes to Nablus and Ramallah and other buffers along this artery.

To further detail, to the West of route one highway, we would find the Israeli predominantly Jewish-Israeli areas, with mainly residential developments of a decent and regular urban fabric. Towards the East of the route one we would find the area that is currently under discussion.

Topography
The terrain formation of the area in question is relatively even. There are however two exceptions. The first is the hill in front of Herod’s Gate that contains the Muslim cemetery. The hill appears to be suffering from erosion due to the bus interchange site located at the bottom of it opposite the Old City walls. The second exception is the Damascus gate.

This gate is without any doubt the main focal point of the area. The other nearest gate, the Herod’s gate seems to be less used and at times, nearly not used at all. The connection between Damascus gate and the site consists of the crossing of Sultan Suleiman road and the gate’s entrance level, which is considerably lower (approx 5 — 6 meters) than the road. This situation was somewhat addressed by a stepping plaza that attempts to provide transition between the road and gate level. This plaza also constitutes a continuation of the bazaar located inside the Old City on the other side of the Damascus gate.

The last topographical element that remains to be mentioned is the deep Kydron valley, that start from the East of our site, continues through Wadi el-Joz residential neighborhood and continues towards Mount Scopus (where the Hebrew University is located), Mount
of Olives and towards the North end, behind the American colony and Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood.

**Vehicular Access: Bus Interchanges and Parking Provision**

The site in discussion contains several medium sized vehicular access nodes. These nodes are not properly located nor properly designed. They consists of van stations or stop points, irregular and ineffective parking areas and one major bus interchange. Moreover this major bus interchange seems very old, with an overall outdated design (from the urban fabric analysis we could easily deduce that it was most probably designed during the early sixties) and currently over — loaded with buses. It also appears to be damaged by the erosion of the nearby hill of the cemetery. There is a site under constructions towards the West of the Damascus gate that seems to be a future combined bus interchange and rapid light transit system station.

All of the above existing vehicular nodes seem to be randomly located and subject to available leftover spaces, usually within large street intersections. These vehicular nodes cater usually for Palestinians of East Jerusalem areas. However, every Friday (the most special day in the Muslim week) these nodes are flooded with buses, cars and vans from all over West Bank. Aside from Fridays, West Bank Palestinians are more restricted from entering Jerusalem.

As mentioned above, there is also a major parking shortage in the area. This is due mainly to non-existent measures to plan and provide such needed parking areas since the site had been taken over by Israel in 1967. Moreover, I presume that the permit policies exercised by the Israeli authorities, characterized by their systematic refusal of proposed urban developments by Palestinians, worsens the situation further.

**Streets**

Generally speaking, it seems that the area has developed in a random manner without proper or advance planning. The only generating physical urban element in this context appears to be the Salah eh-Din street. Its course starts from North but it does not fall directly onto Damascus gate stepping plaza rather, it heads diagonally to the left towards Herod’s gate. This orientation, together with Herod’s gate being under used induces an increased pedestrian and vehicular circulation pattern along the main Sultan Suleiman road on the opposite side of Damascus gate. In addition this extra circulation pattern contributes greatly to the general disorganization of the area. Cars, buses, vans, street vendors and pedestrians together on a narrow pedestrian way and two lines driveway makes everything look surreal.
Existing Use
All the use categories and examples thereof mentioned below are represented in colour by the existing use plan figure X on page X. The colour codes representing the different use categories are as follows:

- Light blue for Israeli properties
- Blue for Palestinian owned hotels
- Light orange for foreign owned institutions
- Orange for educational facilities related to religious institutions
- Red for sole religious institutions
- Brown for mixed commercial (ground floor) — residential (upper storeys) use
- Purple for sole commercial use
- Yellow for sole educational facilities
- Black for sole residential use

Light Rapid Transit Lines and Other Israeli Projects
Existing and newly developed areas and buildings belong to the Israelis. These may represent a constraint in the event of a newly developed city for Palestinians, as negotiations would be to be held with regards to their eventual removal, buyout or eventual compensation. These Israeli properties are the Rockefeller Museum, the new public library - currently boycotted by the majority of Palestinians as it supposedly contains mainly Jewish propaganda material - several public-governmental installations such as a radio transmission center, army center, a new courthouse and the new three hotels already mentioned previously that are located near to the American colony.

Religious Sites, Foreign Institutions and Related School Sites
On the said site, there are many religious sites scattered around. They are all walled and of irregular shape and sizes making their inclusion in an urban regular matrix very difficult. Many unisex schools are also scattered around. They are also walled and of large block dimensions. The majority are linked to religious institutions. In particular, the ones located along the Nablus road make almost impossible an eventual link of the West Jerusalem with East Jerusalem through the site in discussion.

In addition, the site contains other non-religious or institutional developed areas and new buildings constructed and belonging to foreign owners. Among them we would mention the American Colony and other groups or structures belonging to other states such as the Albright Archeological Center, the Italian Institute, British Council or the French Institute. Similar to the Israeli properties these can as well be either removed, relocated or compensated for as the architectural quality of these structures is quite mediocre.
Other structures that can be included under this category are several universities buildings (however, they usually consist of poor quality four story structures) different organization buildings (as the above-mentioned PASSIA, that for example occupies only a two story building), newspapers and the Palestinian theatre.

**Public Spaces and Monuments**

The most important public spaces that are part of our site are, in my opinion, the stepped plaza in front of the Damascus Gate and the Sallah eh-Din street as the most important commercial element in the area. As secondary public spaces we could count the public park behind the Rockefeller Museum, the Herod s Gate plaza and the pedestrian area that connects the two above-mentioned Old City gates.

The most important monuments on the said site are, in addition to Damascus and Herod s Old City gates, the Schmidt s college (opposite the Damascus gate), Jeremiah s Grotto, within the hill that contains the cemetery (just behind the already mentioned bus interchange), the Garden Tomb, Saint Stephen s Church, Saint George s Cathedral and the Tomb of the Kings. These are all located along Nablus road. In addition to these, close to our site, between its North edge and the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood one can find the Tomb of Simon the Just.

All these monuments will be retained and several pedestrian networks would be proposed to connect them to the Old City and to other landmarks of Jerusalem as part of my conceptual alternatives.

**Overall Cleanliness**

Personally the general impression that I got from visiting the site recently, is that the garbage removal, street and public space cleaning services are virtually non-existent or if they do exist, they obviously lack proper and adequate funding. In contrast, the Muslim quarter and the entire Old City are quite clean and well maintained. It appears that the maintenance of the site is overlooked and only considered ancillary to the Old City, for which the site merely serves as a transitional space.
Goals and Urban Manifesto

In view of the above the site and city analysis, the measures that will be enumerated below are necessary to dramatically improve the current situation of the site in particular, East Jerusalem in general and to better cater for the Palestinian future. Therefore, for putting together a program and accordingly design for a good city within the present site conditions — and as an anticipation for what would East Jerusalem as the Capital of Palestine need in the future, the following will have to be taken into consideration at a future urban design stage:

- To improve the pedestrian and vehicular movement to and from the Old City and to upgrade it when and where necessary
- To improve the existing vehicular, transportation and car parking system, and propose new additions to it when where would be needed
- To provide for main administrative - public buildings and foreign affairs related facilities
- To provide for business facilities like business centers, commercial facilities and tourism related facilities
- To improve the existing residential building stock by providing better designed housing structures and related facilities
- To address to the increase need of higher education facilities that would mainly cater to the Palestinian people
- To provide enhanced security facilities and implement proper buffer zones according to future types of border between Israel and a future Palestinian state that may surface after the peace negotiations

For the present investigation, to compile and state a proper design program based on the above is not possible due to an acute lack of suitable data and the overall uncertain political situation. Therefore, for the purpose of the present thesis - that is mainly concerned with representing possible conceptual alternatives for the area and not to actually design for it, I will substitute the program of such eventual future urban design schemes with three main zoning areas that would be subsequently addressed to by the conceptual alternatives that I would present shortly below. These main zoning areas will mark the areas of governmental — institutional — administrative facilities, commercial, hostelry and other tourism relates facilities and residential on the conceptual alternatives with blue, red and gray - black colors respectively.
Overlay of known contemporary cities or components
From the overlay of known cities or parts thereof is shown in the Urban Design Concepts plate. Each of these cities or city-parts have a unique urban fabric and density that highlights the range of possibilities for the site in question. For example, it is significant that the entire North End district and City Center of Boston, and Lower Manhattan would fit into the site.
Secondly, the range of overlays shows how the connections between the major points of the site might be made by various street scales. In particular, whereas the Parisian toile design could drastically connect East and West through large boulevards, the urban fabric of Vienna shows a more successful a medium size street pattern that can connect major spaces and structures. The plan of Ahmehdabad shows that a similar hierarchy of street patterns, from major to cul-de-sac residential, could be conceivable for the site. Thirdly, the overlay of Cairo shows the possibility of including one major open space along with several secondary spaces scattered across the site. The proportion of the open space in Cairo is more suitable than the open spaces of Boston. The overlay of Vienna shows medium sized open spaces that are equal in scale.
Lastly, to overlay the most dense part of West Jerusalem, although possible, seems not to improve the overall urban design of the city as a whole.

Brief Study of Past Master Plans
During the British Mandate, the plans (1920-1948) the site is incorporated into the picturesque park system which surrounds the Old City. In these plans, there are three major zoning ideas: Parks, Residential and Business, and Industrial. Of these three, most of the site is given over to Parks and Residential zoning. The residential zone is situated in the North East part of the site. Industrial zoning is restricted to small parts in the western side of the site. The park system is connected to a green belt that surrounds the Old City. One central site marked between San George Cathedral and the Muslim Cemetery, is also zoned as a green park.
After 1967 Six Days War, after which the city was unified under Israeli rule, the site was proposed as the city center of Jerusalem under the first Metropolitan Jerusalem Master Plan done in 1968. A city center zone, privileged for hotel development, is surrounded by a green park system. In other words, no residential zoning was proposed. In addition, the site would have been connected by a major boulevard to the western side, ending at Mt. Herzog. This Master Plan, however, was never approved due to international opposition.

The approved 1978 Master Plan, made by the Jerusalem committee, proposes mainly commercial and institutional uses for the site. Again, these uses are surrounded by parks, and little residential zoning is planned. Presently, a mass rapid transit system has been approved and is under construction. This both under- and above-ground
transportation system is being constructed along the highway that serves as the 1948 border. In addition, two lines are proposed across the site to Herod's Gate.

With regards to the Israeli Master Plans, none of these plans respect the existence of Palestinian settlements on the site. In contrast, they propose primarily green or commercial zoning for a site that has primarily been (as shown in the aerial studies) a major residential area. Moreover, it is evident that despite the signed political agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, the facts on the ground show the opposite: Israeli Master Plans for the city plan to incorporate this site solely as a commercial or transportation site for the city as a whole, without catering for the current Palestinian residents and users of the site.
Fig. 1  Site Location (Site marked in yellow)
Fig. 2. 1918 Site aerial photo, in Kedar, 1999, page 128.
Fig. 3 1945 Site aerial photo, in Kedar, 1999, page 128
Fig. 4 1967 Site aerial photo, in Kedar, 1999, page 129.
Fig. 5 1994 Site aerial photo, in Kedar, 1999, page 129.
Fig. 6 1990 Site aerial photo, in Bahat 1990, page 12.
Fig. 7 2000 aerial photo, courtesy of Arthur Spector, 2000.
Fig. 8 Color figure ground at the present
SULTAN SULEIMAN STREET
East-West axis adjacent to old city walls. Contains Herod's Gate and Damascus Gate. Very congested and main vehicular problem on site.

NABLUS ROAD
Main connector between Damascus Gate and the North. Main road to Ramallah. Contains secondary bus interchange.

PROPHET S STREET
From Damascus Gate towards the West. Faces enormous surface carpark. Mainly commercial, and in poor condition. Western Edge of site.
AL-ZAHAR STREET
Second most important street in major commercial triangular district. Contains offices, hotels and restaurants. Also very congested.

SALAH-ED-DIN ROAD
Most vibrant and popular street. Heart of the site and connects Herod's Gate to the North, meeting Nablus Road near the American Colony.
OLD CITY WALLS AND GATES

Sunken entry at Damascus Gate is second main constraint of site. Damascus Gate is most used entranceway at this edge. The height of the wall is another constraint, but could become a regulatory guideline for the site.

Fig. 11
Fig. 12 Existing site condition
Fig. 13 Existing site constraints
Fig. 14 Existing site, edges and connections
Fig. 16 Existing site figure ground
Three Conceptual Alternatives
The three Conceptual Alternatives are based on an increasing degree of intervention and removal plans for the site. They are based on three different approaches, Conservative Surgery, Place-Making, and Visual Axis. However, they all propose a tripartite road hierarchy, a dual system of public and semi-private open spaces, and a separate vehicular and pedestrian networks. Each Conceptual Alternative will be briefly discussed here in terms of the major and minor themes of their approaches, and details about the necessary removal plans, use plans and connection plans that would accompany them.

Conservative Surgery

Main Approach
The Conservative Surgery conceptual alternative is based on minimum intervention. This means to accept the streets as much as possible, expropriate the land only where needed and to exploit the existence of open areas, such as the carpark, the park at the Rockefeller Museum and other smaller open areas. As much as possible, the religious and institutional walled properties are preserved. In order to facilitate the East-West connection, the scheme proposes a main artery road that crosses the site along Al-Zahra street, beginning from the Rockefeller Museum and ending adjacent to the carpark. In addition, this concept proposes a network of medium sized open spaces as focal points for smaller subdivisions and they are linked by pedestrian routes. This can be developed together with institutional or government buildings. This may be the best method for development given the present economic constraints and the sensitive political context.

Possible Sub-Theme
An as-yet un-proposed but possible sub theme to the above East West artery could be an underground highway connection across the southern edge adjacent to the Old City walls. In other words, Sultan Suleiman road would be move below ground. Since the topography is sloped eastwards already, such a proposal is possible as it would only be partially underground. However, it will incur increased expenditure. This alternative will free up a lot of the site, and reduce congestion on the busy streets, allowing many of them to become pedestrian routes.

Selective Removal Plan
The selective removal plan caters for the above-mentioned main approach. In other words, it clears the ground for the main East-West connection, and for the localized public spaces.
Public and Vehicular Traffic
This alternative proposes a web of pedestrian routes that are currently non-existent. They are made up of two main axis: East-West from Notre-Dame complex in the West to the Rockefeller Museum. The North-South axis starts from both Old City gates towards North near the newly built public school at the Northern tip of the site. The vehicular traffic plan is divided into arterial, feeder and local roads, making the transition from public-open to private-residential area, similar to road division characteristic of other Arab cities. In addition, two large bus stop-carparks are proposed along the major Al-Zahra artery, to encourage traffic into specific sites and free up residential roads.

Open Space
The alternative proposes a main open space around the Albright Archeological Center, that would be restored possibly for a new purpose. It would become the main public space for the site. Secondary to this would be a network of localized open spaces situated in each subdivision and connected by pedestrian routes. In addition, two plazas are proposed at each of the Old City gates, making a gradual transition between the two urban fabrics. These plazas also serve to connect the Old City with the new one.

Major Use Plan
The plan respects the existing residential aspect of the site. Also it proposes to keep the existing commercial triangle. Moreover, it enlarges the commercial area along Sultan Suleiman Road adjacent to the Old City. Furthermore, the plan introduces localized administrative institutions generally in the center, linking the central public space towards the West. The main commercial areas will cater primarily to Hotels and Tourist-related facilities.

Edges and Connections
Towards West: The goal is to connect the civic structures (consisting of both institutional buildings and public space) with the existing civic structures of West Jerusalem, for example, the City Hall and the Russian compound. This connection could be an internationalized design, i.e. a landscaped avenue, with a boulevard-like design. In this manner the land value will possibly go up in a long term.
Towards the East: The edge is composed of housing, which will be left untouched.
Towards South: The plan proposes to minimize the hard physical edge, by proposing two plazas and by bringing the buildings closer to the Old City walls. This is the most important component of the intervention.
Place-Making

Main Approach
The Place-Making conceptual alternative is based on Medium Intervention. It creates major public places with open space and connections through them. The site is made coherent through a sequence of public places linked by major vehicular routes. The two major large public spaces created in the plan creates network connected by the Old City, a park with the view of Mount Scopus and major places in West Jerusalem. A circuit of tourist local pedestrian traffic is created connecting the two Gates with the two new public spaces. To do so, a connection within the Old City Walls is proposed.

Sub-themes
A central artery on Al-Zahra is again proposed. Residential density is increased. Existing parks are ordered into a secondary network of localized public squares.

Selective Removal Plan
The urban fabric in front of the Albright Center — which will be restored and take on a new administrative function - is largely changed, and land is expropriated from one religious school. Towards the West, nearly everything is removed along the highway, including some hotels. In the eastern districts, only the best quality structures are preserved to make way for the increased residential density. The park adjacent to the Rockefeller center is taken over by a car park and a public square.

Public and Vehicular Traffic
Similar to Conceptual Alternative 1, this plan proposes a tri-partite division of roads: arterial, feeder and local. A pedestrian network again connects the major and minor public spaces, creating a coherent circuit, encouraging traffic from the Old City into the site (and vice versa). In addition, a pedestrian link is made between Herod’s Gate and Damascus Gate within the Old City. There is currently enough open space for the development of such a link, and would encourage vibrancy of Herod’s Gate which is currently under used. Of the vehicular traffic, the major East-West artery is slowed near the administrative center around the ex-Albright Center.

Open Space
Two major open spaces are proposed. The first is a large governmental center with the ex-Albright Center upgraded for new functions. The second is a residential circle, located in the center of the main residential district. Light commercial activity is encouraged around the circle here and will serve as a transition from the major governmental center to the park which looks towards Mount Scopus. Other squares are proposed throughout the site and tied to existing institutional buildings.
Major Use Plan
Residential zoning is primarily to the East. Commercial zoning links the Old City with the main residential area. A second commercial area links the Rockefeller Museum with the major governmental center, which consists of the major open space.

Edges and Connections
The expanded density and uses of the site under this plans encourages more active interaction between the site and its adjacent sites: West Jerusalem and the Old City. Most importantly, the connection (especially pedestrian) to the Old City is envisioned as the main components of the plan. Secondly, an East-West connection, made by public places and a pedestrian and vehicular routes is made more coherent. A North-East connection from Herod’s Gate to the park that looks out to Mount Scopus is envisioned as a major commercial-to-residential axis. Finally, the South-West connection from Damascus gate into West Jerusalem is proposed but is limited by the hard edge of the highway.

Visual Axis

Main Approach
This conceptual alternative constructs major axis and places based on visual connections to historical and urban landmarks: Dome of the Rock, Holy Sepulchre, Damascus Gate, Mount Scopus University, Notre Dame complex and the administrative area in West Jerusalem. Aside from this visual connection outside of the site, the remaining major landmarks within the site are also connected through major streets. This plan necessitates major removal and intervention, in order to completely reinvent a new street system. The proposed design plans for less public spaces and more private open spaces in the form of the courtyard-like blocks.

Sub-themes
The plan proposes two nodes for the administrative buildings, rather than centering them in one place. It provides for a university campus adjacent to Herod’s Gate and the Rockefeller Museum, and, an administrative square on the western side of the site. The two nodes are connected by a commercial district. In addition two residential nodes serve as secondary commercial areas. Of the remaining public spaces, a covered market is proposed in the center of the residential district.

Selective Removal Plan
The removal plan is massive, since it is the only way to cater for the visual axis approach. The only things that remain are the landmarks: religious and institutional buildings, however, their open space land is reduced and new walls will have to be built for them.
Public and Vehicular Traffic
A completely new street system is proposed in this plan. Two main arteries are proposed for the site. One is East-West, and the North-South axis begins at the university. Otherwise, the same tri-partite division remains. A North South pedestrian route links Damascus Gate to the North. Otherwise, a pedestrian circuit links the diverse types of public places, from administrative, to residential, to the covered market.

Open Space
The proposed open spaces are diverse and differentiated by uses. They consist of a neighborhood park, a covered market, a government square, a square between the Museum and the University, and a residential-commercial square. These multi-use public spaces form a semblance of self-sufficient town-like organization within the site. The secondary open spaces consists of many private spaces within the blocks, devoted entirely to residential uses.

Major Use Plan
The bi-polar combination of two institutional nodes are linked by commercial zones. The main commercial site remains close to the Old City and is linked to the new institutional sites. Different commercial activities are divided into the area close to the Old City, the Covered Market and the third commercial square area.

Edges and Connections
In this alternative, the site is self-contained. The connections occur around the edges of the city, which are maintained. Only partial access is allowed in the new street system, and local and foreign traffic are clearly separated from each other.
Conclusion
The primary goal of this research is to provide an urban analysis and conceptual investigation of the possibility of the site North of the Old City to serve as part of the Capital City of Palestine in East Jerusalem. The supposition of this research - that it anticipates a peaceful future wherein two states, Israel and Palestine, co-exist and share a single city for their capitals - is perhaps idealistic. However, it is precisely within the pairing of concrete, urban investigations with such idealism, that the representation of Palestinian nationalistic aspirations can be maintained. As such, it is difficult to evaluate such kinds of work given its divergence from traditional urban design and architectural design practice. Traditional practice relies on the solving of problems given by a client. In this case, the real problems are beyond the ability of an urban designer or architect to solve; nevertheless, it is a case wherein an urban designer or architect's concrete approaches can contribute to maintaining hope - in anticipation - of a future.

However, in summary, the research does identify a very important site that is both politically and architecturally significant for the future. This site is located along the most important and contested areas of Jerusalem (the Green Line and the Old City), and it is also the site most likely to be developed as part of a commercial and administrative center of East Jerusalem. The three conceptual alternatives provided in this research are based upon three different urban design principles. They highlight the range of possibilities available for the site, and identify the major design problems: the connection of East and West Jerusalem, the balancing of foreign or touristic needs with local residential needs, and the possibility of creating important and diverse types of public spaces that can serve as central social places in a new East Jerusalem.

Since such proposals can only be idealistic at this stage of the political conflict, there is no need to propose specific urban design guidelines or detailed projects for the site. Rather, such further work can be eagerly anticipated as part of the first steps to implementing a true Palestinian capital in Jerusalem.

Without a doubt, it remains necessary to acknowledge that the future of Jerusalem is perhaps one of the most contestable urban sites in the world. Thus, to complement this investigation, further research should seek to further anticipate the eventual border manifestations of future peace negotiations. Different border conditions (along any set border between Israel and Palestine) would drastically influence the proposed conceptual alternatives. At the current stage, three main scenarios are already conceivable, each according to the permeability of the border that would be constructed and administered along the future border. One might imply a clear and total division of Jerusalem into two sections, one Israeli and one Palestinian, another, a semi-permeable border scenario that may include a shared Jerusalem concept, and a final one that would propose an
open border concept, whereby Jerusalem remains unified but open, as capital of both Israel and Palestine states. If such a future could be implemented, Jerusalem would become the first shared city in the world. At this point in time, this political dream can only be imagined, yet it can still serve as an idealistic guideline for design. I propose that urban investigations, research and steps towards designs could still play a constructive and viable role in anticipating such a future.
Fig. 1 Conceptual Alternative One: Conservative Surgery, Sketch.
Fig. 2 Conceptual Alternative One: Conservative Surgery, Edges and Connections.
Fig. 3 Conceptual Alternative One: Conservative Surgery, Public and Vehicular Traffic
Fig. 4 Conceptual Alternative One: Conservative Surgery, Major Use Plan.
Fig. 5 Conceptual Alternative One: Conservative Surgery, Selective Removal Plan.
Fig. 6 Conceptual Alternative One: Conservative Surgery, Scheme.
Fig. 7 Conceptual Alternative One: Conservative Surgery, Figure Ground.
Fig. 8 Conceptual Alternative Two: Place-Making, Sketch.
Fig. 9 Conceptual Alternative Two: Place-Making, Edges and Connections.
Fig. 10 Conceptual Alternative Two: Place-Making, Public and Vehicular Traffic.
Fig. 11 Conceptual Alternative Two: Place-Making, Major Use Plan.
Fig. 12 Conceptual Alternative Two: Place-Making, Selective Removal Plan.
Fig. 13 Conceptual Alternative Two: Place-Making, Scheme.
Fig. 14 Conceptual Alternative Two: Place-Making, Figure Ground.
Fig. 15 Conceptual Alternative Three, Visual Axis, Sketch.
Fig. 16 Conceptual Alternative Three, Visual Axis, Edges and Connections.
Fig. 17 Conceptual Alternative Three, Visual Axis, Public and Vehicular Traffic.
Fig. 18 Conceptual Alternative Three, Visual Axis, Major Use Plan.
Fig. 19 Conceptual Alternative Three, Visual Axis, Selective Removal Plan.
Fig. 20 Conceptual Alternative Three, Visual Axis, Scheme.
Fig. 21 Conceptual Alternative Three, Visual Axis, Figure Ground.
Notes

1 Jerusalem, the city plan, henry kendall, 1948, page 4
2 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 132
3 Ibid, 132.
4 The Jerusalem Committee, Proposed Jerusalem Outline Scheme, 1978. page 3
5 The Jerusalem Master Plan
6 same as above. page 33
7 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 139
8 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 140 - 156
9 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 168
10 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 168
11 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 169
12 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 177
13 Planning Jerusalem: the Old City and the environs. Arieh Sharon, Tel Aviv, 1973, 191
14 The Jerusalem Committee, Proposed Jerusalem Outline Scheme, 1978. page 14
15 The Jerusalem Committee, Proposed Jerusalem Outline Scheme, 1978. page 17
16 The Jerusalem Committee, Proposed Jerusalem Outline Scheme, 1978. page 40
22 Interview with Author, March 20, 2002.
24 Amira Hass, Ha aretz, November 14, 2000
Appendices

The materials attached below are meant to provide more information to the issues mentioned in the paper.

1. The British promise to the Arabs
http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/wwi-0899/msg00391.html
From: Re: Promises to the Arabs

14 July, 1915: Sharif Hussein of Mecca demanded: "On the north by Mersina and Adana up to 37 of latitude, on which degree fall Birijk, Urfa, Midiat... up to the border of Persia; on the east by borders of Persia up to the Gulf of Basra; on the south by the Indian Ocean, with the exception of the position of Aden to remain as it is; on the west by the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina".

On 25 October 1915: Sir Henry Mc-Mahon, High Commissioner in Cairo, replied to Sharif Hussein of Mecca:

"The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded... Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sharif of Mecca".

2. The Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917
http://www.israel-mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00pp0

During the First World War, British policy became gradually committed to the idea of establishing a Jewish home in Palestine (Eretz Yisrael). After discussions in the British Cabinet, and consultation with Zionist leaders, the decision was made known in the form of a letter by Arthur James Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild. The letter represents the first political recognition of Zionist aims by a Great Power.

Foreign Office, November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."
I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,
Arthur James Balfour

3. UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 181 - Partition Plan of Palestine
   a. Summary
   b. Full text of the resolution
   c. Position of the members of the European Union in 1947
   d. Map

Summary:
To solve the problem of the future of Palestine which was under British mandate, the General Assembly of the United Nations decided in its Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947 to divide the territory of Palestine as follows:

A Jewish State covering 56.47% of Mandatory Palestine (excluding Jerusalem) with a population of 498,000 Jews and 325,000 Arabs;

An Arab State covering 43.53% of Palestine, with 807,000 Arab inhabitants and 10,000 Jewish inhabitants;

An international trusteeship regime in Jerusalem, where the population was 100,000 Jews and 105,000 Arabs.

The partition plan also laid down:
the guarantee of the rights of minorities and religious rights, including free access to and the preservation of Holy Places;
the constitution of an Economic Union between the two states: custom union, joint monetary system, joint administration of main services, equal access to water and energy resources.

The General Assembly also planned:
a two month interim period beginning August 1, 1948, date of expiry of the mandate when the British troops were to be evacuated, with a zone including a port to be evacuated in the territory of the Jewish State by 1st February;
a five-country Commission (Bolivia, Denmark, Panama, Philippines, Czechoslovakia) in charge of the administration of the regions evacuated by Great Britain, of establishing the frontiers of the two states and of setting up in each of them a Provisional Council of Government; the gradual take-over of the administration by the Provisional Council of Government in both States, and the organization of democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly within two months.

Full text of Resolution 181:

"Recommended a Partition Plan for Palestine:
A) The General Assembly,

Having met in special session at the request of the mandatory power to constitute and instruct a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future government of Palestine at the second regular session;

Having constituted a Special Committee and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364) including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

Considers that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

Takes note of the declaration by the mandatory power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United Nations the adaptation and implementing, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the plan of partition with economic union set out below;

Requests that:
(a) The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;
(b) The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain the international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures under articles 39 and 41 of the charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;
(c) The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;
(d) The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan; Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

Appeals to all governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and Authorizes the Secretary General to reimburse travel and subsistence appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.
B) The General Assembly,

Authorizes the Secretary General to draw from the working capital fund a sum not to exceed $2,000,000 for the purposes set forth in the last paragraph of the resolution on the future government of Palestine."

Adopted by 33 votes in favour, 13 against and 10 abstentions.

Position of the EU countries towards the Partition Plan in 1947(*):
Voted in favour: Belgium Denmark France Luxemburg Netherlands Sweden
Voted against: Greece
Abstention: United Kingdom

(*) Austria, Germany, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain were not yet UN members in 1947.

4. The Avalon Project at the Yale Law School

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East, Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security, Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

Affirms further the necessity

For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area; For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

Requests the Secretary General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;
Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

Camp David Accords; September 17, 1978, The Framework for Peace in the Middle East

Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel, met with Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America, at Camp David from September 5 to September 17, 1978, and have agreed on the following framework for peace in the Middle East. They invite other parties to the Arab-Israel conflict to adhere to it.

Preamble

The search for peace in the Middle East must be guided by the following:
The agreed basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and its neighbors is United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, in all its parts.

After four wars during 30 years, despite intensive human efforts, the Middle East, which is the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of three great religions, does not enjoy the blessings of peace. The people of the Middle East yearn for peace so that the vast human and natural resources of the region can be turned to the pursuits of peace and so that this area can become a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations.

The historic initiative of President Sadat in visiting Jerusalem and the reception accorded to him by the parliament, government and people of Israel, and the reciprocal visit of Prime Minister Begin to Ismailia, the peace proposals made by both leaders, as well as the warm reception of these missions by the peoples of both countries, have created an unprecedented opportunity for peace which must not be lost if this generation and future generations are to be spared the tragedies of war.

The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the other accepted norms of international law and legitimacy now provide accepted standards for the conduct of relations among all states. To achieve a relationship of peace, in the spirit of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, future negotiations between Israel and any neighbor prepared to negotiate peace and security with it are necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the provisions and principles of Resolutions 242 and 338.

Peace requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. Progress toward that goal can accelerate movement toward a new era of reconciliation in the Middle East marked by cooperation in promoting economic development, in maintaining stability and in assuring security.

Security is enhanced by a relationship of peace and by cooperation between nations which enjoy normal relations. In addition, under the terms of peace treaties, the parties can, on the basis of reciprocity, agree to special security arrangements such
as demilitarized zones, limited armaments areas, early warning stations, the presence of international forces, liaison, agreed measures for monitoring and other arrangements that they agree are useful.

Framework

Taking these factors into account, the parties are determined to reach a just, comprehensive, and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 in all their parts. Their purpose is to achieve peace and good neighborly relations. They recognize that for peace to endure, it must involve all those who have been most deeply affected by the conflict. They therefore agree that this framework, as appropriate, is intended by them to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel, but also between Israel and each of its other neighbors which is prepared to negotiate peace with Israel on this basis. With that objective in mind, they have agreed to proceed as follows:

West Bank and Gaza

Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West Bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

Egypt and Israel, agreeing that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved. Egypt, Israel, and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. The delegations of Egypt and Jordan may include Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza or other Palestinians as mutually agreed. The parties will negotiate an agreement which will define the powers and responsibilities of the self-governing authority to be exercised in the West Bank and Gaza. A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations. The agreement will also include arrangements for assuring internal and external security and public order. A strong local police force will be established, which may include Jordanian citizens. In addition, Israeli and Jordanian forces will participate in joint patrols and in the manning of control posts to assure the security of the borders.

When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional
period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Two separate but related committees will be convened, one committee, consisting of representatives of Israel and representatives of Jordan to be joined by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, to negotiate the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, taking into account the agreement reached in the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242. The negotiations will resolve, among other matters, the location of the boundaries and the nature of the security arrangements. The solution from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinian peoples and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through:

The negotiations among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and other outstanding issues by the end of the transitional period.

Submitting their agreements to a vote by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Providing for the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to decide how they shall govern themselves consistent with the provisions of their agreement. Participating as stated above in the work of the committee negotiating the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.

All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbors during the transitional period and beyond. To assist in providing such security, a strong local police force will be constituted by the self-governing authority. It will be composed of inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. The police will maintain liaison on internal security matters with the designated Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian officers.

During the transitional period, representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the self-governing authority will constitute a continuing committee to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern may also be dealt with by this committee. Egypt and Israel will work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent implementation of the resolution of the refugee problem.

Egypt-Israel

Egypt-Israel undertake not to resort to the threat or the use of force to settle disputes. Any disputes shall be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of Article 33 of the U.N. Charter.
In order to achieve peace between them, the parties agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months from the signing of the Framework a peace treaty between them while inviting the other parties to the conflict to proceed simultaneously to negotiate and conclude similar peace treaties with a view to achieving a comprehensive peace in the area. The Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel will govern the peace negotiations between them. The parties will agree on the modalities and the timetable for the implementation of their obligations under the treaty.

Associated Principles

Egypt and Israel state that the principles and provisions described below should apply to peace treaties between Israel and each of its neighbors - Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Signatories shall establish among themselves relationships normal to states at peace with one another. To this end, they should undertake to abide by all the provisions of the U.N. Charter. Steps to be taken in this respect include: full recognition; abolishing economic boycotts; guaranteeing that under their jurisdiction the citizens of the other parties shall enjoy the protection of the due process of law. Signatories should explore possibilities for economic development in the context of final peace treaties, with the objective of contributing to the atmosphere of peace, cooperation and friendship which is their common goal.

Claims commissions may be established for the mutual settlement of all financial claims. The United States shall be invited to participated in the talks on matters related to the modalities of the implementation of the agreements and working out the timetable for the carrying out of the obligations of the parties.

The United Nations Security Council shall be requested to endorse the peace treaties and ensure that their provisions shall not be violated. The permanent members of the Security Council shall be requested to underwrite the peace treaties and ensure respect or the provisions. They shall be requested to conform their policies and actions with the undertaking contained in this Framework.

For the Government of Israel: Menachem Begin
For the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt Muhammed Anwar al-Sadat
Witnessed by Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America

Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel

In order to achieve peace between them, Israel and Egypt agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months of the signing of this framework a peace treaty between them: It is agreed that:

The site of the negotiations will be under a United Nations flag at a location or locations to be mutually agreed. All of the principles of U.N. Resolution 242 will apply in this resolution of the dispute between Israel and Egypt. Unless otherwise mutually agreed, terms of the peace treaty will be implemented between two and three years after the peace treaty is signed.

The following matters are agreed between the parties:
the full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty up to the internationally recognized border between Egypt and mandated Palestine;

the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the Sinai; the use of airfields left by the Israelis near al-Arish, Rafah, Ras en-Naqb, and Sharm el-Sheikh for civilian purposes only, including possible commercial use only by all nations; the right of free passage by ships of Israel through the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal on the basis of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 applying to all nations; the Strait of Tiran and Gulf of Aqaba are international waterways to be open to all nations for unimpeded and non-suspendable freedom of navigation and overflight; the construction of a highway between the Sinai and Jordan near Eilat with guaranteed free and peaceful passage by Egypt and Jordan; and the stationing of military forces listed below.

**Stationing of Forces**

No more than one division (mechanized or infantry) of Egyptian armed forces will be stationed within an area lying approximately 50 km. (30 miles) east of the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal. Only United Nations forces and civil police equipped with light weapons to perform normal police functions will be stationed within an area lying west of the international border and the Gulf of Aqaba, varying in width from 20 km. (12 miles) to 40 km. (24 miles).

In the area within 3 km. (1.8 miles) east of the international border there will be Israeli limited military forces not to exceed four infantry battalions and United Nations observers.

Border patrol units not to exceed three battalions will supplement the civil police in maintaining order in the area not included above.

The exact demarcation of the above areas will be as decided during the peace negotiations. Early warning stations may exist to insure compliance with the terms of the agreement.

United Nations forces will be stationed: in part of the area in the Sinai lying within about 20 km. of the Mediterranean Sea and adjacent to the international border, and in the Sharm el-Sheikh area to insure freedom of passage through the Strait of Tiran; and these forces will not be removed unless such removal is approved by the Security Council of the United Nations with a unanimous vote of the five permanent members.

After a peace treaty is signed, and after the interim withdrawal is complete, normal relations will be established between Egypt and Israel, including full recognition, including diplomatic, economic and cultural relations; termination of economic boycotts and barriers to the free movement of goods and people; and mutual protection of citizens by the due process of law.

**Interim Withdrawal**

Between three months and nine months after the signing of the peace treaty, all Israeli forces will withdraw east of a line extending from a point east of El-Arish to Ras Muhammad, the exact location of this line to be determined by mutual agreement.
For the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt: Muhammed Anwar al-Sadat
For the Government of Israel: Menachem Begin
Witnessed by: Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America

5. The 1978 Camp David accord
The Palestinians acknowledge the UN resolution 242 (that states mainly that all territories conquered in the "recent conflict should be returned immediately"). Israel also agrees to this resolution.

6. The 1993 Oslo negotiations
The Declaration of principles signed between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. This declaration, establishes the mechanisms and the stages of the future negotiations, two periods, a first period of transition and the final status period of negotiation. Jerusalem is for the first time mentioned and, is put on paper as being part of the issues that would have to set during the final status.

7. The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)
http://www.passia.org/index_about.htm

"It was founded in March 1987 by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi and by a group of Palestinian academics and intellectuals in Jerusalem -- Al-Quds Al-Sharif.

PASSIA is an Arab non-profit institution located in Jerusalem/Al-Quds with a financially and legally independent status. It is not affiliated with any government, political party or organization.
PASSIA seeks to present the Palestinian Question in its national, Arab and international contexts through academic research, dialogue and publication.
PASSIA endeavors that research undertaken under its auspices be specialized, scientific and objective and that its symposia and workshops, whether international or intra-Palestinian, be open, self-critical and conducted in a spirit of harmony and cooperation.
PASSIA's projects include a series of seminars on Diplomacy and Protocol, Strategic Studies, the European Community, and Education on Democracy. This seminar program provides a much needed focus inside Palestine for training Palestinian graduates in international affairs with lectures and discussions held by the highest quality Palestinian and foreign specialists.
PASSIA's involvement in the question of Jerusalem remains extensive. It hosts regular workshops which address different but inter-connected problems concerning the holy city such as access to information, holy sites, Israeli settlement, and viable future municipal arrangements as capital for the two States.
PASSIA cooperates and coordinates with other Palestinian institutions both inside and outside Palestine in its persistent efforts to ensure a wider understanding of Palestinian issues.
PASSIA, by providing a forum for the free expression and analysis of a plurality of Palestinian perspectives and methodology, strives to develop and clarify its own and others' understanding of international relations as they affect the Palestinian struggle for justice and peace.
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