

MENACHEM KLEIN

JERUSALEM

The Contested City

TRANSLATED BY HAIM WATZMAN

HURST & COMPANY, LONDON

*in association with the
Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies*

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>page v</i>
<i>Maps</i>	<i>between pages 8–9</i>
Introduction	1
<i>Transliteration and terminology</i>	6
1. The Arena: a Frontier City	9
<i>Frontier cities and multicultural cities</i>	9
<i>Soft, flexible and permeable borders</i>	18
<i>— Jerusalem versus Temple Mount</i>	57
<i>A city united in theory and divided in practice</i>	65
2. The Curtain Rises: Jerusalem in the Israeli–Egyptian Peace Negotiations	85
<i>To Sinai via Jerusalem</i>	85
<i>The Camp David conference: peace despite Jerusalem</i>	90
<i>Jerusalem and the autonomy negotiations: a dialogue in two languages</i>	94
<i>The Camp David model: the indirect approach and its limitations</i>	101
3. The PLO – from the Wings to Center Stage	104
<i>The PLO: politics stops at the gates of Jerusalem</i>	104
<i>Detouring around Jerusalem and the PLO</i>	107
<i>A consensual lie: the PLO does not function in Jerusalem</i>	118
<i>From Jerusalem to Tunis, Madrid, Washington, Oslo and Back</i>	129
<i>The Israeli–Palestinian Declaration of Principles</i>	152
4. The Choruses: the Arab League and the OIC	158
<i>The Arab summit conferences</i>	159
<i>— An old refrain in a new song</i>	159

<i>The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)</i>	162
— <i>The Washington Declaration and the peace agreement between Jordan and Israel</i>	162
— <i>The OIC: December 1994–January 1995</i>	170
— <i>The Agreement between the Palestinian Authority and Jordan</i>	172
— <i>The Islamic holy places – a political problem</i>	174
5. <i>The PLO and the Palestinian Identity of East Jerusalem</i>	183
<i>Boycotts of institutions and political processes</i>	186
<i>Building counter institutions</i>	188
<i>Jerusalem versus Gaza</i>	194
6. <i>An East Jerusalem Political Profile</i>	205
<i>Public Opinion</i>	205
— <i>Political support: organizations and parties</i>	206
— <i>Support for presidential candidates</i>	208
<i>Candidates for vice-president</i>	211
— <i>Political positions as ongoing issues</i>	211
— <i>Evaluation of the Palestinian Authority</i>	212
— <i>Armed actions by the Islamic organizations</i>	212
— <i>“Soft” protest in Jerusalem</i>	213
<i>Political behaviour: the elections to the Palestinian Authority’s</i>	
<i>Legislative Council and Presidency</i>	214
<i>Willingness to participate in elections</i>	216
— <i>Election procedures, slates of candidates, preparations and propaganda</i>	218
<i>The elections</i>	234
<i>The winners</i>	237
<i>The contours of Palestinian political organization</i>	242
7. <i>Israeli Policy in East Jerusalem</i>	247
<i>Keeping Palestinians in line</i>	247
— <i>The Jerusalem municipality versus the Israeli government</i>	255
<i>Jerusalem: escape hatches from the Oslo accords</i>	260
<i>The contest for Arab space</i>	261
— <i>Israel challenges the demographic balance</i>	266
<i>Construction against Oslo</i>	271
<i>Har Homa: an obstacle to the Oslo accords</i>	278

8. Conclusion: Bridges over a Divided City	294
<i>The beginning of the permanent status negotiations</i>	294
<i>The Beilin/Abu-Mazen understandings</i>	301
<i>Areas of functional division between Jews and Arabs</i>	310
— <i>The spatial identity of the residents of East Jerusalem</i>	310
— <i>Israel's possession of the official symbols of identity, affiliation and sovereignty</i>	311
— <i>Institutions and services</i>	312
— <i>Islamic holy sites and institutions</i>	315
— <i>Sharia courts</i>	315
— <i>Al-Haram al-Sharif</i>	316
<i>Areas of low-level competition</i>	317
— <i>Law and order</i>	317
— <i>The autonomy of the local Palestinian establishment</i>	318
— <i>Political ties and political participation</i>	320
<i>Areas of high-level competition</i>	322
— <i>Planning and construction</i>	322
— <i>Population and demographic balance</i>	324
<i>Peace in small doses</i>	327
<i>Bibliography</i>	336
<i>Index</i>	351