JERUSALEM DIVIDED

The Armistice Regime
1947–1967

RAPHAEL ISRAELI

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Jacket illustration: Jerusalem: a divided city, 1948–67.
Source: Israel Press Office (photograph); Israel State Archives (map).

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Raphael Israeli

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To my wife Margalit
The true Lover of Jerusalem

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Preface

The controversy surrounding the status of Jerusalem has been with us since the establishment of the State of Israel, particularly since the city was reunited following the Six Day War of 1967.

Raphael Israeli is among the senior researchers in Israel who have devoted their scholarship to the study of the Arab–Israeli dispute. At the same time, far from enclosing himself within the academic tower, he currently and frequently writes on contemporary affairs and provides insights into matters of national, regional and international interest. Due to his standing and reputation as a researcher, his opinions and analyses are widely heeded by Israeli policy-makers and decision-takers.

In the present book about Jerusalem, Professor Israeli has chosen to focus on the period between the fateful UN Partition Plan of 1947 and the 1967 Six Day War. This account, based on a wealth of documentation and on the personal experience and knowledge of the author, systematically examines the developments and major policies that resulted in a divided Jerusalem during those 20 years.

In pen strokes much more sensitive than the blunt markers which delineated the demarcation lines in the heart of Jerusalem, Professor Israeli depicts, stage after stage, the brutal nature of the reality that was imposed on Jerusalem as a result of its partition. This was a reality of stagnation, hostility and frequent outbursts of violence.

I trust that this book will find its place on the bookshelves of all those interested in Jerusalem: researchers of its past; scholars of politics and diplomacy; and statesmen and diplomats who follow the current peace process and have a stake in bringing the Israeli–Palestinian conflict to a close.

May we all, with the help of this remarkable book, carry Jerusalem to a brighter future.

EHUD OLMERT
Mayor of Jerusalem

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Foreword

This book is the product of many years of research in the various Israeli state archives, both civil and military, and in the United Nations (UN) archives in New York and Jerusalem. It also sums up the author's personal involvement as an Israeli member of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan–Israel Mixed Armistice Commission (MAC), which ceased to play an active role following the swift and traumatic events of the 1967 Six Day War.

Before that war, and for some 20 years between the UN's November 1947 resolution on the partition of Palestine, and up until the June 1967 reunification of Jerusalem by Israel, the city was divided between Israel and Jordan; its heart was criss-crossed by barbed wire and watched over by the military outposts of both sides. Sometimes it was these troops, both Israeli and Jordanian, who by their very presence, prevented unnecessary friction between the citizens across the armistice line. At other times, soldiers on both sides of the divide initiated flare-ups, intentionally or in an innocent attempt to defend their citizens.

To avert serious bloodshed each time a minor border incident occurred, the parties relied on their MAC, based in no man's land near the famous and awe-inspiring Mandelbaum Gate, right in the middle of the dividing line. The Commission was established within the framework of an Armistice Agreement signed under UN auspices in Rhodes in 1949 at the end of a war which, for the State of Israel marked her independence, and, for the Palestinian Arabs came to be known as *al Nakba*, 'the disaster'. The MAC comprised two members from each side: a senior delegate (usually a civilian) assisted by an officer of the armed forces, with a UN Military Observer (UNMO), acceptable to both parties, as Chairman. In the nature of things, the chairman determined the course of the commission whenever the parties were not of one mind – which was more than usual.

The Armistice Regime, which had a considerable effect on life in Jerusalem for two decades, is the topic of this book. Two other cities, in other countries, were split in two concurrently with Jerusalem –

Belfast and Berlin. After Jerusalem was reunited, two more cities were split in two – Nicosia and Beirut. Often enough the same terminology was used in all four situations: no man's land, demilitarized zone, green line, UN Observers, etc. Yet the case of Jerusalem remains *sui generis*. Jerusalem attracted the attention of the world not only when it was divided, as this book will show, but perhaps even more so after its reunification by Israel in 1967. Current diplomatic wheeling and dealing concerning Jerusalem is only the most recent controversial situation as regards this sacred and universally coveted city which remains the focus of interest and intrigue for governments, churches, the UN, Jews, Arabs, Muslims, Christians, scholars, tourists, dreamers, diplomats, journalists, clerics, mystics and adventurers.

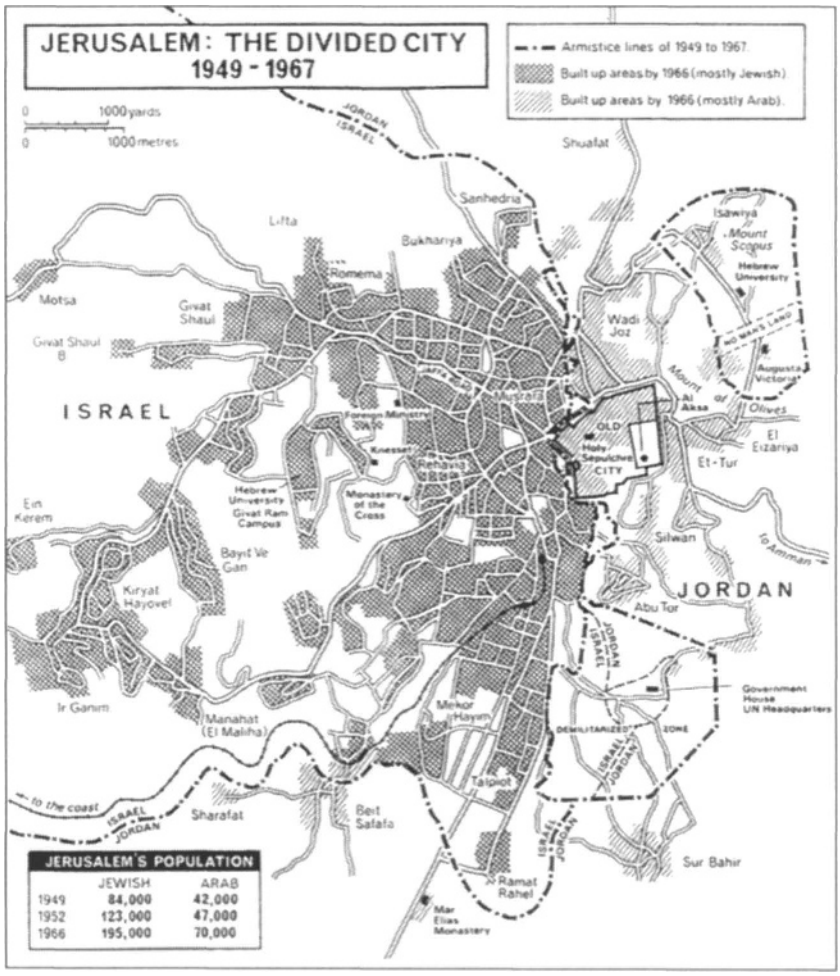
As this book is being written, there are uncertainties about the viability of the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinians, according to which the question of Jerusalem is to be considered during the final phase of their implementation. Already, many interested parties have voiced their favorite solutions: the Palestinians want East Jerusalem under their sovereignty as their capital, while Israel wishes to maintain a united Jerusalem under its rule. Some Muslim groups would like to have direct control over specific locations, while others hark back to the option of internationalization that was endorsed by the UN but never implemented. It is for those who want Jerusalem redivided that this book might be useful, for it will define the pitfalls involved, based on the experience of the city's 20-year partition between 1947 and 1967.

I am immensely indebted to the many individuals and institutions which helped me to complete this research. First and foremost, to my home base at the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem which helped finance my tireless, intelligent and creative assistants, Uri Beitan and then Leiah Elbaum, and provided the library and office facilities for our work. I also owe much to the staff of the Israel State Archives, the Zionist Archives, the Foreign Ministry Archives and the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) Archives – all in Jerusalem – for giving me access to essential records; to the Israeli Defence Forces Archives in Ramat Gan for allowing me and my assistants to photocopy documents and maps; and to the Jerusalem Archives and the Turdjman House Archives, for permitting my team to sift through their files and glean from them many valuable findings.

But there is one person without whose help this whole enterprise would not have come to fruition. His firsthand knowledge of the relevant armistice questions, his thoroughness and balanced judgement, his incisive remarks, his advice and friendship, and especially his encouragement in all stages of the research and writing, were vitally helpful. Indeed, his imprint is felt in all the chapters of this book, and I cannot thank him enough for his contribution to this work. He is Moshe Erell, Head of the Armistice Division at the Israeli Foreign Ministry, and my mentor and supervisor as I took my first steps at the Armistice Commission in Jerusalem in the 1960s. Since then I have had the good fortune of remaining in close contact with him through the years, while he has served as the Ambassador for Israel in Nepal, Brazil, Australia and Sweden. I have had the privilege of discussing with him my plans for this book from the start, and was pleased to receive his wholehearted support, moral and practical.

I express my sincere gratitude to all these friends. But the responsibility for any errors of fact and interpretation in this work rest on my shoulders alone.

RAPHAEL ISRAELI
Paris, August 1998



Jerusalem: the divided city, 1949-67
[courtesy of the Israel State Archives],

Introduction: Everyday Life in Divided Jerusalem

The armistice line in Jerusalem was not only an issue for local politicians and the military; it affected many aspects of everyday life in the city. The dividing line had been drawn on a map with a thick pen which blurred the exact boundary between the Israeli and Jordanian side. Some houses were cut in half by the line, and sometimes entire houses or streets were blotted out by it. Border residents had to reconcile themselves to all kinds of inconveniences. Some could not go out to their balconies, which were located in no man's land, or their children were unable to play in their yards because suddenly the armistice line had come between their homes and their yards.

Due to the danger of sniping and border incidents, slums developed along and close to the armistice line. What today is prime real estate overlooking the Old City was at that time taken over by dim apartments, with few windows in those walls facing the Jordanian-held Old City. These run-down areas – such as those in the Katamonim, Talpiot, Abu Tor and Musrara neighborhoods – included, or sometimes consisted exclusively of, *ma'abarot* (singular *ma'abara*) or transit camps for new immigrants, and were populated mostly by new immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East. The *ma'abarot* were infamous for their poor sanitation and neglect, resulting in part from the incompetence of the local authorities, but also from their sensitive border locations, especially as there was often disagreement or confusion as to whether certain buildings were in Israeli territory or in no man's land.[1] It was only with an official recognition and registration of civilian occupation of abandoned houses in no man's land that the municipal authorities were officially allowed to provide services to these areas.[2] In 1966, Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek called on the Israeli government to

grant Jerusalem's *ma'abarot* development town status, a designation which would have entitled the city to receive aid in dealing with both large numbers of immigrants and its special problems as a frontier city. As Kollek put it himself: 'Each of the capital's immigrant quarters is at least as heavily populated with new immigrants as some of the immigrant towns which have been granted development status, only those [the Jerusalem] quarters are closer to the border and they receive less assistance.'[3]

There were many incidents of sniping in these areas; with areas close to Jordanian positions, such as Musrara and Abu Tor, particularly vulnerable. Sometimes the shootings would be explained by the Jordanian authorities, and at other times stoning or shootings of Israeli civilians living by the border would be put down to 'a crazy Jordanian' on guard duty by the line. Civilians living by the line were in constant danger while performing day-to-day tasks. On 29 June 1950, a group of immigrants standing together by a well in the Musrara quarter were fired on from Jordanian positions on the wall of the Old City. Three men, 17-year-old Avraham Nahmias, 21-year-old Yosef Rumi and 27-year-old Avner Waaknin, were wounded. Nahmias subsequently died of his wounds. The previous day another man had been wounded while drawing water from the same well.[4] In early July 1951, Jordanian soldiers stationed on the walls of the Old City stoned Musrara repeatedly over the course of several days; this culminated in the shooting of a resident of the neighborhood, 25-year-old Avraham Ben Haim, by Jordanian Legionnaires, allegedly after he crossed into no man's land. Ben Haim subsequently died of his wounds, and after Israel lodged a complaint at the MAC meeting senior Jordanian officials apologized for the fatal shooting. A week later, three men were shot and wounded inside a house in the Musrara neighborhood.[5] These shootings were later put down to confusion over whether the house was officially occupied and in Israeli territory or an abandoned house in no man's land. In a previous MAC meeting it had been agreed to recognize the occupation of houses in no man's land, and after the incident it was agreed at a subsequent MAC meeting to mark the 70 houses in no man's land which had been occupied by Israelis or Jordanians, and so reduce the risk of similar incidents.[6] While the fact that most residents remained in these border neighborhoods was frequently attributed to 'the Jerusalemite spirit', many of the poor immigrant residents had little choice. As one young woman from Musrara put it to

General Uzi Narkiss, Officer in Command (OC) Central Command: 'What can we do? We've nowhere else to go.'[7]

Perhaps the most serious sniping incident in the armistice period occurred on 31 May 1965, when Jordanian Legionnaires opened fire on civilians in Israeli Jerusalem from two different positions atop the walls of the Old City.[8] Gunfire from a sandbagged position near the Jaffa Gate injured two French volunteers working with the Sisters of Charity – 19-year-old Caroline Delassus, and 62-year-old Georgette Buhr – who were hit while standing on the roof of the St Vincent de Paul Convent. Meanwhile, in a nearby building, an Israeli woman was wounded by a Jordanian bullet while closing the window of her apartment. Shots fired from another Jordanian position killed 14-year-old schoolgirl Yaffa Binyamin, the eldest child of a large Iranian immigrant family, and wounded 35-year-old housewife Allegria Ben Arouche, both of whom had rushed out to Arouche's balcony upon hearing shots. Nearby, a Christian Arab carpenter, 29-year-old Geries Assous from Galilee, was killed by Jordanian fire while working at the Notre Dame Convent which straddled the border. The deadly accuracy of the Jordanian gunfire was attributed to the short range; the two French women, for example, were shot from a distance of only 80–100 m. The incident shocked residents of the border areas who had been enjoying a relatively calm period. Police were sent to border neighborhoods to calm frightened residents, some of whom had begun to evacuate their apartments in panic. Shortly thereafter Musrara residents gathered around the seven-storey apartment building where the Binyamin family lived; one angry tenant asked a newspaper reporter: 'Will you join me and cross into Jordan and let them have it?'

Bet Tannous, a large apartment building facing the Jaffa Gate of the Old City, was also on the edge of the Israeli side of the border and well within range of Legionnaire snipers manning Jordanian positions on the walls of the Old City. Residents became used to regular shootings. Shutters on windows facing the Jordanian lines were generally kept closed for fear of attacks by snipers. On the Israeli side, the thick line of the armistice border marker pen passed over Bet Tannous's backyard, creating tension over whether the yard was technically no man's land or Israeli territory. Each time a resident went into the yard, or the municipality came to collect the rubbish, or the gas company came to change the gas cylinders, the Jordanians would lodge a complaint to the MAC that Israel had

breached the Armistice Agreement by trying to annex no man's land and expand Israeli territory.[9]

The most problematic area along the dividing line was perhaps Abu Tor, where the border split the neighborhood into Arab and Jewish halves, with sometimes only a narrow street or a yard separating the Jordanian side from the Israeli.[10] Relations between the neighbors were good, with housewives chatting over the fences and yards that marked the border. Despite the hostilities, many women in the area still traded recipes or, if they ran out of bread or flour, could rely on their neighbors across the border to lend them some.[11] Friendships were formed between neighbors on either side of the line, who could swap gossip over the fence, but who could never visit one another's houses due to the line which separated them. However, border tensions could flare up in seconds and the residents were well aware that at any moment a sniper might open fire and send them scurrying for cover.

Construction or renovation work on buildings near the line was also a sensitive issue. The Jordanians vehemently opposed any Israeli construction near the line, fearing that the Israelis would use any opportunity to push their border into Jordanian territory or no man's land. On 6 February 1950 24-year-old Yosef Friedman was shot while working on a building in Abu Tor.[12] General Uzi Narkiss recounts the story of one poor immigrant family in Abu Tor whose house was quite literally on the line. The house did not have indoor plumbing, and the outdoor lavatory was even closer to the line than the house itself, putting the lives of the family in danger when they went to the outhouse. Eventually in early 1966 the residents decided that they needed to build a new lavatory directly adjacent to their home, as trips to the outhouse had become too dangerous. The Israeli authorities would only give them a conditional building permit, fearing that the Jordanians might object and force the demolition of the new outhouse. Once construction work began, the Israeli army set up a command post nearby to prepare for a possible incident. The Israeli Army Chief of Staff (COS) kept in contact with the Prime Minister and Defense Minister, and units were placed on the alert. Jordan was quick to file a complaint with the MAC, charging illegal construction in no man's land. Israel insisted the structure was in Israeli territory. The MAC held four meetings on the subject for a total of 18 hours, eventually deciding to condemn Israel. The lavatory, however, remained in place.[13]

Proximity to the line was especially problematic for families with

children. There were many cases of children accidentally crossing the line while playing near their homes, chasing a ball that landed on the other side or just straying too far. When children went missing and neither their parents nor the Israeli police could find them, the next step was to check with the Jordanians. In one incident, seven-year-old Sasson Sig from the Makor Barukh neighborhood and his friend Shlomo Givol, aged nine from Katamon, were playing together one Saturday and went missing. Their parents and the Israeli police searched for the missing boys, and eventually turned to the Jordanians for help. It turned out that the two boys had accidentally crossed over into Jordan. They were arrested upon arriving in Jordanian territory and were being held by the Jordanian police. Later it came to light that a third boy, 13-year-old Hanan Dayan of Katamon, was also being held in Jordan after he too accidentally crossed the border. His parents had waited until after the Sabbath was over to inform the police of his disappearance. All three boys were returned to Israel on Sunday.[14]

Toddlers were also regular accidental visitors to Jordan. In one case in 1954 two-and-a-half-year-old Baruch Heik wandered across the line near the Makor Haim *ma'abara*. He was found by a Jordanian policeman from Bethlehem who took him home to his wife and children, bought new clothes and shoes for the shabby dressed *ma'abara* toddler, and cared for the Israeli infant for two days until his return was negotiated through the MAC. Heik was handed back to the Israelis with great ceremony in the presence of senior officials from the UN, the Jordanian Legion, the Israeli police, and dozens of *ma'abara* residents.[15]

Also along the line were the neighborhoods of Me'a Shearim and Bet Yisrael, populated mostly by the strictly traditional ultra-orthodox Jews, many of whom were from the Old Yishuv, Jews who lived in Palestine prior to the rise of political Zionism. These ultra-orthodox Jews, who were to a large extent either non-Zionist – or in the case of sects such as the Netorei Karta, even anti-Zionist – had found their neighborhoods caught in the middle of the fighting during the battle for Jerusalem and so were forced to take up arms and participate in a struggle in which they had wished to remain neutral.[16] With the partition of Jerusalem these neighborhoods remained on the front line, and their residents were the first to suffer whenever there was tension along the armistice line.

The division of the city was especially traumatic for Jerusalem's religious inhabitants, who were separated from many of

Jerusalem's ancient holy sites. For centuries the religious Jews of Jerusalem had prayed at the Western Wall, part of the outer remaining wall surrounding the Temple Mount and the last remnant of the ancient Jewish temple which was destroyed by the Romans in AD 70. Though the Armistice Agreement provided for Jewish access to the Western Wall, Jordan consistently refused to abide by this clause.[17] Jews had no choice but to worship from afar.

According to Jewish sources the temple was destroyed on the ninth day of the Jewish month of Av, commemorated by Jews as a day of fasting and mourning. In memory of the destruction, Jerusalem's Jewish residents had developed a tradition of walking around the walls of Jerusalem's Old City on the ninth of Av, after which they flocked to pray at the Western Wall, to recite lamentations and to pray for redemption. With the partition of Jerusalem this was no longer possible. Instead, Mount Zion, the closest part of Israeli Jerusalem to the Old City and a vantage point towards the Western Wall, became the focus of the ninth of Av mourning rituals.[18] For many religious Jews the ninth of Av took on new significance, as the mourning over the destroyed temple was compounded by their banishment from even the Western Wall. Some saw this as a sign of divine displeasure requiring repentance.

Mount Zion also became a substitute pilgrimage site for the priestly blessing ceremony traditionally held next to the Western Wall on the Passover festival. Despite the tension inherent in such a large gathering close to the border with Jordan, thousands of Jews made the pilgrimage to Mount Zion to be blessed from atop the mount. From the parapet above King David's tomb on Mount Zion they were able to look over into the Old City, the closest they could come to praying at the Western Wall itself.[19] The substitution of Mount Zion for the Western Wall in these rituals reminded Jews of their enforced separation from their holiest sites, while also keeping alive traditions associated with the Old City and the Western Wall. It was especially poignant for the thousands of new immigrants, many of whom had chosen to live in Jerusalem for religious reasons and expected to be able to live close to Judaism's holiest sites. However, when they arrived during the 1950s and 1960s they discovered that the Western Wall and the Temple Mount were beyond reach.

In some respects Mount Zion acquired its own character as a site of worship beyond its role as a substitute for the Western Wall.[20] Pentecost (The Feast Of Weeks) is traditionally believed to mark

both the biblical King David's birthday and the anniversary of his death. Thousands of pilgrims made their way from all over Israel to Mount Zion, the location of King David's tomb.[21] The festival was inaugurated with the lighting of 300 candles on Mount Zion, two for every chapter of the book of Psalms, traditionally ascribed to King David.[22] The Mount Zion Committee which organized Pentecost activities also gave out flowers grown on Mount Zion to the wardens of synagogues across the country as decorations for the festival. In this way Israeli Jews made maximum use of the limited piece of sacred Jerusalem in their hands.

Partition and the complexities of the armistice also affected tourism to Jerusalem as the armistice line also divided many of the city's Christian holy sites in addition to the above-mentioned Jewish sites. For example, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was in the Jordanian-held Old City, while Mount Zion, location of the Dormition Abbey and the traditional site of the Last Supper, was in the Israeli zone. Tourists wanting to visit holy sites on both sides of the line had the hassle of going through both Jordanian and Israeli bureaucracy and border guards. In the introduction to its chapter on the Old City, a 1960 guide book to Israel notes:

> To enter the Old City you need a permit from the Israeli District Commissioner of Jerusalem who gives it in accordance with the instructions of your consul. Each permit has to be acknowledged by the Jordan authorities, who have never accorded it to anyone of the Jewish faith. The way to the Old City is through the Mandelbaum Gate.[23]

Despite the city's image as a war zone tourists continued to visit. Many were shocked at the warnings they were given by their Israeli hosts about straying too close to the border. A British summer student at the Ulpan Akiva Hebrew school in 1960, recounted how upon arrival the students were taken on a tour of the city and strictly warned not to take photos, or even take out their cameras anywhere near the border, in case a Jordanian soldier mistook the move for a hostile act and opened fire. The students were also told not to make any sudden moves or to stray too far from the group, for fear of causing a diplomatic incident.

The partition of the city also created a peculiar type of border tourism on the Israeli side. Travel articles in the Israeli press suggested walking tours around Israeli Jerusalem's western areas,

but as the sightseeing trail drew closer to the line the writer would recommend which roofs and towers to climb on to for the best peek into Jordanian-controlled Jerusalem, in particular the Old City. For example, a 1965 sightseeing article advised visitors that the roof of the 'Notre Dame Convent provides a wonderful view of the Old City'; while 'from the Hebrew Union College' one might have 'a beautiful view of the Old City's Jaffa Gate and David's Tower'. It also urged walkers to 'stop at the Abu Tor observation point to look out over the Old City and the Mount of Olives. See Jordanian sentries stationed only metres away.'[24]

Even getting to and from Jerusalem could be dangerous as the routes also passed close to the border in many places. In January 1966 a 15-year-old girl from the town of Ramla was injured when a Jordanian soldier opened fire on a Jerusalem–Lydda (Lod) train. The Jordanians claimed that the soldier involved had been going through a mental breakdown and as a result the chairman of the MAC decided not to pass a resolution condemning the shooting, though the MAC did concede that it was a violation of the Armistice Agreement and that it viewed the incident with 'grave concern.'[25]

Despite the tensions in the border areas, life continued pretty much as usual in the rest of the city. Not far from the border, shops and cafés did good business on Jaffa Road, Ben Yehuda Street and King George Street in the city center. People went to work, politically active students demonstrated from time to time and new neighborhoods developed in the city's western suburbs, such as Givat Shaul. Yet, even so, people were reminded of Jerusalem's divided status. Jerusalem's flagship Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University's campus were isolated in the Mount Scopus enclave surrounded by Jordanian territory, accessible only by the fortnightly convoys authorized by the Armistice Agreement. Eventually a new Hadassah Hospital opened in the abandoned Arab village of Ein Kerem on the outskirts of western Jerusalem, while the university founded a substitute campus in Givat Ram on the other side of town.[26]

Independence Day military parades in the Israeli part of the city had to be coordinated with the MAC in case the Jordanians mistook the parade for a military build-up contrary to the armistice rules. Even decorating the Hadassah Hospital in the Mount Scopus enclave with an illuminated Star of David for Israel Independence Day was problematic, with the Jordanians complaining every year to the MAC that it violated the armistice.[27] For many Israelis,

though, Independence Day celebrations in the capital were an important display of national pride, precisely because they signaled to the Jordanians on the other side that Israel was there to stay. As one newspaper report noted of the firework displays: 'Overheard often was the remark "Bet they can see them in Jordan".'[28]

One of the more minor inconveniences concerned international mail which ended up in the wrong Jerusalem. In 1959 Yitzhak Katz from London, UK, was a student at the Merkaz Harav Yeshiva (a religious seminary) in central Jerusalem whose students were housed in Bayit Vegan, a suburb of Jerusalem. A letter from his family in London accidentally arrived in Jordanian Jerusalem. The Jordanians sent it back to the UK stamped 'unknown address', whereupon it was sent back to Jerusalem, this time arriving on the right side of the line, complete with British, Jordanian and Israeli postmarks.[29]

So, while life in Jerusalem was tense in those days, it was also very colorful, interesting, full of surprises: the unexpected often happened, the expected was mostly overtaken by events beyond one's control. The coming pages will attempt to describe, step-by-step, how this situation came about, how the powers-that-be governed the impossibility of a divided city, and how the war of 1967 would undo all that.

NOTES

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3. Ibid., 16 February (1966).
4. Ibid., 29 June (1950).
5. Ibid., 8 July (1951).
6. Ibid., 11 July (1951).
7. Uzi Narkiss, *The Liberation of Jerusalem* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1983), p. 36.
8. *Jerusalem Post*, 1 June, 2 June and 29 June (1965).
9. Narkiss, *Liberation of Jerusalem*, pp. 35–6.
10. *Jerusalem Post*, 11 July (1951).
11. Narkiss, *Liberation of Jerusalem*, p. 32.
12. *Jerusalem Post*, 6 February 1950.
13. Narkiss, *Liberation of Jerusalem*, pp. 30–4.
14. *Ha'aretz*, 15 January (1961).
15. *Jerusalem Post*, 1 June (1954).
16. Ibid., August 1948.
17. *Ha'aretz*, 10 January (1961).
18. *Jerusalem Post*, 10 August (1951).
19. Ibid., 24 April (1951).
20. Narkiss, *Liberation of Jerusalem*, p. 34.
21. *Jerusalem Post*, 4 June (1965).

22. Ibid., 3 June (1965).
23. Zev Vilnay, *Israel Guide* (Jerusalem: Central Press, 1960), p. 139.
24. 'A Walk Around Jerusalem', *Jerusalem Post Independence Day Supplement*, May (1965).
25. *Jerusalem Post*, 2 January (1966).
26. *Ha'aretz*, January (1961).
27. *Jerusalem Post*, 7 May (1965).
28. Ibid.
29. Yitzak Katz, student at Merkaz Harav religious seminary during the late 1950s. Interviewed on 5 January 1999.