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Jerusalem: Some Aspects Of a Complex Problem

A Research Paper

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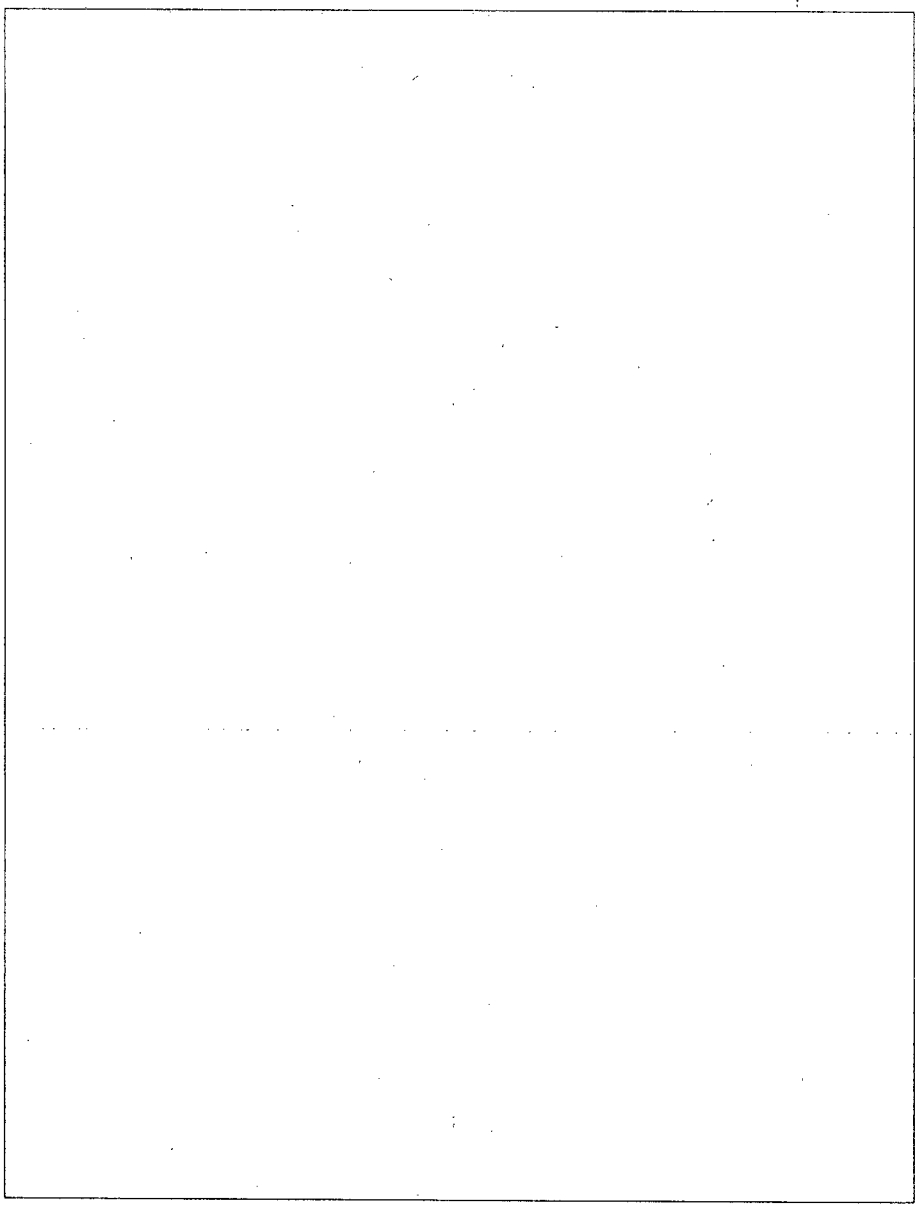

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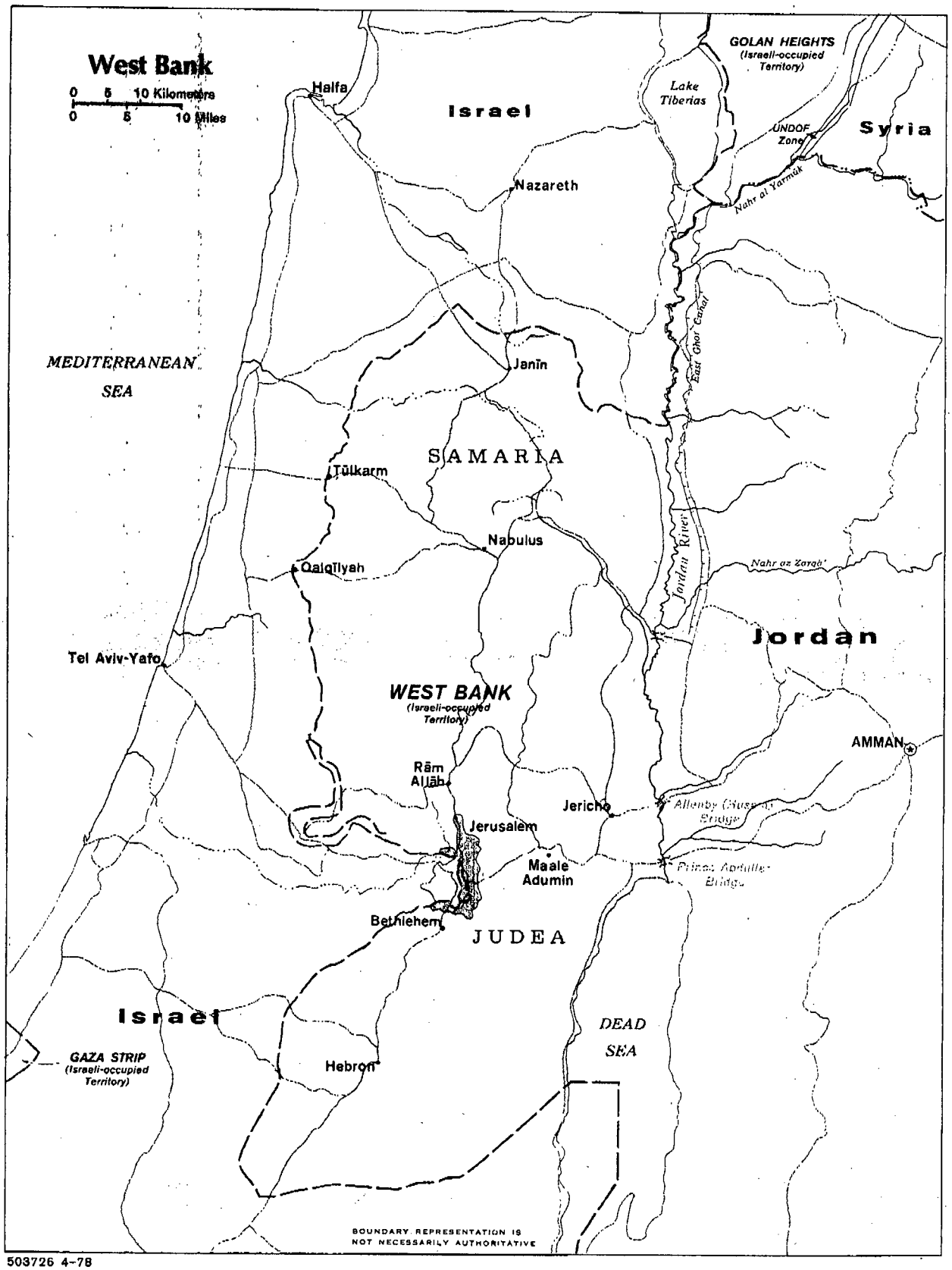

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Preface

The Jerusalem problem is generally recognized as the most difficult issue that must be resolved by the parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute. That longstanding controversy, involving the conflicting goals of Zionism and Arab nationalism, has led to four Middle East wars in less than three decades. For the first time in some years, hope for progress toward a political solution was offered by the diplomatic initiative begun by President Sadat with his visit to Israel in November 1977. It has become apparent in the months following the Sadat visit, however, that a number of fundamental issues must be resolved before the parties will be ready to even consider the Jerusalem question. Nevertheless, in order to reach an overall Middle East settlement, at some point they will be forced to reach an understanding on the ultimate status of the city.

This paper assumes that some measure of agreement will be reached on other aspects of the Arab-Israeli dispute and that such an agreement will provide for the return to Arab control of at least that portion of the West Bank between Jerusalem and the Jordan River. It is not intended to suggest any solution to the Jerusalem problem, but rather to outline its dimensions and to identify those factors that must be considered in any proposed settlement.

Jerusalem: Some Aspects of a Complex Problem

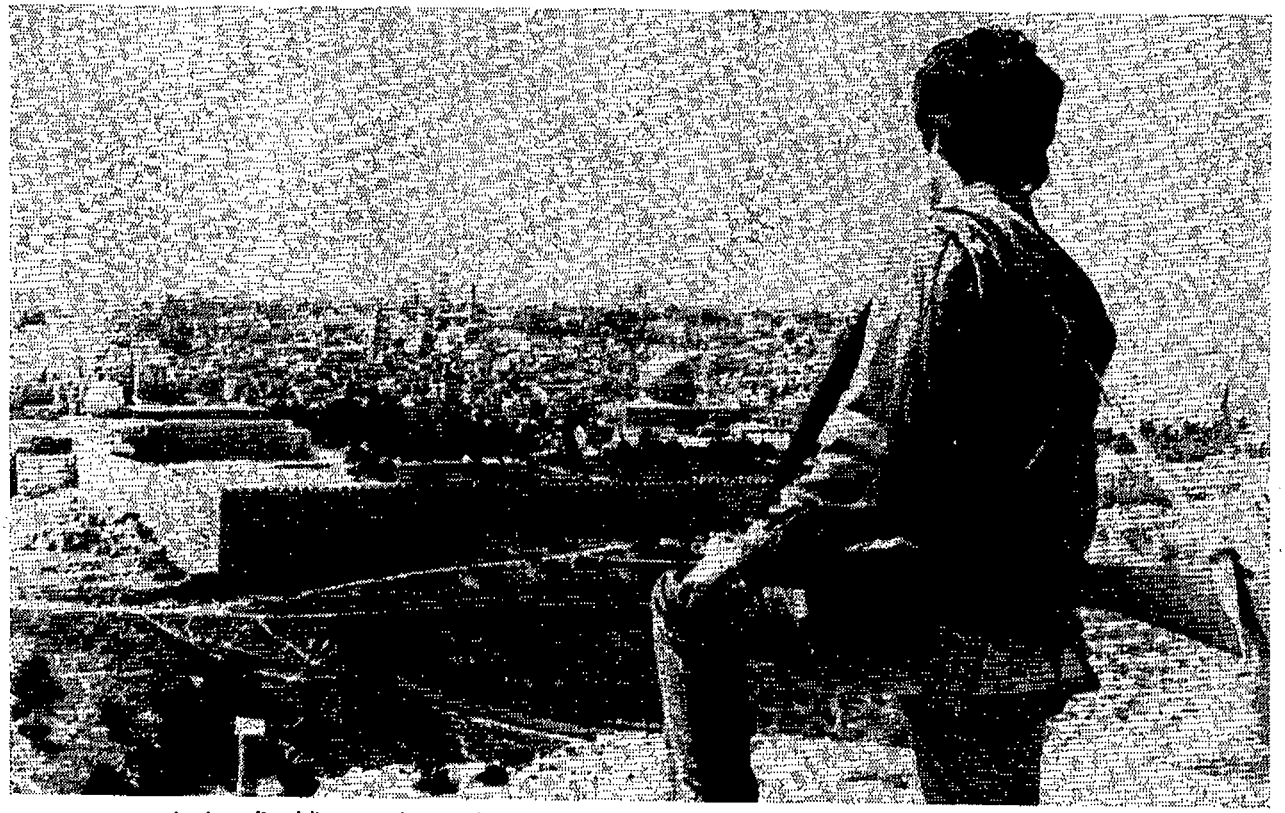
Central Intelligence Agency
National Foreign Assessment Center

May 1978

Background

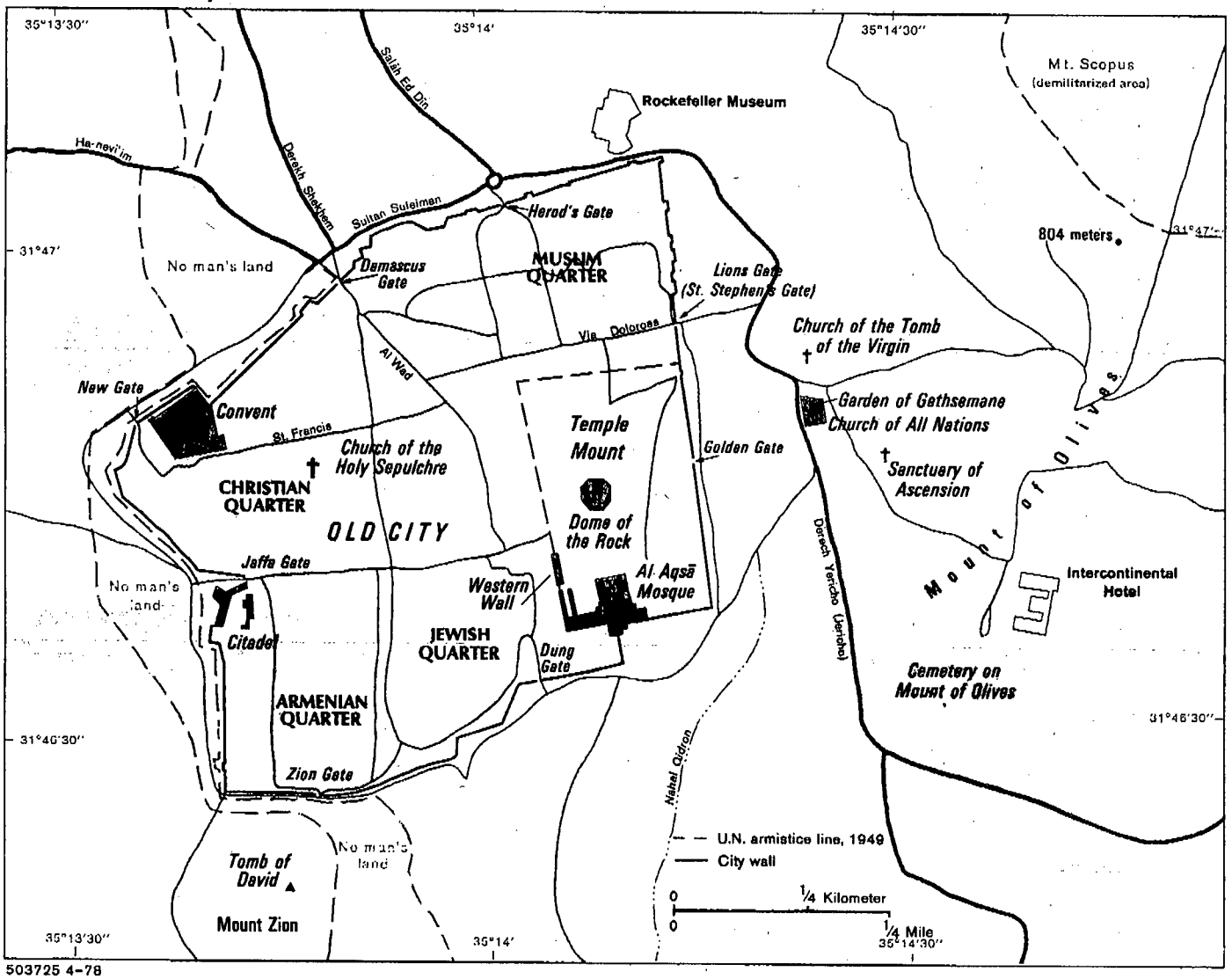
Jerusalem is comprised of (1) the Old City, a walled area that contains sites considered sacred by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (2) the Arab area outside the walls north and east of the Old City (since 1967, the site of several Jewish housing developments), and (3) the primarily Jewish area to the west known as the New City. Jews and Muslims consider one part of the city to be especially sacred: the raised area of 142,000 square meters (35 acres) in the southwest corner of the walled city called the Temple Mount by the Jews because within this area the Temple once stood. The Western Wall, also called the Wailing Wall, is part of the retaining wall around the raised area and is sacred according to Jewish tradition because of its proximity to the inner sanctuary of the Second Temple.

Also located on the Temple Mount—called Haram al-Sharif by the Muslims—are the al-Aqsa



An Israeli soldier stands guard at a site overlooking the Temple Mount and the city beyond

Jerusalem-Holy Places



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Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, which according to Muslim tradition, is built over the spot from which Muhammad ascended to visit heaven. Christians dispute among themselves over control of the Christian holy places, but are generally not now in conflict with Jews or Muslims over the sites. [1]

The present controversy over Jerusalem is an integral part of the Arab-Israeli dispute that originated in the period following World War I and stemmed from the conflicting claims of the Zionists and the Arab nationalists to Palestine. Both groups based their claims on promises made to them by the British during the war and afterward pressed the British, as the mandatory power, to honor these commitments. After the mid-1930s, conflicts between the Arab and Jewish communities intensified, and several proposals were made for the partition of Palestine, but none was acceptable to all the parties. [2]

After World War II, Zionist groups and their supporters increased pressure on the British to ease restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine, and terrorist attacks on British personnel and installations became common. In November 1947 the UN General Assembly approved a plan to create separate Arab and Jewish states and an international zone under UN control that would include Jerusalem and its environs. The Jewish Agency, which represented Zionist interests in the negotiations for the establishment of a Jewish state, accepted the plan, but the Arab states rejected it.

On 14 May 1948, the day before the British mandate expired, the Jewish community in Palestine declared Israel to be an independent state. The armed forces of the Arab states entered Palestine on 15 May, and the resulting conflict left Jerusalem a divided city with the Jordanian forces holding the Old City and the adjacent areas to the north and east and the Israeli forces in control of the New City. In December 1949 the UN General Assembly adopted a proposal reaffirming the 1947 partition plan. The Israelis rejected the proposal and moved their government to Jerusalem. King Abdullah of Jordan also rejected the proposal and annexed the West Bank and that part of Jerusalem under Jordanian control.

The 1967 war brought the entire city under Israeli control. Despite an Israeli appeal not to enter the conflict, King Husayn honored a joint defense agreement with Egypt and attacked Israel after the Israelis attacked Egyptian forces in the Sinai on 5 June. On 7 June Israeli forces captured East Jerusalem and ended 19 years of partition.

The Reunified City

"Creating Facts"

Since the 1967 war the Israeli Government has taken a series of actions that are clearly intended to make the reunification of Jerusalem irreversible. This process of Israelization, or "creating facts" as the Israelis have termed it, in areas that had been under Jordanian control has involved annexation, expropriation, and the construction of housing for Israeli Jews in the expropriated areas.

Jews at the Western Wall, 1971

[1] A detailed treatment of the significance of Jerusalem to each of the three religions is found in appendix A.

[2] These plans and their treatment of Jerusalem are discussed in greater detail in appendix B.

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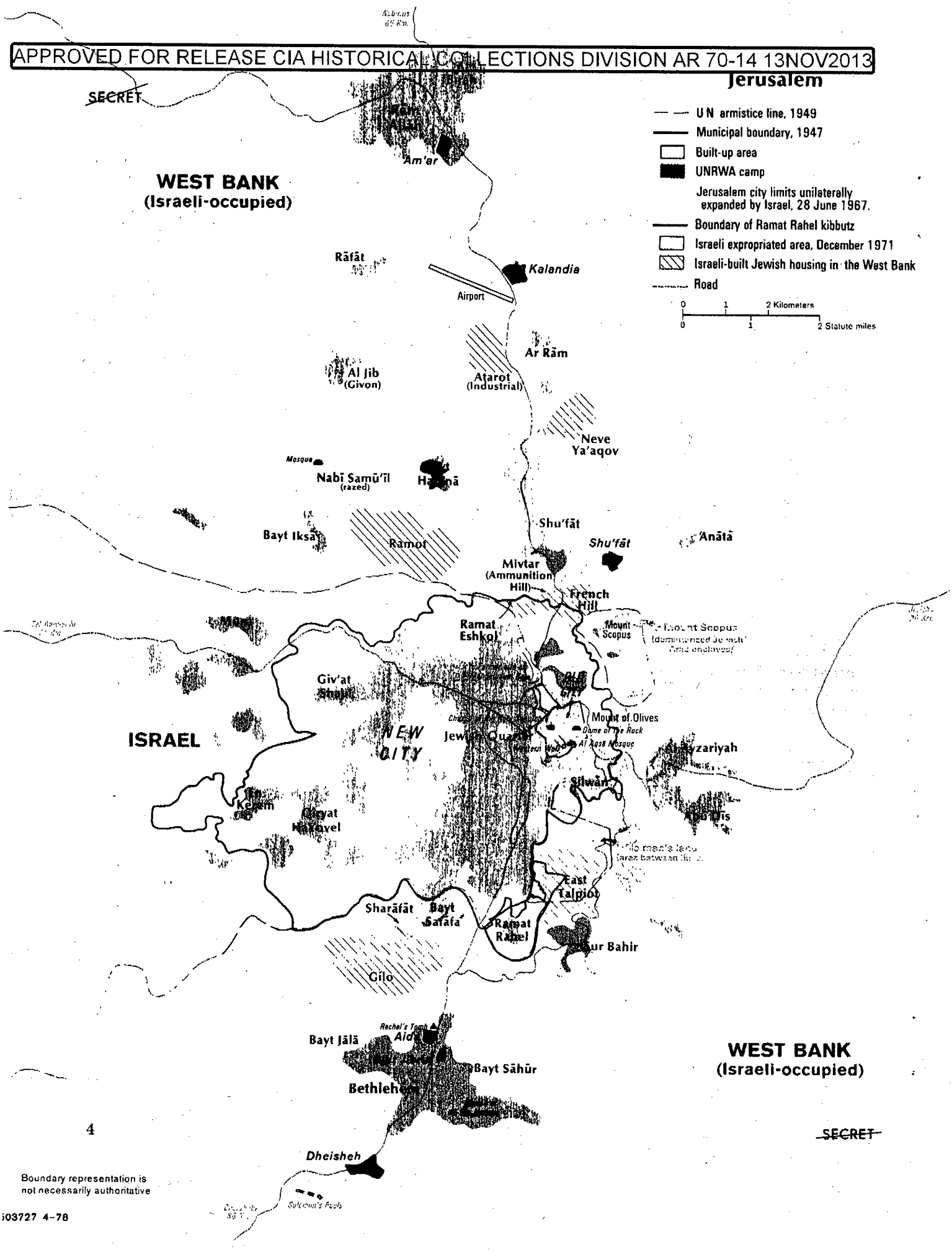

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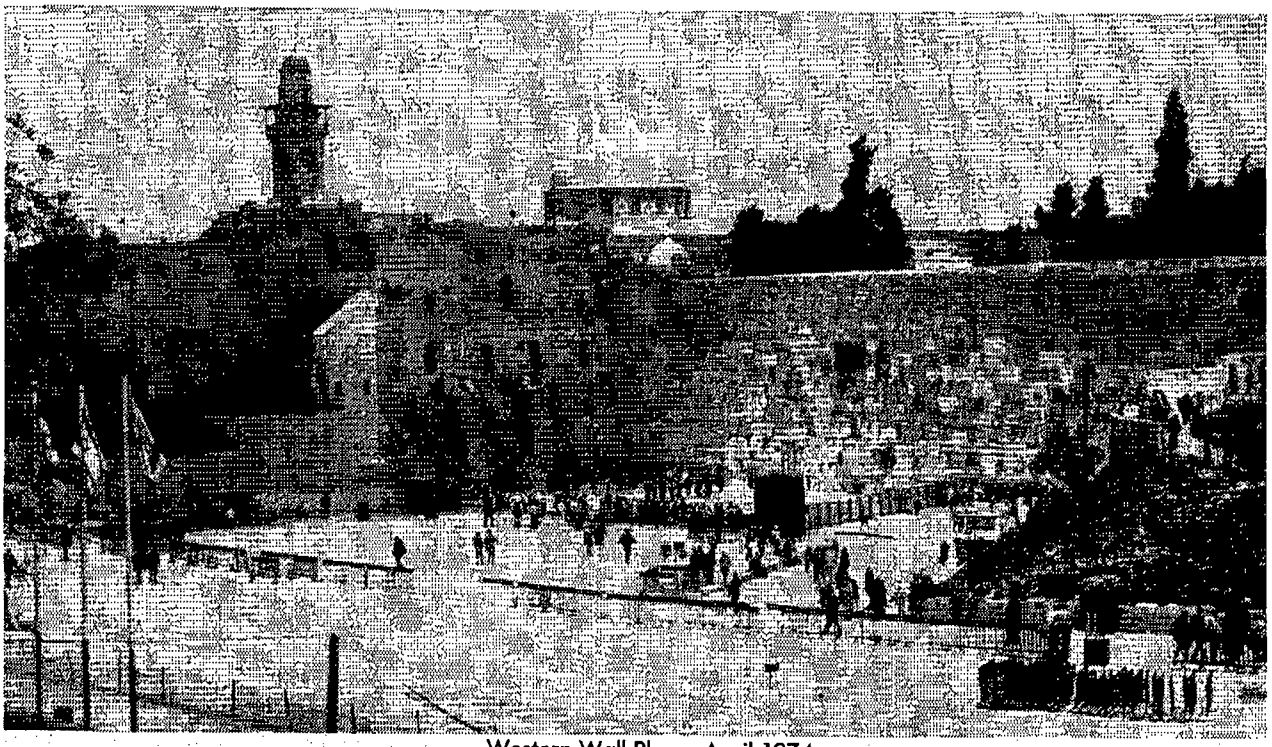


Western Wall Plaza, April 1974

In the days immediately after the war, the Israelis undertook several not unexpected actions more or less consistent with their role as an occupying power. They demolished the barriers dividing the city and unified municipal services, including the electrical and telephone systems. The chronically water-short East Jerusalem water system was connected to the West Jerusalem water supply. Other actions taken immediately after the war were clearly designed to recover land lost by Jews in 1948 and to guarantee Jewish access to the Western Wall. In one of their first acts after taking control of the city, the Israelis demolished a number of Arab-owned buildings in front of the Western Wall to accommodate large numbers of worshippers, and in mid-June several hundred Arabs were evicted from the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, where they had settled after the 1948 war.

Subsequent Israeli actions, however, were clearly intended to establish a Jewish presence in those sections of the city that had been under Jordanian control. On 27 June the Knesset approved a series of decrees greatly expanding the municipal boundaries northeast, east, and southwest of the city and annexing the entire area to Israel. The present united city is approximately three times the size of prewar Israeli West Jerusalem and includes a number of Arab communities that were independent municipal entities before the war.

In 1968 and 1970, large tracts of land in the newly expanded city were expropriated by the Israelis. The major portion of that taken in 1968 was land connecting Mount Scopus (after 1949, an Israeli exclave inside Jordanian lines) with West Jerusalem, an action intended to ensure that any future political settlement would not leave Mount Scopus again behind Arab lines. Also in 1968 the Israelis expropriated a small, predominately Jewish-owned area near Neve Ya'aqov, the site of a pre-1948 Jewish settlement, and formally assumed ownership of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. [3] In 1970 additional areas of predomi-

[3] Since Ottoman times most of this property has been Muslim owned, although inhabited by Jews until 1948.

nantly Arab-owned land were expropriated at Kalandia, the Nebi Samu'il area (outside the expanded boundaries), Neve Ya'aqov, Sur Bahir, and Shu'fat. Although the Israelis have indicated their willingness to compensate the affected landowners, in most cases the Arabs have refused the offer, reasoning that to accept would legitimize the expropriation.

Jewish housing developments established on the expropriated land have been designed not only to provide shelter but also to serve as an instrument of national policy. Former Housing Minister Ze'ev Sharef stated in 1971 that the new developments in Jerusalem were designed specifically to reinforce the Jewish character of the city. The Israelis have stated that Arab protests over the housing projects are unjustified since the developments have not infringed on Arab housing and were built on rocky land not suitable for agriculture.

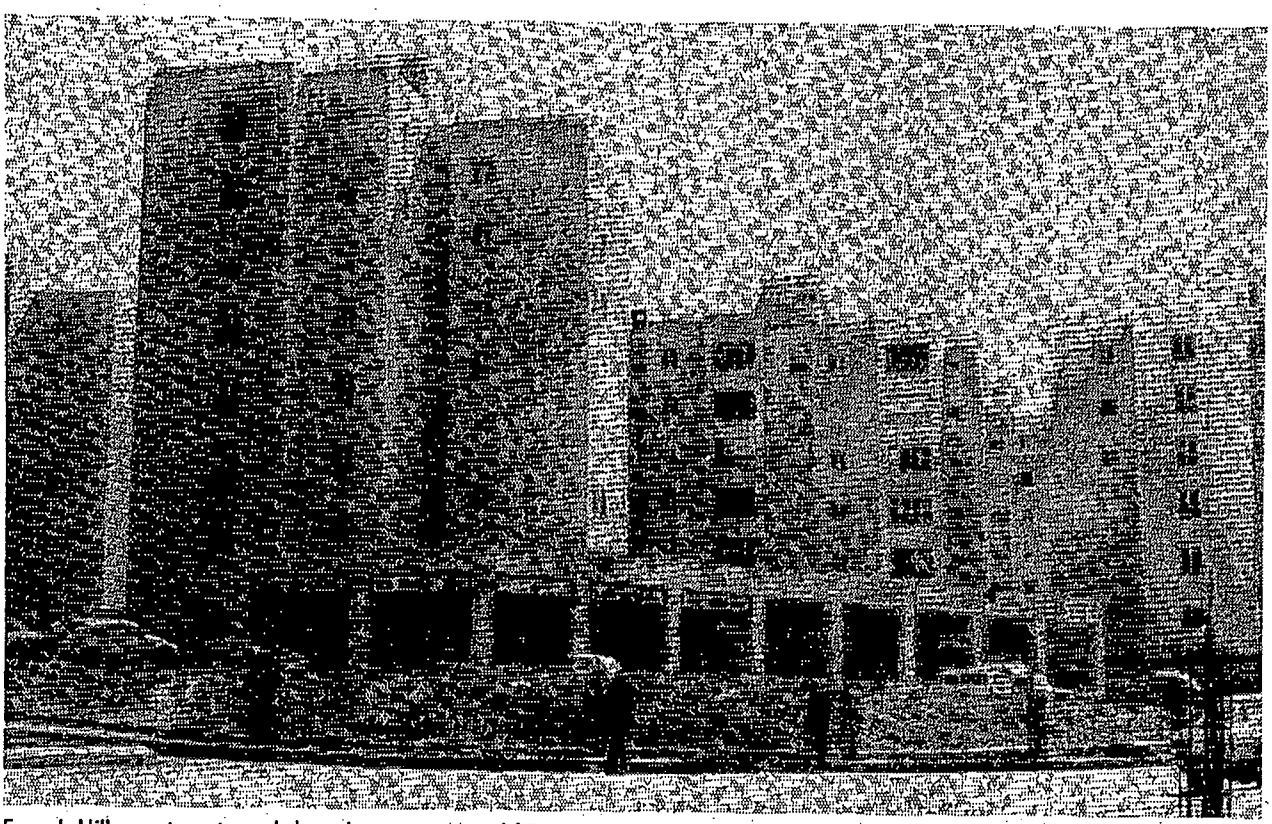
By 1974 the Israelis completed or had under construction six major housing projects and one industrial park in the Arab areas of Jerusalem. Between 1967 and 1972, construction began on over 21,000 dwelling units with 15,000 completed by mid-1972. From 1973 to 1975, construction of approximately 4,000 units per year was begun with average construction time about 20 months. The total number of units to be completed by 1982 is projected to be about 28,000. Construction of a few units at government expense for Arabs has been planned, and some units for Arabs have been built with private Arab funds. The land seized in 1968 to link the Mount Scopus region with the New City has been used to build the Ramat Eshkol development, the French Hill development, the villa project on Ammunition Hill, and the expansion of the Mount Scopus campus of Hebrew University. The effect of this inner arc of settlements has been to cut off Arab Jerusalem from the West Bank to the north.

In November 1974 the Israeli Government announced extensive new development plans, which, according to a Housing Ministry spokesman, in addition to providing housing were designed to "fortify" the city by establishing contiguous Jewish settlements. Although the fortress concept was hardly new, this was the first formal use of the term by a government official. Scheduled for construction were a major new development between Neve Ya'aqov and French Hill, tentatively called South Neve Ya'aqov, and a smaller development in the southwest area of the city. The construction of these developments, according to observers, is intended to close the "gaps" in the Israeli ring around Arab Jerusalem. In addition to expanding the Jewish presence in the city, the new developments would also strengthen the Israeli position in any future negotiations about Jerusalem.

Also in November 1974 the government announced its intention to construct an industrial park at Maale Adumim, some 14 kilometers east of Jerusalem on the road to Jericho. In addition to the industrial park the government approved a work camp, clearly designed to provide a nucleus for an urban settlement. The work camp was finally settled in 1976. Although a government spokesman declared that the camp would not necessarily be regarded as an integral part of Israel, its location would constitute a major obstacle to any compromise settlement of the Jerusalem problem involving the establishment of an Arab corridor to the city.

It is worth noting that the speed and intensity with which "facts" have been created in Jerusalem has depended to a considerable extent on external developments. The series of actions initiated in 1970—including the second round of land expropriations, a decision to add additional stories to the buildings in the French Hill development, and the construction of a road on the western slope of Mount Scopus, previously disapproved for esthetic reasons—followed the announcement in December 1969 of the Rogers Plan, in which Secretary of State Rogers supported the reconstitution of "some kind of Jordanian presence" in the united city. The decision to establish the Maale Adumim industrial park in November 1974 has been described as the Israeli response to the Rabat summit conference, which proclaimed the sole right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to speak for the Palestinians, and also a response to the invitation to PLO leader Yasir Arafat to speak before the UN General Assembly.

Sign of things to come on French Hill, January 1971



French Hill apartments and shopping area, May 1974

According to Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, criticism by a US spokesman in 1971 of a proposed construction project in East Jerusalem resulted in its speedy approval by the Jerusalem Municipal Council. [4]

A more recent example of how Israeli sensitivity can affect decisions regarding development in Jerusalem occurred in October 1977 when Mayor Kollek, reacting to the refusal of Treasury Secretary Blumenthal "to undertake a tour of the unified city," called on Prime Minister Begin to place the problems of the united city at the top of the government's agenda. Expressing his fear that time might be running out "to create all the facts we had hoped to create in the city," Kollek said that Blumenthal's action "has once again shown that the city's unified status as the capital of Israel is not assured."

Demographic Changes

Jews have made up a majority of the population of Jerusalem since the 1870s. Prior to the 1948 war the population of the city was estimated at 165,000, of whom 100,000 were Jews and the remainder non-Jews, mostly Arabs. After the 1967 war the population of the reunified and expanded city was 267,800. Of this number, 71,300 or 26.6 percent were non-Jews, mostly Arabs. By 1975 the population of the city had reached 355,000, of whom 96,000 or approximately 27 percent were non-Jews, mostly Arabs.

It is therefore apparent that despite the success of Israeli efforts to stimulate the growth of the Jewish population in Jerusalem, its rate of growth has only kept pace with that of the Arab population. This is due in part to the greater natural increase of the Arab population: 4.25 percent per year for Arabs living in Israel as compared to 2.4 percent for the Jewish population. Although the natural increase for Arabs living in urbanized East Jerusalem is dropping, the loss is offset by the high birth rate in the suburban villages incorporated into the city in 1967. More important, however, has been the fact that a number of West Bank Arabs, in search of employment and the higher wages available in Jerusalem and Israel proper, have come to the city. Paradoxically, many of these Arab newcomers have found employment in the construction of Jewish housing. Should present demographic trends continue, it is estimated that by 1985 the total population of the city will reach 500,000, of whom slightly less than 140,000 will be non-Jews, mostly Arabs.

The Israelis have been more successful in increasing the number of Jews living in the part of the city that was under Jordanian control prior to 1967. In 1976 it was estimated that some 50,000 to 60,000 Jews were living in the new housing that had been built in East Jerusalem.

Economic Effects

The long-term result of the unification of Jerusalem has been increased prosperity for both parts of the city. Since 1967 Jerusalem has changed from the third largest city in Israel and an economic backwater to the fastest developing and most populous city in the country. There has been a considerable growth in the tourism industry, and the city has enjoyed a construction boom, due to a large extent to government development programs, including the Jewish housing in East Jerusalem.

Immediately after the war the city experienced some increase in Arab unemployment, as Arab merchants were forced to seek new sources of supply and because traditional economic relationships with Jordan were severed. By late 1968, however, Arab employment in the city had returned to prewar levels and was continuing to rise. By 1975 the number of Arab employees working in the city but returning weekends to their homes on the West Bank had reached an estimated 10,000. Workers at the low end of the wage scale have profited more, however, than those at the top. After August 1968, Arab workers employed in West Jerusalem were required to be paid at the same scale as Jewish workers; although it was not always observed, the ruling in some cases doubled the workers' wages and also

[4] Jerusalem, like other municipalities in Israel, is governed by a municipal council. The entire city is treated as a single constituency, and voters choose between lists of candidates rather than individuals with seats awarded on a proportional basis. After an election, members of the Municipal Council elect a mayor and one or more deputies (at last count, Jerusalem had eight) from among their number. Teddy Kollek has been mayor of Jerusalem since 1965.

had the effect of bringing about some wage increases for Arabs in East Jerusalem. On the other hand, former government officials and educated Arabs, who have refused to do manual labor, generally have been forced to seek employment outside the area.

Alternatives

Although any attempt to solve the Jerusalem problem must of necessity consider the control of and access to the holy places, the question of who will exercise sovereignty over the city, both formally and in fact, is the major issue that must be resolved. Over the years, a considerable number of proposals regarding the status of the city have been put forward. Although there is some overlapping, the alternatives for a settlement can be classified into six basic types.

Full territorial internationalization of a large area that would include all of the holy places in the Jerusalem region. This was the plan that was adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1947 but never implemented. Based on the majority plan presented the previous August by the UN Special Committee on Palestine, which would have divided Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states and an international zone, the plan would have established Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum* "under an international regime" administered by the UN Trusteeship Council. The total area of the international zone would have been some 260 square kilometers, including Bethlehem and other suburbs.

Partial territorial internationalization of an area smaller than the 1947 plan. Two such plans were put forward shortly after the 1948 war. In October 1949 the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed a plan under which only the Old City and a small area adjoining it would have been placed under international control. The Garreau plan, proposed in January 1950, would have divided Jerusalem into an Israeli zone of most of the New City, a Jordanian zone of the Muslim section of the Old City including the Temple Mount and some adjoining areas, and an international zone taken almost equally from land occupied by the Israelis and the Jordanians. The first plan was never considered by the UN, while the Garreau plan was shelved by the Trusteeship Council.

Functional internationalization of the holy places under some form of international protection without creating an actual international area. In December 1949 a joint draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by Sweden and the Netherlands called for the functional internationalization of the holy places under the supervision of a UN commissioner responsible to the General Assembly. The General Assembly, however, did not vote on the proposal.

One form of functional internationalization would utilize an outside protector system under which Israel would grant "embassy status" to the holy places and place them under the protection of a foreign state. Following the 1967 war, some Israelis suggested that extraterritorial status be granted to the Christian holy places and to the Muslim holy sites on the Temple Mount, with Jordan assigned to administer the Muslim sites. In order to assure free access to the Muslim sites, it was suggested that Jordan control a special road linking the Temple Mount to Jordanian territory.

Any plan for functional internationalization of the holy places, however, must take into consideration the conflicting claims to sovereignty over the Temple Mount. Although the Israelis as a matter of policy have permitted continued Muslim control over the Temple Mount, it remains sacred to Jews; while some Israelis would agree to permit Jordanian flags to fly from the sites on the Temple Mount, few Israelis would agree to a plan that officially recognized Arab sovereignty over the entire enclosure.

A borough system. As advocated by Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek and Deputy Mayor Meron Benvenisti, the city would be expanded to include areas not annexed by the Israelis including Bethlehem. The expanded city would be governed as a federated municipality composed of autonomous submunicipalities or boroughs whose boundaries would correspond to the existing Arab and Jewish areas. The boroughs and the federal municipality would each have definite areas of responsibility, with the municipality retaining responsibility for security. The Kollek-Benvenisti concept would

keep Jerusalem a united city, but would grant the Jordanians sovereignty over the boroughs established in the nonannexed area. Although the question of sovereignty in the annexed area was left ambiguous, the Israelis clearly intend to maintain sovereignty there. How Jordan would be associated with the autonomous Arab districts was also left unclear.

The borough plan as suggested by Kollek and Benvenisti would meet the requirements for a solution to the Jerusalem problem put forth by a study group convened at the Brookings Institution in late 1975. This study, which outlined the broad requirements of an Arab-Israeli settlement, stated that any settlement devised for Jerusalem should meet at least the following criteria: unimpeded access to all holy places; no physical barriers to free movement within the city; and substantial political autonomy for each national group within the city in those areas where it predominates.

A variant of the borough plan was suggested in December 1975 by Yaacov Hazan, a veteran Mapam Party leader. Hazan proposed that, while Jerusalem remain united and the capital of Israel, the Old City be placed under the control of a council composed of Jewish, Muslim, and Christian representatives. The boundaries of the city would remain unchanged. The religious sites would be granted extraterritorial status, although Israel would retain responsibility for administration and security in the Old City. The municipality would delegate responsibility to separate subsidiary townships covering areas inhabited predominantly by Jews or Arabs. Hazan also proposed that an Armenian committee be established to handle the affairs of the 3,000 to 4,000 Armenians living in the city.

A **condominium** between Jordan and Israel, which would assign the administration of Jerusalem to both governments. An Israeli-Jordanian condominium would generally increase the problems of administering the city since the condominium would have to deal with two currencies, two customs procedures, and two legal systems. The 1970 Quaker peace plan would have provided for a federal condominium to govern an undivided and demilitarized Jerusalem. In the interim, the plan called for the creation of separate Arab and Jewish boroughs, with certain shared municipal services, under a UN coordinating agency. The Quaker plan is vague about sovereignty in both the interim and ultimate plans and does not address the questions of access to the holy places or the problem of security.

Partition of Jerusalem into areas controlled by a Jewish state and an Arab state, re-creating the situation that existed between 1948 and 1967. A number of different plans involving partition in one form or another have been suggested. The Palestine Conciliation Commission plan of September 1949 proposed a permanent international regime for Jerusalem, but called for the division of the city into two zones, an Arab zone administered by Jordan and a Jewish zone administered by Israel. The plan was rejected by the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the UN General Assembly.

In 1972 King Husayn, in a plan for a federated state of Jordan and the West Bank, proposed that sovereignty in Jerusalem be divided along the pre-1967 lines. According to his plan, however, Jerusalem would be an open city with complete freedom of movement between the sections. Each state, however, would be sovereign in its own part of the city.

A recent plan put forth by Lord Caradon, former British representative to the UN, is similar. It would divide Jerusalem into separate cities: one under Israeli sovereignty and administration and the other under Arab sovereignty and administration. Both cities would be demilitarized with complete freedom of movement between them. Access to the holy places would be assured by an international commissioner who would work with both sides.

Positions of the Parties

Israel

"There are some Israelis who would give up the Golan, some Israelis who would give up the Sinai, and some would give up the West Bank. But I do not think that you can find any Israelis who are willing to give up Jerusalem."—*Mayor Teddy Kollek (July 1977)*

For most Israelis, Jerusalem is the focal point and the symbol of Israeli identity, and for them, the reunification of the city in 1967 marked the completion of the creation of the Jewish state. Israelis all across the political spectrum, including those opposed to the wholesale annexation of the occupied territories for demographic and other reasons, are united in their agreement that Jerusalem must remain a united city, under exclusive Israeli sovereignty, and the capital of Israel.

Israeli legal experts maintain that the annexation of the West Bank including East Jerusalem by Jordan in 1948 was illegal and that the Jordanian rights there never exceeded those of a "belligerent occupant." Consequently, it is argued that whatever rights the Jordanians possessed were within the framework of the 1949 Israeli-Jordanian armistice agreement and that the armistice agreement ceased to exist as a result of the Jordanian attack on Israel in June 1967. These experts also maintain that Israel seized East Jerusalem in lawful exercise of its inherent right of self-defense as recognized by the UN Charter.

The position of the Israeli Government since 1967 has been that continued Israeli control of the expanded city is nonnegotiable. Although government spokesmen have stated on several occasions that the future of the city will be discussed in direct negotiations, they have avoided any details on what might be offered the Arabs, and it is clear that no government is prepared to compromise on the issue of Israeli sovereignty over the united city.

Within this general Israeli position, however, there is disagreement over what role the Jerusalem Arabs should be permitted to play in the city. Mayor Kollek and Deputy Mayor Benvenisti have called for a more conciliatory attitude toward the Arabs and for a greater awareness on the part of Israeli Jews of Arab sensitivities. Kollek has advocated giving Arabs overall control of their educational system and other affairs as a means of bringing about active Arab participation in municipal affairs. Kollek and Benvenisti have advocated the creation of Arab and Jewish boroughs as a means of giving the Arabs a greater voice in the government of the city while at the same time meeting minimum Israeli requirements on sovereignty.

Kollek and Benvenisti are moderates, however, even by Labor Party standards. Conservatives, chiefly members of Likud and the National Religious Party both in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Israel, oppose any plan that would give even limited autonomy to the Arab minority. The determination of the hard-liners to keep those more sympathetic toward the Arab minority out of positions of influence was demonstrated by the so-called "Benvenisti affair." In 1971 a right-of-center newspaper published a plan proposed by Benvenisti three years earlier when he was a member of a contingency planning group. The newspaper presented the plan, which reportedly advocated a single municipal district with joint Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty, as a current proposal and failed to state that it had been shelved in the absence of any progress toward a settlement. Benvenisti, who was slated for appointment as deputy mayor, Kollek, and the Labor Party became the targets of an intense rightwing campaign, and Benvenisti was accused of attempting to redivide the city. Although the newspaper subsequently admitted the inaccuracy of the article, the campaign was successful in preventing Benvenisti's appointment as deputy mayor. [5]

In general, public attitudes on Jerusalem appear to have hardened since 1967. A suggestion made by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan in 1967 to allow the Jordanian flag to fly over the Muslim holy places on the Temple Mount did not arouse serious protest, but it encountered strong opposition in 1968. In the 1973 elections for Jerusalem Municipal Council, the Labor Alignment lost its majority, while Likud and the National Religious Party gained seats. [redacted] commented that as a consequence of the election, the borough system plan "was now out of the question" since the new Council was more uncompromising toward the Arabs than its predecessor. In 1975 when Kollek raised the borough concept before an international group, his Likud and National Religious Party opponents on the Council charged him with seeking to leave open an Arab corridor that would undermine Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem.

[5] He did continue as East Jerusalem special adviser and chief of planning until early 1972, and in 1974 he was finally appointed Deputy Mayor for Planning.

The Likud - National Religious Party government formed after the national elections in May 1977 has indicated only that it is prepared to guarantee free access to the holy places in Jerusalem under its peace plan.

Jordan

Of all the Arab countries, Jordan has shown the most flexibility on the Jerusalem question. On Jerusalem, as on other territorial questions, however, King Husayn cannot adopt a position so significantly different from the other Arab leaders as to risk charges of "giving away" Arab territory. In view of Saudi Arabian financial support for Jordan, Husayn is especially concerned that any Jordanian policy initiatives not offend Saudi leaders. Moreover, Husayn, like his grandfather King Abdullah, sees himself as the protector of the Muslim holy places in Jerusalem and would find it very difficult to approve any plan recognizing Israeli sovereignty over the Temple Mount.

Since 1967, Jordanian policy on Jerusalem has undergone several changes. In the period immediately after the war, Husayn demanded that total control of East Jerusalem be restored to Jordan. Subsequently he proposed internationalization of the entire city within the pre-1948 municipal boundaries. In late 1971 Husayn suggested that the Jewish Quarter of the Old City could be left under Israeli sovereignty, and in early 1972 he indicated that he would be willing to give up the Armenian Quarter as well as the Jewish Quarter and the Western Wall Plaza. In his early 1972 statements, the King indicated that Jerusalem might be made "an open city" and "a city of peace and cooperation." In his March 1972 Jordanian-Palestinian federation plan, Husayn stated that Jerusalem would be designated as capital of the Palestinian region of the federated state.

After the 1973 war Husayn's position hardened, and he again called for the return of all of East Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty. He continued to indicate, however, that if sovereignty over East Jerusalem were returned to Jordan, Jerusalem could remain a united city. In a December 1977 interview with *Newsweek* editor Arnaud de Borchgrave, Husayn reiterated his call for the complete return to Arab control of the occupied territories "including sovereignty over Arab Jerusalem," meaning the part controlled by Jordan prior to June 1967.

The Palestinians

"This revolution has come to stay and to triumph and to return to liberate Jerusalem."—*Yasir Arafat (December 1977)*

The official position of the PLO toward Israel has continued to be insistence on the replacement of the state of Israel with a multiracial secular state. Senior PLO officials, including Arafat, however, have indicated that recognition of Israel would be possible in return for Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories and recognition of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. In the highly unlikely event that at some point Israel should prove willing to allow the establishment of a Palestinian state, the PLO would be reluctant to compromise on the matter of sovereignty over East Jerusalem, but probably would eventually accept terms agreeable to the majority of Arab states. Arafat and the other more "moderate" PLO leaders, however, already under attack by "rejectionist" factions for indicating a willingness to accept the existence of Israel, would face considerable opposition if they publicly indicated they were prepared to accept less than total Israeli withdrawal from East Jerusalem. In 1975 a PLO spokesman denounced any plan for internationalization of the city, which he described as recognizing the "Zionist usurpation."

The Palestinians on the West Bank, who have lived under Israeli occupation for more than 10 years, are not reconciled to continued Israeli control of East Jerusalem and continue to hope that an agreement will result in Israeli withdrawal. Political and cultural intercourse between the Arab and Jewish communities in the city is virtually nonexistent, and most Arabs will not attend social or political functions at which Israelis are present. Efforts by Mayor Kollek to develop bridges between the two communities have proved fruitless.

Most West Bank Palestinians, including the residents of East Jerusalem, regard the return of East Jerusalem and the West Bank to Jordanian control as undesirable. They are nevertheless aware that Israeli objections to the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank probably would necessitate as part of a settlement some type of relationship with Jordan, which might include, for example, a common currency and a joint defense and foreign policy. They would, however, at a minimum, demand their own legislature and full control over their internal affairs.

Other Arab States

> "We must all work to regain the al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest in Islam, and noble Jerusalem itself and to cleanse them of all the impurities that have been attached to them."—*King Khalid (November 1977)*

Saudi Arabia's financial support to other Arab states, especially Jordan and Egypt, makes it necessary for those states to take Saudi views on Jerusalem into consideration in formulating their stands. Since 1967 the Saudis have publicly insisted that East Jerusalem be returned to Arab control. As guardian of the Muslim holy places in Mecca and Medina, King Faysal was adamant that the Old City, the site of major Muslim holy places, be returned to the Arabs.

[redacted]

Although King Khalid, who succeeded Faysal after the latter's assassination in March 1975, and Crown Prince Fahd are believed to be slightly more flexible on the Jerusalem question, they have publicly continued to insist on Israeli evacuation of all of the Arab territory occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem. A major element in the Saudis' initial anger at Egyptian President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 was religious. King Khalid was furious that Sadat would go to Jerusalem on a Muslim holy day and that he would pray at the al-Aqsa Mosque while it was still under Israeli control.

In December 1977 the Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud, rejected as inadequate any plan that would provide for Arab control only over the Muslim holy places and reiterated Saudi insistence on the return of East Jerusalem to Arab control. He did indicate, however, that Saudi Arabia would consider recognizing Israel in the event a comprehensive solution was reached that "ensures Israel's evacuation of all occupied Arab lands and restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland, including the setting up of their own state."

In recent public statements, President Anwar Sadat of **Egypt** has continued to publicly call for complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, as part of any final agreement.

[redacted]

President Hafiz Assad of **Syria** will probably also accept any settlement of the Jerusalem question agreeable to the Saudis and most Palestinians. A member of the minority Alawite sect, Assad will want the orthodox Sunni Saudis to approve any agreement in order to avoid domestic criticism. While the recovery of the Golan is its primary foreign policy goal, Syria—with almost 300,000 Palestinian refugees—has been the most outspoken of all the Arab states in support of the Palestinian cause and is unlikely to approve any peace settlement that is unsatisfactory to most Palestinians.

Extraregional Parties

The Vatican position on Jerusalem, formulated by Pope Pius XII in official statements in 1948 and 1949, called for a "legal statute . . . to give an international character to Jerusalem and its vicinity" to protect the holy places. Subsequently, however, the position of the Holy See has

evolved, and instead of territorial internationalization, the Vatican is reportedly now thinking in terms of functional internationalization of the holy places. In recent statements on the character of the city, Vatican officials have stressed Jerusalem's "universal and sacred character," and in late 1977, some "qualified churchmen" were said to believe that the Vatican hoped to become a party to an international agreement defining the status of the holy places. Following a meeting with Pope Paul VI in early 1978, Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan made no mention of such an agreement, but did state that the Pope had not raised the matter of the internationalization of Jerusalem, a development that some observers interpreted as indicating that the Vatican had indeed abandoned its earlier call for territorial internationalization.

The West European states have supported the establishment of a special international regime in Jerusalem and have supported UN resolutions calling on Israel to rescind and desist from implementing measures that would alter the status of the city. The Soviet Union, in public and private statements, has supported Arab demands for total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, although the Soviets probably would approve border adjustments that were acceptable to the Arab states.

Prospects for a Compromise on Jerusalem

Any agreement between the parties on Jerusalem must of necessity be part of an overall agreement. Recognizing that the Jerusalem question is the most difficult of any of the issues encompassed in the Arab-Israeli dispute, by more or less general agreement it has been left till last. Although hopes for progress toward a political solution of the Arab-Israeli dispute were raised as a consequence of President Sadat's visit to Israel in November 1977, the parties, as of May 1978, have been unable to agree on some of the most basic elements of a settlement, including the ultimate disposition of the West Bank and Gaza and the status of the Palestinians. Until the basic elements that are essential to a settlement are agreed on, consideration of the Jerusalem question is likely to be delayed indefinitely.

If it becomes possible at some point to address the Jerusalem question, it will be necessary to consider those minimum positions beyond which the parties are clearly determined not to compromise. The insistence of the Israeli Government since 1967 on Israeli sovereignty over a unified city is an accurate reflection of the views of Israelis all across the political spectrum. The inability of any Israeli government to compromise on this issue, even under extreme external pressure, and survive in office clearly rules out some proposed solutions for the Jerusalem question, partition and condominium, for example, and will make it extremely difficult to win Israeli agreement even to modest proposals for territorial internationalization. The changes, physical and demographic, made in the city by the Israelis since 1967 have gone a long way toward achieving the Israeli goal of making the reunification of the city irreversible; an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 Jews live in that part of Jerusalem controlled by Jordan prior to June 1967, and the number is steadily increasing.

Beyond this hard-line position, Israelis disagree among themselves on the extent to which compromise is possible. Territorial maximalists, including leaders of the Likud and National Religious Parties, who are on record as opposing significant Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, are certain to resist efforts by Israeli moderates to put forward compromises even implying the return of any part of the West Bank to Arab control. Consequently, agreement by the Israeli Government to a system of boroughs that would give the Jerusalem Arabs a greater voice in the affairs of the city is unlikely while the Likud and National Religious Parties dominate the Israeli political scene.

For their part the Arab states insist that East Jerusalem must be returned to Arab control. Although the Jordanians, most likely to be involved in any negotations over Jerusalem since the Israelis adamantly refuse to deal with the PLO, have shown some signs that they might be willing to compromise on Jerusalem to the extent of agreeing to some form of internationalization, King Husayn would find it difficult, if not impossible, to agree to any plan that provided for

continued Israeli control over the entire city. In addition, there is no indication that Saudi Arabia or any other Arab state, with the possible exception of Egypt, would agree to ease its demand for Israeli evacuation from all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

In sum, the positions of the parties on the question of sovereignty over Jerusalem are irreconcilable. Without dramatic and fundamental political changes in Israel, the Arab states, or both, any compromise on Jerusalem appears unlikely.

Should agreement ultimately be reached on who would exercise sovereignty over the city, however, compromise on the control of and access to the Muslim and Jewish holy places would be feasible. Although both Jews and Muslims claim the Temple Mount, the fact that the Israelis have not significantly altered the status of the holy places in Jerusalem probably would make it possible for both sides to agree to some form of functional internationalization of the religious sites.

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APPENDIX A

RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Any attempt to reach a solution to the Jerusalem problem is complicated by the fact that not only must an agreement be reached on the political and territorial aspects of the problem, but the religious requirements of a settlement must also be satisfied. Jerusalem, especially the Old City, is of paramount importance to the three major monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Judaism

For Jews, the most sacred place in Jerusalem is the Western Wall—part of the retaining wall around the Temple Mount—revered as the remaining portion of the Second (Herod's) Temple closest to the Temple's inner sanctuary. Although Jews regard the Temple Mount as sacred, the Israeli Chief Rabbinate has forbidden Jews from entering it because they might inadvertently walk where the inner sanctuary once stood.[6] This prohibition has not deterred nonobservant Jews from visiting the area. Other sites of religious interest to Jews are the traditional site of the "Tomb of David" on Mount Zion and the Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives.

Present-day Jewish sensitivity regarding the holy places stems in large part from the years of conflict with the Muslim community over the

[6] There has been only limited archeological exploration of the area over the past century, and the locations of the various parts of the Temple are not firmly established.

Notice forbidding Jews from entering the Temple Mount, March 1977

right to worship at the Western Wall. During the years of the British mandate as the Arab nationalist movement gained momentum, the Muslim community feared that Jewish religious observances at the Western Wall would lead to Jewish claims to the entire Temple Mount. Tensions rose on both sides, and occasionally riots resulted as the Muslims attempted to prevent Jews from worshipping at the Wall or, failing that, to disrupt their services. The British felt obliged under the terms of the mandate to maintain the "status quo," that is, the situation as it had existed under the Ottomans; consequently, they permitted Jewish worship at the Wall, but only under extremely restricted conditions. After the 1948 war the Jordanians did not allow Israelis to visit the Wall. Attempts to gain access to it and other holy places under Jordanian control through UN-sponsored negotiations were unsuccessful.

Arab actions toward the Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives and the Jewish Quarter of the Old City also heightened Israeli sensitivities. Following the 1948 war, the Israelis complained on several occasions of Jordanian desecrations of the cemetery. Especially vexing to the Israelis was the paving of a road through the cemetery to improve access to a hotel. During the 1948 war the Jewish Quarter suffered heavy damage, including the destruction of most synagogues, both as a result of military action and by Arab mobs after the Jews had evacuated the area.

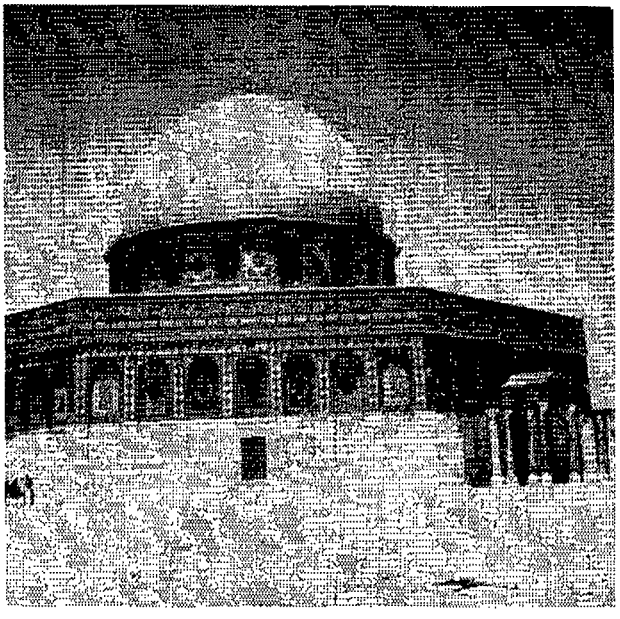
Christianity

For Christians, Jerusalem is the site of a number of holy places, the most important of which are the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Sanctuary of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the nearby church over the Tomb of Mary. Disputes and conflicts over the Christian holy places are long-standing, but arise almost exclusively from within the Christian communities themselves rather than from conflicts with the Jewish or Muslim communities. Control over the holy places is allotted according to the "status quo." The Orthodox church—Greek and Russian—most favored under the Ottomans, controls approximately three-quarters of the Christian holy places. The rest are controlled by the Roman Catholic church and the non-Chalcedonian or Oriental Orthodox churches (Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, and Syrian). The conflicts between the various sects have led to a situation where control over portions of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher itself is claimed by several sects, including the Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Copts, and Armenians. A dispute between the "White" Russian and pro-Soviet factions of the Russian Orthodox church over control of Russian Orthodox properties in East Jerusalem is in the Israeli courts.

Islam

For Muslims, Jerusalem is the third most sacred city in the world after Mecca and Medina. Muslims originally faced toward Jerusalem during prayer and only later faced the Kaabah in Mecca. The major Muslim interest centers on the Temple Mount (which they call Haram al-Sharif), site of the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, the latter according to Islamic tradition marking the spot from which the Prophet left on his nocturnal visit to heaven.

Following the 1967 war Muslim fears that the Israelis intended to take possession of the Temple Mount were reinforced by the attempt of some Israelis, including Rabbi Goren, at that time chief



Dome of the Rock

rabbi of the Israeli Army, to hold prayers on the Temple Mount and by a statement by the Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs that the Temple Mount was Jewish property. Despite the fact that the Temple Mount is sacred to Jews and in marked contrast to Jordanian actions following the 1948 war, however, the Israelis have largely maintained the "status quo" with regard to the Muslim holy places. Israeli authorities repeatedly have rebuffed efforts by Jewish militants to hold services on the Temple Mount, and the Israeli High Court has upheld the government's decision. The single exception to the Israeli decision to leave the Temple Mount in Muslim hands was the seizure by the Israelis of the gate to the Temple Mount near the Western Wall after Muslim authorities attempted to prevent Israeli officials from entering. Arab charges that the Israelis were responsible for a fire set in 1969 in the al-Aqsa Mosque by a mentally deranged man appear to be without foundation.

APPENDIX B

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

In the years following World War I, the claims of both the Arabs and the Zionists to Palestine were based in large part on the conflicting promises made to them by the British during the war. The Arabs cited the correspondence in 1915 and 1916 between Sharif Husayn of Mecca and Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Cairo, in which McMahon promised British recognition and support for the "independence of the Arabs" in the Ottoman territories south of Turkey. Whether the British intended that the promise should include Palestine is not clear, however, and in 1922 the UK specifically excluded Palestine from McMahon's pledge. The Zionists based their claims on the pledge made by Lord Balfour in 1917 when he delivered to Lord Rothschild a "declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," which stated that the British viewed 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." Following the war, both sides looked to Great Britain, as the mandatory power for Palestine, to fulfill its wartime promises.

The Mandate

During the early years of the mandate, conflicts between the Jewish and Muslim communities arose over questions of access to the holy places. In 1929, serious riots, in which the Jewish Quarter of Hebron was destroyed, were triggered by clashes between Jews and Muslims over Jewish attempts to hold services at the Western Wall. By the mid-1930s the conflicts between the two communities were exacerbated by the growing struggle between Zionism and Arab nationalism. The rise of Nazism in Germany had reinforced Zionist desires for a Jewish home in Palestine, and Jewish immigration to Palestine increased markedly in the mid-1930s. At the same time, Arab nationalism was gaining strength; protests in Cairo and Damascus forced the UK and France to declare that treaties would be concluded recognizing the independence of Egypt and Syria.

By 1936 widespread disorder between the Arab and Jewish communities had forced the British to appoint groups to study ways in which Palestine might be partitioned. The plan proposed by the Peel Commission in 1937 recommended that Palestine be divided into a sovereign Arab state, a sovereign Jewish state, and a permanent British mandatory zone that would include Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and a corridor to the sea at Jaffa. In 1938 the Woodhead Commission, formed to elaborate on the Peel plan, detailed three partition plans, all of which would have included Jerusalem in a British mandatory zone slightly larger than the one proposed by the Peel Commission. The Commission itself, however, recommended against all three plans, and none was adopted.

In 1939, British attempts to placate Arab nationalists after two years of disturbances led the UK to issue a white paper that limited additional Jewish immigration to Palestine to a total of 75,000. Despite unhappiness over the white paper, the Zionist commitment to the Allied cause precluded any major protest against British policy during World War II. The Arabs were mollified to some extent by the white paper and deterred from further demonstrations by the presence of large

numbers of Allied troops. After the war, however, Zionist resentment increased over continued British occupation and the limits on immigration, although these had been eased somewhat; by 1947, terrorist incidents against British personnel and installations were increasingly common.

Both the Arabs and the Jews rejected a 1946 Anglo-American (Morrison-Grady) plan that called for the creation of separate Jewish and Arab provinces and two areas, one of which was to be an enclave including Jerusalem and Bethlehem, under the control of a central government. The British subsequently rejected a Jewish Agency plan that would have partitioned Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state that would have included Jerusalem. The Jewish Agency's apparent willingness to accept Arab rule over Jerusalem was a pragmatic decision made at a time when the existence of a Jewish state appeared to be in jeopardy.

In 1947 the UN Special Committee on Palestine proposed two plans. The majority of the committee supported a plan that would have created separate Arab and Jewish states and an international zone under UN trusteeship composed of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and their rural suburbs. The minority favored a proposal that would have created a federal state with a Jewish province and an Arab province. Jerusalem was to be the capital of the state and itself partitioned into separate municipalities, one consisting of the Old City and the predominantly Arab areas outside the walls, and the other composed of the predominantly Jewish sections outside the walls. The Jewish Agency, the United States, and the USSR supported the majority plan, while the Arabs rejected both plans. On 29 November 1947 the majority plan, modified to allow the residents of the city to change their status by referendum after 10 years, was approved by the General Assembly. The UN Trusteeship Council then appointed a working committee to draft a statute for Jerusalem.

In December 1947 the British announced that the mandate would end on 15 May 1948. In the wake of the November resolution, disorder in Palestine became widespread, and by February 1948 the Jewish areas of Jerusalem were under siege. A special session of the General Assembly that met in April and early May was unable to reach agreement on the proposed statute for Jerusalem or on a proposal giving temporary international status to Jerusalem. A resolution empowering a UN mediator to promote a peaceful settlement was adopted, however, and Count Folke Bernadotte, President of the Swedish Red Cross, was appointed.

The 1948 War: Partition

The proclamation of Israel as an independent state on 14 May 1948 and the entry into Palestine the following day of the Arab armies set in action forces that resulted in the partition of Jerusalem. Although there had been fighting between Jewish and Arab forces in Jerusalem since the previous November, the entry into the conflict of the Jordanian Arab Legion forced the Jews in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City to surrender on 28 May. Israeli forces, however, continued to hold the New City. A major Israeli effort on 16 and 17 July to recapture the Old City was repulsed, and a truce the following day left the city divided. An armistice that followed several months of secret negotiations formalized the division.

In late June, Bernadotte presented to the Arab League and to Israel proposals for a Palestine settlement. Bernadotte's plan would have created a loosely united state with Arab and Jewish components. Included in the territory of the Arab component would have been Jerusalem and its environs. The Israeli provisional government declared that it would oppose the imposition of Arab rule on Jerusalem and cited the UN decision to internationalize Jerusalem. Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia also opposed Bernadotte's plan, which would have resulted in King Abdullah's rule over the Old City.

In September, the day before he was assassinated in Jerusalem by Jewish terrorists, Bernadotte reported to the General Assembly that a political union between Israel and an Arab state, as he had proposed in June, was not possible. In contrast to his earlier report, he proposed that Jerusalem be placed under UN control with local autonomy for the Arab and Jewish communities.

The Israeli provisional government rejected this plan, insisting that the New City must be included within Israel.

On 11 December 1948 the General Assembly established the Palestine Conciliation Commission composed of three states chosen by the Security Council—France, Turkey, and the United States—to draft a proposal for a permanent international status for Jerusalem. Although the Arab states were generally receptive to overtures in early 1949 by the Commission, the Israelis stated that they would not accept a *corpus separatum* status for Jerusalem. They did say, however, that they would accept international control of the holy places. In September 1949 the Commission delivered to the Secretary General a draft for an international regime in the Jerusalem area. Under that plan, the city would be permanently demilitarized and divided into Arab and Jewish zones administered by Israel and Jordan, respectively. A UN commissioner for the city would be appointed by and responsible to the General Assembly rather than the Trusteeship Council, as proposed in the 1947 plan. Immigration that might alter the existing demographic balance of the city was to be banned.

The Palestine Conciliation Commission plan was opposed by both Israel and Jordan. The Israelis said that internationalization should be functional rather than territorial and limited to the holy places. Although other Arab states had reversed their positions and were supporting internationalization, King Abdullah opposed it.

In response to an Australian proposal to reaffirm the 1947 partition plan, the Israelis offered to conclude an agreement with the Secretary General for the protection of the holy places under Israeli control with a UN representative to oversee its implementation. On 9 December, however, the General Assembly adopted the Australian proposal with a Soviet amendment calling on the Trusteeship Council to draft a statute for the city. A Dutch-Swedish proposal put forth earlier for functional internationalization of the holy places under a UN commissioner responsible to the General Assembly was not considered.

The Israelis, who now held the western portion of divided Jerusalem, promptly declared that they would not comply with the General Assembly decision that called for internationalization of the whole city. Despite a US warning not to take action that would imperil future relations with the Arabs or the Vatican, the Knesset, on 13 December, approved a proposal by Prime Minister Ben Gurion that it move to Jerusalem. On 26 December the Israelis moved their government to Jerusalem, and on 23 January 1950 the Knesset proclaimed that Jerusalem "had always been the capital of Israel."

Abdullah notified the UN that he was unalterably opposed to international control of the city. Following the General Assembly action, he extended Jordanian citizenship to West Bankers and called elections for the following April "throughout the Kingdom." Following the elections, the King, acceding to "requests" by pro-Jordanian West Bank notables and members of the Jordanian Parliament meeting in Jericho, formally annexed the West Bank. The Arab League, however, never recognized the Jordanian action.

In January 1950 the President of the Trusteeship Council, Roger Garreau of France, submitted a plan that would have divided Jerusalem into three zones: an Israeli zone of the New City and the railway to Tel Aviv, a Jordanian zone of the Muslim Quarter of the Old City, the Temple Mount, and some adjoining sections, and an international zone on both sides of the armistice line.

In February the Trusteeship Council shelved the Garreau plan and adopted a resolution calling for the immediate adoption of the 1948 draft statute. Both sides announced their opposition, and the Israelis countered by repeating their proposal for international control of the holy places.

The failure of the General Assembly in December 1950 to approve a Swedish effort to reintroduce its proposal for functional internationalization effectively ended UN efforts to resolve the Jerusalem problem until 1967. During the 1956 war between Israel and Egypt, the armistice line between Jordan and Israel remained quiet.

The 1967 War: Reunification

The chain of events that led to the 1967 war is fairly well known. Under the terms of a joint defense agreement signed by Husayn with Egypt on 30 May, Jordanian forces attacked Israel, despite an Israeli appeal not to enter the war and possibly misled by Egyptian claims that they were winning the war. By 7 June Israel had occupied East Jerusalem, and by 10 June all of the West Bank, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights in Syria. On 27 June the Knesset annexed that part of Jerusalem that had been under Jordanian control and added new areas to the city, almost trebling the municipality's size.

Following the armistice the UN once again became involved in the Jerusalem question. On 4 July 1967 the General Assembly by a vote of 90 to 0 with 20 abstentions, declared the Israeli expansion of the municipal boundaries of the city and the effective annexation of the entire area to be invalid and called on Israel to repeal its actions. Ten days later, the General Assembly adopted a further resolution that took note of Israel's noncompliance with the 4 July resolution and reiterated its call to Israel "to desist from taking any action that would alter the status of Jerusalem." The Security Council adopted similar resolutions in 1968, 1969, and 1971.

In late 1969, details of US proposals for settlement of the Egyptian-Israeli and Jordanian-Israeli disputes became public. Regarding Jerusalem, the proposals, which collectively became known as the Rogers Plan, stressed that Israel and Jordan should settle the problem through negotiation, recognizing that the city would remain unified, with both countries sharing the civil and economic responsibilities of government. The Israelis promptly rejected the US suggestions and in the case of the proposal for a Jordanian-Israeli settlement stated that it would be interpreted by the Arab parties as "an attempt to appease them at the expense of Israel." The Rogers proposals constitute the most explicit US statement on Jerusalem and remain the official US position.

Since 1971 there have been no formal debates or approved resolutions on Jerusalem either in the General Assembly or the Security Council. The President of the Security Council, however, acting on a Jordanian complaint, informed the Israeli delegate to the UN in April 1973 of the Council's displeasure with Israel's intention to hold a military parade in Jerusalem the following month to celebrate the country's 25th anniversary of its independence. In October 1977 the General Assembly passed an Egyptian-initiated resolution calling on Israel to desist from taking measures that changed the demographic composition of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

Since the early 1970s the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been critical of Israel's activity in Jerusalem. In 1974 Israel was excluded from all activities of the European region of UNESCO, but was permitted to rejoin in 1976.

CHRONOLOGY

9 December 1917	British forces under General Allenby enter Jerusalem.
29 November 1947	UN General Assembly resolution approves UN Special Committee on Palestine majority plan for internationalization of Jerusalem.
December 1947	British announce mandate will expire on 15 May 1948.
14 May 1948	Israel proclaimed independent state.
28 May 1948	Jewish Quarter of Old City surrenders to Jordanian forces; Jordan occupies East Jerusalem while Israel holds New City.
3 April 1949	Israeli-Jordanian armistice agreement formalizes partition.
9 December 1949	UN General Assembly approves resolution affirming November 1947 resolution.
13 December 1949	Knesset approves proposal that it move to Jerusalem.
December 1949	King Abdullah annexes West Bank and East Jerusalem.
7 June 1967	Israeli forces capture East Jerusalem.
27 June 1967	Israel expands municipal boundaries of city and annexes entire area.