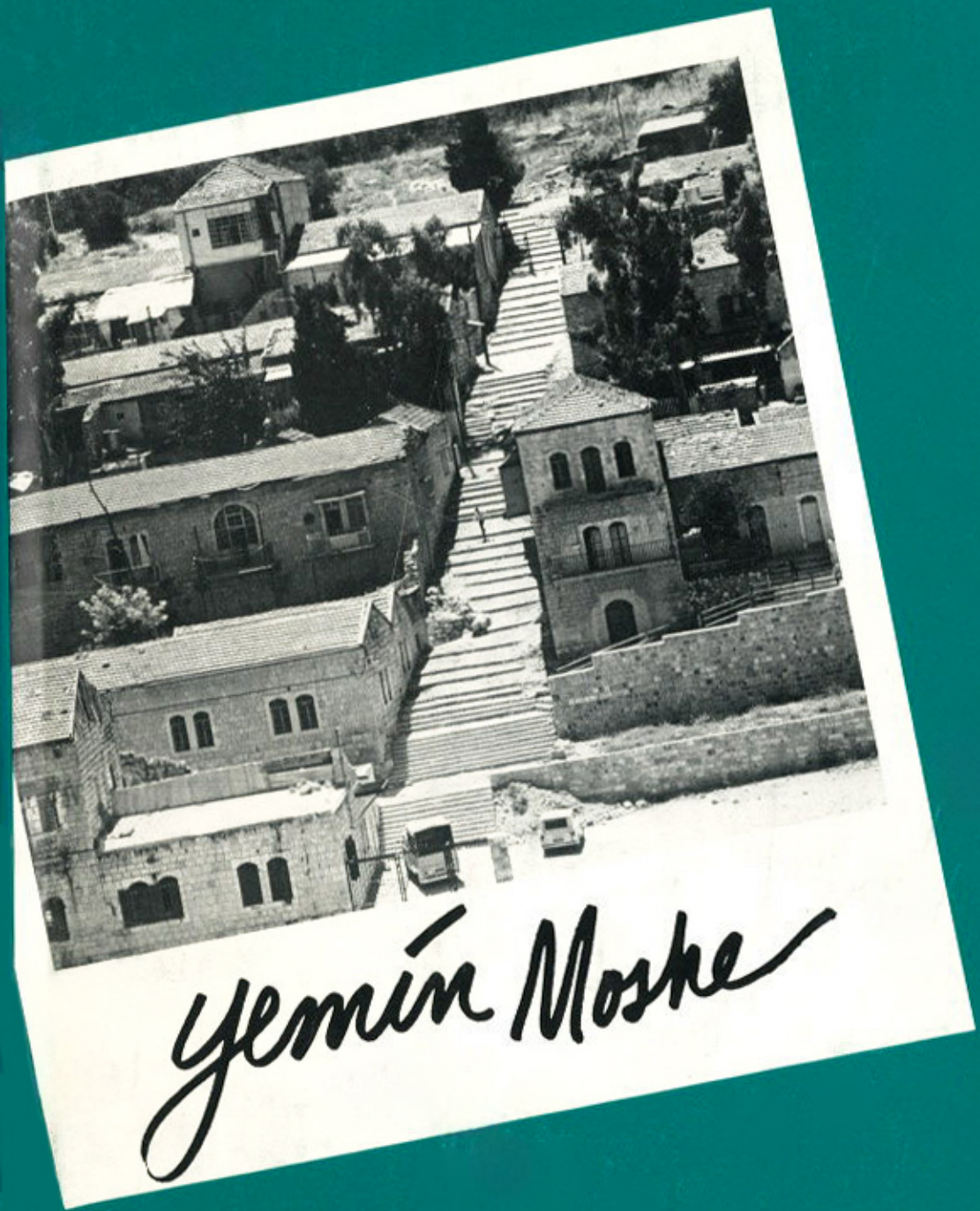


Yemin Moshe

The Story of a Jerusalem Neighborhood

Eliezer David Jaffe

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YEMIN MOSHE

This book is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Elchanan (Henry) Jaffe and Sarah Zipperstein Jaffe, who settled many years ago as young immigrants in America, raised their children with boundless love, and provided us with a Jewish heritage that gave meaning to life and history.

From their loving son, and from their Israeli grandchildren who, had life been kinder, would have filled their hearts with joy.

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The responsibility for the contents of this book is mine only.

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YEMIN MOSHE



Yemin Moshe, 1959

1

The Legend of Yemin Moshe

People who are interested in the development of neighborhoods are often left with the feeling that neighborhoods, like people, have histories and personalities all their own. Like people, neighborhoods experience the difficulties of birth, growth and development, change, and periods of rise and decline. And sometimes, the events that take place within their confines produce interesting legends, memories, and important lessons for future generations.

Yemin Moshe and Mishkenot Sha'ananim are two such neighborhoods, a source of interest and controversy ever since Sir Moses Montefiore, the Jewish financial adviser to Queen Victoria, and sheriff of London, purchased these plots of land from the Turkish rulers in 1855 with funds provided him by an American Jew "for the needy in Eretz Yisrael." These lands are situated on the hills to the western side of the valley of Ben-Hinnom, "the Son of Hinnom," just across from Mount Zion and opposite the steep wall built around the Old City of Jerusalem by the Turkish sultan, Suleiman-the-Magnificent, in 1537.

By 1860, 20 apartments were completed in a long, low, row-house complex in Mishkenot Sha'ananim as part of a plan to house the Jewish poor previously cramped into impossibly overcrowded lodgings in the Jewish Quarter inside the walls of the Old City.

The field adjacent to Mishkenot Sha'ananim, also included in the 1855 purchase, remained vacant and unused for nearly 25 years and was called "Kerem Moshe and Yehudit," the vineyard of Moses and Judith, in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore and his wife. After Montefiore's death in 1885 at the age of 101, the Kerem was quickly populated by poor, primarily Sephardi Jewish squatters who set up a shantytown on the land, hoping to benefit from Montefiore's well-known benevolence to the poor. Their hopes were not realized and they were removed from the land in Jerusalem's first urban "renewal" effort. Jeff Halper (1982), an astute Jerusalem anthropologist and neighborhood watcher, wrote the following description of this early episode in the history of Yemin Moshe.

After Sir Montefiore's death in 1885, rumor began circulating in Jerusalem that before he died, Montefiore had intended to build homes there for the poor, and that his heirs would indeed do so soon. They did not know that the trustees of the Montefiore Memorial Fund had changed policies even during Montefiore's lifetime and had decided to build only for the potentially "productive" working and middle classes, and not "charity homes" for the poor (Meisl, 1939). Besides Montefiore's immediate heir, his nephew Yosef Sebag, wanted to sell it to the *Alliance* school or some other established institution or group. In order to establish their claims to the houses that were to be built, immigrants—mainly *edot hamizrach*, (Middle Eastern), but also poor Sephardim and even a few indigent Ashkenazim (Westerners), squatted on the barren site. This was considered a "rash" and "lawless" act in the eyes of many Jerusalemites, including Ytzhak Shapira, who later wrote an account of the incident (Shapira, 1948).

Within a short time a large encampment of tents, wooden huts and flimsy tin shacks arose on "Kerem Moshe and Yehudit." Sebag, who apparently believed that he had personally inherited the plot and was thus entitled to do with it as he pleased, began to pressure both the Ottoman and Yishuv authorities to evict the settlers. At this point, in March 1887, Yosef Navon, a prominent entrepreneur in Jerusalem who had led the fight for housing for the Yemenite poor, decided to intervene. Claiming that Montefiore had in fact set aside the land for the poor, he succeeded in temporarily foiling Sebag's plans by turning to the courts. Frustrated in his attempt to dispose of the property as he wanted, Sebag transferred the title to the Montefiore Memorial Fund (*Keren Mazkeret Moshe*) in London.

Navon's intervention, timely as it was, did not succeed in rescuing the squatters. In 1888, two representatives of the Montefiore Memorial Fund, Nathan Adler, the son of the British Chief Rabbi, and Haim Aharon Valero, a local Jerusalem banker and leader of the Sephardic community, were empowered to settle the affair once and for all. Aided by the acquiescence of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi Community Councils which, according to Shapira, were embarassed by the unsightliness of the squatter encampment at a time when the Christians were building such substantial neighborhoods as the German Colony, and in the face of the municipality's demand that the squatters be moved, Adler and Valero again ordered the eviction. This time they succeeded, in no small part because Navon had become entangled in financial difficulties over his plan to build a railroad from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and had left the country, permanently, for France (Meisl, 1939).

The evacuees were each given a small sum of money as compensation (Porush-Glickman, 1978). Resolution of the conflict was eased by the fact that Valero himself donated a small plot of land he owned on the western periphery of the new city (today at the end of Agrippas Street) for the resettlement of the poor *edot hamizrach* squatters. The housing quarter that was established there was actually a copy of the encampment the immigrants had just left, since no funds were allocated for building housing. Although it was given the fine-sounding name "Shevet Tzedek" ("settlement of the righteous"), in fact, it immediately became known as the "Tin Neighborhood" ("Schunat Hapachim"), since much of it was constructed of discarded Standard Oil tin drums (Ben-Aryeh, 1979).

In 1889, soon after the "founding" of the Shevet Tzedek neighborhood, the Jerusalem chronicler Abraham Moshe Luncz (1889) had this to say about the new "neighborhood":

> [Shevet Tzedek], which appears to all who pass along Derech Yaffo, awakens great shock and disgust, because most of its inhabitants are much poorer by far than the [Ashkenazim], and the

shacks which were built for them have an unpleasant appearance, built from scraps of wood and covered with pieces of old tin. There is no floor or roof and they have wells for collecting rainwater, but no toilets. The residents are exposed to the dangers of cold and rainy days, to the point that everyone that visits this neighborhood will be amazed and whistle and say "Oh, this is a neighborhood of Jerusalem gypsies!" (p. 205)

Shapira, writing a half-century later, and hardly sympathetic to the local population of Shevet Tzedek, noted the poverty and crowdedness of the quarter and likened it to "abandoned stables at the sides of dim alleyways." (p. 106)

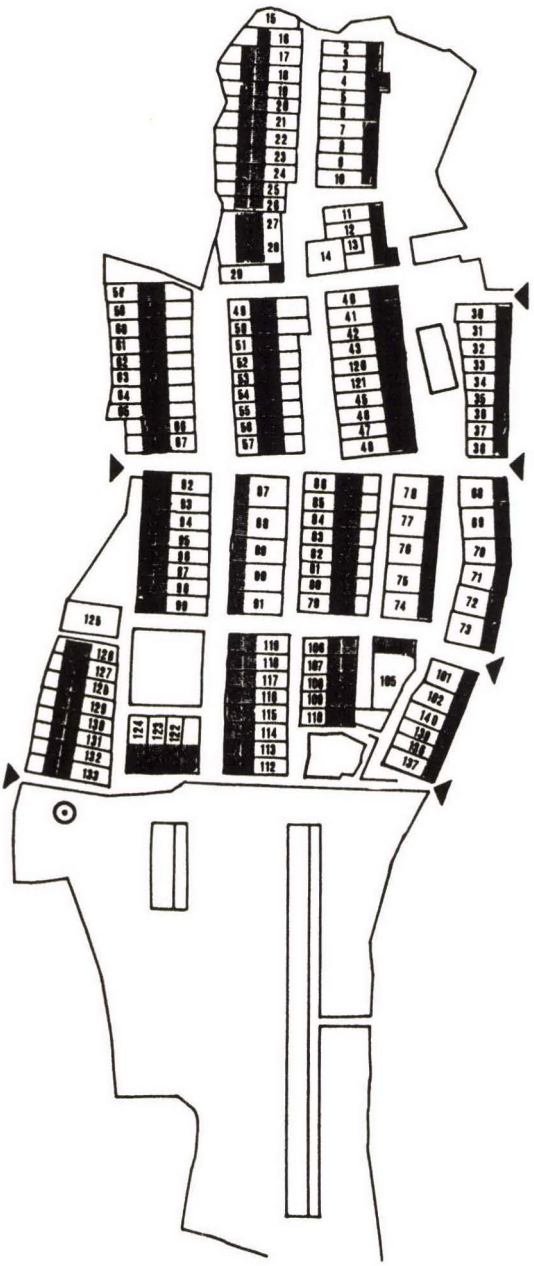
Soon after the eviction of the squatters, in 1892, construction of the middle-class community of Yemin Moshe was begun by the Montefiore Memorial Fund.

Over the years, the neighborhood developed its own lifestyle. It was an enclave, not quite integrated into the other neighborhoods of new Jerusalem, and apart from the Old City.

With the Valley of Ben-Hinnom as a natural divider, and the Turkish wall as a physical barrier between the Old City and the New City of Jerusalem, Yemin Moshe was almost a separate, isolated neighborhood perched between the two parts of the town. During the War of Independence of 1948 these same physical and natural barriers played a major role during the battle for Jerusalem, in defining the ceasefire line between the Israeli and Jordanian forces. The line ran through the Valley of Ben-Hinnom just below Yemin Moshe. As a result, the neighborhood, now badly damaged during the War and bereft of its middle-class home owners and residents who fled to safer areas elsewhere, became a dangerous border area. Over the years, poor immigrants and squatters moved in and made out as best they could under very difficult conditions. Yemin Moshe remained a semi-no-man's land until the Six Day War in 1967; it was the closest adjacent link to the Israeli outpost on Mount Zion. Fortunately, Mount Zion had not been walled in by Suleiman's builders and it fell to the Israeli Defense Forces in 1948. During these two decades this dangerous, neglected, war-torn neighborhood was again inhabited primarily by poor, immigrant Jewish refugees from the Moslem countries who preferred squatting in the slums of Yemin Moshe, under Jordan legion guns, to transient camp life in the urban *maabarot*. Once again, as in all other periods, the neighborhood took on another distinct personality and cultural life-style.

Suddenly, the 1967 War pushed Israel's borders with Jordan from Yemin Moshe in Jerusalem all the way to the banks of the Jordan River far to the east. The forgotten slum was now the gateway to the Old City, a breathtaking and very precious piece of real estate in the heart of reunited Jerusalem. It was not long before municipal and government officials decided to restore the neighborhood, to rehabilitate it, renew its population, and turn it into a gem which would attract tourism, cultural life, and be a source of pride to the city and its caretakers. Thus, from the early 1970s to the early 1980s, a decade of renewal was initiated in Yemin Moshe, involving acquisition of the land by "expropri-

Figure 1.1
Map of Housing Plots in Yemin Moshe



Source: The East Jerusalem Development Association 1971.



Israeli soldiers assembling in Yemin Moshe prior to the assault on Mount Zion and the attempted breakthrough into the besieged Jewish Quarter of the Old City.



Wells in Yemin Moshe. The only sources of water during the siege.

ation for public purposes,'' removal of the original occupants through legal means, bargaining over compensation payments, and repopulation of the neighborhood by new residents who were willing and able to invest significant sums of private money to renovate the old housing and renew the neighborhood.

Inevitably, controversy arose over the initial methods used to acquire the land, to remove the slum residents, and to repopulate the neighborhood. Differences of opinion were voiced in the newspapers and other mass media about the results of renewal and its justification, and Yemin Moshe became a symbol with different meanings for people from different professional, political, economic, and cultural backgrounds.

For example, in February 1982, Yemin Moshe was mentioned in newspaper ads placed by a group called ''Liberated Lands,'' protesting the government's handling of bedouins removed from Negev lands (in order to build the new airbase at Tel Malchata) with the treatment of ''Middle-Eastern Jews removed from Yemin Moshe to create a neighborhood of artists and rich people'' (*Haaretz*, February 25, 1982). One reporter for the Hebrew University student newspaper, *Pi-Haaton*, interviewed the antagonists involved in the Yemin Moshe controversy and titled his article ''Rashomon in Jerusalem'' (Li-On, 1973). Tel Aviv residents such as David Galilee (1973), chairman of the Residents' Action Committee resisting expropriation of their Tel Aviv homes due to public projects (Neteevai Ayalon) in that city, besieged the media and Israeli officials with slogans like: ''We are not willing to become victims of social prostitution like those of Yemin Moshe in Jerusalem.'' One former resident of Yemin Moshe, Eliyahu Levanon (1973), with great bitterness, placed the following advertisement in the evening newspaper *Maariv*, lamenting the old neighborhood:

MONTEFIORE AND TEDDY
(Lamentation for a Jerusalem Neighborhood)

I spent my childhood in the ''Old Montefiore,'' Mishkenot Sha'ananim—''Touro Houses,'' in Jerusalem. My great-grandfather, Rab Eliyahu Yehoshua Rivlin, of blessed memory, received an apartment from Montefiore so that he would leave the Old City and live outside the Walls. A pioneer! My brother Yitzchak and two cousins died the same week from an epidemic of meningitis.

We moved to another apartment nearby, and I was bound to the neighborhood all those years. I was on night watch during the period of the Arab riots. As a youngster, I used to slide on those valley hills, looking at the Sultan's Pool. . . . We children would run about on the flat roof of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, and the yard below was filled with children, and Jerusalem cried out: ''Let the city be filled with children playing in the streets.'' And today, the courtyard is filled with a deathly silence. A ''Music Center'' for whom, and for what?

I recognized every wall, every tree, every step in the neighborhood. On Shabbat afternoons the cook would shout, ''CHAMIN,'' and everyone would stream toward the great outdoor stove to receive their portion and the whole neighborhood would be filled with the aroma of Shabbat CHAMIN.



Opposite the walls of the Old City and the Jordanian Legion (1950).



New immigrants in Yemin Moshe.

There were synagogues for Ashkenazim and Sephardim. I loved to pray there, because we prayed toward the Walls of Jerusalem, and our prayers were superb and exalting. These were simple and God-fearing people, learned, hardworking, and honest. At the evening time one would hear the call to prayer, "minyan!", "a tenth man needed"—and today, the place is like a cemetery.

On one side of the neighborhood there was a windmill, and on the other side a motorized flour mill. There was a room once used as a synagogue, and every Friday an elderly Jew would light a memorial candle. And now the candle is extinguished: Everything is defiled!

Difficult times fell upon the neighborhood. Arabs assaulted us, but the Jews held on with their fingernails. This was during the years 1920, 1921, 1929, 1936, and up to the War of Independence in 1948. Victims fell there as well. In 1948 my second son, Yaakov, went to fight from here in the Old City, and fell within the Walls.

The Montefiore neighborhood was a strong fortress for Jerusalem and a bridgehead for defense and for attack. If we had not held it, who knows whether Mount Zion and all of southern Jerusalem would be in our hands after the War of Independence. Holding it decided the future, and the experts will confirm this.

And then a new king arose over Jerusalem who did not want to know this, and the religious politicians in the municipality did not speak up. Why were they so silent?

Recently, I saw a television film on Mishkenot Sha'ananim, and realized that the Jerusalem Foundation is the source that polluted the neighborhood. I was shocked. Jerusalem has been scarred. Is this the fate of the most valuable pearl in Jerusalem? In the film I saw Teddy's "handpicked people," the new residents . . . breathing the air near the ruined synagogue. I said to myself: "Old man Montefiore must be turning in his grave. He was such a good Jew!"

One day recently, between afternoon and evening prayers, I went for a walk in the neighborhood—and saw hardly a soul, old or young. The main synagogue was locked tight. A terrible sight! In the old days the place was jammed and humming with Torah study and worshippers. And now, a whole village destroyed.

Were it in my power, I would put all of Teddy's "honorable people," his "chosen ones," in buses, and move them over to Ein Karem. Let them wander there among the shadows and the bells of their churches, and thus end the tragedy and embarassment they have caused Jerusalem and its Holy Walls. And I would exclaim the lamentation, "Zion, weep for your home which has been consumed." Elihahu Yehoshua Levanon, Born in Jerusalem (*Maariv*, 1973)

Much of the public controversy concerning the "rehabilitation" of Yemin Moshe came about as a result of publication of a Hebrew University student-faculty research survey to determine the whereabouts and attitudes of families who were forced to move when the land was expropriated (Baram, 1973). Abraham Rabinovich's (1973) subsequent article on the research appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* carrying the headline: "Hebrew University Report: Yemin Moshe Evacuees Were Exploited" and all hell broke loose at City Hall. The mayor was furious at the attack on one of his most prestigious projects, and a tense media fight between the researchers, residents, and the municipal renewal authorities ensued (Limor, 1973; Sadan, 1973; Weil, 1973).

By the early 1980s, however, the new residents were enjoying their renovated homes, and their neat walkways, quaint street lamps, landscaping, and parking



Yemin Moshe, and Mount Zion across the valley.

areas. All these were now in place. The renewal had been almost completed. Predictably, other Hebrew University students were back surveying the new population, and writing their research results—presented for the first time in this book.

Another chapter in the history of Yemin Moshe is about to begin, and one has just ended. The occasion deserves to be recorded, along with some memories of the past and some assessment of the lessons learned from recent events. These lessons may be of more than passing importance for the State of Israel in the coming decades, as the government launches and expands its urban renewal efforts and citizens become more involved in their own fate at both the neighborhood and national levels.

This book is the product of an ongoing effort to document the Yemin Moshe "story." We do not expect unanimous agreement with the views expressed or with the interpretation of information presented. Nor do we blindly insist on the sanctity of history and nostalgia, for the essence of history is the recording of change. Nevertheless, we do hope to sensitize both "ordinary" citizens and government officials to the issues involved and considerations that have to be taken into account when tampering with people's lives and with neighborhood change.



Yemin Moshe and Mishkenot Sha'ananim.

2

A History of the Neighborhood During the Years 1860–1948

The early neighborhoods in the New City of Jerusalem were established during the course of 75 years, and may be divided into two main periods. The first, from 1860 to 1914, was a period of building what is called "Hayishuv Hayashan," the "Old Settlement." The second period witnessed the building of more modern neighborhoods and lasted from 1914 to 1939. The neighborhood of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, established in 1860, marks the start of Jewish settlement outside the Old City walls and the beginnings of the New City. Today, Mishkenot Sha'ananim is generally considered as an integral part of the adjacent Yemin Moshe neighborhood, but it deserves special attention as the cornerstone or precursor of the Yemin Moshe neighborhood, which was founded 33 years later, in 1893.

JUDAH TOURO'S LEGACY

The lands of Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe were acquired following the amalgamation of two overseas charity funds. One of these funds was established from the legacy of the American philanthropist Judah Touro, an exceedingly wealthy Jew of whom it used to be said, "The wealthier and more prosperous he became, the more were his acts of kindness and charity."

Judah Touro was the son of Rabbi Yitzchak Touro, a Portuguese cantor, who emigrated to America together with a group of Jews in 1758, following an earthquake in Lisbon. They chose to settle in Newport, Rhode Island, which had been established about 100 years earlier by Roger Williams, who championed the causes of freedom of the individual and equality of religious rights.

With the arrival of the Jews from Portugal, Newport became the second Jewish community in the American colonies after New Amsterdam (which today is the city of New York). Yitzchak Touro was among the founders of the *Yeshuat Yisrael*, "The Salvation of Israel," synagogue, and he conducted the dedication

ceremony of the building during the Chanuka holiday, in 1763. This synagogue is officially recognized today as a national historical site in America. In 1773, Rabbi Touro married Reyna Hayes and they had three children: Abraham, Judah, and Rivka (Rebecca).

Judah Touro was born on June 16, 1773, two years before the outbreak of the American War of Independence (Adelman, 1962). During the war, the English captured Newport and many Jews began to leave the city, among them Rabbi Touro. He took his family to Kingston, Jamaica, where he died and was buried in 1783 at the age of 46. His wife and children were left destitute and without a breadwinner in the family. Moses Michael Hayes, a merchant from Boston and the brother of Rabbi Touro's wife, took them under his wing, and taught Abraham and Judah Touro trade and business practices. Abraham Touro, in time, became a merchant and a well known philanthropist. He died at the age of 48, and was buried in Newport at his specific request. Judah Touro moved to New Orleans in 1801, opened a shop selling soap and candles, and eventually established a thriving import-export company. Although he was respected, wealthy, and straightforward as they come, he had a reputation of being retiring and introverted; he never married and left no heirs.

In the War of 1812 Touro volunteered for and took part in the battle for the defense of New Orleans under the command of Andrew Jackson, who later became president of the United States. He was wounded and abandoned as dead on the battlefield, but was saved by his good friend, Rezin Shepherd, a merchant from Virginia whom he had gotten to know when he first arrived in New Orleans. Shepherd brought the wounded Touro to his home in the city and secured nursing and medical care. After that, the two were inseparable friends. Both became millionaires and outstanding leaders of the community.

After Judah Touro's death on January 13, 1854, Shepherd undertook to have the terms of his will faithfully carried out. Touro was buried next to his brother in the Jewish Cemetery in Newport. On the day he died, the bells were rung in all the churches in New Orleans, a holiday was decreed, and delegates from many American cities attended his funeral (Adelman, 1962). Touro donated large sums of money to various charitable causes and to philanthropic projects. On his death, more than $200,000 was left to various philanthropic causes, including a grant of $50,000 "for our poor fellow Jews in the land of Israel" and another $10,000 for the indigent of Jerusalem, through the "North American Relief Society for the Indigent Jews of Jerusalem" (Touro, 1854).

The following selections from the original text of his will relate to his donations to the Jews of the Land Israel, dictated before his death in the presence of witnesses and a notary:

Item 26. I give and bequeath to the North American Relief Society for the Indigent Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine, of the City and State of New York (Sir Moses Montefiore of London, their agent), ten thousand dollars.

Item 27. It being my earnest wish to cooperate with the said Moses Montefiore of London,



Judah Touro (1773–1854). His donation was used to purchase the land for Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe.

Great Britain, in endeavoring to ameliorate the condition of our unfortunate Jewish Brethren in the Holy Land, and to secure to them the inestimable privilege of worshipping the Almighty according to our religion, without molestation, I therefore give and bequeath the sum of fifty thousand dollars, to be paid by my Executors for the said objects; and in the case of any legal or other difficulty or impediment in the way of carrying said bequest into effect, according to my intentions, then and in that case, I desire that the said sum of fifty thousand dollars be invested by my Executors in the foundation of a Society in the City of New Orleans, similar in its objects to the "North American Relief Society for the Indigent Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine, of the City of New York," to which I have before referred in my last will. (Touro, 1854)

THE HOLY LAND APPEAL FUND

Sir Moses Montefiore was born in 1784, in Livorno, Italy, and died at his estate in Ramsgate near London in 1885 at the age of 101. The name Montefiore ("mount of flowers") was respected and known throughout the world and particularly among the Jews. He came to England as a child with his parents who

were merchants and belonged to the Sephardi community, and together with his brother Abraham Montefiore, became one of the richest men in England. His marriage in 1812 to Judith Barnett Cohen, among the richest and most highly respected Ashkenazi families in England and a sister-in-law of Nathan Meir Rothschild, helped him to get involved in the family business. It also helped to bring members of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities closer together and opened possibilities of high public office to Montefiore.

Moses Montefiore, a contemporary of Benjamin Disraeli, was one of the pioneers involved in the industrial development of Britain. He established a number of important banks and the Royal Continental Gas Company which held the monopoly for lighting the streets of London. Montefiore, who helped to set up the Provincial Bank of Ireland, was appointed the sheriff of Victoria and Kent, and the financial adviser to Queen Victoria. As the public representative of oppressed Jews, Montefiore donated much of his wealth toward supporting the rights of the Jews and their welfare, with the aim of improving their condition all over the world.

In 1833 he built a synagogue in Ramsgate. In 1862, on the death of his wife, he founded the "Yehudith and Moshe Talmudical College" (yeshiva), and he personally followed a religious way of life. He was a staunch opponent of the Reform Movement in England and did all he could to limit its development.

After the blood libel in Damascus in 1840, Montefiore together with the humanist Adolphe Cremieux, turned personally to the Turkish sultan, asking him to put an end to the oppression and murder of Jews. As a result of his intervention, an unprecedented Ottoman law was passed granting protection to the Jews and their property throughout the Turkish Empire. Six years afterwards Montefiore went to St. Petersburg and tried to persuade the Czar Nicholas I to stop persecuting the Jews in Russia. Montefiore's prestige did not have much effect on the czar, but in contrast, the Jews of Russia held him in high esteem and many placed pictures of him in their homes (Ausubel, 1953).

During the years 1827 to 1875, Montefiore and his wife, Judith, visited Israel seven times. Montefiore was among the first Jews to respond to the call of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalisher (1795–1870) to help the settlement effort in Palestine and redemption of the land. He was also the first Jew abroad to buy an orchard in Palestine (1841), 16 years before he acquired the land for Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe. In recognition of his work and contribution to the Jewish settlement, Professor Zeev Vilnay, an Israeli historian and researcher, recently began a struggle to bring Montefiore's remains to Israel. This followed Vilnay's visit to Montefiore's grave in the suburbs of London in 1982. On finding the grave neglected and forgotten, he made up his mind to honor Montefiore by bringing the remains of the pioneer helper of Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel home to the State of Israel. Hopefully, he will succeed in this mission (Schechori, 1982).

The historian Josef Meisl (1939) described Montefiore's travels in the land of Israel, his ambition to settle Jews there, and his efforts to collect money in order to realize this aim.



Judith Cohen (1784–1862), wife of Moses (Moshe) Montefiore, and Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), prior to their wedding in 1812.

There was no greater communal worker and mediator, philanthropist and donator of charity, who invested so much energy toward improving the situation of the Jews in Israel during the period before the "Hibbat Zion" movement, than Moses Montefiore. However, despite all his comprehensive plans for founding Jewish settlements and efforts to improve Jewish education, he failed. Also, in his efforts to support handicrafts so that the Jews in the Land of Israel would be able to support themselves by the work of their hands and thus reject an economy based on charity, the "bread of the idle," he was unable to achieve these worthy aims because of his own nature. First, because he did not know the good points and the faults of the Jews of the Land. Excessive public relations and pleasing sweet talk influenced his attitude about the Jews (of the Old Yishuv), who were holy in his eyes. Second, he failed because he thought that working the land was an easy matter and did not appreciate the hardships that would arise, especially in those days. Third, because he closed his eyes to reality, and believed that the sultan would agree to large scale Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel.

In 1827 Montefiore and his wife visited Israel for the first time. In Jerusalem at that time there were about 50 Sephardi families (about 200 people), 40 Ashkenazi families (about 160 people), and about 200 elderly widows who lived in poverty, totally lacking in means. The leaders of the community "complained to him about the terrible poverty prevailing in Jerusalem and the pressure that the Pasha and the Muslim officials put on them through taxes and rates imposed from time to time." Montefiore and his wife were forced to leave the land after a short time because of disturbances that broke out in the Near East at that time, and for other reasons. But the little that they managed to see was enough to kindle their interest in the conditions of the Jews in the Land of Israel. This first journey of Moses Montefiore's life was an event that he would never forget. The synagogue "Nachalat Avot Avoteihem," established in 1833 in Ramsgate, was dedicated in memory of their visit to the Holy City.

About two years after the earthquake in Safad, in 1839, Montefiore, accompanied by his wife and secretary, Dr. Eliezer Halevi [Louis Loewe], travelled to the Land of Israel for the second time. On the basis of statistical data, collected by his secretary, he investigated and researched the situation of the Jews in the towns and the villages and reached the conclusion that the Jews of Safad were particularly suited to doing physical work and working the land, and that they were enthusiastic about doing this. "In spite of their lack of means and poverty, the men are tall and broad-shouldered and have fine facial features; the women are good-looking; they have big black eyes, their ways are graceful and polite, and their conversations are sensible. And all the people desire to work the land." In Montefiore's opinion, a small amount of support would be sufficient to improve their situation. Others also supported his idea to return some of the Jews to agriculture, and one Jew from Jerusalem proposed a plan to him for establishing a farming settlement near Hulda. A few of the Jews of Safad rented small plots near town and worked them together with the Muslims. Among the leaders of the Sephardi community, two were owners of plots in a village near Safad. Based on their opinions, Montefiore wrote the following words in his diary: "I am certain that the plan on which I have decided will succeed, and it will bring happiness and plenty to the Holy Land. First of all I shall turn to Mohammed Ali and get permission to rent plots of land for fifty years, for about one or two hundred villages, and this will give him an ongoing income of 10 to 20 percent, that will be paid every year in cash in Alexandria, on condition that the land and money will be free of taxes from both the Pasha and the rulers of the different districts, and that permission be granted for the Jews to sell the produce in all parts of

the land. God willing, I will obtain the license to rent the land on my return to England from the "Association for Working the Land and for Helping our European Brethren to Return to the Land of Israel." Many Jews are wandering as far as Australia, New South Wales, and to Canada and other places, but in the Holy Land they could find more security and success. Here they will find springs of water that have been available for a long time, olives and grapes already planted and fertile land that only needs a small amount of fertilizer. My hope is to urge thousands of fellow Jews to return to the Land of Israel. I am certain that they will be happy, and will thus observe the commandments of our religion to a degree that is not possible in the countries of Europe." In Tiberias and Jerusalem Montefiore discussed his plans at length with the leaders of the communities, and also had words with the British Consul in Jerusalem, who, on the one hand, recognized that it would be useful for the Jews to work the land, but stressed that in any case, "the beginnings would be distressing, but they should beware of making Mohammed Ali suspicious." On his way to England Montefiore had an audience with Mohammed Ali. He explained his idea for a Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel and he also put forward his plan to found an investment bank with 1 million pounds sterling, and branches in Alexandria, Beirut, Damascus, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Cairo. Sure enough, the establishment of such a bank was very acceptable in the eyes of the clever statesman. However, with respect to Jewish settlement, Mohammed Ali answered that although it would be good for the Jews to be engaged in working the land, he personally did not own any land in the Land of Israel. In spite of this he was prepared to agree that Muslims should rent their land to the Jews. In Montefiore's presence he instructed his minister of trade, Borgadsi Bey, to record the conversation in a notebook. However, in practice [Dr. Halevi notes], "I deduced from his words, that the suggestion to found settlements in the Holy Land and in Syria worried him, lest the Jews would build a new kingdom in the land of their fathers." After a short time, when Montefiore returned to Syria, in connection with the Damascus libel, there was a definite change for the worse in the political situation, and Mohammed Ali, who was taken up with other matters, did not keep his word. Indeed the issue never materialized.

But Montefiore was not disappointed. Since he was considered to be a legitimate representative of the people of Israel by both Jews and Christians, he was assigned the role of conducting negotiations with the Muslims with respect to Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. He held many discussions with the English foreign minister, Lord Palmerston. When Colonel Churchill was in Damascus he gave Montefiore a memo in which he expressed his opinion on the revival of the Jewish people in its land, but in spite of the publicity provided in the newspapers as if the plan were to be implemented very soon, the idea was received with apathy by the Jews, especially in England. Montefiore never tired, urging influential people to support him in realizing his goals. He also brought them up in discussions with Mohammed Sayideh Pasha, the Egyptian crown prince, who visited London in 1852. When the disturbing news of a severe famine in the Land of Israel reached him in 1854, the Jews turned to Montefiore with cries for help and pleaded with him to send help quickly. At Montefiore's suggestion the British chief rabbi, Dr. N. M. Adler, issued a "Pastoral Letter" to the leaders of the United Synagogue, and in touching words appealed for compassion for the poor of the Holy Land who were dying of starvation. A sum of 19,887 pounds sterling was raised, and the "Holy Land Appeal Fund" was set up, with Adler and Montefiore as trustees of the fund and a committee including Henry Lewis Cohen, S. L. De Simons, Jr., Philip Lucas, Jr., Abraham Montefiore, and Reverend A. Green, the honorary secretary. Christians also con-

tributed to the fund. A short time later 1,200 pounds sterling were sent to Palestine by the fund, and leaders of the Jewish communities there received instructions to set up loan funds in Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safad, and Hebron. (Meisl, 1939, pp. 5–8)

At the height of the fund-raising activities in England, an announcement came from New Orleans of the death of the American philanthropist Judah Touro, and of his donation of $60,000 to needy Jews in the Land of Israel, to be distributed at Moses Montefiore's direction.

In his book, *The History of the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund*, Josef Meisl described the connection between "The Holy Land Appeal Fund" in England and "The North American Society for the Indigent Jews of Jerusalem," which managed Judah Touro's legacy.

The management committee of the "North American Society for the Indigent Jews of Jerusalem" decided to dedicate its funds toward supporting poor Jews of the Land of Israel and informed Montefiore of this, who expressed his willingness to donate 145 pounds sterling to the fund every year during his lifetime. Rabbi Isaacs (the founder of the society) requested that Montefiore, together with the other trustees of Touro's legacy, have overall supervision of the use of the $50,000 that Touro set aside for the poor of the Holy Land. Kichenef, the secretary of the late Touro's business and his deputy, and Gershon Kursheedt, a friend of Touro and one of the elders of New Orleans (who came to London to ask Montefiore's advice about how the sum of $50,000 should be used) were among the other trustees. Montefiore suggested that a hospital be built in Jerusalem and Kursheedt agreed with this suggestion. In addition, a letter was sent to Baroness Batya de Rothschild in Paris and to the Baron Anselm Rothschild in Frankfurt-am-Main to inform them about the legacy and what the society had decided to do with it. However, not long after, Kursheedt changed his mind and withdrew his agreement to the building of a hospital, and refused to accompany Montefiore to the American Consul in London to sign a memo recording his agreement. Montefiore was sent 5,028 pounds sterling on February 24, 1855 and another 3,000 pounds sterling in April. At the end they came to a compromise and Kursheedt agreed to Montefiore's plan. (Meisl, 1939, p. 9)

The role of Gershon Kursheedt (the correct name, according to Myers, 1905, and Duffy, 1966, is Gershom Kursheedt) was played down to a large extent in most of the records concerning the founding of the Mishkenot Sha'ananim neighborhood. But, in a recent pamphlet, published by the Jerusalem Foundation (Rozin and Landau, 1982), Kursheedt's important contribution was clarified. Gershon Kursheedt was the son of Israel Bar-Kursheedt, one of American Jewry's leaders and chairman of the "American Action Committee Against the Damascus Libels." The elder Kursheedt also founded a central fund, "The Society for Holy Contributions," for sending charity to the Land of Israel in 1834 (Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, 1971, p. 241). Gershon Kursheedt was born in Richmond, Virginia, in 1817, and moved to New Orleans in 1840. He was a successful businessman, publisher of a small monthly magazine on economics, active in

the municipal council and the Academy of Sciences, and engaged in widespread philanthropic activities for the local Jewish community. He was one of the pupils of the Jewish leader Rabbi Isaac Leeser from Philadelphia, and was greatly influenced by Leeser's plans to rehabilitate the Jewish community in Israel (Seller, 1968, pp. 118–35).

Kursheedt and Judah Touro got to know each other when Kursheedt took on the task of getting Touro to donate money for building a new synagogue in New Orleans, which was established in 1854 (Korn, 1969, pp. 245–58). Bonds of friendship grew between the two men and, according to firsthand reports, it was Kursheedt who influenced Touro to donate considerable sums of money to needy Jews in America and in Palestine. The express instruction of Touro's will was to transfer his donation of $50,000 and a second grant of $10,000 to the poor of the Land of Israel via the good offices of Sir Moses Montefiore of London, to be used as he advised (Kohler, 1969, p. 169).

After Touro's death, Kursheedt was appointed as one of the trustees of his will and was the first American Jew who became personally involved in helping to strengthen the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. Kursheedt visited the Holy Land three times, twice together with Montefiore in 1855 and in 1857, and once alone in 1860 in order to supervise the completion of the building and moving of people into the apartments in Mishkenot Sha'ananim (Rozin and Landau, 1982, p. 16). Meisl describes Montefiore and Kursheedt's journey to the Holy Land in 1855, during which they succeeded in purchasing a plot of land in Jerusalem:

> Montefiore decided to travel to the Land of Israel to utilize the money from Touro's legacy and to distribute money from the London-based "Holy Land Appeal Fund." Before setting out, he again spoke to the secretary of the foreign minister, Lord Clarendon, informing him of Touro's legacy, and his desire to obtain a *firman* (special decree) from the sultan for acquiring lands for the purpose of settling Jews in the Land of Israel, and to erect buildings, and set up a hospital with a synagogue next to it in Jerusalem. The secretary answered, that according to his information from the British consul in Kushta (Istanbul), Lord Stanford Radcliffe, it was not easy to acquire property in the Land of Israel, and with regard to a hospital, he had learned that a similar institution had been opened recently in Jerusalem, named after Lord Rothschild.
>
> Before leaving for the Land of Israel, Montefiore received another audience with the foreign minister, Lord Palmerston, and informed him of his plan, adding that in his estimation it would become essential and useful, for security's sake, to increase the Turkish military presence and to place them under British officers. Palmerston agreed that building a hospital in Jerusalem would be desirable and useful. However, as for purchasing land, he suspected that the Turks, who were suspicious of foreigners, would put obstacles in the way of the English who wanted to buy land in Syria. It would be better to rent land for long periods. Palmerston gave Montefiore letters of recommendation to British diplomats in Kushta and Paris, and Lord Clarendon gave him letters (of introduction) to his consuls.
>
> On May 13, 1855, Montefiore and his wife, accompanied by Dr. Halevy, Haim Gedalyah and his wife, and by Gershon Kursheedt, started their journey to the Land of

Israel. In Kushta they were informed that the Sultan Abdul Magejid (1839–1861) would receive Montefiore for a private audience, and that the Council of Ministers had decided to honor him with the Order of "Medjidjeh" Medal. The meeting took place on June 28, 1855. The sultan gave the following reply to Montefiore's requests: "The Sultan regards it as his responsibility to do all within his power for the good of his subjects" and he will fulfill all of Montefiore's requests. Montefiore would also receive a *firman* (special decree) to acquire lands in the Land of Israel to build a hospital. On July 18, Montefiore and his party arrived in Jerusalem. At that time, in Jerusalem there were 5,700 Jews (4,000 Sephardim and 1,700 Ashkenazim); in Safad 2,100 (800 Sephardim and 1,300 Ashkenazim); in Tiberias 1,514 (633 Sephardim and 881 Ashkenazim); 400 in Jaffa, 100 in Haifa, and small settlements in Hebron, Acre, Pekiin, and in Shfaram. (Meisl, 1939, pp. 9–11)

PURCHASE OF THE PLOT OF LAND OF MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM AND YEMIN MOSHE

As noted earlier, Montefiore and Kursheedt wanted to build a hospital for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and initially looked for a plot within the city walls. The first site they found was unsuitable because of its proximity to the abattoir in the Old City, and its lack of other facilities. They were obliged, therefore, to go further afield, outside the city walls, opposite Mount Zion and the Sultan's Pool, southeast of the Old City, on the road to Hebron. The southeast area was more suitable since the Muslims had settled outside the walls in northeast Jerusalem and the Christians in the northwest of the city. Finally, during that journey of 1855 Montefiore acquired, with the help of the sultan's *firman*, a plot opposite Mount Zion. Although most of the money for the plot came from Touro's legacy, Montefiore had the plot surrounded by a fence and called it "Kerem Moshe and Yehudit" or "Moshe and Yehudit's Vineyard," after his own and his wife's names, presumably because of the great effort that he personally had put into acquiring the land and conducting the negotiations.

Meisl describes the circumstances of the sale in these words:

> The contract fixed the exact borders of the settlement, and it was approved by the Khadi as a purchase contract fully in order. Sir Moses returned to the camp and ordered his tent to be pitched on the plot of ground, as a symbol of the purchase itself. His interpreter went to measure it, and had Sir Moses Montefiore's initials carved out in big Hebrew letters on a rock which is part of the road parallel to the plot, on the right, when one comes from the Jaffa Gate, on the way to Beit Safafa.
>
> After overcoming many obstacles and difficulties, Sir Moses Montefiore finally succeeded in buying a plot of land west of the Holy City, near to Rama Street which goes from Jerusalem to Hebron, a pretty and healthy site, a few minutes away from the Jaffa and Zion Gates. Here many people of our faith, in conjunction with others, were employed in working the land, and building the boundary wall. (Meisl, 1939, pp. 15–16)

The editor of Moses Montefiore's diaries, Dr. Louis (Eliezer Halevi) Loewe (1890, pp. 52–53), points out that Montefiore gave instructions to build two apartments on the plot of land for his use during forthcoming visits to Jerusalem.

Loewe further notes that at the foundation stone-laying ceremony on August 15, 1855, Montefiore placed a copy of the purchase contract in the foundation stone and then Kursheedt put Judah Touro's ring there as well.

Pinchas Grayevsky, the Jerusalem historian, testifies that Montefiore acquired a plot of land of 38,250 square meters nearby, and paid an "exorbitant price" to the former Pasha, or governor of Jerusalem, Ahmed Aga Al-Dizdar (Grayevsky, 1939; Meisl, 1939 p. 15). In attempts to explain Montefiore's motives in paying such a high price (though we find no documents that provide evidence of the exact price) we turned to his diaries and learned that the Turk, Ahmed Al-Dizdar, did not sell the land of his own free will, but only because he could not see any possibility of standing up against Montefiore's power and insistence. He was at a loss to withstand such "an influential man in the world, who had official documents for buying the land from the Turkish Sultan himself" (Loewe, 1890). It is reasonable to suppose that Sir Montefiore, in his desire to conclude the business as quickly as possible and to compensate the Turk for the respectful attitude he showed toward him regarding the sale of his land, paid him a large sum of money.

The purchase contract specified that the buyer "can do as he wishes with the land." With hindsight it seems that this was a very important clause, as it did not limit the uses that could be made of the land. It will become clear from the account that follows that the original plans changed by the time the building of a residential quarter finally began. The unusual circumstances surrounding the unprecedented act of acquiring this plot were also important in another respect, since they enabled the building of residential quarters outside the walls of the Old City at a time when the Jews were still largely segregated and concentrated inside the walls.

FROM THE WINDMILL TO THE HOUSES FOR THE POOR: AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLOT

The first project started on this plot of ground was the flour mill, which was built out of square hewn stones and reached a height of fifty feet. The history of the mill is discussed by A. M. Luncz (1889) who relates that at that time there were already two flour mills in Jerusalem (one for the Greek and the second for the German communities). Montefiore set up the mill in order to reduce the cost of flour and to distribute it among the Jewish poor. It also provided employment for the inhabitants of the neighborhoods and made it unnecessary for them to go into town to grind wheat. The mill was worked for a few years by an expert miller, sent by Moses Montefiore from England, and was a great blessing to the people. It operated until it became necessary to replace various parts. However, at that time it was decided not to invest any more money repairing it, because its location was not suitable due to the absence of regular winds in that direction. In the meantime, mills based on modern steam engines were built and these did not require winds at all (Kressel, 1970).

In 1857, Montefiore and Kursheedt returned to Jerusalem in order to settle



Sir Moses Montefiore in his later years.

the matter of building a hospital for the Jewish inhabitants of the city. But it finally became clear to them that the hospital built earlier by the Rothschild family answered all the basic medical needs. However, there was an urgent need to build homes for the city's poor, and the leaders of the settlement in Jerusalem pleaded with them to abandon their plans to build a hospital. As a result of these developments it was decided to build houses as a shelter for the poor who lived in poverty and overcrowded housing in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.

Moses Montefiore returned to England and sent to Jerusalem an English architect, William Smith, to whom he entrusted the work of building the new houses. In the same year, 1858, the first announcement about the building of Mishkenot Sha'ananim was published, in the following words:

> The respected philanthropist Montefiore, may he live for many years, is going to build houses as a shelter for the Land of Israel's poor from the vast funds left a few years ago by the Jew, the honorable Reb Yehuda Touro from the city of New Orleans in America, as a blessing for his poor brethren, the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The houses will be built on a small plot of land bought by the philanthropist outside the city . . . and which was originally set aside for building a hospital. The house will have room for sixty poor homeless people that have no support. . . . The philanthropist has also made a contract with men skilled in the art of building in Britain, to implement this plan. (*Hamagid*, December 1858)

In the same month a similar announcement was published in the (London) *Jewish Chronicle*, describing at length the architectural design of the neighborhood, from which one can deduce that British Jews were very much involved and wanted to help plan for the inhabitants of the neighborhood that was being built. For the contemporary Jew these events clearly remind us of Diaspora Jewish involvement with the current "Project Renewal" urban renewal program.

In spite of what was written in the *Jewish Chronicle* article about starting work immediately, there were delays due to a ban on building imposed by the Turkish authorities. According to Luncz, this delay caused extensive financial losses and only in 1860 was the work completed (Kressel, 1970). Meisl (1939) tells of the principles Montefiore set down for selecting people to live in the apartments. He insisted that "people accepted in the houses will primarily be those with good qualities, learned, devoting most of their time to study the Torah Law, who appreciate being able to live in pleasant surroundings in a nice house without having to pay rent."

Regarding the name of the neighborhood, Montefiore sought advice from the chief rabbi of England and also from the representative of the Touro Fund, Gershon Kursheedt. It was decided to call these houses "Mishkenot Sha'ananim" and to avoid mention of the fact that they were meant for the poor (Meisl, p. 20). The source of the name is Isaiah 32:18: "And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in *quiet resting places*."

In spite of the active participation of the American representative of the Touro Fund (Gershon Kursheedt) in acquiring the land and in planning the buildings,



Plaque naming a street in honor of Judith Montefiore in 1891, and praising the efforts of Moses Montefiore, Rabbi Nathan Hacohen Adler (Chief Rabbi of England), and Sir Joseph Sebag (Montefiore's nephew).

and the fact that Touro's legacy provided all or nearly all of the purchase price for the tract bought from Ahmed Al-Dizdar, for some reason Touro's name was not chosen for the neighborhood. Meisl reports, "Judah Touro's name was completely forgotten, and if a memorial plaque had not been placed above the gate of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, there would not have been any remembrance of the philanthropist and his generous project" (Meisl, 1939, p. 20). On the other hand, all the other neighborhoods built with Montefiore's help at the time from "The Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund" (established on his retirement) carry his name in some form or other—Ohel Moshe ("Tent of Moses"), Yemin Moshe ("Moses' Memorial"), Mazkeret Moshe ("Moses' Testimony"), Zichron Moshe ("Moses' Remembrance") and Kiryat Moshe ("Moses' Town").

In general, the American connection with the Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe neighborhoods has been surprisingly neglected, from the historical point of view. Although Kursheedt eventually married a relative of Montefiore, Grace Gedaliah, and moved from New Orleans to England, where he died in 1863 at the age of 46, he played a major role in maintaining accountability for Touro's funds entrusted to him. He personally followed up implementation of the construction of Mishkenot Sha'ananim. He was concerned about planning for Jerusalem's poor. His concept of aid was not only confined to providing

homes for the needy in general, but also aimed at dealing with those resettled from the Old City and ensuring their rehabilitation. When Kursheedt returned to America in 1856, he visited his friend, Isaac Leeser, in Philadelphia and told him about the plans for Mishkenot Sha'ananim. Leeser published the plan in his newspaper *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, stressing the exclusive use of Jewish labor in building the new neighborhood and "the accumulation of capital in the hands of some, so that they may again employ others, and thus by degrees bring about what is so much desired, the cessation of general pauperism in Palestine" (Leeser, 1856).

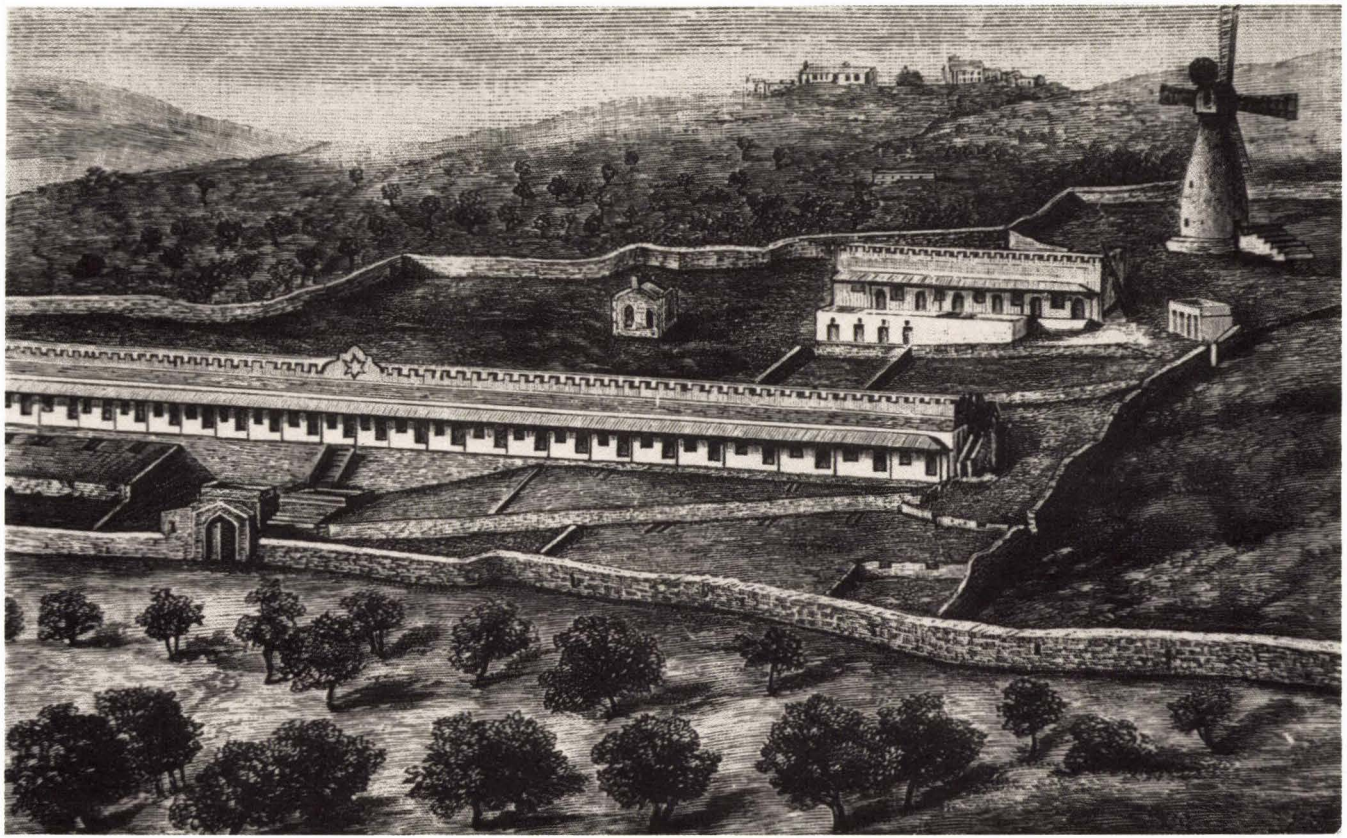
Nevertheless, those first attempts of American Jews to help the poor in the Holy Land did not come off successfully. The American philanthropists got the impression that Jerusalem's inhabitants had not yet achieved economic independence nor established a way of life free from independence on Halukah (handouts) and donations from overseas.

These complaints were recorded in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* along with the complaint that Montefiore was greatly honored while Kursheedt and Touro were well-nigh forgotten (Kohler, 1925, p. 50). Perhaps one day Judah Touro and Gershon Kursheedt and the American Jewish community, who even in the 1850s were concerned with the plight of the poor in the Holy Land and with the fate of their philanthropic dollars, will receive the credit due for the help rendered to the residents of Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe.

THE DESIGN OF THE MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM NEIGHBORHOOD

Two buildings and the windmill occupy a third of the area, on the southeastern side of the plot that Montefiore bought. This particular section today is referred to as the Mishkenot Sha'ananim neighborhood. The first building, dedicated in 1861, consisted of 16 large residential apartments, each with two rooms and a kitchen. In addition, there were two synagogues, one for the Sephardi and one for the Ashkenazi community, a ritual bath, and a private area for individual garden plots.

A second building was later added on by Montefiore and contained four apartments. The dwellings were both low stone buildings, long and narrow, facing toward Mount Zion and the Old City walls. The Jaffa Gate, from which the road winds to Bethlehem in the south and crosses through the lower part of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, can be seen from the northern side of the buildings. The building included a food kitchen and storehouse. The flat roof of the building with serrated gutters, which gathered rain water and provided protection, demonstrated the great concern for the well-being and security of the inhabitants. Indeed, in the earthquake that occurred in Jerusalem (Grayevsky, 1939) it was clearly evident that the thick walls (91.5 centimeters), the doors covered with strips of iron, and the barred windows protected the homes from collapsing.



Mishkenot Sha'ananim, an engraving from 1864.



The only memorial plaque in Yemin Moshe honoring Judah Touro.



Metal pole supporting the slanted roof of the Touro row houses. Inscription reads: East Kent Metal Works, Ramsgate, England.

A covered balcony ran along the entire length of the front of the building. It was supported by iron pillars specially brought over from Ramsgate near London where Montefiore lived. The use of iron and a sloping roof were innovations in the Holy Land at that time. The entire complex was surrounded by a fence with iron gates, which were closed in the evenings for the protection of the residents.

Luncz criticized the way in which the Mishkenot Sha'ananim neighborhood was built. According to him, had Montefiore given the work to a local architect and not brought one over from London, "he would have been able to build a hundred houses for the same price—a total of six thousand pounds sterling, as the iron was imported from England and the tiles from Marseilles—which made building very expensive." Luncz also argued that had the architect known the best place to dig the well and build the houses, he would have saved about two-thirds of the expense (Kressel, 1970; Meisl, 1939, p. 20).

It is difficult to determine to what extent the design was influenced by building styles in England. Planning the doors to face east, according to Luncz, was common in England in order to allow the sunshine to penetrate the building. Ruth Kark, who has researched Jerusalem neighborhoods, disagrees with Luncz, claiming that building toward the east was not an imitation of English practice, but was suited to the local topography (Kark, 1978). Also, the workers from Bethlehem, who built the neighborhood, left their mark on the shape of the windows and doors, which were pointed arches enclosed in stone.

In addition to the residential houses, the neighborhood included public services necessitated by the distance from the Old City and the fact that the Jewish sections of Jerusalem were very much cut off from one another. The public services included two synagogues (one for the Sephardi and one for Ashkenazi residents), a ritual bath, a baking oven, a well for water, and a metal water pump. Luncz relates how this pump transformed the place into a focal point in those times, attracting the people of Jerusalem who rushed to examine this technological wonder and marveled at the way the pump worked (Kressel, 1970; Rozin and Landau, 1982, p. 17).

RULES REGARDING THE CLAIM TO OWNERSHIP OF HOUSES

In spite of the large financial investment and the great amount of attention given to planning the neighborhood for the convenience of the residents, it was difficult to populate it. At first, people objected to its location close to a Muslim cemetery, and many of them were frightened of living there because of the danger of thieves and burglars who imposed a reign of terror at night, after the Old City gates had been closed. Eventually, 80 families were found who were willing to move there, and a lottery was held to determine the 20 families that would be allowed to settle in the neighborhood. As mentioned previously, Montefiore declared from the beginning that the neighborhood would be set aside for families of learned men and the needy and the distribution of apartments was



The renovated apartments of the Touro building and the metal poles brought by the English architect from Ramsgate.

entrusted to the talmudical colleges, with a mandate to distribute them equally between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi residents. Recognizing cultural diversity, two synagogues were built, but in the course of time the number of Sephardi residents in the neighborhood grew much larger than that of the Ashkenazi community.

Every resident was supplied with a rule book prepared and printed by Moses Montefiore from which we learn a great deal about the situation prevailing in Jerusalem at that time and about the character of communal life in the neighborhood. The main concerns of the residents were cleanliness and public health. They were compelled to take out the garbage every day and to sweep the floors. They were asked to make certain that garbage was not thrown in front of the houses and around the neighborhood. The synagogue and the ritual bath also had to be cleaned every day. It was agreed that part of the contributions made by the worshippers was to be set aside for cleaning and lighting expenses of the neighborhood synagogue (Meisl, 1939, pp. 21–22). None of the sources suggest that the residents complained about the strict rules for cleanliness or about too much intervention in their private lives—a fact which probably points to their desire to lead an orderly way of life, and an awareness of the importance of looking after the neighborhood. Because of the delicate security situation they were careful to lock the gates, especially at night, and they also appointed a watchman.

The remainder of the contributions from the worshippers was used for paying the salary of the watchmen at the gates and at the well. The well was closely guarded, and the right to draw water from it was limited to residents of the neighborhood. All visitors were required to sign their names in a book, and there was an almost total ban on putting up strangers for the night in the houses, even close relatives, in order to preserve privacy and well-ordered internal community life. The most important rule was Rule 13 which stated:

> The residents of Mishkenot Sha'ananim have no claim of ownership over these houses of refuge. Do not violate the covenant of friendship, lest quarrel and contention break out among you. Seek peace with your brothers in every step you make and in all your doings, and you will dwell in your homes in security. (Kressel, 1970, p. 289)

This rule, according to Luncz, derived from Montefiore's original desire to enable as many as possible of Jerusalem's poor to benefit from his project. Therefore, he limited the time residents could live in the apartments by requesting that they vacate them for newcomers. There are no details available as to how Montefiore planned to put this into practice, but Luncz testifies: "Montefiore's kind heart did not allow him to turn out people from their homes and put others in their place, and especially because of their courage in coming to live outside the city walls. They live in the houses to this day and leave them to their sons after them as an inheritance, and the philanthropist also gave them money from

time to time in order to help them to clean their homes'' (Kressel, 1970, p. 291). Montefiore's desire for mobility of residents clashed with his intention to generously reward those who dared to come and live outside the city walls, and by the end of the 1930s the right of the grandchildren to continue living there was clearly recognized (Grayevsky, 1939, p. 44).

DIFFICULTIES AT MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM

Montefiore's project, which was supposed to be a significant social and economic experiment, soon turned into a simple charitable cause. In his diary, Montefiore recorded an enthusiastic description of life in the neighborhood. However, Christians who lived nearby and visited the neighborhood in its early years claimed that many of the people lived on money from charity often because of laziness. Each family also received three pounds sterling twice a year, personally sent by Montefiore. Later on, the chief rabbis were responsible for distributing the money and every person received about 20 francs (Meisl, 1939, p. 24).

Nevertheless, the importance of good housing and hygienic facilities outside the crowded Jewish Quarter of the Old City was becoming obvious. Mishkenot Sha'ananim provided a striking case in point in 1865, when a cholera epidemic in Jerusalem claimed many victims (15 percent of the Jews in the Old City). In Mishkenot Sha'ananim no one was affected thanks to the spacious apartments and the freshwater wells in the neighborhood. Everyone began to recognize the importance of the Mishkenot Sha'ananim apartments outside the city walls and of the improved living conditions there.

In 1866 Montefiore came to Jerusalem once again. When he met with the rabbis of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities, they implored and pleaded with him to build more apartments.

This time, however, they suggested that he also build for the middle classes. Montefiore decided to build an additional house with four more apartments on the same plot of ground and in that very year, on the 25th of Nissan, the foundation stone for the house was laid in a festive ceremony, according to the custom in those days. But, it was only three years later, in 1860, that Montefiore instructed Isaac Pach, his representative in Jerusalem, to begin building. This time, on the basis of past experience, he gave the work out to a local architect—and the price was consequently much cheaper than bringing in a British architect. A year later work was completed in setting up the building (referred to as Batei Touro, or Touro's houses even today), but they were only opened for habitation in 1875, five years later. An additional, adjacent plot of 27,393 square meters remained near the Mishkenot Sha'ananim section, and this plot stood as barren ground for more than 25 years (Meisl, 1939, p. 70). Yemin Moshe was built on that adjacent area.

Grayevsky (1933) relates that by 1875 the residents of Jerusalem were no longer afraid to go outside the walls of the Old City, and they expressed to

Montefiore their desire to live in the new apartments. No explanation can be found in the literature to explain Montefiore's reasons for delaying the building. Montefiore gave one of the four new houses in Mishkenot Sha'ananim to a weaver, and another house was given to one of the leading rabbis in the town, Rabbi Shmuel Salant, who never lived in it. Another building was set aside as a dispensary for the poor.

Two Israeli historians, A. B. Rivlin and Y. Y. Rivlin, opposed the accepted opinion that sees in Mishkenot Sha'ananim a pioneering step in Jewish settlement outside the city walls, and they gave several reasons. In A. B. Rivlin's (1966) view, for years people refused to live in the neighborhood, and it never really thrived. Y. Y. Rivlin (1939) relates how Montefiore's aim was to set up a workshop in the neighborhood for weaving cloth, and for that reason he accommodated the weaver there, but the plan did not succeed. After this Montefiore tried to set up a hospital, but the idea failed because the sick were afraid to be hospitalized in such a dangerous place (Y.Y. Rivlin, 1939). The idea to pay poor people so that they would agree to settle there was never popular. According to A. B. Rivlin, those who agreed to the suggestion did so because they were unable to pay the high rents for apartments inside the city walls, and many of them cheated, coming to the neighborhood during the day and not staying the night, even though Montefiore posted guards to protect them.

A. B. Rivlin's refusal to see this neighborhood as being a successful settlement outside the city walls arises from the fact that the neighborhood always relied on foreign support and because of the many vacillations that accompanied its establishment, which according to his point of view meant that it could not be considered as an exemplary pioneering neighborhood. In spite of this, he agreed that the idea itself was revolutionary, and if there had been someone "crazy enough about the idea" to urge people to go voluntarily outside the city walls, the project might well have succeeded.

THE MOSES (MONTEFIORE) TESTIMONIAL FUND

In 1874, when Montefiore was 90 years old, he decided to resign from the post of chairman of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, after serving for 33 years. A committee was set up to decide on a special charitable cause or project to honor Montefiore in an everlasting testimonial. He himself suggested "that the most appropriate act of charity would be if the Children of Israel would improve the condition of Jews living in the Holy Land by enabling them to achieve economic independence through working the land, and being engaged in labor, trade and building model apartments, to the point where they do not have to take one coin of charity" (Meisl, 1939, p. 29). This is how the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund and its subsidiary, the International Jewish Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund, were started.

After many discussions and much vacillation among the committee members of the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund (which had 120 members in May

1875), there was a difference of opinion on how best to use the funds collected. This persisted despite the delegation's visit to Palestine and Montefiore's own last visit to determine the current needs in the Holy Land. The difference of opinion, both in the Holy Land and overseas, focused on whether to support vocational education and economic projects, or projects associated with the building and development of new neighborhoods. According to Meisl's version of the events, the "fanatic and extreme" rabbis in the Land of Israel were opposed to the fund's support of education for professions, crafts, and agricultural work, as they suspected that this would endanger the status of talmudical colleges and higher institutes of Jewish learning and particularly the system of Halukah (charity distribution) and its influence. In order to advise and guide the Testimonial Fund, it was decided to appoint a representative, a resident supervisor and administrator on behalf of the fund in the Holy Land. This person was to be hired by the London Committee, and had to be someone "who knows the spirit and the language of the inhabitants of the Land of Israel." In 1878, by a majority decision the appointee to this position was Yechiel Michael Pinnes, a Jewish writer born in Russia, "who despite his commitment to traditional Judaism knew how to mediate between the different religious streams and especially the extreme ones" (Meisl, 1939, p. 50). After coming to Israel, Pinnes recognized the need to expand the economic foundations of the Yishuv rather than strengthening the Halukah and living on charity, and recommended that the fund set up workshops, support various economic projects and give help to artisans. As a result of his approach he was excommunicated by the Rabbinical Court of Jerusalem.

Due to the many members on the committee and persistent differences of opinion, the fund "froze" its activities for a certain period, until voices were raised in protest. One of the protestors was Dr. Halevi, who wrote: "It amazes me that they have not consulted me about the money in the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund which have been collected for almost eleven years. . . . Why have none of those who donated money inquired as to what has been done and is being done with the money? The answer will be, as I have already said, that they are not satisfied with any project connected with the Holy Land" (Meisl, 1939, pp. 60–61).

After many years of dispute and growing public pressure, Montefiore finally exercised his influence and it was decided that money from the fund would be used to build residential houses by giving interest-free loans to building companies, and not for vocational education. In a renewed drive, the fund contributed to building houses in new Jerusalem neighborhoods and to other areas where building was already in progress such as Mea Shearim and Mishkenot Yisrael. In the course of time the fund began to establish additional neighborhoods such as Mazkeret Moshe (1882), Ohel Moshe (1882), Yemin Moshe (1892), Zichron Moshe (1906), and Kiryat Moshe (1925). The fund also paid the debts of building companies in some of the new neighborhoods (Ben-Aryeh, 1979).

THE YEMIN MOSHE NEIGHBORHOOD: THE FIRST DISPUTE

Near Mishkenot Sha'ananim, as already mentioned, there remained a vacant plot of 27,393 square meters, which remained desolate for about 25 years. On the death of Moses Montefiore in 1885, his nephew and heir to his estate, Joseph Sebag, mistakenly assumed that the vacant plot next to Mishkenot Sha'ananim was Montefiore's private property. With the aim of "taking possession of the plot and doing what seemed fit with it" (Meisl, p. 70), Sebag initially intended to rent part of the land to the "Kol Yisrael Haverim Company" which was among the first Jewish educational institutions, founded in Paris in 1860. This organization wished to build a school on the vacant land. When word of Montefiore's death and Sebag's intentions became known to the poor of Jerusalem, they took over the area and put up squatter's shacks, rooms and tents, on their own initiative. They were convinced that they would ultimately obtain permanent housing. The heads of the community in Jerusalem turned to Sebag, and explained to him that Montefiore had indeed intended that the site be used for housing for the poor. Their efforts were to no avail.

In the end, in 1887, Mr. Yosef Navon, heading a group of Jerusalem residents, lodged a legal complaint against Sebag with the Turkish Consul in London. When the facts about the source of money used in the original purchase of the land, and his uncle's (Montefiore's) desire to utilize it for the poor became clear to Sebag, he agreed to transfer the land to the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund. The fund's management then looked for a way of removing the squatters from the land so that the future of the area could be properly planned.

THE FIRST EVACUATION

Zeev Vilnay (1974, pp. 193–95) quotes an article on this matter which was published in the newspaper *Hamelitz* in 1889:

It is more than two years since a number of poor people, about 170 families, have been unlawfully holding the plots of Kerem Moshe (and Yehudit) Montefiore and have built huts, shacks and tents there, which are a shame and disgrace to the Land of Israel. However, the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund does not agree to this, as they want to build good stone houses there and distribute them fairly and justly among the poor, and not to those who want to take them by force and by violent means. The London philanthropists have not stopped asking those people to vacate the site, and they will have equal rights to all the other poor people to obtain apartments which the London philanthropists will build there. But the needy people listened to the troublemakers and did not want to leave the area under any circumstances. The London philanthropists informed the banker, Senior Valero, and authorized him to use government force to remove the squatters from the site against their will. However, Mr. Valero did everything possible in order to avoid taking them to court. He suggested giving them priority in

obtaining the houses to be built. But in vain. The squatters closed their ears and did not want to hear and even though it was a very difficult decision, Valero had to turn to the government. He did everything possible to carry out the will of those who had been sent from London, especially since the huts and the shacks that the squatters had put up everywhere were a shame to all of Israel. This also caused severe damage to many poor people, since the London philanthropists could not build houses for the poor until the illegal squatters had left. Much damage was also done to the community as a whole and to the institution. Finally, however, Mr. Valero succeeded, and a judgment was given that all the squatters had to leave the site. The squatters complained bitterly and gathered at the Western Wall to curse Mr. Valero, and went to the pasha complaining bitterly against the judgment. But the pasha decreed that the law will be strictly applied, and on Tuesday the government representatives began to destroy the shacks and the tents there. And the poor people went to the pasha again and he took pity on them and requested of the Sephardi rabbis that they be given an alternative site and money to dig a well so that they would have drinking water. The rabbis carried out the wishes of His Excellency, the Pasha, and the squatters proceeded to vacate the plot of their own accord. We have heard that the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Committee in London wishes to build many houses for the poor on the Montefiore property. (D. Baumgarten, *Hamelitz*, Issue 170, August 14, 1889)

More information on the wretched shack neighborhood and its inhabitants may be found in Vilnay's writings: "Christian visitors called the neighborhood 'The Box Colony' since their flimsy homes were made out of 'planks of wood, old boxes, and Standard Oil drums in which oil was brought over from Russia' " (Vilnay, 1974, p. 195).

In the newspaper *Hahavatzelet*, on 7th Heshvan, 1892, an account is given of the start of the operation to remove the squatters, who already numbered more than 200 families, and who refused to leave the site (Gliss, 1973). After much trouble, a small number of the residents were transferred to a site next to the Beit Wittenburg on the edge of Mea Shearim. Vilnay (1974, p. 195) quotes from an article which appeared in the newspaper *Hatzefira* which discussed the compensation given to the evacuees:

For many oppressed people who have been moved out of the "Kerem Montefiore," a plot of ground has been purchased with the aid of the Central Housing Committee, near the house of the renowned rabbi Moshe Wittenburg, may he live a long life, and a small area of land of 34 square meters has been allocated to every family household, to be paid for by periodic payments, and may the unfortunate people be pleased with their lot and their souls filled with hope of achieving peace of mind. (*Hatzefira*, 27th Tishrei, 1888, issue 218)

In this project two neighborhoods were built for the evacuees—Nevei Shalom (also called Bnei-Moshe) for the Ashkenazi group, and Shevet Achim (or Shevit Tzedek) for the Sephardi population. But hopes for alleviating the plight of Jerusalem's poor were premature. Only two years later, in 1889, Luncz claimed that "The city's poor who took possession of Kerem Moshe and Yehudit were

forced to leave . . . they bought another piece of land for them . . . but the latter neighborhood was even worse than the first one and many of the inhabitants became even poorer'' (Kressel, 1970; Luncz, *Jerusalem Collection* 3, 1889, p. 205).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YEMIN MOSHE NEIGHBORHOOD

Seven years after Moses Montefiore's death, the executive committee of the Montefiore Testimonial Fund in London decided to develop Kerem Moshe and Yehudit, the remaining parcel of land that was purchased from the Turk, Ahmed Aga Al-Dizdar, and to build more houses, thus creating another neighborhood for Jerusalem's poor. The members of the committee, Arthur Cohen, Samuel Montague, and Henry Harris, faithfully carried out their task, and in consultation with the chief rabbis of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities in Jerusalem, they prepared a proposal for building and populating the new Yemin Moshe neighborhood. They also settled the matter of who would be responsible for the development and upkeep of the upper neighborhood, Mishkenot Sha'ananim. A description of the principles of the agreement is given below:

> With the consent of the learned rabbis our teacher Rabbi Raphael Meir Panigel, the Sephardi Chief Rabbi, may the Lord protect him, and our teacher Rabbi Shmuel Salant, the spiritual leader of the Ashkenazi community, and with two other honored members of the Sephardi community, we hereby give the place where the mill and houses and wells are located, to two Jerusalem Societies, one from the Ashkenazi community and one from the Sephardi community. . . . The two aforementioned learned rabbis (have already) also established Special Committees from each of the two aforementioned communities. Members of the Committees will (now) organize the Societies, and after posting public notices in the homes and in the Kollelim (colleges for higher learning), a public lottery will be held in the presence of the city dignitaries. The lottery will select eighty people from the Sephardi community and eighty from the Ashkenazi community, and the responsibility for the plot will be given to them.
>
> The remainder of the plot from the ''Hekdaish'' (Charitable Trust) will be divided into two equal parts, one part for the Ashkenazi residents and the other for people from our community and the name of the area will be ''Yemin Moshe.'' It will be a memorial to the philanthropist Moses Montefiore, may he rest in peace, a beautiful monument and verification of his good name, better than sons and daughters. The name of the section of the Ashkenazi community will be Rechov Natan, after the learned Rabbi Nathan Adler, may his memory be blessed, and the name of the Sephardi section will be Rechov Yehudit, after Yehudit Montefiore, may she rest in peace. (From the introduction to the contract on the establishment of the Yemin Moshe neighborhood, J. Meisl, 1939, p. 71)

On May 27, 1892, the contract was signed by the three interested parties: the heirs to the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund, Joseph Sebag (Montefiore's heir), and the Yemin Moshe Society, a committee made up of representatives

of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities. According to the terms of the contract a decision was made to give a loan to the Yemin Moshe Society of 5,200 pounds sterling to each community, in return for which each community took upon itself to build on half the plot 75 stone residential buildings, a synagogue, wells, and other buildings required for the well-being of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. The residents of the neighborhood would receive a loan, doled out according to the progress of the building and construction. It was compulsory for residents to invest all the money in construction and to finish building their homes and the well within three years. The community loan, given in the form of a mortgage, had to be repaid by the neighborhood committee within three years of the date on which the building was finished, and each resident had to repay his debt within five years of the completion of the building. The trustees of the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund would allow the residents or their representatives to live in the houses and to benefit from the services there, or to transfer their right to the apartment, but only to Jews.

The contracts for Yemin Moshe were similar to those for other Jerusalem neighborhoods built earlier with the help of the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund and Ohel Moshe funds, with the same conditions regarding loans. However, two new rules were added. First, the inhabitants had to pay a shilling a year for each house, beginning from the first year of the contract, to the Testimonial Fund Committee in London. Second, it was fixed that in certain circumstances, the administrators of the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund could buy back homes at the price of 160 pounds sterling per house. In other words, when they signed their contract with the Testimonial Fund, the residents agreed that rights to the home could be withdrawn if the fund wanted to repurchase the house.

In spite of the signing of the contract, it seemed that the problems of building the new neighborhood were not yet over. A dispute broke out again, and Yosef Navon accused Joseph Sebag of not alloting all of the land to the poor. Navon announced that he would be prepared to show a document in Moses Montefiore's handwriting, hidden under one of the houses of the neighborhood, claiming that all of the land had been purchased for the poor. Continuation of the construction was consequently delayed by decree of the Turkish government, who were in no hurry to promote Jewish housing and who wanted to see how things would turn out, or, according to another interpretation, wished to profit financially from the dispute. The delay caused serious financial damage to the owners of the property, in addition to damage to the buildings themselves.

DESIGN AND CHARACTER OF THE YEMIN MOSHE NEIGHBORHOOD

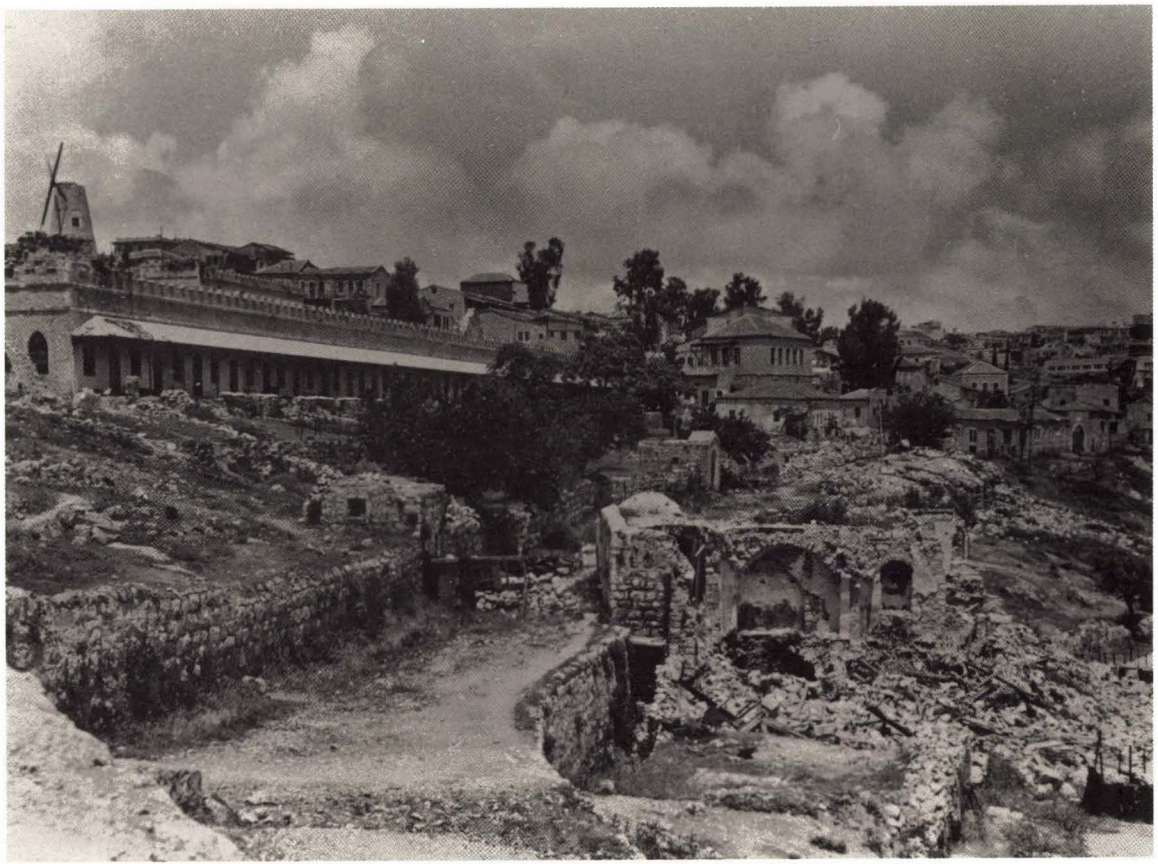
In 1893, about 30 years after the founding of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, the construction was completed of 150 residential units on the remainder of the area bought with the legacy of Judah Touro, and which had been wasteland until that time.

Yemin Moshe was the twentieth neighborhood to be built in Jerusalem. It was added to the list of neighborhoods named after the philanthropist Moses Montefiore, and hence it is also known by the name "The Old Montefiore" to distinguish it from the Kiryat Moshe neighborhood to the west of the city, also known as the "New Montefiore" (Vilnay, 1974, p. 193). The source for the name is from Isaiah: "And then he remembered the days of old, Moses and his people . . . led by *the right hand of Moses* with his glorious arm . . . to make an everlasting memorial" (Isaiah 63:11–12). As noted earlier, the neighborhood was divided into two sections from its inception. One part was given to the Sephardi residents and the main street there was called "Rechov Yehudit" in honor of Montefiore's wife who accompanied him on his travels. The second belonged to the Ashkenazi community and the main street there was called "Rechov Natan" in honor of Nathan (Meir) Adler, the well-known chief rabbi of British Jewry (Vilnay, 1974, p. 193).

The houses in the neighborhood were small, close together and built like terracing on a slope, leading to the Sultan's Pool below (used today as an amphitheatre). They were built on the ridge directly opposite the Old City wells, row upon row. These rows of houses used to be known as the "Long Courtyards" (Yehoshua, 1971). The horizontal streets were paved with stone like stripes along the hillside in its length, all the way over to Mishkenot Sha'ananim. Steep stepped cobblestone walkways going down the slopes from top to bottom crossed the streets. Above the gates to Natan Street and Yehudit Street there are memorial plaques. From the little we know about the neighborhood at the time, it is especially worth mentioning the recollections of Yaacov Yehoshua (1971), who grew up in the neighborhood and collected his impressions in a book of recollections and conversations with the local people. In spite of the subjective undertones in his description, the details he records are of great value, as they serve as a source of knowledge about the neighborhood at that time. His book is even more important in the light of the fact that his attempts to locate and interview inhabitants of the neighborhood from those times came to nothing.

Every building in the Yemin Moshe neighborhood had two floors. Each apartment had two rooms, one larger than the other, with a kitchen at the back of the apartment. A high wall surrounded the house and courtyard, and at the back of the garden, which served as a play area for the children, trees were planted. The houses were all somewhat similar, yet different from one another, since every owner designed his house according to his needs. Every family had a plot of land where he grew vegetables, trees, and flowers.

A few of the apartments even had their own wells, and these residents were spared the necessity of going to the central wells in the neighborhood. The well also served for refrigeration in the summer. Every street had a well, named according to the family residing closest to it. After the rains, economy measures were imposed in the neighborhood in order to save water. In 1898, the neighborhood committee banned water distribution to builders and artisans, and water was only distributed among the residents at fixed hours in the evening and



Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe during the early 1950s.



The Yemin Moshe neighborhood during the 1930s.

morning (*Minutes of the Committee of the Ashkenazi Society*, 1907; see record for 4th Iyar, 1898). In the kitchen there was an earthenware pot for drinking water and cooking purposes, and in the courtyard there were two tubs for washing. The water for washing was subsequently reused for washing clothes and after that for cleaning the floors.

Although Yaacov Yehoshua mentions the harmony that prevailed between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities, they were basically separated, and the residents on each street made sure that all the necessary amenities were supplied. Thus, there were five wells on the Sephardi Natan Street, a public oven, a garden, and a pharmacy for the residents and the Arab neighbors. The synagogue, built in 1879 before the construction of the houses was completed, was set up on the southern edge of the neighborhood and called "Beit Yisrael," the "House of Israel." Later, when the Sephardi population grew, an additional smaller synagogue was built. A small number of Ashkenazi residents attended these synagogues, until 1898, when two Ashkenazi synagogues were built on Yehudit Street with the aid of the London Committee of the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund. Next to the larger of the two, a hall serving as a Talmud Torah for Jewish learning was built. Another synagogue was set aside for the Hassidim. In addition, money from the fund was used to build seven wells, two public parks, and a ritual bathhouse (Meisl, 1939, p. 74; the Neighborhood Committee of the Ashkenazi Society, 1907). According to the London Committee's decision of 1898, "all income from the communal oven was to be used to supply the needs of the *mikveh* [ritual bath] and for other essential needs."

RESIDENTS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

The social composition of Yemin Moshe was, by design, mixed with both Sephardi and Ashkenazi residents, and this was an exception in Jerusalem of those days. The two communities lived in harmony, side by side. The residents were deeply religious, adhering to a traditional Jewish way of life, and consequently there were many charitable institutions and synagogues in the neighborhood. The synagogue enjoyed special significance and was always the most beautiful building in the neighborhood.

Yaacov Yehoshua relates that the Sephardi synagogues and their congregants were characterized by quiet and a "fear of Heaven," in contrast to those of the Ashkenazi community, where he felt that many of the conversations were on secular matters. The synagogues also had a section for women and most of the female worshippers were older women. The cantors officiated until they reached old age, and the same was true for the gabbaim, or lay leaders. The synagogues, the communal oven, and the ritual bathhouse were sources of income, and among the liveliest places in the neighborhood. The synagogue was a sort of second home or club where the residents spent their free time. The sabbath was a special day in Yemin Moshe for on that day the neighborhood was alive with activity

and all the residents gathered in the synagogue and took part in prayer and communal singing. From Passover to Simchat Torah, the holiday of the Rejoicing of the Law, the synagogue was decorated and there was a warm and intimate atmosphere among the residents who congregated there.

Education in the Yemin Moshe neighborhood was full of Torah learning, but the rabbis were not religious extremists or isolationists and they associated with members of other talmudical colleges. The children in the neighborhood studied in "Heder" (usually one-room schools), but most of these were closed because of financial difficulties except for one which continued to function until the end of World War I. After completing their Heder studies, the children went to learn with teachers from the Sephardi Jewish school and also gained a "practical (secular) education" in Hebrew schools in Jerusalem, which were founded at that time. It should be pointed out that the Sephardi women did not receive a formal education, and the Sephardi women who did not know how to read and write were content to listen to sermons.

The professional and vocational activities of the residents were based on two main types of occupation: religion and trade. The number of rabbis was larger than the number of merchants, and many rabbis who lived in the neighborhood served as teachers in religious institutions in the Old City. Vilnay (1974, p. 193) relates that among the residents of Yemin Moshe were many learned Sephardi men: Rabbi Yitzchak Badahav, who had many original manuscripts in his library, among them some volumes connected with the Land of Israel, and Rabbi Benzion Koinka, who was the editor of *Hameasef*, a weekly magazine on Torah and Jewish learning. There were also rabbis working and living among the less educated people, whose main activity was giving sermons on the weekly portion of the Torah to the congregation of sabbath worshippers (J. Levy, 1977; Yehoshua, 1971, pp. 192, 194).

Some of those who lived in Yemin Moshe were merchants with shops in the Old City, mainly in the new market. They were considered educated people and had a special status among merchants of Jerusalem at that time. Since they knew foreign languages, their customers included people from the Christian churches, bank clerks, members of various religious orders, families from the consulates and many Muslim and Christian families. Their contact with European circles brought them closer to Western culture and this was also noticeable in their shops which were arranged in the best of taste.

Some laborers also lived in the neighborhood. About them it is related that there was a special messenger whose job it was to pick up warm meals sent in pots from the wives and take them to their husbands' places of work.

Yemin Moshe was once thought to be one of the most modern of Jerusalem's neighborhoods. For example, the parents, who were not very strict, allowed the young men from the Old City to meet girls from Yemin Moshe. There was a liberal spirit in the neighborhood, and the cafes of the nearby "German Colony" and the "Greek Colony" neighborhoods served as meeting places for Jerusalem youth—Jews and Arabs. The neighborhood's women wore jewelry, which caused

jealousy among the women of the poor Arab neighborhoods close by. All the inhabitants, especially the women, spoke with a special lilt, using more refined language than was spoken in the Old City. The day-to-day life was filled with the same warmth as the speech, and there was a network of mutual help, whereby the troubles of one family became everyone's troubles. Yaacov Yehoshua relates how the residents of the neighborhood looked after their children with dedication and did not (or could not) have them looked after by outside "nannies." On many occasions, meals were taken together with relatives and neighbors living on the same street.

Some of the first teachers in Jerusalem came from the Yemin Moshe neighborhood. The neighborhood's youth took under their wing new immigrants who arrived in Jerusalem after the First World War. This was perhaps one of the most well organized absorption "programs" in the Holy Land up to that time, long before the "Department of Aliyah and Absorption" of the Jewish Agency was set up. Like other Sephardi neighborhoods, Yemin Moshe became a melting pot for the various waves of immigration. Some immigrants from the Third and Fourth Aliyot (waves of immigrants from Europe) found work as laborers in the nearby railway station and therefore preferred to live in the neighborhood and rented rooms there. The neighborhood's youth started a club for the absorption of immigrants, many of whom came from Russia and Poland, and not only for newcomers of Sephardi origin. Hebrew lessons took place at the club as well as meetings and Friday night parties.

TRANSFERRING CONCESSION FOR THE HOUSES TO THE RESIDENTS OF YEMIN MOSHE

It would be a mistake, of course, to think that life in the community always ran so smoothly. Ever since Montefiore acquired the plot, there were arguments and differences of opinion over that piece of land. One of the most serious issues involved the relationship between residents of Yemin Moshe and the London Committee which funded the housing. Just as Montefiore had done earlier with the Mishkenot Sha'ananim residents, the London Committee also issued regulations concerning responsibilities of Yemin Moshe residents. The regulations came as part of the purchase contract, or, as it was called by the residents, the "little book," given to every resident. This book consisted of 12 pages in Hebrew and six in English. It contained various rules concerning the internal organization and methods for guaranteeing the upkeep of the apartments.

The rules testify to limitations on the freedom of the residents of the neighborhood with respect to use of their homes and the constant supervision to which they were subjected. Other rules from this period are concerned with night patrols in the neighborhood, dealing with quarrels between the residents, arrangements concerning religious study, the planting of trees and raising money. The collective community had the right to interfere in people's private lives for the good of the residents, and consequently, the neighborhood committee wielded much authority and responsibility.

The London Committee relied heavily on the neighborhood committees to carry out its wishes, and there is no evidence that the local committee ever wanted autonomy or total self-rule. The financial dependence on grants from London apparently was so great that "independence" was never a viable or realistic goal.

The first Ashkenazi Committee, elected with the establishment of the neighborhood, remained in office until 1901, for about 20 years, without new elections. Well known Jerusalem family names ring out from the pages of the protocols: "From the original Committee consisting of residents of Natan Street—Rivlin, Hamburger and Feinstein—only Feinstein remained after Rivlin died and Hamburger resigned due to bankruptcy, but he was then joined by Yaacov Luria, Yitzchak Hagizi and Ephraim Honig." Details of electoral procedures, counting votes, and the functions of those elected are described in the protocol book of the Neighborhood Committee (*Neighborhood Committee of the Ashkenazi Society*, 1907; see records for November 11, 1903).

Foremost among the concerns of the London donors was financial accountability by the residents. The London Committee requested that Feinstein, who stayed on from the old (Ashkenazi) committee and was familiar with neighborhood matters, should continue to serve as the money collector, and that the collector for Yehudit Street and the Sephardi community should be Rabbi Samuel Meyuhas. But the two collectors, who were not trained for this task, sympathized too much with their clients and fellow residents, and they did not collect the money on time. One of the collectors used to "lend" the sum of money needed to those who were late with their payments. He would do this by deducting last year's debt in advance from the allowance they were to receive in the next half-year. When the payment came due the situation was complex, since many residents could not repay the debts which had accumulated over a number of years (Meisl, 1939, p. 74). To remedy the situation, the London Committee's representative in Jerusalem, with the London Committee's consent, decided to take legal action against those behind with their payments. He utilized the Turkish law requiring residents to sign a declaration that the continued rental of their apartment was dependent upon full payment of outstanding debts, a payment of one shilling per house, and payment of all taxes. Noncompliance meant that the contract would then be considered void. One way of pressuring residents was to hold back the deed for possession of the land (Hakushtan) until after they had paid all their debts. Those unable to pay ran the risk of losing their homes.

In addition to these problems, many difficulties arose in transferring the houses to the residents. First, there was the need to settle the inheritance of Joseph Sebag Montefiore by transferring his possession to his heirs. After that, it was necesary to give deeds for ownership of the land to the residents and to record the neighborhood's common property and institutions in the land registry as "public property" under the Moslem "Wakf" laws. Two methods were suggested by the London Committee for arranging the annual payment of a shilling for every house as a condition for obtaining the deed for the houses. One was to set aside part of the income from the public oven for this purpose (baking

was done in return for a fee). Another method was to compel every resident to deposit a sum in the bank, the interest on which would provide an income of a shilling per year for each house. Additional difficulties in obtaining the deeds for Yemin Moshe residents occurred when it was found that there was no document clearly giving Joseph Sebag, Montefiore's heir, legal title to the Yemin Moshe plot. The only available document referred only to Sebag's control over the Touro houses, that is, the Mishkenot Sha'ananim plot. Thus, legally, Sebag's donation of the Yemin Moshe land to the London Committee of the Montefiore Testimonial Fund was invalid, and the committee had no right to issue deeds to the residents.

Clarification of this matter with the British government and its bureaucratic offices was painfully slow, until eventually the British consul succeeded in obtaining the appropriate documents. In this way deeds were issued, and the Yemin Moshe houses finally became the private property of most of the residents.

HISTORY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD UP TO THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

For many years the houses in the neighborhood were passed on from one person to another, some rented out and some sold. Initially, the numbers of Ashkenazi and Sephardi residents were about equal, however, during the course of time many Ashkenazi residents left and poor people from the Sephardi community took their place.

Yemin Moshe, almost since its inception, was a border neighborhood. The first inhabitants, who had been afraid to leave the Old City walls for fear of robbers, often found themselves exposed to danger coming from those same walls. The neighborhood, cut off from the main body of Jewish neighborhoods to the west of the city, lived under constant threat of attack by Arabs that surrounded them. Yaacov Yehoshua (1971), in his book *Neighborhoods in Old Jerusalem*, recalls the protection of the neighborhood by young people, who in 1920, defending themselves mostly with iron poles, finally succeeded in staving off invading attackers with a shot from the single gun available at that time.

With the increased danger in 1920, the residents put up gates to the neighborhood so that they should not be exposed on every side. But it seems that the security position of this neighborhood, which had suffered a great deal from the earlier riots, did not improve. On Friday, August 23, 1929, Arab marauders came into the neighborhood. The residents were armed only with stones and one Mauser gun. On the next day, the sabbath, all the residents of Yemin Moshe gathered in the synagogue and recited the "selichot," penitential prayers, and many people's eyes were streaming with tears. They saw the procession bringing the wounded from Hebron via the valley road that passes between Mount Zion and Yemin Moshe (Yehoshua, 1971, p. 238).

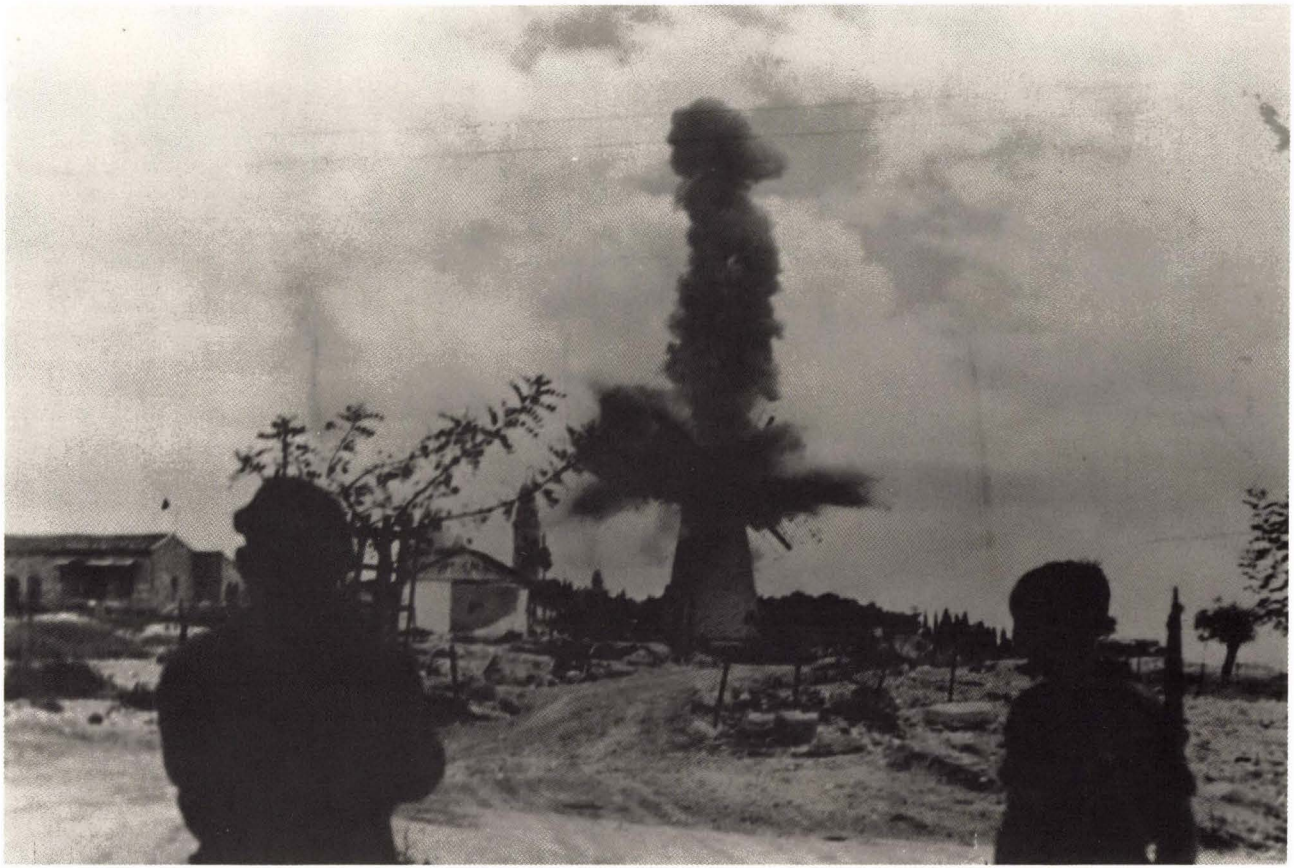
Because of its strategic importance and proximity to the hostile Arabs, the defense of the neighborhood was placed in the hands of Jews from outside the

neighborhood. Because of the physical dangers, basic changes in the composition of the community took place. Many residents began to leave and the exodus continued until the War of Independence. Yaacov Yehoshua describes this process:

> The people of the neighborhood took security measures, especially at times like the Nebi Mussa festivities. Groups of Jewish youth came from outside and were stationed in the neighborhood. One observation post was the women's gallery in the synagogue, where they hid the rifles. A number of positions were fixed in the neighborhood and their defenders carried pistols. They kept watch from the rocks near the wise man, Zamro's, room. They used to sit there on the Sabbath and eat sunflower seeds. The defenders also found hiding places in Salubas' flour mill and in the wise man, Mordechai Meyuhas', house, a tall two storey house. . . .
>
> In 1929–1930, movement out of Yemin Moshe began. The first to leave the neighborhood were the Ashkenazi residents. As a result of this, Yosef Peretz took the communal oven of the Ashkenazi residents. (Yehoshua, 1971, p. 238)

The Arab riots in 1936–1939 also took their toll in Yemin Moshe. Teachers from the nearby Mizrachi school turned to the director of the school with a request for better security arrangements, permits to carry guns, and for a permanent guard near the upper eastern gate. "This gate is always open facing the wild Arab settlements, and therefore constitutes a constant danger to the boys and girls who spend their breaks in the yard nearby" (letter from the Mizrachi school teachers and pupils, 1939). The letter was written after a number of security incidents in the area and reflected a sense of defenselessness against terrorism. The situation continued to deteriorate, and existing security measures did not prevent the subsequent murder of Yechezkel (Emil) Landau on January 28, 1939. Landau, aged 29, a recent immigrant from Germany and driver for Berman's Bakery, was delivering bread to the Belitzky family grocery store in Yemin Moshe when he was shot by terrorists. He died from his wounds two days later, leaving two small children and a young widow. The incident emphasized the vulnerability of the neighborhood as a target for Arab violence (Aryeh Berman, 1985; *The Palestine Post*, 1939).

In 1947 the Haganah organized a defensive force in the neighborhood and equipped it with bunkers which proved their usefulness in 1947, following the U.N. decision on the partition of Palestine, and the subsequent exchanges of gunfire with Arabs from the Old City. Nevertheless, the Haganah's help did not prevent the decline of the neighborhood, which began in 1929 and went on until 1948, when most of the original settlers remaining from the days of "Old Montefiore" left, or were evacuated to Lifta or other areas. But the history of the neighborhood did not end then, and it continued to attract people at all times, even under the most difficult circumstances, including Israel's War of Independence and the incredibly dangerous period prior to the Six Day War of 1967.



British soldiers blow up the dome of Montefiore's windmill to prevent it from being used as a Haganah position toward the end of the Mandate.



Israeli soldier in 1948, with the bare-headed windmill in the background.

3

Yemin Moshe: From the War of Independence to the Six Day War, 1948–1967

This chapter deals with the history of Yemin Moshe in the period between the War of Independence and the Six Day War. For this period not much has been written about the neighborhood because Yemin Moshe was simply another neighborhood on the border whose residents were members of the lower and lower-middle classes, just like other neighborhoods in divided Jerusalem.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

During the War of Independence the neighborhood fulfilled the important function of acting as a bridge between the New City and the Jewish Quarter in the Old City.

The neighborhood was almost totally cut off from the New City and surrounded by Arabs on all sides, and bordered by a large British camp near the King David Hotel. Its location—at the bottom of the hill opposite the Arab neighborhoods that dominated over it from all around—made it very difficult to defend.

Yemin Moshe was important to the Haganah, being an essential base for the maintenance of contact with the Jewish Quarter. The Arabs aimed at neutralizing Yemin Moshe, because it dominated the only route that connected Hebron and Arab Jerusalem, and served as a potential bridgehead for attacks on the Jewish neighborhood of Rechavia and the Jewish Agency offices.

The Haganah began to send reinforcements to the neighborhood during the Simchat Torah (Rejoicing of the Law) festival, in 1947. High school students were included among the military force. In an article by Abraham Rabinovich (1980) about the neighborhood during the period of the War of Independence, we find the story of Yaffa, a Jerusalem high school student, who helped guard Yemin Moshe with gun in hand. Rabinovich also tells of one of the local Haganah officers, Emmanuel Kirschenbaum, a young man of 22, a resident of the neigh-

borhood, and a printing press worker by profession. When the tension rose he joined the neighborhood defenders and was the only "Bren" specialist, operating the only machine gun in Yemin Moshe at that time (Yehoshua, 1971, p. 239).

On February 10, 1948, a large Arab force made an assault from the Jaffa Gate, crossed the Valley of Ben Hinnom and attacked "Beit Abdallah," the Arab house standing above Yemin Moshe. This was the first attack on the Jewish neighborhood even before the evacuation of the British forces. The Arabs came down slowly, rolling barrels of explosives before them, and the residents could do nothing to stop them. Salvation came when the sound of the Bren was heard. Kirschenbaum shot into their midst from an attic in the northeastern part of the neighborhood, and hit several attackers and their barrels which exploded. As the attackers started to flee the brave young man was suddenly hit by British fire, coming from atop the King David Hotel. Two days later he died in the hospital. Although the British were officially neutral, in practice they helped the Arabs. Yaacov Yehoshua (1971, p. 239) writes that Kirschenbaum was known by the nickname "son of the milk maid," as he was the son of Miriam, who delivered milk to the residents of the neighborhood. The Sephardi residents remembered him by putting his name in a prominent position on the marble memorial plaque in the synagogue.

A short time after this attack, Shlomo Harlap was appointed as the commander of Yemin Moshe. He was a young Jerusalemite, 27 years old, who had served as a paratrooper in the British army, and worked in Haganah intelligence in Jerusalem.

The Yemin Moshe neighborhood was isolated from the other Jewish neighborhoods and was part of a British security zone. One way to reach it was through the area which today is Jabotinsky Street, in the Talbieh neighborhood. This route involved passing by one British check-post at the "David Building" and another on King David Street, opposite Yemin Moshe.

There were nearly 100 Haganah fighters in the neighborhood—half of them residents from the neighborhood. Only a third of the men had arms, some out of date. After the attack mentioned above, many of the residents of the neighborhood left, and the neighborhood was fortified in order to improve the security situation and to discourage more people from leaving. For this purpose, an order was given to break down the internal walls of the row of houses (Touro's houses), even in places where the residents had not left, to allow movement inside without being exposed to shooting from Mount Zion. Basement walls were destroyed, and the streets were protected with sandbags.

Closing the road to Hebron was absolutely essential to the Jews. However, the British were still responsible for law enforcement, and they were strict in limiting the activities of the people at Yemin Moshe. They even put up a military position on Mount Zion, near the Greek Orthodox Seminary, and took over Beit Abdallah, from where they shot into the neighborhood from time to time.

The Haganah commander gave instructions not to cause disturbances on the route to Hebron, so as not to give the British excuses to open fire on the



A memorial to Haganah hero Abraham (Emmanuel) Kirschenbaum, age 22, killed in the defense of Yemin Moshe in 1948.

neighborhood. In spite of this, the Haganah did occasionally disrupt traffic on the road, until the British discovered a Jewish mine (which did not go off), and decided to prevent similar activity by blowing up the row of houses nearest the road. These particular houses were used as a school at the time.

In their search for another position dominating the road, the Haganah made an attempt to use the windmill, but the British prevented this too. Nevertheless, the defenders were full of confidence in their ability, resulting from a feeling of the justice of their cause, and because they did not realize the true seriousness of the situation. They did not think that they might be beaten, and did not appreciate how poor their arms were.

During one attack on Yemin Moshe a car bomb was brought there through the Jaffa Gate by the Arabs from the Valley of Ben Hinnom. One of the houses in Yemin Moshe was damaged by the explosion, but there was no loss of life.

One night in May 1948 a Palmach unit under the command of Uzi Narkiss came to Yemin Moshe, and the same unit later captured Mount Zion. Harlap's men provided cover. They opened fire on the Arab buildings which were closest to them (the site where the Mishkenot Sha'ananim restaurant is today) and toward the position at the foot of Mount Zion, while the Palmach unit advanced over toward Mount Zion.

In order to find a solution to the besieged Jewish Quarter, the Haganah fighters found an old sewage pipe going through Yemin Moshe, the Old City and past the village and the former Jewish settlement of Kfar Shiloach, in the Kidron Valley. A command was issued to dig a tunnel to the sewage pipe, and two volunteers dressed in firemen's rubber suits and gas masks supplied by the Haganah went to check whether they could use it. After 12 hours they emerged from the tunnel near Silwan, and then returned to Yemin Moshe. The Haganah decided not to use the tunnel.

Afterwards, a tunnel was dug from Yemin Moshe to Mount Zion. The tunnel, which actually consisted of connecting trenches going up and down Mount Zion, was used only at night, so that the Jordanians would not see the people in it. Today only traces of the trenches remain, and these were removed when the new road was prepared in honor of the Pope's visit to Israel in 1964.

On the night of May 14, 1948, the British left the country and the War of Independence broke out. During the course of the war the civilian inhabitants of Yemin Moshe left the neighborhood, which was a base and staging area for Israeli military forces. They settled in abandoned Arab houses in Lifta and Romema, but many of them continued to pray in the synagogue in Yemin Moshe.

AFTER THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In mid–1949, the Committee of Turkish Immigrants, headed by Mr. Yosef Malchi (1980), looked for a place to live for the new immigrants from Turkey then arriving in Israel. At that time Yemin Moshe was fenced off and closed, opposite no-man's land, between the foot of the City Walls and the Valley of



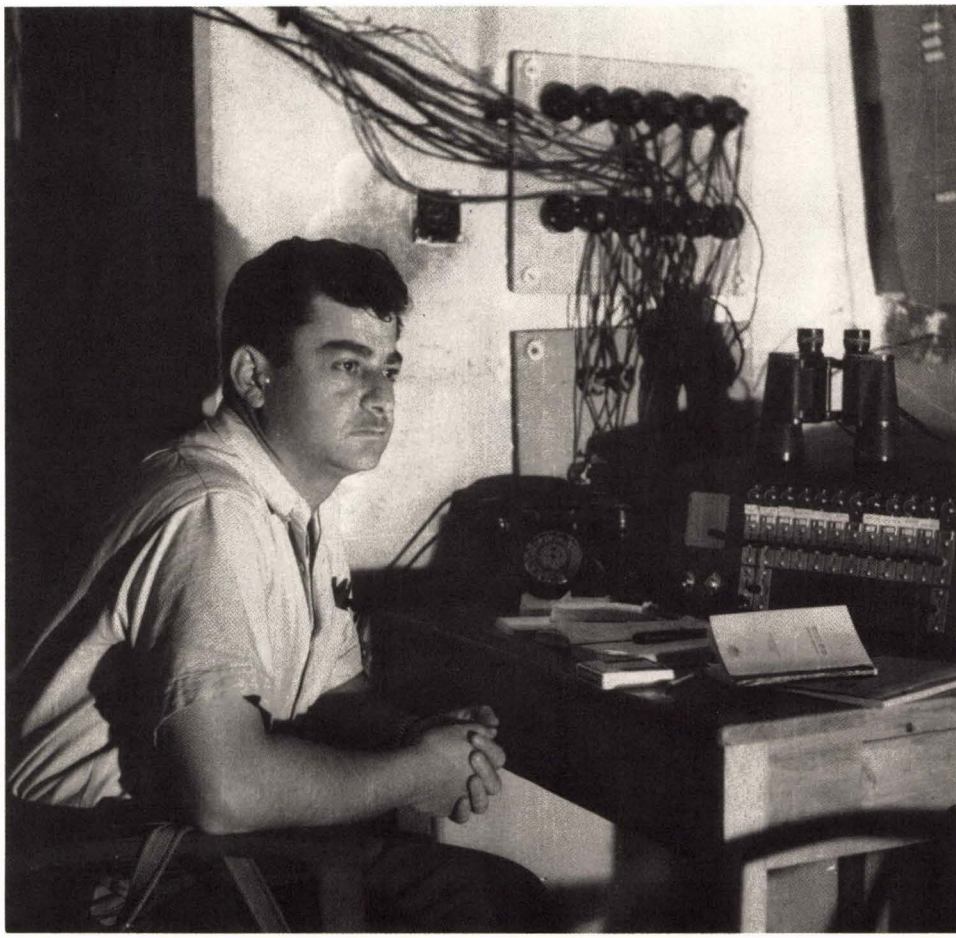
The battle for Mount Zion and assault on the Old City, as seen from Yemin Moshe, 1948.



Filling sandbags to fortify the neighborhood's defenses.



Machinegunner at his position, 1948.



The Yemin Moshe commanding officer, Shlomo Harlap, 1948.



Army kitchen in Yemin Moshe.



The famous ''Davidka'' mortar and its crew. More noise than damage?



Haganah defenders of the neighborhood, 1948.

Ben Hinnom. These immigrants, who kept to the Jewish traditions, attached great importance to living in Jerusalem, the Holy City. Some lived in the Ein Karem and Mamilla neighborhoods. With the setting up of the Committee of Turkish Immigrants and the search for suitable accommodations in Jerusalem, the Jewish Agency suggested the possibility of living in Yemin Moshe. Yosef Malchi and his family describe how the place was deserted and neglected, with broken tiles and damaged walls from the time of the War of Independence, through which the soldiers passed from house to house. Despite the dangers and the depressing state of the houses, the Turkish Jews decided to settle in the neighborhood. The eastern part of the neighborhood, bordering on the Old City walls, was totally unoccupied. The houses had been deserted during the War of Independence, and when the neighborhood was resettled, the new inhabitants were prevented from settling there for security reasons because of its proximity to the Jordanian positions. However, after some years, due to a lack of accommodations, the residents began to move into these houses as well. They moved there undisturbed and took ownership of the houses, without paying rent and without the authorities' permission. No one expressed objections because of the desolation and dangers of the place.

The Committee of the Turkish Immigrants was not satisfied by just getting approval to settle in the neighborhood, but also helped the residents to repair the houses. Most of the residents, who were lacking in means, badly needed this help. There was also a great deal of mutual assistance among the residents and they helped each other with repairs.

The neighborhood could not be reached by car except near the windmill and the northeastern gate from the direction of the railway station. This limitation meant that the residents had to carry heavy bags of cement and building materials on their backs when they were repairing the houses. There was also no water, electricity, or sewage facilities in the neighborhood. Water was drawn from the wells, and nearly every family had a well of its own. Just as in the days of Montefiore, water was drawn using buckets. Families who had no wells used to buy water from the well of Aharon Meyuhas, who owned a large well. In 1950–1951 the municipality began to supply water to the neighborhood. The residents bought necessary pipes which were connected to the central pipe. Later, a central sewage system was installed, and the neighborhood was also connected to the electricity grid.

Slowly the neighborhood took on a new face, and other residents, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, began to settle there. A need was felt for more public services, such as a synagogue, a grocery, and a school. The old Sephardi synagogue was repaired without much expense with the help of Mr. Frank, who was the neighborhood rabbi. Although he was an Ashkenazi, he was respected and accepted by the predominantly Sephardi residents of the neighborhood. Most of the residents (80 percent) came form Turkey, and the rest from Persia, Iraq, and Kurdistan, and those of Ashkenazi origin were in the minority. After repopulation of the neighborhood in the early 1950s, about 500 families (approximately 3,000



Supporting passageways and firing positions in Yemin Moshe.



Israeli Army reservists on duty in Yemin Moshe, winter, 1950.

people) lived in Yemin Moshe. Most of the families were blessed with many children.

Yosef Malchi opened the first grocery in Yemin Moshe, opposite the synagogue, in Malchi Street, named after him in recognition of his work for the neighborhood.

It should be pointed out that most of the houses and public properties still belonged to the voluntary societies. The trustees for the respective societies were Zvi Pessach Frank, the Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Jerusalem, and Moshe Nissim Dassah, the Sephardi rabbi of Yemin Moshe. The residents received the right to their homes from them. According to Meisl, the ownership of the land in the neighborhood "was and still is in the hands of the Chief Rabbinate and of the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund, because Moses Montefiore bought the land in the name of the Holy Land Appeal Fund who transferred the purchase illegally to the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund" (Meisl, p. 27). The source for this supposition lies in the fact "that the supervision of the Mishkenot Sha'ananim neighborhood (including the ground of Yemin Moshe) was originally placed in the hands of the rabbis, the Rishon LeZion, Rabbi Raphael Panigel, and Rabbi Shmuel Salant," two respected members of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities. For many years this responsibility became blurred and neglected, but in 1925 the chairman of the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund in England pointed out that the land belongs "under the supervision of the Jerusalem Community," that is to say, the chief rabbinate (Meisl, p. 26).

These details are important in the light of the subsequent demand of the leaders of the Sephardi community (officers of the Touro "Hekdaish," Charitable Trust) in the early 1970s for compensation for expropriation of their land, and it explains their attempt to prevent the expropriation for the purposes of urban renewal and restoration (Elyashar, 1973).

THE BATHHOUSE

Since most of the residents of the neighborhood kept traditional religious practices, and were observant of Jewish commandments, a need arose for a ritual bath ("mikveh") and a bathhouse. On Yosef Malchi and his wife's initiative, a bathhouse and mikveh were opened in Yemin Moshe in accordance with the rulings given by the chief rabbi, Zvi Pesaach Frank. The bathhouse in Tikva Street was a very tall one-story building. It was open to women every day of the week except Friday. Mrs. Malchi managed it, and even taught its clients all the laws and blessings involved.

On Fridays only men could use the bathhouse. Immersion in the ritual bath required a fee. All the residents of Yemin Moshe, who strictly observed the commandments, used the bathhouse. In this way, the Jewish traditions and customs that were accepted in their country of origin, Turkey, were continued. In 1953, the bathhouse went up in flames. Eliezer, Yosef Malchi's son, relates the following tale:

It was a real tragedy. One Friday, the day for ritual immersion of the men, there was a failure in the heating element of the water tank, and suddenly everything went up in flames. Nobody knew that my father and grandfather were inside, and the firemen could not get to the place, since it was impossible for the fire engine to enter the neighborhood. (Eliezer Malchi, 1980)

Yosef Malchi and his father, who were trapped in the building, heard the women crying outside, but they were helpless. "The flames covered everything. I thought that this was the end and I prayed to God," Yosef Malchi relates. However, salvation was not slow in coming: the men from the neighborhood, with handkerchiefs on their faces, got into the bathhouse and saved the two trapped men.

The bathhouse was badly damaged, but the Malchi family managed to repair it with the help of Rabbi Frank, who lent them money for this purpose, in addition to funds donated by the residents of the neighborhood. When Yosef Malchi's family ran the bathhouse they sold the grocery to other owners. Afterwards the grocery, which became a social center and meeting place for the neighborhood, moved to Touro Street.

THE STORY OF THE LEVY FAMILY'S GARDEN OF EDEN

Behind the King David Hotel there was a large field of about eight dunam. Yosef Malchi made it into an agricultural garden area. The family helped him to pave a road and they prepared the place for growing vegetables and fruit. There was no water there and they used sewage water from the King David Hotel for watering the garden.

The fruit and vegetables were for sale, and the residents of Yemin Moshe could buy produce from the garden at reduced prices. However, the garden only yielded a meagre living to its owners and they decided to sell it. The land was bought by a Jew from Iraq, by the name of Issachar Levy. Since he used to do agricultural work in Iraq, when the idea of developing the garden was suggested to him in Israel, and especially in Jerusalem, he willingly accepted the proposition. He continued to look after the place and made a living by selling fruit and vegetables. Residents of the neighborhood relate how Issachar Levy's wife, Hannah, used to distribute flowers to her neighbors on Fridays. The garden also fulfilled a security role in the neighborhood, as it was good camouflage for Israeli troops.

With the renewed organization and repopulation of the neighborhood, various social services were started. Some of these are described below.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD BLOOD BANK

The residents tell of the large number of ill people in the neighborhood. Since they frequently required hospitalization and blood transfusions, a blood bank and donor service was organized in the neighborhood, a project which saved those in need of blood the trouble of looking for donors.



After the cease-fire in 1948, a neighborhood in ruins and the Jordanian Legion on the ramparts of the Old City beyond.

THE BURIAL SOCIETY

The residents of the neighborhood were not well off and many of them were penniless. They led a modest way of life and were satisfied with little. But there were cases when they could not even afford burial expenses of their next of kin. Malchi tells of an instance where a burial was put off for three days due to lack of funds. The residents decided to demonstrate and make the local authorities aware of their plight. One day they began to dig a ditch in the middle of the road to Ein Karem, explaining that they wanted to bury their dead there. This ploy aroused immediate public attention, and in the end they reached a settlement with the Jerusalem Burial Society whereby residents without the means would be exempt from payment. Following this incident, a separate burial society was organized for the Turkish community in Yemin Moshe for burial of their dead. This organization no longer exists today, and Turkish immigrants are now represented by the Sephardi Burial Society.

EMPLOYMENT ARRANGEMENTS

The early 1950s are remembered by many of Jerusalem's residents as difficult years. There was a serious lack of work and many of those who came knocking on the doors of the government employment offices were turned away. The Yemin Moshe residents felt that they were in a worse position than those coming from the Ashkenazi community. The Turkish Immigrants Committee tried to find a solution to the immigrants' problems, and they turned to the Histadrut Federation of Labour with requests for help. The Israel Labour Party, which had a majority share in the Federation of Labour, sought to gain political support in the neighborhood, and answered positively to the requests of the committee. Applications were dealt with thereafter on a personal level, and the employment situation eased significantly.

HELP FOR THE NEEDY

The Mutual Help Organization in the neighborhood was organized through the Turkish Immigrants' Committee, as many residents refused to request social welfare as a matter of principle. They were too proud to knock on the doors of the welfare authorities. A special fund was set up for the needy, which distributed wine, unleavened bread (matzot), and money before the Passover festival. Clothes and hot meals were also distributed to the old people. Most families had many children and often three generations lived together and their needs were manifold.

In the late fifties and early sixties, more poor families settled in the neighborhood, among them new immigrants and young couples. Since they were unable to buy apartments in the new neighborhoods, they had to make do with cheap accommodations. Yemin Moshe provided a solution to their problems.



A ''home'' in Yemin Moshe after the War of Independence.



A view of the neighborhood after the War.



Yemin Moshe: A place for Jerusalem's poor.



Yemin Moshe: A place for Jerusalem's poor.



Dangerous, but cheap housing for those who dared.

Because of its location outside the Old City walls, facing Jordanian Legion positions, it was thought of as a border neighborhood and people did not rush to live there. In the neighborhood there were still some unoccupied houses, whose inhabitants had moved to other neighborhoods, and there were usually some abandoned homes in the dangerous eastern sector.

CUSTOMS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

According to the reports of and interviews with previous residents of the neighborhood, Yemin Moshe was a lively and interesting place filled with happiness. The doors of the neighborhood were always open, since there were no thefts, even when the residents were not at home. Washing was done in the yard using a large tank of water boiled over coals.

Fridays and sabbaths were especially colorful in the neighborhood. The beginning of the sabbath was announced by the blowing of a ram's horn by a member of the Ashkenazi community, who went from one end of the neighborhood to the other blowing a long drawn-out sound. Preparations for the sabbath began in the middle of the week, first with the shopping and then cooking. The residents nostalgically relate the smells of special foods that travelled long distances. There were no ovens in the houses and the women carried the foods and baked goods to the bakery, in the heart of the neighborhood.

On sabbath eves all the men in the neighborhood went to the synagogue. The women, who waited at the entrances of their homes, used to decorate the gates with jasmine flowers. Their homes were also adorned with flowers. Weather permitting, the sabbath-eve meal was held out in the yard, and the residents tell how many families ate together. On Fridays they used to whitewash the yards, which were gleaming white in honor of the sabbath.

The people of the neighborhood kept up an attitude of honor and concern for the old. Families lived together with their old parents. In those days it was not customary to place them in old age homes, but to keep them in the midst of their family. The Hebrew language was almost unknown to the old people, who spoke Turkish and kept the customs of their country of origin.

Couples were introduced through matchmakers. The wedding ceremony took place in the synagogue, and during the ceremony sweets, money, and rice were showered onto the couple—symbols of fertility and wealth. After the ceremony, the participants went to the house of the parents-in-law, and ate lots of food. The young housewives learned about cooking and housework from their neighbors. The women used to give birth at home since in their countries of origin they were not used to hospitals. Over the years this habit gradually changed. The private lives of individuals in Yemin Moshe were modest. In the neighborhood there was an "institution" for settling disputes between couples. When a quarrel was discovered between a husband and wife, they used to come together with their relatives to a committee of elders. In a room set aside for this purpose in the neighborhood, the elders, recognized as the wise people of the community,



With new immigrant families, a neighborhood reborn.



Seen from Jordanian Army positions on the Old City walls, just a stone's throw away.

used to impose "peace on the household," trying to find grounds for settlement between the parties involved.

In preparation for the Pope's visit in 1964, a special route was paved between Yemin Moshe and Mount Zion. The paving of this route gave a new impetus to the neighborhood, which became more and more a place that tourists and people on outings would visit on their way to Mount Zion.

The oldest settlers of the neighborhood particularly remember a festive event that took place in 1952; this was the visit of Montefiore's grandson, Benjamin, or "Benjy," as they nicknamed him. For this visit the neighborhood took on a festive spirit. The residents spread out carpets on the pavements. A special choir, consisting of children from the neighborhood, received the grandson of Montefiore, the founder of the neighborhood, in song.

SERVICES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Education

The school in Yemin Moshe was founded in 1949 in a private building and called the "Mizrachi School of Yemin Moshe." It was a state religious school, for boys and girls, and headed for many years by Mrs. Zipporah Diskin. It was one of about 13 schools for the children of immigrants set up by the Ministry of Education and Culture at that time in Jerusalem. The reason for setting up a religious school instead of a secular-stream school was the nature of the population, which was mostly religious. The school started off as a private enterprise in rented buildings at first. In 1950 it was incorporated into the Municipal Education Department which erected a hut consisting of five classrooms. Later, the residents requested the municipality to change the school's name to the "Mount Zion School" (named after Mount Zion opposite the neighborhood). The institution was closed in 1968, with the beginning of the abandonment of the neighborhood, and merged with the "Yehuda Halevi" school in Katamon (which was an all-girls school at that time), and the boys went to study at the "Neveh Ya'akov" school on Rachel Imenu Street in Katamon.

Residents who wanted their children to study at the nonreligious school nearest to the neighborhood ("Beit Hayeled") stated that they met with opposition or other difficulties. Most of the Beit Hayeled pupils were Ashkenazim from the prestigious neighborhoods, Talbieh and Rechavia, and the parents refused to accept the Sephardi children from Yemin Moshe. Consequently the immigrant children were forced to find places in the "Mamilla" school, which served the poor, border neighborhoods of Mamilla, Musrara, and Yemin Moshe.

There were three kindergartens serving the Yemin Moshe children under school age. However, when people began to leave the neighborhood only one kindergarten remained (Institute for Applied Social Research, 1968).

The Histadrut youth club provided other educational and cultural services, and was based in the windmill, and also in the youth club in the school. The neighborhood also had its own volleyball team.

At various times there were religious boarding schools for orphans in the abandoned buildings, but they were moved to other places in the course of time.

Medical Services

The medical services at the disposal of the Yemin Moshe residents were the Kupat Holim (Histadrut) Sick Fund clinic of the Abu Tor neighborhood, and the "Mother and Child"clinic in the Bakaa neighborhood. The majority of residents we spoke to were more than satisfied with the level of these services at that time. In 1920, Henrietta Szold played an active role in organizing health services and bringing down the mortality rates in the poor neighborhoods, Yemin Moshe among them. Miss Szold was in the country at that time to supervise a medical delegation sent by American Jewry, and which became after a few years the Hadassah-Hebrew University Hospital in Jerusalem (Kagan, 1979).

Transport

There is no public transport in Yemin Moshe to this day, since cars can only come up to the gates of the neighborhood. But, the nearest bus stop, which was only several minutes' walk from the King David Hotel (it is still there today), satisfied the needs of the residents. The buses from there travelled to all parts of the city and there was even a stop for buses to Tel Aviv near the hotel.

THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Yemin Moshe became a border neighborhood after the War of Independence. The "Hutzot Hayotzer" artists' workshop area of today was no-man's land at that time, and there was always tension because of the proximity to the Jordanian Legion's positions, on the wall opposite.

Shooting disturbed the peace of the neighborhood several times a week—usually between two and five o'clock in the afternoon. When shots were heard the children knew that they had to crawl home so that their parents would not have to search for them under fire. Israeli Defence Force patrols scoured the neighborhood three to four times per week. Sasson Levy, a resident of the neighborhood, relates how he sent his wife away from the neighborhood to live with relatives during her pregnancy because of the shooting.

The residents of the neighborhood always behaved cautiously. They relate that when the owners of the grocery stores were caught under fire while bringing goods to their shops, "the goods would become mixed up, until the sugar smelled of bleach"—but this was the only sugar available to the neighborhood's residents.

Once a month, when the procession of Israeli vehicles carrying supplies went up to the besieged Mount Scopus, the neighborhood was put on a state of alert and a military unit was dispatched there in case of trouble. Soldiers always took up positions in the Levy family's garden, in the shade of the trees, which served

as a hiding place. In times of tension the Israeli Army took over the running of the neighborhood as if it were a military camp.

In security clashes during the years 1954 through 1967, 20 people were killed in the neighborhood, many of them by Jordanian sniper fire from the Old City walls. Sasson Levy told us about one instance in which an officer and several soldiers were killed. The young officer, son of Judge Landau, went out on a routine patrol with a company of soldiers. Suddenly, the patrol was fired on, and three soldiers were killed. The officer was wounded and rolled down into no-man's land. During the attack artillery was used in order to provide cover for the force which went out to rescue the wounded. Several critical hours passed during which it was impossible to rescue him, and he died from loss of blood. After this incident, the Israeli Army took increased security measures. Machine guns were set up in the garden and on the balconies facing the Old City walls.

Every time the residents could hear the rumble of guns, they were frightened in case a real full-scale battle would break out. There were cases when the residents left the neighborhood for a few days, especially those in homes close to the Old City walls.

Mrs. Rivka Farchi tells how during one incident of shelling the family defended itself from the shells by deception. They stacked sandbags near one of the windows while the family sat in a room on the other side of the house. The Jordanians, who saw the sandbags, thought that this was a military position and directed their rifle fire at them. Thus, other houses and inhabitants were saved from being hit.

One day, in 1962, the shooting continued for 20 hours without stopping. After substantial reinforcement of Israeli forces, the legionnaires stopped directing fire at the patrol units, but continued sporadic sniping against the civilians. In the wake of such incidents the Defence Forces would come to the site (''about two hours after the shooting'') and they informed the United Nations observers of the incident, but this did not stop the Jordanians. The old-time residents of Yemin Moshe remember a siege of the neighborhood lasting a whole week, when they had to shut themselves inside their homes.

During the Six Day War only one of the residents was wounded in the fighting which took place before their eyes. The neighborhood served as a crossing point for fighting units on their way to liberate the Old City. The tunnels and trenches dug during the War of Independence were returned to use, and the force that reached Mount Zion and the Old City went through them. The liberation of Jerusalem was an especially moving event for Yemin Moshe residents, who had been under the shadow of enemy positions from the Old City walls for close to 20 years, and on which the flag of Israel was now flying! Among the fighters was a resident of Yemin Moshe, who passed through with his unit on his way to liberate the Old City. He stole a few minutes to visit his home in the neighborhood and examined with emotion his family's situation. He took a long look at his house and his neighbors, and continued with his unit on his way to the Old City walls.

THE EVACUATION OF RESIDENTS BEFORE 1967

According to the words of Yosef Malchi, the first wave of evacuation of citizens from Yemin Moshe took place in the year 1958. Some of the houses of the neighborhood were in bad repair and looked as if they would fall down. The residents were forbidden to repair them or to build without permission from the municipality, which refused building permits to the residents in order to speed up their evacuation. Even then there was talk of expropriating and evacuating the neighborhood by court order "for the public need." The few families that left at that time did so in order to improve their living conditions. The residents of Mishkenot Sha'ananim at the southern end of the neighborhood, for example, lived in apartments without toilets. However, the idea of evacuation was set aside at that time due to the worsening security situation.

At that time the authorities were interested in keeping the residents in the neighborhood, so that it should not be left devoid of inhabitants. The municipality even took special measures to make life easier for the residents and was very liberal with respect to everything connected with tax payments. Also, it quickly repaired (which was unusual) the leaking roofs in the winter, and provided other services.

After the Six Day War, with the liberation of the Old City, the idea of evacuating the neighborhood came up again. When the walls separating the east and west sectors of the city came down, the "other" Yemin Moshe was discovered, now in a central geographical position—between the two parts of the city and connecting them, a neighborhood overlooking the city walls, just opposite Mount Zion, with a spectacular view, from olden times, full of magic and splendor.

It came as no surprise, therefore, that plans were begun to rehabilitate the neighborhood and "return it to the glory of former times."

4

The Evacuation Period: 1967–1977

The subject of this chapter is the evacuation of the residents of Yemin Moshe from their neighborhood, and the social, economic, and legal implications of events following the establishment of the "East Jerusalem Development Corporation" in 1966. We shall review the activities of the corporation in the neighborhood, the reactions of those evacuated, and the research findings related to the residents' removal.

The removal of residents between 1967 and 1977 constitutes another very important chapter in the history of Yemin Moshe. Few visitors to the neighborhood today have any inkling of the fascinating recent history of this old neighborhood, or the important role that it played for over 20 years as a border neighborhood. Its renown today lies in its post-renewal, post-restoration beauty, and its unique geographical location. Hardly any tourists and Israeli visitors know about the public storm that developed in reaction to the methods used for removal of the old-time, war-year residents. Only a few Jerusalemites today recall the heated debates which took place in the newspapers and the Knesset. Even the State Controller's Office published a report of its investigation into the matter.

These events are hardly recalled, because they cast a long shadow on the beautifully restored neighborhood and those who planned it. But this is also part of its history, and deserves to be clearly heard and recorded.

EVACUATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE LAND EXPROPRIATION

The decision to expropriate the Yemin Moshe land was made on the basis of political, economic, and social reasons, and was taken by municipal and national government leaders, who believed they had the public good in mind.

In this connection, it is appropriate to recall that a State Commission in Canada found that all instances of land expropriation involved unavoidable consequences of unpleasantness for those connected with evacuation of residents for urban renewal (Law Reform Commission of Canada, 1974). In an incisive article on the social problems of urban renewal and evictions, Yechiel Aran (1969) described the role of social planning to alleviate damaging economic and social consequences. He pointed out the many expenses for evacuees, such as increases in rental payments, expenses connected with moving such as transportation, new furniture, and costs of moving one's place of business. Other expenses were based on the change in lifestyle, shopping, and making adjustments to the new surroundings. He also stressed the disruption of personal ties:

> The problem of social adjustment is no less serious. Not only have the contacts and former social groups been destroyed, but it is also not always easy to form contacts or new groups. First, because of the possibility that the rest of the neighborhood's residents are different from them, and second, because they may be rejected or treated with reservation by the other residents. (Aran, 1969, pp. 21–22)

The Canadian report on land expropriation, mentioned previously, teaches us that one can reduce the problems and the feeling of deprivation and misunderstanding by fixing correct procedures for acquisition of the land. The report gives six basic principles to be observed during expropriation to make it easier for the evacuees:

1. Equality in laws, rights and the acquisition procedure and the agreement of all the evacuees.
2. Clarity of the laws and the availability of sources of information to keep the evacuees up to date on their rights, alternatives, and evacuation procedures.
3. Openmindedness on the part of the authorities carrying out the evacuation in providing information and readiness to reply to questions.
4. Fairness, as expressed in advance announcements in connection with the taking over of the land, and giving the residents the possibility of voicing their objections.
5. The awarding of fair compensation for expenses and losses incurred as a result of the evacuation.
6. Political responsibility on the part of the authorities carrying out the evacuation, requiring them to publicly give their reasons for expropriating the land (Law Reform Commission of Canada, 1974).

We will now go on to describe what happened in the Yemin Moshe neighborhood. In the light of the principles of land expropriation and residents' evacuation enumerated above, we can examine the implications of the evacuation in Yemin Moshe. We will look especially at its necessity, the evacuation procedures, and how the people were dealt with.



Removal of the slum residents and early stages of physical renovation and restoration, 1973.



Restoration in full swing. Montefiore's windmill gets a new cap.

THE EAST JERUSALEM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LTD.: BACKGROUND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMPANY

In 1963 a decision was taken to restore the area opposite the Old City walls. At that time it was one of the main tourist attractions in the city. In December 1965, the Ministerial Committee for Economic Affairs approved the suggestion of the then minister of tourism authorizing him to go ahead with the founding of the "East Jerusalem Development Corporation," which would be responsible for the development of the area between the Old and New Cities, west and south of the wall. This included the area near the railway station, the Shama'a neighborhood and the Yemin Moshe and Mishkenot Sha'ananim neighborhoods.

Based on the decision of the Ministerial Committee for Economic Affairs, the Corporation was founded on a nonprofit-making basis, and all its income would go toward further development of the region under its control. In August 1966, the East Jerusalem Development Corporation was registered as a public company.

AIMS OF THE CORPORATION

The corporation was set up to develop the area opposite the Old City walls as a focal point for tourism, entertainment, holiday makers, an artist's quarter, parks and green areas, and as a center for small workshops, fine arts, and trade.

Until the Six Day War the evacuation of the neighborhood and repair work went on as planned, but at a relatively slow pace. The residents generally left of their own free will, and received help in acquiring alternative apartments.

After the Six Day War and the liberation of the Old City, the Yemin Moshe neighborhood was turned from a dangerous border area into a central area within the unified city, and therefore additional investment in the area was required. Many of the corporation's projects at that time were aimed at converting the area into an important tourist center, and this became the major rationale for the restoration and development of the Yemin Moshe neighborhood. When the corporation began its activities in the neighborhood it turned to a group of artists, "cultured people," and academics, offering to help them to come and live in the neighborhood. The intention was to encourage repair of the slum buildings and rent them out as galleries and artists' workshops and as a residential quarter for artists and "cultured people," thereby giving the neighborhood a pleasing character.

In *Maariv* of February 25, 1972, Mrs. Sarah Bartal describes the evacuation activities:

> They began with compensation of about 5,000 Israeli pounds per family, and those people who did not understand what they [the corporation] were going to do with the neighborhood were pleased at any offer. They never imagined that anyone would ever take an interest in their depressing homes and therefore they were happy to leave. . . . " (Bartal, 1972, p. 47)

Some of the interviewees described their emotional links to the place where they lived: "It is as though I was born here. This was my first home in the country." Some complained that particularly just now with the ending of the war and enemy activity, when they had finally achieved peace and quiet, they had to leave. "Twenty years facing the bullets—they didn't help us then! We suffered a lot here. Now, when it is convenient, they want this place." (Baram, 1972, p. 47).

This outlook changed after the war when the residents, who realized the centrality of the neighborhood and that it was being turned into a residentially desirable place, no longer rushed to leave their homes.

During this post–Six Day War period a change occurred in the corporation's policy, and it was decided to take the initiative in evacuating the old residents, and in absorbing new residents, including people from the liberal professions and overseas applicants with means as well as artists, who were primary candidates in the original plan. The director of the corporation, Mr. Yitzchak Yaacobi claimed (1980) that the intention was to include among the new residents of the neighborhood about 20 percent overseas residents known for their help to Israel. Priority would be given to those prepared to continue to live in and repair the houses themselves in accordance with rules which had been fixed in order to preserve the character of the neighborhood. The new residents would have to contribute toward financing the restoration and reconstruction work.

In order to carry out the evacuation and restoration, the corporation sought court expropriation orders as a means of overcoming the possible opposition of the local residents to their involuntary evacuation.

In 1968 a decision was taken by the then minister of finance, Mr. Pinhas Sapir, to expropriate the land in the Yemin Moshe neighborhood, because in his opinion acquisition of the land would be useful for public purposes. He acted in accordance with section 4(1) of the "1943 Lands Regulation ["Pekudat Hakarkaot"] Concerning the Requisition of Land for Public Purposes" which states:

> When land in any place is required for public purposes the Minister of Finance and his clerks and workers and any persons authorized by the Minister to this end, are permitted to evacuate the land and carry out work on it. . . .

THE PROCESS OF EVACUATION AND REPOPULATION

One of the neighborhood's veteran residents, who was also among those removed, described what happened in the neighborhood during the evacuation:

> One day in 1969 I received a letter from the East Jerusalem Development Corporation requesting that I leave my apartment as soon as possible. They did not offer any alternative housing and gave no explanation as to why I should leave my home. After I refused to leave, representatives of the corporation came to try and persuade me to leave the apartment. They offered me a sum of 16,000 Israeli pounds, a sum that was not enough to buy an alternative apartment. An apartment in the "Shmuel Hanavi" [lower income]

neighborhood cost 21,000 Israeli pounds at that time. Therefore, I had to take a loan and a mortgage, which I am still paying back today. When I look back I am sorry that I gave in to the pressure put on me by the corporation. In the final analysis, my neighbors who insisted on staying on in Yemin Moshe received higher financial compensation when they left and, in some cases, received alternative apartments thanks to negotiations with the East Jerusalem Development Corporation.

In our conversation with the director of the corporation, Mr. Yaacobi, we presented him with this resident's story. His response was, "We did not put pressure on any of the residents. In each case separate negotiations were carried out so that on leaving, the residents would be satisfied with the alternative solutions found for them." The problems, according to him, arose because the corporation's representatives had to deal with two parties when the decision was taken to evacuate the neighborhood. This was due to the fact that most of the residents were not home owners but subtenants, and this required negotiations with both the owners and the tenants. It was necessary, but difficult, to obtain the satisfaction of all these parties. Only a few of those involved were home owners living in their own houses in the neighborhood. Mr. Yaacobi admitted that some mistakes had been made at the beginning of the evacuation and relocation of the evacuees, but as the process continued, and they began to understand the problems, the corporation worked more uniformly and systematically, met the residents personally, and did everything possible to satisfy them. He generally held most of the conversations with the residents himself, and got to know them personally. One problem was that he was unable to put the Building and Removal (of residents) Law into practice, since no clear regulations were available, and only when he developed clear criteria regarding compensation for removal did he succeed in solving the problem.

Mr. Sasson Levy (1980), another resident of the neighborhood, described his version of the evacuation procedures:

> They approached us in 1966 and asked us to leave the neighborhood in return for apartments in other areas. The method used was to give each evacuee three thousand Israeli pounds and to place him in an apartment, the tenant would have to pay off the mortgage for the new apartment in the course of time. They gave apartments to the evacuees in other poor neighborhoods such as the "Katamon" and "Shmuel Hanavi" neighborhoods, and instead of improving their situation, the move piled new troubles upon them. Removing the tenants from the neighborhood was like a military operation. They made promises to people and the people were naive. They had no experience with mortgages and thought that they got good apartments, until in the end it became clear to them how stupid they had been.
>
> After the [1967] War we were more aware of the future plans for the neighborhood and we knew the fate of others who had left. We began to demand apartments in return for our apartments, or larger sums of money. The people from the corporation agreed to our conditions in the end . . . but at the same time, there was much pressure from the corporation for us to leave the neighborhood. They asked me to pay costs for a [Home] "Owner's License," and when I agreed to that I had to pay the "infrastructure expenses."



Resident's resentment against removal from Yemin Moshe and the terms offered. Fighting for fairer compensation or the right to stay in the renovated neighborhood. "We won't leave without rights."



"You won't get us out with force!"

Then they added expenses for the installation of a telephone, gas and a central antenna. In the end, I gave in to the corporation's demands in return for financial compensation for myself and for my elderly parents and left the neighborhood.

Mr. Yaacobi denied all of Sasson Levy's complaints. According to him the corporation did more than it was obliged to do. Levy's parents were the tenants, but in order to find a proper solution the corporation also dealt with Mr. Levy and arranged for an alternative apartment for him as well. The Levy family received personal treatment and nearly all their demands "which exceeded all logical proportions" were fulfilled.

"It seems to me that we did not put pressure on him, but rather that he learned the techniques of putting pressure on us in order to achieve maximum benefits," claimed Mr. Yaacobi. He showed us Mr. Sasson Levy's file, correspondence, and the manner in which the corporation dealt with him.

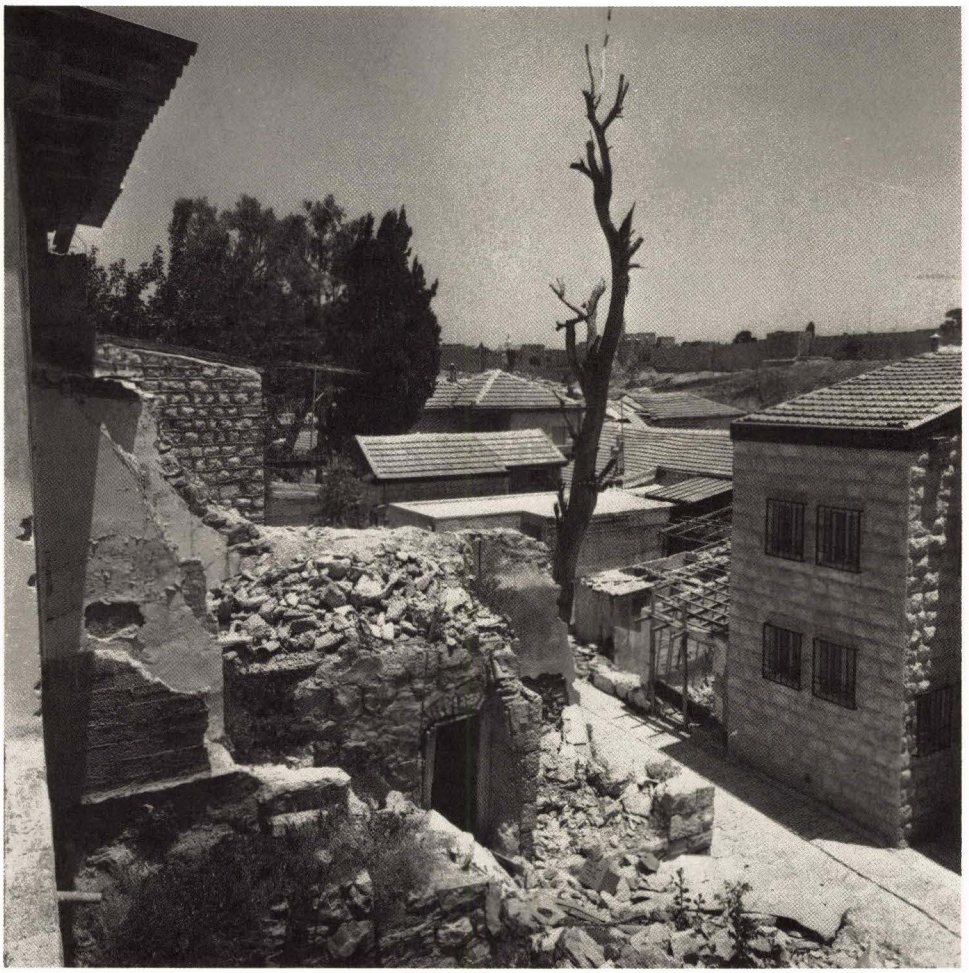
The complaints presented here express the anger of many of the neighborhood's residents. In the wake of complaints and the resulting public debate, the topic reached the Knesset benches for discussion. Two Knesset members, Haim Corfu and Yitzchak Raphael, put the issue of the evacuation of Yemin Moshe and the manner of distribution of tenders for houses to new residents on the parliament's agenda. It was decided that the matter would be referred to the Committee for Internal Affairs. The Internal Affairs Committee decided that steps should be taken toward changing the method of accepting candidates for the neighborhood. It was recommended that priority be given to the original residents in the acquisition of apartments. At the same time, the committee noted that the East Jerusalem Development Corporation had done a great deal for the evacuees.

Parallel with discussions in the Knesset, the State Controller's Office opened an investigation into the corporation's activities in Yemin Moshe. On studying the State Controller's report, published in 1972, based on research findings up to August 1971, we learn how the East Jerusalem Development Corporation operated at that time.

The management of the corporation, according to the State Controller's report, showed shortcomings in a number of respects:

> There were no definite criteria regarding the level of the compensation payments to the evacuees and procedures for supervision of discussions of negotiations for carrying out and reporting on the payments. Sometimes the negotiations were carried out by a single staff person of the company, and the maximum payment permitted for compensation to a tenant or owner of the property was fixed beforehand. . . . (Inspector General's Office, 1972, p. 127)

In March 1971, the State Controller's Office argued that because of the special character of the evacuation, which required a decision on the amount of compensation according to various considerations such as financial situation, size of the family, and the living conditions of the residents, it was forbidden to con-



The old and the new in Yemin Moshe.



Removing the rubble and add-on structures to make way for the restoration (1975).



Stone-masons back at work, in tune with the original style (1975).



Stone-masons back at work, in tune with the original style (1975).

centrate this activity in the hands of one staff worker without supervision and without presentation of reports.

In addition, no one had prepared a comprehensive list of tenants who were entitled to compensation, which led to a lack of organization and order. The criteria and reasons for calculating the level of payments to tenants often could not be found, a matter which explains the complaint of another evacuee: "Those who stayed on longer and insisted on higher payments achieved better returns, without regard to their economic situation or other conditions."

According to the director of the corporation, Mr. Yaacobi, some mistakes were indeed made at the beginning of the company's activities. This was the first attempt of its kind to evacuate residents without destroying the neighborhood physically, as was done in Jaffa or Abu-Kabir. Today, renewal involves the residents being rehabilitated in their own neighborhoods, while in the past the residents were evacuated and found alternative apartments and the neighborhood was repopulated. At that time there was no governmental body which could take the evacuation upon itself and therefore the old procedure was found to be unsatisfactory.

Mr. Yaacobi particularly related to the lack of clear criteria for awarding damages. According to his view, this fault, for which the corporation was cited in the State Controller's report, is not necessarily accurate. He felt that corporation representatives had devoted much time and effort to the neighborhood, and tried to give individual attention to the residents without exerting pressure, and in a pleasant manner.

> I used to come personally to the resident's home and conduct negotiations with him. I would sit with him on all the details that he wished to discuss with the aim of reaching the best and most helpful decision for his removal. Since there were not many residents in the community, and the corporation was small and not hindered by bureaucratic complications, we worked on a personal basis. We knew the residents, their problems and their families. We tried to find the ideal solution for them. Our criteria were based on obtaining a good apartment for the evacuees suited to the size of the family. We worked in the most difficult manner, requiring individual attention, and not in a cold and inflexible way based on decisions from above, without considering the family's situation.

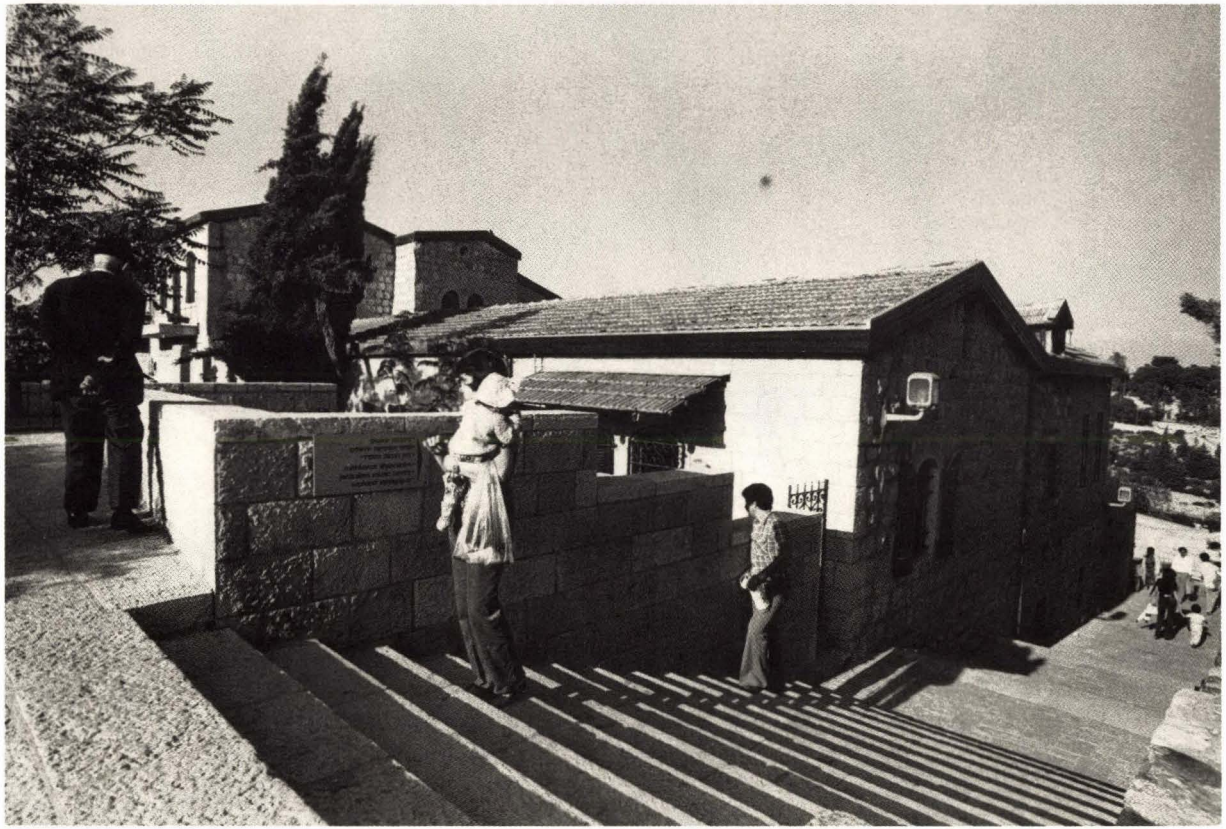
From his words, it may be understood that the aim was to give the residents better conditions than they had had in the past, without fixing uniform, hard and fast criteria.

Following the publication of the State Controller's report, according to Mr. Yaacobi, there were changes in the corporation's practices. Records and files were kept for each case, and he even showed us many files for residents that included correspondence and details of the negotiations.

The instructions for rehabilitation of the neighborhood included restoration of the original houses, without the additions that the residents of the neighborhood had built on in the later years. These rooms and improvised patched-up additions had damaged the sanitary conditions and increased the overcrowding. For ex-



The famous steps of Yemin Moshe before the restoration (1959).



Same steps after renewal (1979).

ample, an apartment which originally had three rooms had been turned into two or three separate living units, and thus the neighborhood became a slum district. The owners of the apartments had left the area and their place had been taken by tenants, who constituted 94 percent of the local population. The tenants paid "key money" and lived in sub-standard conditions. In Mr. Yaacobi's opinion, "We worked for their benefit when we took them out of their apartments which were falling down."

As we have already mentioned, the State Controller's report found fault with the fact that the same person who carried out negotiations was also responsible for handing out the compensation. Mr. Yaacobi confirmed that he had worked in an almost independent fashion, but he explained that one should relate positively to the fact that fewer staff led to lack of confusion, efficiency, and the avoidance of bureaucracy and committees which would have to approve things. "We did not allow anyone to go out and look for housing on the private market alone. We went into the personal problems with the family in order to help them find an ideal solution. Evacuation by government order, according to criteria which were inflexible, would have presented us with terrible family dramas and traumas," argued Mr. Yaacobi, who expressed satisfaction with the way he worked and rejected the complaints against him.

We can understand more about the legal aspects of the issue by looking closely at the following judgment given by the Supreme Court in 1970 (State of Israel, *Fielder et al* v. *the Minister of Finance*, 1970). In December 1968, 27 property owners from Yemin Moshe submitted a petition for the cancellation of the expropriation order (for "public purposes") of a section of land in the neighborhood. Their main argument was that the urban renewal plan was much more suitable for application of the Building and Removing (of Residents) in Removal Areas Law of 1965 (Hok Binui U'Pinui Shel Azorei Shikum) rather than the law actually used, the 1943 Lands Regulation (Pekudat Hakarkaot) Concerning the Requisition of Land, for Public Purposes. The 1943 law was more draconian toward the residents than the 1965 law, which awarded greater benefits. They claimed that the 1943 law was purposely chosen to remove them from their property with minimum compensation.

The wording of the 1943 Lands Regulation Concerning Requisition of Land, for Public Purposes, which was the basis for the East Jerusalem Development Corporation policies, reads as follows:

> Authorization of the Minister of Finance: If the Minister of Finance can prove that expropriation is necessary for public purposes he is permitted—
> (a) To acquire the ownership of the land;
> (b) . . . On paying financial compensation or compensation of equal value in any other form, as agreed upon between them (the parties involved) or as decided on the basis of this Law. (Lands Regulation, 1943, section 3)

In this law it was also determined that the term "public purposes" meant "any use that the Minister of Finance designated as a public purpose" (Lands Reg-

ulation, 1943, section 2). A clarifying amendment to these regulations in 1946 noted that the responsibility for defining public purposes was the absolute discretion of the finance minister and that it would not be possible to dispute the finance minister's decision.

This law removes all rights of the residents of expropriated lands, except for compensation. They do not have the option of appealing the expropriation or bringing it up for reconsideration. In contrast, The Building and Removing (of Residents) in Renewal Areas Law of 1965 (Hok Binui U'Pinui Shel Azorei Shikum), on which the plaintiffs based their arguments, deals more liberally with expropriation of land. It recognizes the rights of property owners to defend themselves, gives the option of appealing the decision itself, of opposing the plan, and the right to insist on being given a temporary apartment, etc. Section 19 of the law provides the opportunity for voicing opposition.

> Before the declaration of an area as slated for renewal, the authority must give the residents of the area an opportunity to voice their opposition within a month of the notification to them, and to appear before one of its committees.

These rights exist in addition to compensation, to which property owners are entitled. In other words, the root of the problem is in the contradiction between the two laws (the regulation of 1943 and the law of 1965). The 1965 law provides many important rights to citizens whereas the 1943 regulation only promises compensation. It is important to remember that expropriation has a damaging effect on the individual's rights far beyond material considerations, and recourse to legal defense should be a basic right.

In requesting the Supreme Court to apply the 1965 law, the residents also attempted to dispute the premise that their land was necessary to expropriate "for public purposes."

The attorney's words during the court case describe the plaintiffs' position:

> Needless to say, the plaintiffs are against the plan, which means changing a body of houses in the neighborhood by infusing a new soul within the body. A soul that is foreign and repulsive to the plaintiffs. What is the point—they ask—of going back to its original external appearance as an example of one of the first Jewish neighborhoods, established outside the city walls, if no trace of the inner soul of the community—or the character of those who live there remains? Only that soul could fully return its original character. . . . Have these people who fought in defense of their neighborhood no right to remain there? (State of Israel, 1970, Supreme Court, p. 117)

The lawyers noted that the plaintiffs saw the rehabilitation of the neighborhood in a positive light and were willing to cooperate, but they were opposed to the exchange of populations. The attorney also argued that the plan in Yemin Moshe was in keeping with the Building and Removing (of Residents) in Rehabilitation Areas Law of 1965 and that the Court should annul the use in Yemin Moshe of the 1943 Lands Regulation Concerning Requisition of Lands for Public Purposes.

In defense of expropriation, Mr. Yaacobi, director of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, presented his view and justification of expropriation of the Yemin Moshe property for "public purposes."

> The neighborhood, due to overcrowding of the population and the lack of means, has declined and become a sanitation problem for the city. . . . The aim of the respondent (the corporation) toward the neighborhood is not just the rehabilitation of a neighborhood . . . but first and foremost its restoration, that is, returning the neighborhood to its original external appearance as an example of one of the first neighborhoods set up outside the walls in the last century, and the revitalization of the neighborhood as a neighborhood immersed in social and cultural life . . . a natural park surrounding the Old City which will beautify Jerusalem and fit in with the plan to rehabilitate and repair Yemin Moshe. (State of Israel, 1970, Supreme Court, pp. 116–117)

The judgment of the Supreme Court established, however, that the expropriation was correct and just. The defense counsel's arguments were rejected by the judges. They reasoned that although the Building and Removing (of Residents) in Rehabilitation Areas Law of 1965 should have been used in this case, on the other hand there is no legal prohibition against the minister of finance's use of the 1943 Lands Regulation Concerning Requisition of Lands For Public Purposes in order to achieve his aims in the restoration of the Yemin Moshe neighborhood. In the words of the High Court of Justice:

> The 1943 regulation and the 1965 law are two acts of legislation of equal stature, and there is no clear contradiction in this case that removes the authority from the minister of finance for acting according to the 1943 regulation, when it is possible to achieve the desired purpose by utilizing this method. . . . It is not possible to attribute misuse of his authority to the minister of finance for going according to the regulation, since his use of the authority is correct within the framework of the regulation as it stands. (State of Israel, 1970, Supreme Court Order, p. 119)

From this, it is clear that the Supreme Court did not agree to examine or criticize the finance minister's discretion in his decision to expropriate and evacuate the neighborhood. Even so, the feeling of the residents can be understood, as they felt that the legal system had been unfairly used against them to remove them from the neighborhood. In their words, they felt that the judges had shown contempt for their petitions and their requests on various occasions. Moreover, they had to pay large sums of money to cover the expenses for the defense of their case and for related costs.

THE REPOPULATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

In late 1968, a Population Committee was established to advise the East Jerusalem Development Corporation on establishing basic rules for managing and populating the neighborhood. In February 1969 the committee decided to

post a public notice and to open registration to new tenants. The decision was implemented, but subsequently there were complaints with respect to the method of carrying it out.

Following the residents' complaints to members of the Knesset, a debate took place on the repopulation of Yemin Moshe. The subsequent State Controller's report summarized its findings on the workings of the Selection Committee of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, as follows:

> The corporation did not adhere to work patterns and correct rules of administration in a satisfactory manner suitable for a government body. The keeping of accounts was unsatisfactory, the reasons for some of the evacuation activities were not recorded in the corporation's files . . . the corporation did not act according to the principles fixed by the government committee which was established in connection with the evacuation of the neighborhood. The dealings were left in the hands of one worker in contradiction to the needs for proper deliberation. . . . Not enough time was given to those interested in registering as candidates for obtaining homes in the neighborhood and only in the wake of a discussion by the Knesset Committee for Internal Affairs was a public tender published.
>
> The corporation did not publish an announcement of the opening of registration and conditions for registration to those who lived in the neighborhood, but announced on July 11, 1969 in four newspapers, that the list of candidates would be closed on the 18th of the month. That is to say, seven days after publication of the announcement. According to the corporation, with the publication of this announcement it fulfilled its duty of publicizing a public tender. (State Controller's Report, pp. 48, 131)

The State Controller also strongly criticized the criteria established for choosing new residents. The corporation's "Committee for Determining Criteria for Repopulation" of Yemin Moshe used the following criteria:

> The neighborhood will be repopulated by "*anshei chen ve taam*" (desirable and tasteful people), artists and intellectuals and those who can complement them. And also by other interesting people, whom the Company would like to live there even though they cannot practice their work (profession) in the neighborhood. (State Controller's Report, 1969, p. 31)

On examination of the files of the corporation by the State Controller, no clear, specific reasons for the acceptance of candidates were found. Apparently, this was based on purely subjective interpretation by the corporation as to exactly who are "desirable and tasteful people."

Mr. Yaacobi noted in an interview that after publication of the State Controller's report changes occurred in the approach to evacuation and settlement of new people in the neighborhood. It was fixed that 20 percent of the new residents would be foreign residents who "contributed" to Israel, and the others would be chosen by internal or external tender.

The rules for repopulation increased the bitterness of the evacuees. One of the evacuees, Sasson Levy, asked, "Why do they have to take my apartment from me and give it to a millionaire? Am I a black man and he a white man?

If they evacuate me I am prepared to pay for the apartment.'' Another evacuee expressed his feelings at the time, in the following manner: ''I do not understand what the 'public purposes' were here. If they were to build a military camp here I would leave. But to take from Reuven at one price and give to Shimon at a higher price, this is not for public purposes, this is business! And if it is business, then I also want to make a profit . . . '' (Baram, 1972, p. 7).

In June 1971, the corporation published another public tender and it was decided that inhabitants living in the neighborhood whose property had been expropriated would be given preference. In parallel, a new Population Committee was appointed. Following the second tender, the requests of 140 candidates were approved, 17 of these being veteran residents of the neighborhood, and three others who were not included in the former list because their requests had been submitted too late.

The State Controller's report also favorably mentions activities of the corporation in improving the appearance of the neighborhood and converting it into a tourist attraction. Mr. Yaacobi stressed repeatedly that following the State Controller's criticism the corporation changed many of its procedures and practices. Altogether, ten tenders (notices) were published: three internal tenders, and seven external public tenders.

The procedure for processing applications included use of lot numbers and applicant bids, without names, and the referral of all candidates to the Population Committee. One clear criterion established by the corporation was that every inhabitant undertook to actually live in the neighborhood, and that the apartment would serve as a first home. The corporation was permitted to cancel the agreement if a resident did not abide by this rule. This criterion did not include foreign residents, most of whom were recognized as supporters of the city and the State of Israel, and some of them even immigrated and moved to Yemin Moshe.

THE EVACUEES FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD—EXPLORATORY RESEARCH, 1971–1972

The social and economic situation of the evacuees during the course of their removal and afterwards was researched in 1971 by senior students from the School of Social Work of the Hebrew University under the direction of Dr. E. Jaffe. At that time Dr. Jaffe was director of the Jerusalem (Welfare) Department of Family and Community Services, and also part-time teacher at the School of Social Work. The inauguration of the research followed a report by a veteran social worker that she had perceived a noticeable rise in the number of applications to the Department of Welfare from families that had been evacuated from Yemin Moshe. Dr. Jaffe's curiosity was aroused and he suggested to senior social work students in his research seminar that they study this topic.

From 1966 until the beginning of the research in 1971, 103 families out of 271 who had lived in the neighborhood were evacuated. It was decided to investigate both those families that had been evacuated and others that had not

yet been evacuated. The basic purpose of the study was to learn about the primary factors and processes that influence the adaptation of the families after the evacuation.

As a result of difficulties in obtaining a list of evacuees and their new addresses, and the lack of cooperation from the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, the research team had to invest a great deal of time and effort in locating the evacuees. The research was conducted over a period of nine months, and in keeping with the accepted standards of scientific work. As noted above, two groups were studied in the research. One group included a population of 38 families or 26 percent of the veteran tenants still living in the neighborhood (who were located by mapping the area and carrying out a survey of all the houses). The second group consisted of 45 evacuated families, out of a total of 61 that were located after great effort. Many evacuees (59 percent) were either not located or not interviewed. Of these, some had left the city, some were not at home when the researchers visited, and some had died.

The students found that from the social point of view only a small number of the evacuees were satisfied with their new place of residence, compared to the good relationships which, according to them, had existed in the Yemin Moshe neighborhood. One evacuee explained her feelings in the following words:

> Only hooligans live here. The company was better in Yemin Moshe. What neighbors! You cannot even compare . . . there the neighborhood was closed, there were no cars. Here we hear shouting and noise all day. . . . The neighborhood here is disturbed. . . . The people are not good material here. . . . It is a pity that the old neighborhood was broken up. (Baram et al., 1972, p. 42)

Another evacuee talked about the difficulties of social adaptation to the new neighborhood: "I have a paralyzed retarded son. In Yemin Moshe everyone knew us and would not harm him, but here he has to stay in the house all day long. They do not relate to him as a human being" (Baram et al., 1972, p. 46).

A considerable proportion of the evacuees that we interviewed in 1972 expressed bitterness and feelings of frustration. They argued that the value of their former apartments in Yemin Moshe had gone up, and what they had received was not worth anything.

> At the beginning we were satisfied (with the compensation); now we are not happy at all. No one can get much more money for an apartment and we lost our homes. The neighbors who stayed on are now getting huge sums. . . . After the [Six Day] War it was easier. But before that there were hard days. We suffered alone and now others are getting the benefit.

The people complained a great deal and expressed their dissatisfaction with their present apartments. "The apartment is not good. . . . The place is like a prison. . . . The apartment is much smaller . . . in the old place we lived near the synagogue" (Baram et al., 1972, p. 45).

The researchers compared the economic situation of residents that were evacuated to those who stayed in the neighborhood. By comparing the debts of the evacuees, it was found that 80 percent of the evacuees owed far higher sums of money than those who stayed in Yemin Moshe. Even though 60 percent of those remaining had debts, they were for much smaller sums (Baram et al., 1972, p. 50). It also became clear that nearly half the evacuees (48.9 percent) had moved to poor neighborhoods.

The most prominent finding was that 47 percent of the population of evacuees that did not have debts while they lived in Yemin Moshe now owed very large sums of money. To provide an example regarding this development, 10 percent of the population of evacuees had debts of up to 15,000 Israeli pounds before the evacuation, but afterwards their debts rose to 60,000 Israeli pounds. In contrast to this not even one family was found that had debts before the evacuation and managed to get rid of them afterwards (Baram et al., 1972, p. 53).

> It seems that the large debts of former Yemin Moshe residents lay in their desire to increase their ownership of the new apartments compared to the situation in Yemin Moshe, where most of the people lived on "key money" and were paying very low rents. The fact is, that large numbers of evacuated families have difficulty in coping with their economic situation, and are without a solution. This is most clearly expressed in their inability to make do with their monthly budget and to "finish the month." Most of the interviewees told about their struggle with difficult financial problems. In their efforts to cope with these problems, families cut down on food and leisure expenses, in order to balance the monthly budget. The majority stated that they were dissatisfied with the situation following the evacuation. (Baram et al., 1972, p. 31)

In addition to the economic findings and the opinions of the evacuees, the researchers found that the public institutions did not concern themselves with providing social, cultural, and economic conditions to rehabilitate the evacuees, and that criteria regarding the level of financial compensation given to evacuees were not fixed. In conclusion they found that the evacuation of residents from the neighborhood, expropriated for public purposes, was not done in order to rehabilitate the lower classes, but in order to allow those with the means to settle in Yemin Moshe (Limor, 1973).

REACTIONS TO THE RESEARCH

The publication of the results of the research in 1972, showing a lack of consistency in evacuation policy and widespread dissatisfaction among many of the evacuees, brought many reactions from the public. This included angry complaints from the mayor, Teddy Kollek, against the Hebrew University and the director of the research. The report and the mayor's response gained wide publicity in the Israeli press.

A useful lesson may be learned by reading passages from the newspapers of that period, which provide a picture of the reactions to the report, and a review

of the correspondence between the mayor and Dr. Jaffe completes the picture. It seems apparent that the "last battle" over Yemin Moshe, over the prestige of the restoration project and its executors, and on the role of research into social issues, took place in the pages of the press.

The reactions to the "Yemin Moshe Affair" are presented in chronological order.

On January 10, 1973, attorneys Zeev Weil and Partners, representing the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, wrote a letter to Dr. Eliezer Jaffe of the Hebrew University, in which they criticized the research carried out by his students. The complaint was based on a newspaper article about the research that appeared in *Haaretz* on January 8, 1973. According to the attorneys, it was possible to discern inaccuracies bordering on libel from the article. They demanded that "before appropriate steps are taken by our client, our client requests you to present us forthwith with the above Report."

In his reply of January 19, 1973, Dr. Jaffe pointed out the threatening and hurtful tone of Attorney Weil's letter, written on the basis of a newspaper article and without reference to the research itself. After making a number of points clear about the scientific basis of the research, Dr. Jaffe recommended that Mr. Weil's client, namely the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, study the actual content of the research report, which stressed the need to institute a fair social policy by authorities carrying out urban renewal and evacuation. With respect to the sentence quoted by Mr. Weil from the newspaper article referring to (in the words of the newspaper) the desire of "those carrying out the evacuation to gain profit without consideration for the evacuees," Dr. Jaffe stressed that the corporation's economic situation had not been examined in the research, but that it would be desirable indeed to investigate the profits of those who carried out the evacuation, "in order at least to refute or justify the feelings and stereotypes often mentioned by the Jerusalem public on this issue."

In his reply, Mr. Weil wrote on February 9, 1973, this time after reading the research report, that the evacuation of the Yemin Moshe neighborhood was carried out and is still being conducted in accordance with the 1943 Lands Regulation and not within the framework of the Building and Removing of Residents in Rehabilitation Areas Law of 1965. Since the authorities carrying out the evacuation were bound to the legal framework of the Lands Regulation, they could not depart from it. In his opinion, there was a need for constructive social research relating to the extent to which authorities are capable of creating policy within "the legal means that are available." He added that research recommendations which do not relate to the need to correct the legal instruments "that dictate practices and arrangements, lose their value and their importance."

The attorney also pointed out that "decisive facts determined from misleading statistics lose their reliability, and one can relate to them as an illegal cause of damage to the good name of the company criticized" (Weil, 1973).

On February 11, 1973, the mayor of Jerusalem wrote a letter to the director of the School of Social Work of the Hebrew University, with copies to the

president and the rector of the university. He accused the school of "giving itself a bad name based on unscientific work relying on doubtful sources." Mr. Kollek continued, the work "is cheap sensational material, and Dr. Jaffe's personal revenge against the Municipality." These accusations were leaked to the press.

How on earth did the idea about "Dr. Jaffe's personal revenge" get tied into the research? Here it should be noted that in 1970, the mayor searched for a new director for the Municipal Welfare Department, and he asked Dr. Jaffe to take on the job. Jaffe agreed to this on condition that he be loaned from his regular Hebrew University position for a two-year period only. He also insisted that his salary during the loan period continue to be paid by the university, which was then reimbursed by the municipality. After the two years were up, Dr. Jaffe notified the municipality that he would be returning to his university post. A major factor in his decision to stop working for the municipality was differences in opinion between Jaffe and the mayor regarding the budget needed for social services. The work on the Yemin Moshe evacuees, carried out by students under his direction, was started long before Jaffe left the municipality, and thus there was absolutely no connection between the research and the reasons for his resignation (Jaffe, 1981, pp. 42–48).

In his letter to the director of the Hebrew University School of Social Work, Mr. Kollek enclosed a report which a private economist, Mr. Nissim Baruch, had carried out at the request of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation. The report was a critique of the students' research, in which Mr. Baruch claimed that the conclusions were inaccurate and that research findings related mainly to the subjective feelings of the people that were researched. According to his view, it is natural that every candidate for evacuation would play up his miserable circumstances before the evacuation in order to receive the highest possible compensation, thus their testimony is unreliable. With regard to the evacuees' feelings Mr. Baruch writes:

> Regretfully the only possible conclusion that one can draw from this research is that it proved that the evacuees are dissatisfied with the evacuation, that they are critical of it, and have difficulty in adapting to their present situation. This conclusion is true for almost any evacuation either in Israel or abroad, due to the hardships and lack of knowledge in this field. (Baruch, 1973; Limor, 1973)

Mr. Baruch also related to the financial situation of the evacuees and argued that they could have prevented the unpleasantness of sinking into debt had they chosen a different alternative from those that were available to them. They did not necessarily have to choose to purchase an apartment. With respect to the methodology of the research study, Baruch pointed out that the researchers did not provide clear criteria for defining the interviewees' economic situation, and that this had to be measured objectively. In his opinion, the evacuees should have been given alternative apartments. The East Jerusalem Development Cor-

poration presented the evacuees with a number of options, but they generally chose apartments of a higher standard than they could afford. With regard to the main part of the research, Mr. Baruch pointed out that the researchers' suggestions for increased compensation to evacuees and for seeking contributions from private funds to repair the neighborhood (rather than use capital from wealthy tenants) were not relevant, since it was not worthwhile or realistic for a private fund to make such investments. Mr. Baruch denied the scientific value of the conclusions of the research, arguing that they were subject to preconceived conclusions and lacked a professional alternative program for improving the situation, even though the researchers were social workers (Baruch, 1973).

On February 23, 1973, Dr. Jaffe replied to the mayor, rejecting Mr. Baruch's criticism as biased and highly subjective. Jaffe defended the importance of the evacuees' opinions as an important source of firsthand information, since they have the right to judge whether the evacuation was good for them or not. He decried the fact that they were moved without getting sufficient compensation due to lack of funds. One could not accept the argument "that there are other poor people in Jerusalem," and that the evacuees had to suffer for lack of funds. He believed that fair compensation must bear in mind the income, the increased value of the land and the rise in the rents there following the evacuation and restoration of the neighborhood. With respect to the research methodology, Dr. Jaffe stressed the fact that in the introduction to the research report, details relating to the research methods and their limitations were described for the purpose of preventing generalizations and incorrect conclusions.

In his letter to Mayor Kollek, Jaffe suggested to the municipality and to Mr. Baruch that other researchers, acceptable to the mayor, should carry out their own research. If the facts presented in the Hebrew University research were subject to dispute, Jaffe argued that the East Jerusalem Development Corporation and the Jerusalem municipality should initiate independent research on the evacuees, the removal procedures, and the compensation awarded in order to settle the differences of opinion once and for all. Regretfully, this step was never taken. Furthermore, according to the State Controller's report, the decision of the Ministerial Committee on Jerusalem, according to which alternative accommodations should have been found for the residents, had never been carried out. Dr. Jaffe termed as ridiculous the personal accusations against him, that he was interested in "taking revenge" on the municipality. He had undertaken the Yemin Moshe study as a researcher and social worker working in the field of welfare, his interest was both scientific and socially motivated. However, the use of the label "revenge" was an attempt to relegate the issue to a personal level.

On March 1, 1973, the reporter Abraham Rabinovich, wrote an article on Yemin Moshe in the *Jerusalem Post*, noting that the mayor claimed much damage had been caused as a result of the published research, and that this publicity was also harmful to other restoration plans in the city. Similar complaints on behalf of the municipality appeared in the daily papers on March 13 and 19,

1973, and in these Mr. Kollek justified his protests to the university as being logical and aimed at preventing similar instances.

There is no dispute between me and Dr. Jaffe. My protest to the University was intended to prevent incomplete research . . . from being published in the newspapers . . . in my opinion, the publication caused much damage to the residents in many Jerusalem neighborhoods, where evacuation and restoration activities will have to be carried out. (Teddy Kollek, *Ma'ariv*, March 13, 1973)

In a letter to the *Jerusalem Post* published on April 11, 1973, Dr. Jaffe dealt with the accusations against him and the research operation, pointing out that the "damage" referred to by the mayor was mainly the fear that the research publication would encourage the residents still carrying out negotiations with the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, or those in the process of evacuation, to increase their demands. Dr. Jaffe claimed that the students' research was very useful in that it brought about a new definition of the expropriation of land for public purposes.

At this point there was a cooling off and toning down of the debate in the press between Teddy Kollek and his representatives, and Dr. Jaffe and the university authorities. But to this day, after more than ten years, the Yemin Moshe affair is still not over. On April 25, 1980, an article appeared in the Jerusalem paper *Kol Ha'ir*, on the subject of the evacuation of Sasson Levy's family from Yemin Moshe and the neglect of their garden. The article recalled the expropriation order and the pressure put on the residents to leave the area by the East Jerusalem Development Corporation. On several occasions the residents of other neighborhoods slated for evacuation and renewal have loudly claimed, "We will not be like Yemin Moshe, we will stand up for our rights and demand to return to our neighborhood after it is restored" (quoted from residents of the "Nahalaot" neighborhoods in Jerusalem and "Yad Eliahu" in Tel Aviv).

In addition to the public discussion, many people turned to Dr. Jaffe with requests for help, support, and advice on how to stand up for their rights and not become sacrifices to society. The following is one example:

Following the research you carried out, it would be worthwhile to study another affair which casts a strong shadow on the various government offices and is taking place on the other side of the city. . . . My neighbors and I myself have turned to all the appropriate places but in vain. . . . We would like to hear your opinion on this issue. . . .

Likewise another family turned to Dr. Jaffe with the following request:

On October 26, 1972, we received an announcement on behalf of the "Neteevai Ayalon" Company in connection with the expropriation of our home. This was in response to our request for a licence to build onto our existing house. . . . The reason we are turning to you is because the Finance Ministry has given permission to a company of contractors

to evacuate us from this site. Can such a thing be possible? . . . The only thing that we request in the strongest possible terms is that the Finance Ministry will not give power of attorney to the contracting company to remove us from this site, our home, our land, in which we have invested many years of blood, sweat and toil.

These examples only partially represent the influence which the research on the Yemin Moshe affair had on the public at large. Repercussions were also forthcoming from other sources. On the legal level, a most important directive was issued by the attorney general stating that the expropriation of land for public purposes does not include single-family homes and that land suitable for building such one-family homes has to be offered first of all to the owners that have been evacuated.

We have yet to see the annulment of the 1943 Lands Regulation (Pekudat Hakarkaot) Concerning Requisition of Lands for Public Purposes that was utilized on the evacuation of residents in Yemin Moshe. But it is possible that in the course of time progress will be made on this point too.

Eight years later, we spoke to Mr. Yitschak Yaacobi (1980), the director of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, about a number of points brought up in the students' research carried out in 1972. In his opinion, the sanitary and living conditions of the evacuated residents had certainly been improved by their moving out of the neighborhood. Until then two or more families in Yemin Moshe had been living together in one residential unit, the quality of life was very poor, and it was dangerous to continue living in the neighborhood. Yaacobi still rejected the evacuees' claim that the neighborhoods to which they had been moved were "not good" ones. According to Yaacobi, the new neighborhoods were chosen by the residents themselves during the course of contacts with the corporation, which tried to be as helpful as possible in finding an ideal solution. But it should not be forgotten that in the absence of increased compensation the evacuees really had no other alternative but to move to low income areas. By comparison with the compensation that evacuees from the settlements in Sinai and Yamit received from the government, the Yemin Moshe residents were clearly handicapped by their inability to conduct negotiations successfully and thus to receive better compensation.

Mr. Yaacobi acknowledged the social problems that arose in the wake of the evacuation, but he felt that it is probable that some of the residents were still united and enjoyed a good community life (in their new neighborhoods)—as they had in Yemin Moshe. He noted that they also continue to meet in the Yemin Moshe synagogue and in the neighborhoods where they now live.

To our question as to why social services and social workers were not involved to help with the evacuation at the time and to advise the team that determined the evacuation conditions and compensation, Mr. Yaacobi argued that there had not been enough experience with evacuation in the past in Israel, and they did not turn to professional workers for that reason. In addition, Yaacobi felt that since the East Jerusalem Development Corporation dealt with the matter in such

a personal manner, there was no need to involve other bodies. Also, the government authorities for their part did not suggest in 1968 that social workers and psychologists provide aid. Today, following the Yemin Moshe experience, all evacuation and urban renewal teams have professional workers attached to them and there is no doubt that this is efficient and useful.

With hindsight, Mr. Yaacobi argued that the former residents are psychologically strongly influenced today by the neighborhood's new image. At the time of the evacuation, however, many of them, according to him, wanted to leave the neighborhood, which was a poor slum neighborhood, and they were pleased to accept a better alternative. But, today, about ten years after the first evacuation and the restoration of the neighborhood, they have to say that they were evacuated against their will, that they did not receive sufficient compensation, and that they feel deprived.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we reviewed the manner in which the East Jerusalem Development Corporation Ltd. operated with respect to expropriation, relocation, and compensation to residents of Yemin Moshe. We presented both the positive and negative sides of the story, and the controversy created by the project. We noted the unique contribution to the city which many feel that the corporation made in restoring the neighborhood. We documented the major aims fixed by the corporation and the Jerusalem Municipality for repopulating Yemin Moshe, and the reaction of various authorities that became involved in the issues raised. We also dealt with changes in the corporation's policies following criticism and negative public opinion in the wake of exploratory university research carried out in the neighborhood and subsequent media attention to the findings. On the negative side, we have reviewed the findings of the State Controller's office concerning flaws in dealing with the removal of the residents, and dealt with the strong reaction of the mayor to unfavorable newspaper articles. Finally, we discussed some of the social, economic, and legal implications of the evacuation and restoration procedures and the values which were behind the Yemin Moshe episode.

It is important to emphasize the positive changes that occurred, according to the director of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, in the methods of evacuation utilized by the corporation following the State Controller's report. For better or worse, the Yemin Moshe neighborhood served as a model and precedent, involving physical restoration and repopulation of an entire neighborhood.

It is also important to be aware of how the public reacted to the mutual accusations and to the "newspaper battle" over what actually took place in the neighborhood, and finding the "truth" about what happened to the Yemin Moshe evacuees. Gidon Alon (1973), an experienced Jerusalem reporter for the *Haaretz* newspaper, summarized the issue in the following words:

The citizen who follows the controversy on Yemin Moshe in the pages of the press finds himself confused when he studies the findings of the research carried out by the people from the Hebrew University School of Social Work on the one hand, and the survey prepared by the economist Nissim Baruch at the municipality's request, on the other hand.

The general impression of objective people involved in the issue to whom I have spoken, is that Dr. Jaffe's research consisting of 34 pages which tried to examine economic aspects connected with the evacuation carried out in the Yemin Moshe neighborhood from 1964 to 1972, is more thorough and well-reasoned than the survey conducted by the private economist in an attempt to repudiate the arguments expressed in the research of the School of Social Work.

Perhaps it would be acceptable to ask a third party, accepted by everybody, to conduct new research to reveal the truth about the financial position of the evacuees from the Yemin Moshe neighborhood. (Alon, 1973)

5

Yemin Moshe After Renovation: Results of the Evacuation and the Meaning of Renewal

The prime purpose for expropriating the land, for removing the residents, and for restoring the houses in Yemin Moshe was for "public purposes." The logical questions which must be answered upon completion of the process, nearly ten years later, are: Were "public purposes" (that is, the public good) served by the project? Did the outcome justify the means? Did the final results remain true to the original goals? Did the original goals justify the outcome?

Rumors and grumblings among many veteran Jerusalemites insisted that Yemin Moshe had simply become a luxurious neighborhood for the wealthy and privileged. Some were sure it was a second home for wealthy foreign Jews. On the other hand, others believed it was a flourishing nest of artists' studios, exactly as it was planned to be. The only way to determine which of these stereotypes was correct was to carry out a systematic census of the new dwellers living in the neighborhood after the renewal was completed. Toward this end, a census took place in 1980 by Hebrew University students from the School of Social Work in order to collect social, demographic, and economic data about the new residents. The researchers sought to interview someone from every household, and to record their replies for statistical and content analysis.

It should be pointed out here the data relate only to the Yemin Moshe neighborhood *and not* to the few buildings of the Mishkenot Sha'ananim houses which were renovated and repaired by the Jerusalem Foundation to serve as a guest house consisting of nine modern apartments set aside for artists and famous people from Israel and abroad. During the early 1980s a few new buildings have been added, in Mishkenot, such as the restaurant between Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe, a modern music studio and a wide approach road from the direction of King David Street.

THE RESEARCH METHODS

In order to carry out the census survey the Hebrew University researchers compiled a questionnaire that included 38 questions. The questionnaire was

divided into four sections, each meant to investigate descriptive variables regarding the residents such as length of stay and status in the neighborhood, the residents' financial situation, demographic characteristics of the population and the neighborhood's image in the residents' eyes.

With the aim of testing the quality of the questionnaire and to ensure that it related to most of the relevant topics, we conducted a pretest, or preliminary survey in the Jewish Quarter in the Old City. We chose this neighborhood in particular, since the Jewish Quarter and Yemin Moshe neighborhoods are somewhat similar in character. The Jewish Quarter is an area that was rehabilitated after the Six Day War by the East Jerusalem Development Corporation and repopulated after restoration. Twelve families were surveyed at random, and following this trial run, a few changes were incorporated into the questionnaire in order to make it suitable for the research needs. A preliminary survey was also conducted in Yemin Moshe itself, involving ten families, and more changes were made. In order that the interviewees should not be afraid of giving frank, true answers to questions, the questionnaire was anonymous.

We visited all the houses, 128 households, within the framework of the survey. For location of the houses we used the map of the Yemin Moshe "plots" provided by the East Jerusalem Development Corporation. It became apparent that a group of plots which had been used for residential housing in the past had now changed function. For example, one area now serves as a car park.

In the end, we succeeded in interviewing less than half of the families. The high percentage of absenteeism was perhaps a result of the fact that the survey was carried out in the winter—during the months of February and March (1980), the off-season for tourism. Many of the tenants, whose apartments served as second homes in the summer, were not in Israel in the winter season—an interesting discovery in itself.

The residents pointed out that they were often visited by members of youth movements who came to learn about the new Jerusalem neighborhood. They were those who received us with reservations and refused to cooperate, and many of them requested and received a letter from the School of Social Work at the university showing its sponsorship of the survey.

With regard to the collection of data, it should be noted that the findings are based on direct objective information provided by the interviewees. We also used the subjective reports of the residents, since we were interested in obtaining their personal views and feelings. We took their words at face value, and as the truth as they experience it every day.

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

The findings are arranged according to the main topics. In each section the findings are discussed, along with the data and relevant figures. In order to compare the data for the Yemin Moshe population and the data for the population as a whole in Israel, several of the findings were compared to the national averages.

Residence in the Neighborhood and Participation in the Survey

During the course of the survey, we tried to include as many households as possible. As already mentioned, we visited every residential unit in the neighborhood for this purpose. In houses where we did not get an answer, we visited again—up to three attempts—in order to include the largest possible number of families in the survey.

Of the 128 families in the neighborhood, about 42 percent cooperated with us. We could not interview the others for a variety of reasons: 35 percent of the residents were not at home, and were not there every time we called at their houses; 18 percent of the buildings were uninhabitable or in the process of being rebuilt, and we did not succeed in making a contact with the owners; 5 percent of the householders refused to cooperate with us for various reasons, some of which have already been discussed.

Assuming that the homes we visited three times were not occupied by tenants (perhaps by overseas residents), and disregarding the householders whose homes were in the process of repair and building, only 61 residents remain, out of 128 that qualified to take part in the survey. The actual level of response, therefore, was 89 percent. In other words, a very substantial percentage of the residents that were actually living in the neighborhood did cooperate with us and participated in the survey.

Demographic Characteristics of the Population

The questions in the survey relating to demographic data were obtained from one of the owners of each home, the husband, wife, or other owner/tenant. In referring to the residents we are talking about the heads of households and/or the person in the home owning or responsible for the property.

Countries of Origin of the Yemin Moshe Householders

We can see that the data on the neighborhood's population in terms of countries of origin differs significantly from the national breakdown. The percentage of residents from Western countries and Israel was 1.74 times higher in Yemin Moshe than in the total population, while the percentage of the population from Asia and Africa in Yemin Moshe was 3.53 times less than in the total Israeli population. In other words, Yemin Moshe has a particularly high percentage of Jews who came from Western countries (85.7 percent), and a particularly low percentage (14.3 percent) from the Eastern countries.

Nationality

Two-thirds of the Yemin Moshe neighborhood residents were Israeli nationals, while the others were constituted by European or dual nationality.

Table 5.1
Countries of Origin of the Yemin Moshe Residents Compared to the National Average (by percent), 1980

Country of Origin / Comparison	Asia and Africa	Europe	America	Israel		Total (%)
				Ashkenazi	Sephardi	
Yemin Moshe	10.0	40.0	13.7	32.0	4.3	100
National*	20.4	25.4		24.1	30.1	100

* Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel, 1979, Jerusalem, Table B/22, p. 58.

Table 5.2
Nationality of the Yemin Moshe Residents (by percent)

Israeli Nationality	American Nationality	European Nationality	Dual Nationality	Total
64.5	7.0	13.0	15.5	100

Legal Status in the Country

Most of the Yemin Moshe residents (81.5 percent) were permanent Israeli residents at the time of the survey. Most of those that remained could be classified as tourists.

Table 5.3
Status of the Yemin Moshe Residents (by percent)

Permanent Resident	Tourist	Temporary Resident	Diplomat	Total
81.5	12.0	4.0	2.5	100

Education of the Residents

From these research findings we learn that most Yemin Moshe residents have a university education, a decisive majority are presently academics, and about another quarter of them are artists. Yemin Moshe boasts a very high percentage of university graduates (78.5 percent). Among them are a high percentage of professors and holders of doctorates (11.5 percent). Compared to the national average, Yemin Moshe had four times more university graduates than the national average (20 percent).

In comparison with this, the percentage of residents with only primary school education was 1.5 percent, while the national average was 22.7 percent or 15 times greater than in Yemin Moshe. Thus, the population of Yemin Moshe has attained a significantly much higher educational level than the national average. It should be pointed out that about 11 percent of the population in Israel is "lacking in formal education," but this particular category does not exist at all in Yemin Moshe.

Table 5.4
Education of Yemin Moshe Residents As Compared to the National Average (by percent)

Education / Comparison	No Formal Education	Primary School	High School	Higher Education				Total
				B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	Total	
Yemin Moshe	-	1.5	20.0	55.0	12.0	11.5	78.5	100
National*	10.8	22.7	46.5	-	-	-	20.0	100

* Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics, the Statistical Year Book of Israel, 1979, Jerusalem, Table 22/1, p. 618.

Professions of the Residents

From Table 5.5 we can see that most of the neighborhood's residents were employed in academic professions. Included within this framework were professions such as medicine, law and teaching. Twenty-one percent of the residents were "artists," and we liberally included in this category writers, sculptors, painters, jewelry makers, designers, and singers. The percentage of artists is surprisingly low, considering the fact that the neighborhood was established with the declared intent of being an "artists' colony." It is doubtful that a neighborhood in which only one-fifth of the residents are artists can be classified as an artists' colony.

Table 5.5
Yemin Moshe Residents, According to Profession (by percent)

Artists	Academics	Clerks	Students	Non-Professionals	Total
21.0	54.0	10.0	3.0	12.0	100

Occupations of the Residents

The breakdown according to the occupation was almost equally divided among residents who were wage earners and those who were self-employed. About one-fifth of the residents did not work, and they included housewives and pensioners.

Table 5.6
Occupational Background of the Yemin Moshe Residents (by percent)

Wage Earner	Self-Employed	Non-Working	Total
40.0	38.5	21.5	100

Age of the Head of the Family, Family Size, and Housing Density

The average age of the head of the family in Yemin Moshe was 45.5 years, and the average family size was 4.1 people. This data may be directly related to the country of origin and level of education of the residents. The average number of people per apartment in Yemin Moshe was 3.4, and the average density was 0.7 people to a room (1.4 rooms per person).

The Economic Situation of the Residents

This section presents the data obtained from research questions relating to apartment ownership, previous place of residence, size of the present apartment as compared to the former one, the value of the new apartment at the time of purchase, the amount invested in repairs carried out or about to be carried out, and the apartment's value at the time of the survey, in 1980.

Apartment Ownership

The survey showed that 66 percent of the Yemin Moshe residents (who took part in the survey) owned the apartments in which they lived. The remaining, 34 percent were renting, half of them for a year or longer. Most of the owners of the apartments that were rented out (67 percent) live overseas, and one-third of them (33 percent) live in Israel.

By comparing the previous living conditions of apartment owners in Yemin Moshe to their conditions today, it is clear that a very positive change has taken place which is expressed in larger apartments. On the average, there was an addition of 1.2 rooms. In the past, most of the residents also lived in conditions better than the national average, but after moving to Yemin Moshe the difference was even greater.

Table 5.7
Size of the Present Apartment Compared to the Previous One (by averages)

Location of Apartment	Area Size in Square Meters	Average Number of Rooms
Present apartment (in Yemin Moshe)	166 square meters	4.8
Previous apartment	108 square meters	3.6

Details on the Apartments

Almost a third of the residents did not answer questions about the value of their apartments at the time of purchase, and how much they had invested in the renovations. Also, one has to relate to these answers with caution, as the apartments were bought at different times and it is hard to compare prices. All the figures quoted are in Israeli pounds since the data were collected before the currency was changed to shekels, and then to new shekels. Nevertheless, the data presented does allow for relative comparisons.

Most of the apartments in Yemin Moshe were bought in 1975, under the specific condition that the buyer would use his own money to repair the property, in accordance with a certain building style (fixed by the East Jerusalem Development Corporation). This explains why most of the owners invested sums in repairs that were on a par with the purchase price of the apartments. Perhaps the large sums invested in repairs and renovations explain the refusal of 35 percent of the buyers to relate to this question.

The apartment owners were also reluctant to answer the question about the value of the apartment; 55.2 percent refused to answer this question. Many of them argued that they were not interested in selling their apartments and therefore had not enquired into their value. Others said that it was hard to estimate the value of the apartment.

Most of the interviewees (48 percent of those who agreed to estimate the value of their apartments) placed the value at more than 10 million Israeli pounds, or more than $285,600 according to the rate of exchange on January 1, 1980. A very small percentage of the apartments (2.3 percent) were worth less than a million Israeli pounds, and these were generally small apartments that had not been renovated.

Table 5.8
Value of the Apartments (in Israeli pounds) at the Time of Purchase, and the Value of the Investment after the Purchase (by percent)

Values of property	Up to 50 thousand	From 50-100 thousands	From 101-500 thousand	From 501-a million	Over a million	No answer	Total
Value at time of purchase	14.6	12.2	22.0	14.6	4.8	31.8	100
Value of the investment after acquisition	15.0	7.5	30.0	10.0	2.5	35.0	100

Table 5.9
Value of the Apartments in 1980, in Israeli Pounds and in U.S. Dollars (by percent)

Value in Israeli Pounds	500 Thousand to One Million	One Million to Five Million	Five to Ten Million	Ten Million or More	Did not Answer	Total Percent
Value in Dollars	14,300 to 28,500	28,500 to 142,800	142,800 to 285,600	285,600 or more		
Per cent of the apartments	2.3	9.3	11.6	21.6	55.2	100

Car Ownership

The number of cars per family in Israel is another possible measure of the financial situation of the residents. The survey findings show that 18 percent of the neighborhood's residents do not own cars. All the rest had cars: 71 percent of the households owned one car and 11 percent owned two cars. In 1980, 27.4 percent of Israeli families owned cars, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics. From this and other data, it seems that Yemin Moshe residents are much wealthier than the national average and that their standard of living is relatively high.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE NEW RESIDENTS

The Objectives of Renewal and the Repopulation of Yemin Moshe

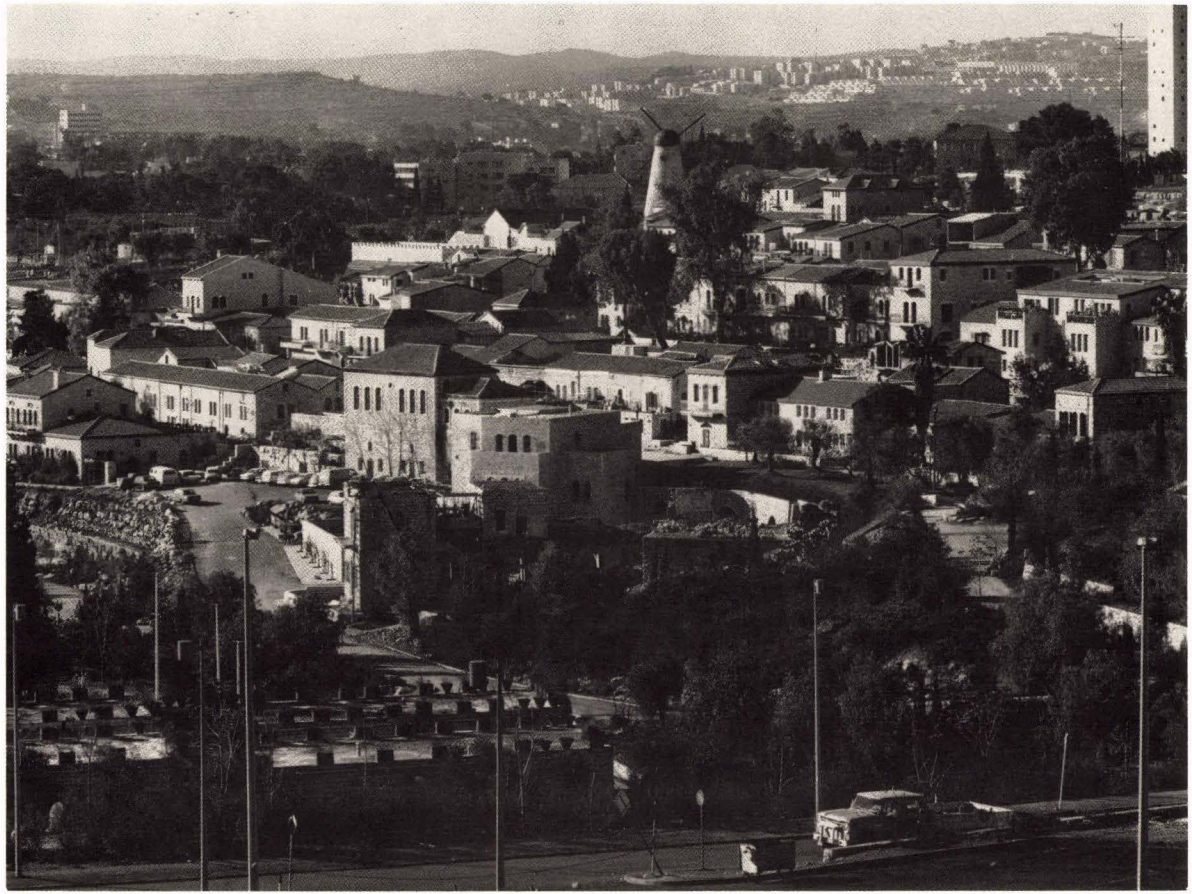
At the time of the research survey (1980) the new residents had been living in the neighborhood for five years on average. Over half of them had purchased their apartments from the East Jerusalem Development Corporation. Another 14 percent said they bought their apartments directly from the former owners. Finally, 34 percent of the residents were living in rented apartments and we could not obtain details on the circumstances of purchase of these apartments.

To our question as to whether the residents had to conform to any special criteria in order to get the apartments, 52 replied in the negative, but 18 percent said that there were special criteria before entry into the apartments. In the latter group some noted that the determining condition for approval of their candidacy was that "you must be artists." Others claimed that the only condition was that the apartment must be used for residential purposes only and not as an investment.

From this it emerges that for a certain period of time the major criteria of the Screening Committee for new tenants was that residents should be artists. But later things were changed. We have already seen from the empirical data that only 21 percent of the neighborhood's residents were artists.

A few residents told us that they understood the neighborhood was initially meant to be an artists' colony, but that in practice, the number of artists who had requested to live there was smaller than expected. The main reason for this was linked, in their opinion, to the high cost of living in this prestigious neighborhood and the exorbitant purchase price that did not allow many artists to buy homes there. In the end, Yemin Moshe became a normal prestigious neighborhood in every respect.

The second criterion for repopulation that the interviewees pointed out was the condition that the apartments would be used for residential purposes only. Thus, 70 percent of the apartments were indeed used for residential purposes only, 2 percent of them were utilized for business purposes, and 28 percent were



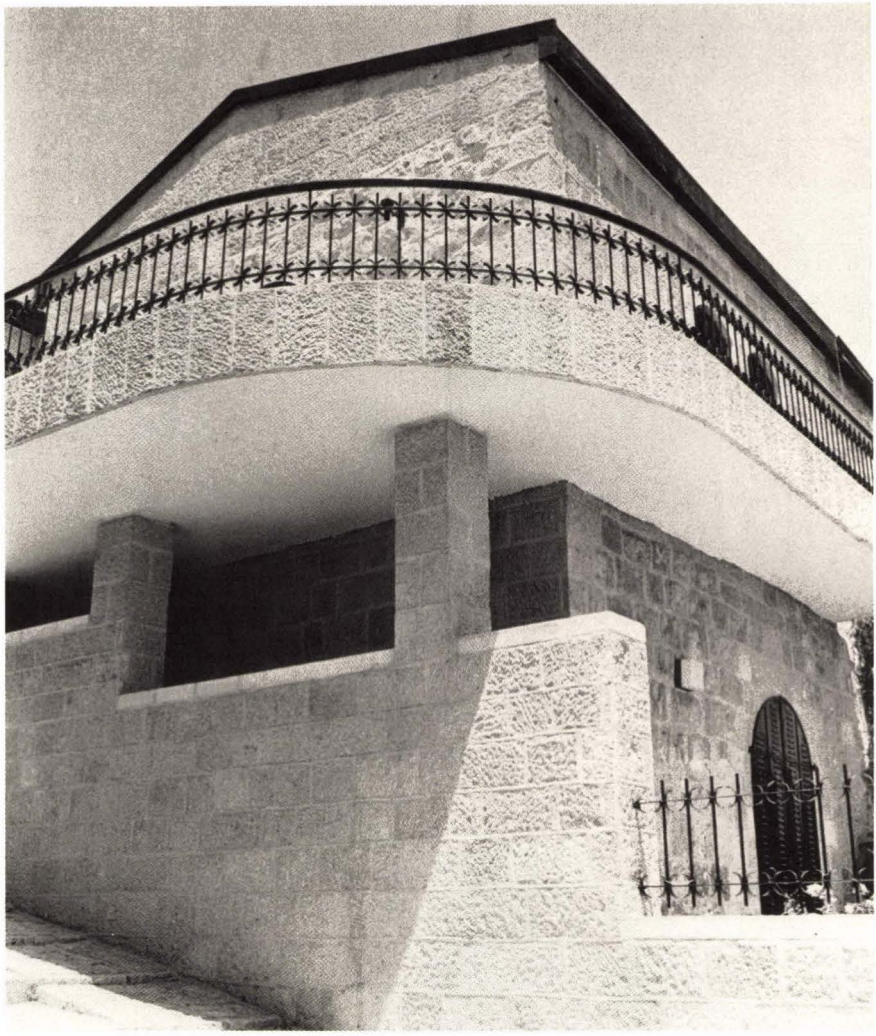
Yemin Moshe with a new face, 1980.

used for both residential and business purposes such as galleries, studios, etc. It should be recalled that these findings relate only to the Yemin Moshe residents that we succeeded in interviewing. As for the rest of the residents, it is reasonable to hypothesize that many of them use their apartments as an investment (35 percent of the apartments meant for residential purposes were still not in use at the time of the survey).

The gap between the original objectives of the Yemin Moshe neighborhood and the reality of today was emphasized by the new residents when we asked for details of what they knew about the original objectives. The original plan, they knew, was to establish an artists' village for people working creatively, thus exploiting the area for "public purposes." However, they were doubtful whether this plan has been realized.



Yemin Moshe with a new face, 1980.



A renovated private home.

One of the interviewees related that today eight professors live in the neighborhood, 20 studio owners, three writers, along with people working in Israeli radio and television. In his words, the area was fertile ground for creativity. He agreed with the mayor that "living in Yemin Moshe is the best form of Zionism. . . ." The same interviewee is known as a fighter for maintaining the original planning objective of the neighborhood, namely, to be an artists' colony. He does not ignore the fact that overseas residents who buy apartments in the neighborhood for investment purposes distort its true image and that, in fact, originally there was no intention of selling the land to profiteers from abroad.

On the other hand, many people pointed out the changes that had occurred in the neighborhood's objectives, and tried to explain the phenomenon. One of the most frequent explanations was that although the neighborhood was originally intended for artists, in the course of time the initiators of the project realized that the high costs involved in restoration placed this possibility out of the artists' reach. When it became clear that the aim of settling the area exclusively with artists could only be realized with government help and subsidies, the original plan was abandoned and it was decided to open the tender to others with financial means.

As we have pointed out, the residents were aware of the other, negative image of the neighborhood and there are those who complain bitterly at the label, "The Millionaires' Neighborhood." "I hope that your research will prove that this is a neighborhood of artists and creative people and not a 'Millionaires' Neighborhood,' " one of the interviewees declared. However, the facts indicate that today Yemin Moshe is certainly one of the most prestigious neighborhoods in all Jerusalem.

The image of a neighborhood for the rich is also apparently accepted by thieves and burglars of various types, who exploit the relatively isolated position of this well established neighborhood. The residents complained bitterly about the ineffectiveness of the police. The Jerusalem newspaper *Kol Yerushalayim* reported one particular burglary in the neighborhood, and quoted the residents' opinion on security measures in Yemin Moshe:

The objective chosen by the burglars was the home of the Matar family, new immigrants from America. Michael Matar, the father of the family relates: "It was 4:30 in the morning. We were all fast asleep. Suddenly I heard a terse demand that woke me up. "The money!" I opened my eyes and saw the butt of an Uzi gun in front of me. I saw two people, both armed with machine guns. They asked me for the money. Our dog started to bark. They threatened to shoot him if we did not silence him. We did as they told us.

Michael Matar joins in the criticism regarding lack of security services. He served for twenty seven years in the United States police force and in his opinion, "this was a police failure." They (the police) certainly did not work at an acceptable pace. When the burglars were in the area, the police sent two people who hid behind the trees and were afraid of the shooting. By the time reinforcements arrived, the burglars were no longer around. It should also be pointed out that the burglars arrived in the neighborhood in a stolen car, they took out a ladder, put it against the window and only then did they



A street in Yemin Moshe, 1984.



New villas in Yemin Moshe, 1984.

enter the house. Where were the police then? Why is there not a single policeman on duty in this entire neighborhood? This is an abandoned neighborhood. The police have forgotten that we exist. I just hope that they will draw the appropriate conclusions. (*Kol Yerushalayim*, March 9, 1984, p. 14)

The Reasons for Acquisition of Apartments in Yemin Moshe

We sought to explore the reasons that motivated the residents to buy apartments in this particular area. About one-fifth preferred the neighborhood for a number of reasons, such as the convenient location ("an area easily accessible to the city center, but also quiet"), the view, and the low price compared to other apartments available at that time.

Among the other reasons, many stressed the excellent conditions for bringing up children, the special character of the neighborhood, and the magnificent view. There were even those who were amazed at the question, and thought that the choice of Yemin Moshe was self-explanatory. Others pointed out the village-like atmosphere in the neighborhood, a sort of "village within the city."

Now that they live in the neighborhood and have come to know it at first hand, 56 percent said they valued its special characteristics, chiefly the enthralling view and its unique location. Another 42 percent especially enjoyed the company and the social life in the neighborhood. Only 2.3 percent could not point to any special positive feature within the neighborhood.

There were also matters that the Yemin Moshe residents had reservations about. For example, 12 percent claimed that elementary services are lacking in the neighborhood, such as grocery stores, shops, convenient parking places, and the like. Another complaint of 12 percent of the residents related to the conversion of the area into a "zoo," especially on sabbaths and festivals when many tourists and others traipse around the neighborhood. The visitors are not simply satisfied with walking on the lanes between the houses, but often gawk inside the houses, disturbing the privacy of the residents. This problem is almost nonexistent in the northern part of the neighborhood (Hatikvah, Peleh-Yoetz Streets) relatively away from the main entrance to the neighborhood. In sections where the residents complained of lack of privacy, they pointed out that their only means of "escape" was by closing the blinds of their apartments, thus guarding their privacy against the curiosity of the tourists and passersby. This is aggravated by the low building style, with large, wide windows looking out onto the lanes, that greatly contributes to this "nuisance."

There were also some residents who complained about the renting out of summer apartments to tourists who rarely stayed in the neighborhood. They also complained about these same apartments remaining empty for most of the year. We found one striking example of this kind of situation when we visited one of the most magnificent houses in Yemin Moshe. On each of our three attempts to interview the owners of the house a woman opened the door and introduced

herself as the housekeeper responsible for the upkeep of the house for most of the year. She told us that the owners of the house lived in South Africa and made infrequent, short trips to Israel. Regretfully, we did not succeed in meeting them on any of our visits to the place. Another house, we learned from one of the neighbors, belonged to a man who also came only infrequently to Israel. Another neighbor pointed out that the neighborhood is in a continuous state of building; new tenants buy apartments, spend a long time having them repaired and then lock up the houses and leave. The interviewee said he was suffering from the side effects of the repairs, the noise, the dirt, and, in the end, he does not even get a chance to know his new neighbors. This phenomenon is one of the main reasons for his dissatisfaction with the neighborhood and his intention to move to another area. He is trying to persuade others to follow him.

Another problem is the high taxes. Five percent of the residents said that they found it difficult to bear the burden of the heavy taxes imposed on them because the place is classified as a high income, prestigious residential area. In addition, they are obliged to pay a fixed charge to the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, which pays for the development and upkeep of the place by the corporation. Nine percent of the residents pointed out that they suffer from the continuous building in the neighborhood, causing noise and dirt. Another 13 percent of the residents noted complaints other than those detailed above.

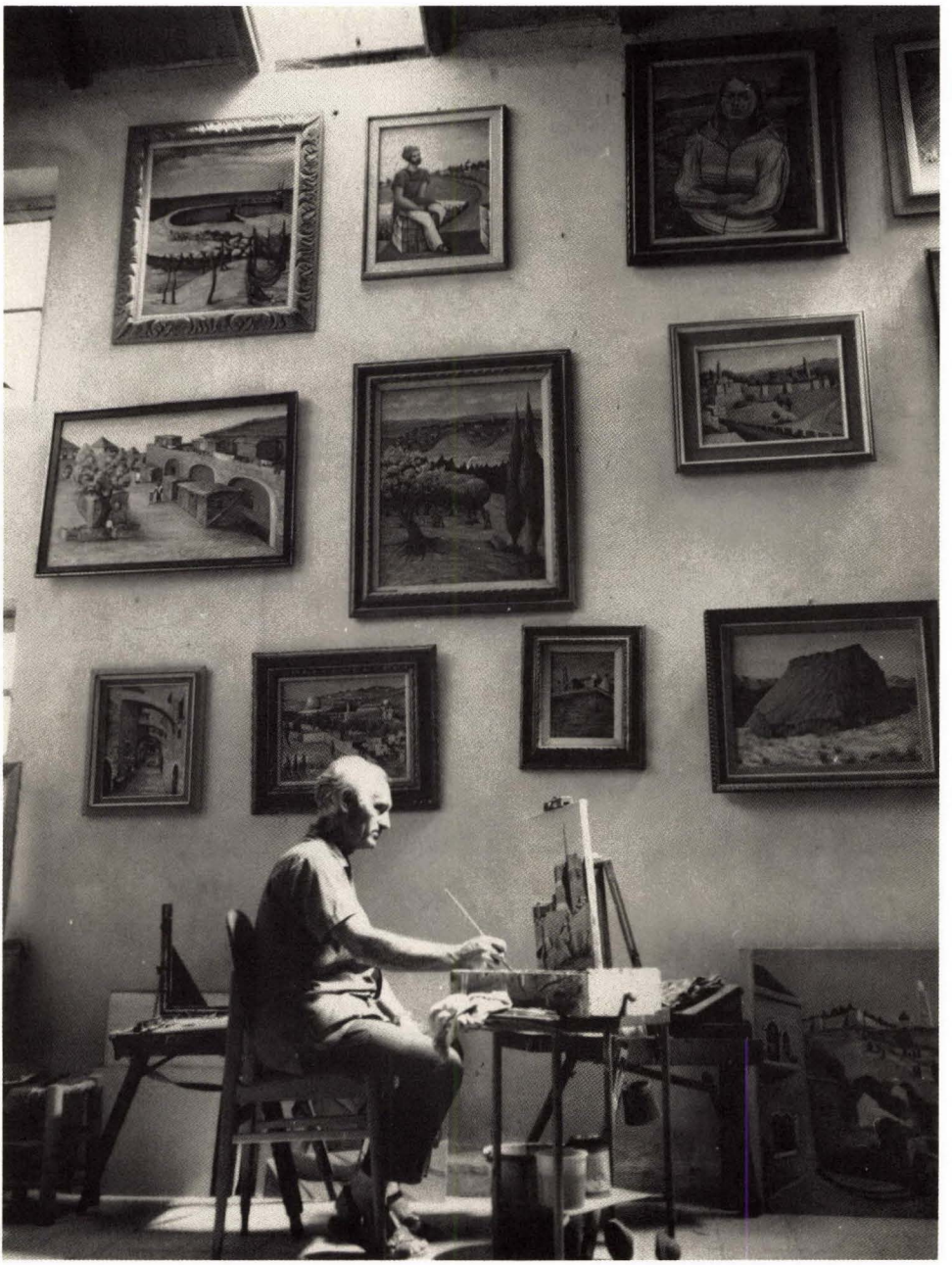
There is also a feeling of dissatisfaction with the many limitations imposed on the population by the East Jerusalem Development Corporation. For example, they are not allowed to use oil for heating, they cannot erect solar water heaters, or close off balconies, or hang washing out in front of their buildings. All this is prohibited in order to keep up the external appearance of the area, which is a tourist attraction.

There is also supervision and restriction on building, repairs and decoration, all of which require approval from the corporation. This was confirmed by the corporation architects' office, which supervises neighborhood planning and implementation of the regulations.

We received varying answers about the social life and relationships in the neighborhood. On the one hand, there were those who enjoyed the social makeup. On the other hand, there were those who were critical of the "sterility" displayed by some of the residents and of the cold relationships in the neighborhood. Some of the interviewees claimed that there was a totally uncalled for snobbishness. In reality, the social life in the neighborhood is a matter of dispute. Some of the residents like the company there very much, but 26 percent of the interviewees claimed that the company in the neighborhood was not to their taste. Many of the residents feel that they belong to the "upper classes," and because of this the society in the neighborhood is not socially integrated. Another problem derives from the fact that many of the homeowners do not live there, and living in a neighborhood where some apartments are empty for most of the year is not very pleasant for the permanent residents.



Interior view of a renovated home in Yemin Moshe.



Artist's studio in Yemin Moshe.



Artists' studios in Yemin Moshe.



A kindergarten for the neighborhood's children.



Night guard duty—this time against thieves.



A private garden amidst wartime bunkers.

Some of those who stayed on in Yemin Moshe after the evacuation, who were interviewed in 1972 and again in 1980, expressed regret that the neighborhood had been broken up.

> The good neighbors have left. The new ones do not even say "Hello." . . . It is boring. . . . It used to be like a family here. This was once a sociable neighborhood. . . . Now it is quiet and dark. . . .
>
> The Yemin Moshe neighborhood was like a "commune." Everybody knew everyone else, everyone helped one another in times of trouble and with preparations for Bar-mitzvah and wedding parties. You always knew that when you were in trouble someone would stretch out a helping hand. Someone would get you to the hospital if necessary, stay with you, or help you prepare for family celebrations. On Saturday nights parties were held at different peoples' houses, in turn, everyone could entertain his neighbour and be happy among his friends every week. (From interviews with the residents, 1980)

Despite the complaints that we have listed, a considerable proportion (23 percent) of the residents liked the neighborhood, without any reservations, and found no faults with it.

A summary of the advantages of the neighborhood against the disadvantages, as they emerge from the residents' testimony, shows that most of them have a positive view of the neighborhood, but that they are also very aware of its problems.

The Residents' Knowledge of the Neighborhood as It Was Prior to the Evacuation

Within the framework of the survey we tried to find out what the new owners really knew or thought about the former residents of the neighborhood. Did they know who the residents were, why they had been evacuated, and what had happened to them?

A considerable number of the owners had some knowledge of the place before the restoration, primarily about the countries of origin and the life style of the former residents. About a third (34 percent) had detailed information about one resident or another, mainly about the person or family that had inhabited the apartment before them. Only 18 percent of the new residents knew nothing about those who had lived in the neighborhood before them. But, in the course of time, stories spread around about the previous residents, and it may be assumed that most of them obtained a general picture of the earlier history and life in Yemin Moshe.

With respect to the neighborhood's image in the past, it was presented to us as being a poor neighborhood with difficult social conditions, and suffering from overcrowding. We were told that most of the residents were immigrants from Turkey, who had arrived after the War of Independence. The families were large and made a living with difficulty. Some of the interviewees claimed that when

they arrived in the neighborhood they found a primitive plumbing system. From this they concluded that the investment involved in the restoration of the neighborhood would have been huge and beyond the immigrants' means had they attempted the effort by themselves. Consequently, it seemed to them that evacuation of the residents and expropriation of the land was the only way to rehabilitate the neighborhood. The former residents, according to the new owners, had been moved to various places in the city, and the task of restoration had been passed on to the new residents. The aim was to repair the houses without government subsidies, and in this they found justification for the evacuation and expropriation of the land. In our survey we also encountered views regarding the improvement of living conditions of the former residents as a result of the evacuation. A popular opinion among the interviewees was that "the evacuees were well compensated and that their situation today is better than it had been in the past." One veteran resident who had stayed on in the neighborhood related that her former neighbors had been forced to leave by pressure from the municipality, which threatened to cut off their water supply. Another veteran resident, still living in an apartment that had not been renovated, related that heavy pressure was being exerted on her to leave in order to extend the neighboring apartment. According to her, all the renovations being carried out next door were for speculative purposes. While visiting one of the houses, together with the director of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, we heard an interesting story about an opera singer who now lives alone in a large home where six families had lived previously. When she had come to lease the land she personally arranged for suitable alternative accommodations for each of the families and helped them out of their difficulties as best she could.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the findings and the evidence presented in this chapter, it is possible to answer a number of questions which were clarified by our census of the neighborhood.

Past Objectives as Compared to the Present Reality

As we noted in the previous chapter, the originators of the idea to restore the neighborhood saw in Yemin Moshe an area suitable for the founding of an artists' colony. In order to implement this plan it was necessary to evacuate the neighborhood of its previous residents. Initially, a number of artists took advantage of the terms offered to them, but apparently the large financial investment required for the restoration and repair of the buildings was beyond the means of many other artists. Therefore, it was decided to sell the apartments to (almost) anyone who could take on the expenses connected with the purchase and restoration of an apartment in the area. The result was the establishment of an exclusive

neighborhood with a high standard of living. Apparently, a considerable number of apartments were evidently acquired for the purposes of temporary housing, investment, or for making profits.

As we have seen, this was expressed in the fact that many of the apartments remained empty except for short periods during the year and belonged to people for whom they served as second homes. In an article that appeared in *Kol Ha'Ir* (1980) special attention was called to these issues:

> The artists of Yemin Moshe have lately organized vigorous action against the Jerusalem Municipality on two issues which are troubling them . . . complaining that originally the objective of renewal was to provide accommodation for artists, but it had become a prestigious neighborhood where millionaires live, who only spend short periods of the year there. But this fact was sufficient for the Municipality to raise their rates appreciably. The artists, many of whom live by the toil of their hands, cannot pay 2,000 Israeli pounds a month in municipal taxes, although this is no problem for Rothschild or the French millionaire, Zilkah, who also live in the neighborhood. The artists have turned to the Municipality with a demand to preserve the character of the neighborhood as an artists' quarter, otherwise there is danger that the artists will move out. (*Kol Ha'Ir*, June 6, 1980, p. 27)

The idea to settle artists in Yemin Moshe was the basic reason for expropriating the land for public purposes. The empirical findings collected teach us, however, that the neighborhood today is far from being an artists' quarter. The bulk of the "public purpose" buildings are located in the Mishkenot Sha'ananim neighborhood, *adjacent* to Yemin Moshe. These include the guest house hotel, "Mishkenot Sha'ananim" located in the renovated Touro row house. It serves primarily overseas writers, artists, visitors, and some Israelis who are invited to work there for several months in a quiet, relaxed atmosphere. Nine apartments were created from the original 16 and each has a beautiful view of the Old City walls. In a new two-story building put up behind Touro's houses there is the entrance and reception hall to the guest house, an apartment for the manager, air-conditioning and heating equipment, and storage. The opening ceremony for the guest house took place on August 13, 1973, 118 years after the contract to acquire the plot "Kerem Moshe and Yehudit" was signed by Moses Montefiore. Also located in the Mishkenot Sha'ananim area is the Jerusalem Music Center, "a large sophisticated studio for concerts, master-classes and rehearsals, with control rooms with modern equipment to record videotape performances" (Rozin and Landau, 1982). The music center is housed in a renovated building built by Montefiore in 1859 which contained four apartments, and is located between the windmill and the main Touro (guest house) building.

Another tourist attraction is a restaurant located in a building between the Mishkenot Sha'ananim and Yemin Moshe neighborhoods. Its copper roof and interior decor match that of the Mishkenot Sha'ananim guest house. The windmill, which is still the most visible landmark in Mishkenot Sha'ananim, has been converted into a memorial to Montefiore and a historical museum. Changing

exhibitions are held and the carriage of the founder of the neighborhood, Moses Montefiore, is on display. In the Jerusalem Foundation Hall, named after Rothschild, various group activities are held, and there is a day care center for deprived children. Public activities are also held at the Sultan's Pool at the foot of Yemin Moshe, such as festive concerts on Jerusalem Day and on other occasions.

But in Yemin Moshe proper, there are relatively few public buildings and artists' studios. As noted in the census data presented previously, Yemin Moshe is now overwhelmingly a residential area. Ironically, it has turned into a tourist site primarily because of its proximity to the classic tourist attractions located in the adjacent Mishkenot Sha'ananim. While touring in Mishkenot Sha'ananim, people enjoy strolling in Yemin Moshe.

According to some of the residents, the conversion of Yemin Moshe from a neglected poor neighborhood into one which is reconstructed and well looked after is valuable to the public in itself. Also, there is no doubt that the neighborhood is a focus for drawing tourists and is one of a string of beauty spots around the city. It is truly a jewel in Jerusalem. Perhaps without the evacuation of the former residents it would have been impossible to find the funds to develop the neighborhood as it is today, and it would have remained a poor and depressed area for all time. The alternative to private funds, it is claimed, would have required allocation of government funds to the original residents to renew the area, but apparently no source of public finance for this was found or sought, and suggestions in this direction were dropped. In the final analysis, there was a de facto change in the original plans for the neighborhood, which resulted in converting it into a prestigious residential area including a limited number of public buildings, and a site for tourists. There is clearly room for argument as to whether the results justified the expropriation of the land.

One way of preserving and restoring a neighborhood is to concentrate on its physical restoration, *leaving the residents* in place. This approach is part of a process for the rehabilitation of the residents themselves, not only of the real estate. In contrast to this, there is restoration that requires the *evacuation of the residents*, expropriation of the land, and the creation of a new social fabric. This was the route taken in Yemin Moshe and the authorities that dealt with the project were greatly influenced by economic considerations. It was cheaper to restore the neighborhood with the help of private investors without the need for large-scale government investment. However, one must not ignore the human results accompanying the evacuation and those connected with the evacuees themselves. They were uprooted from their homes and their surroundings and had to settle elsewhere. It is important that others who are about to be evacuated in a similar manner should learn a lesson from the Yemin Moshe story. There are other neighborhoods in Israel for which plans have been drawn up for restoration in a similar manner. In an interview published in *Kol Ha'Ir* (July 6, 1980, p. 13), a resident of the Nahalaot Shiva neighborhood in Jerusalem shows his awareness of urban renewal lessons learned elsewhere: "We do not want to see a synthetic neighborhood created here, with an 'artificial' population. We do not want to become Yemin Moshe number two in Jerusalem . . . "

6

Lessons From Yemin Moshe

Perhaps the greatest benefit of historical analysis and survey research is that one can, if we wish, learn from them. On the other hand, what one learns from them can be selective, subjective and controversial, depending on one's social background, norms, values, and interpretation of the information at hand. The following presentation is an honest effort to review some of the lessons learned from Yemin Moshe, and particularly, from the renewal program executed in the 1970s. We do not expect everyone to agree with our interpretations, but would be pleased if our efforts served as a catalyst for others to do their own research and present their own interpretations and views on the subject. Since other neighborhoods in Israel are slated for renewal, physical and social, any discussion of renewal experiences thus far can be helpful for future policy and activity by government officials and residents of the neighborhoods involved.

SUCCESS OR FAILURE IN YEMIN MOSHE?

Perhaps the only answer which one can provide regarding the question as to whether neighborhood renewal in Yemin Moshe was a success or a failure is that it depends on how one defines these two terms. From the physical point of view, the neighborhood has truly been restored to a state beyond its original beauty, particularly considering the interior repairs and changes undertaken in the homes by their present owners. The site is now an exclusive, physically beautiful neighborhood and is a tourist attraction. Socially, too, the cultural, economic, and ethnic changeover of the neighborhood's population is also complete, as we have seen from the 1980 census data presented earlier. Thus, both the physical and social goals of the renewal planners have, from their point of view, been accomplished. Abraham Rabinovich (1975) summed up this success story in the following words:

Physically, the Quarter will be about 40 percent bigger than it was before 1968 because of additional floor space. All utilities, including gas supply and wiring to a central television antenna, have been placed underground. Five dunams [5,000 square meters] of green space have been provided and a mini-shopping center is to be built within the year. For all reservations about the social aspects of the population transfer, the restored Yemin Moshe is one of the delights of Jerusalem. It has already become not only a prime tourist attraction, but a place where ordinary Jerusalemites, strolling over cobblestones and looking out over redtile rooftops at a landscape opening toward the distant mountains of Moab, can lose themselves in a timeless world. (*Jerusalem Post*, July 11, 1975)

The economic necessity of utilizing and harnessing private capital, rather than government funds, for compensating former residents and guaranteeing the physical renovations required in the homes and part of the infrastructure expenses, led to the 100-year leasing of properties in Yemin Moshe to a carefully selected number of private families by the East Jerusalem Development Corporation. The corporation, jointly established in 1965 by the Ministry of Tourism together with the Jerusalem Municipality, was responsible for the restoration of Yemin Moshe originally as an historical site, and it also selected the new residents. Public tenders were advertised by the corporation in the newspapers and all candidates were reviewed, according to the chairman of the four-person selection committee, in an effort "to choosing people who can establish a community in Jerusalem as it should be—artists, professional people—not just a random sample of people who can afford to move in" (quoted in Rabinovich, 1975). This selection of what was officially described as *anshei chen* or "desirable people" led to a population more than able to provide the cost of acquiring and restoring a house in the Quarter, and also to a large number of foreign residents, including the Baroness Aliz de Rothschild. Rabinovich (1975) described the policy that led to social exclusivity in the following terms:

Most expensive of all are the houses sold to non-Israeli citizens. Twenty percent of the houses were set aside for foreigners who have ties with Jerusalem, generally philanthropic ties. Originally, these foreigners were asked to pay twice the price that an Israeli was asked. The principle, as explained by Mayor Kollek, one of the principal figures behind the program, was that these high payments would help subsidize the cost for Israeli families moving in. However, Yitzchak Yaacobi, director of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, said that a 100 percent increase is now considered too stiff for even wealthy foreigners, and the differential has been cut to 50 percent. . . . Among those living in the Quarter today are 15 artists and an assortment of Hebrew University faculty members, architects, writers, doctors and lawyers.

The successful accomplishment of these goals, however, was a relative matter, and questions were asked about the conceptualization of the whole project. Although today's visitors to Yemin Moshe are rarely aware of, or interested in, the controversy caused by the project, the issues which it raised still linger and are far from forgotten by many Israelis. What were the lessons learned and the issues raised regarding Yemin Moshe? What should planners and citizens be

aware of from the experience in Yemin Moshe? We will try to answer some of these questions in this last chapter.

USES AND ABUSES OF EXPROPRIATED LAND

The basic rationale for expropriating land is for "public purposes." Unfortunately, Israeli law, inherited from the British Mandate government, has never clearly defined what is meant by "public purposes," and thus all that is needed is simply a statement gazetted by the minister of finance saying that there is a public purpose which justifies dispossession. The least controversial, eclectically acceptable definition of "public purposes" refers to use of expropriated land for public utilities such as roads, schools, hospitals, and military bases. More controversial reasons for dispossessing people of their land and homes, however, are economic projects where choice land is cheaply obtained for building commercial centers, office buildings, hotels, and private housing. Not incidentally, the public debate over Yemin Moshe created by publication of the Hebrew University research survey in 1973 resulted in a series of rulings by the attorney general and criticism by the State Controller's Office concerning abuses of the expropriation procedures. For example, in 1973, the attorney general, in response to a request of the minister of housing for a legal opinion, declared that expropriated land must not be used for building single-family villas. The attorney general noted that land in Jerusalem has been expropriated from "hundreds, even thousands, of owners, Arab and Jew alike," and that if any of the land is suitable only for single homes then it should be returned to the original owners, who are entitled to build there before anyone else (*Jerusalem Post*, March 19, 1973).

The Ombudsman's Department of the State Controller's Office (1974) has consistently insisted that the law ought to define what a "public purpose" includes, that an appeals board ought to be appointed, made up of independent experts, with subsequent recourse to the courts for a final ruling as to whether the expropriation was justified and whether proper compensation was paid.

One particularly serious abuse of the land expropriation procedure occurs when there is a policy change or unforeseen developments whereby the original plans for use of the land are no longer relevant, feasible, or necessary. Once the land has been expropriated, however, the new owners can do with it whatever they please. The Ombudsman's Department, the Supreme Court, and others have frequently pointed out the immorality of using land for purposes other than those for which it was expropriated. David Krivine (1974) described this form of abuse in the following words:

> It happens sometimes that an important project for which a certain stretch of land is required may be cancelled. But the authorities are already possessed of the plot and dispose of it as they please. . . . A large area of urban land was taken over in the 1960s to build an army camp. By the end of the sixties, it was found that the army no longer needed the plot. So the government decided to build public housing there instead. This

was legally right, but morally wrong, the Ombudsman points out. If the government wanted the land for public housing, it should have made a fresh expropriation for the particular stated purpose, and should have compensated the owners according to the value of the property at the time of the second expropriation. . . . Using the considerable power at present given by the law, the government tends to aid investors by providing cheap land and it gets the land cheaply by confiscating it early, before the location is planned or developed.

Eliyahu Elyashar (1973), a prominent leader of the Jerusalem Sephardi community, was convinced that the original reasons for expropriating Yemin Moshe did, in fact, no longer exist after the Six Day War. He recalled his efforts to stop the expropriation in an article that appeared in the Sephardi journal *Bamaaracha*:

As one of the veteran trustees of the Touro Hekdaish (Charitable Trust), as part of my duties on the Sephardi Community Committee, my friends and I made numerous efforts to prevent expropriation of property belonging to the Sephardi Community. We even appeared before the Interior Committee of the Knesset, unsuccessfully demanding the revocation of the expropriation! If we did not succeed before Jerusalem was reunited (in 1967), this was because the reason given us was that the place was necessary to defend the new city since it was a strategic area of the first degree, opposite the walls of Jerusalem upon which stood Jordanian legionnaires.

But after the city was reunited, this explanation was no longer relevant. And together with all the interested parties, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, we wasted no effort to prevent the expropriation and its transfer to a new authority set up especially by the Government and the Municipality for the purpose of "developing East Jerusalem," as if this was just one parcel among other expropriated lands, without considering the owner's rights or the rights of those responsible for them. And whoever understands, will understand what I am referring to [that is, expropriated lands in former Jordanian territory—Ed.]. (1973, p. 6)

Looking back at the Yemin Moshe project and the final results of repopulation and land use, other Jerusalemites have wondered whether the outcome of expropriation morally justified the "public purposes" mandate intended by either the original planners or the general public. The following advertisements, which appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* soliciting buyers for expensive apartments (for example, $400,000) in Yemin Moshe, tended to encourage the feeling that the expropriation may not have morally justified the results, and was not intended to promote speculation.

YEMIN MOSHE REAL ESTATE IN ADVERTISEMENTS FROM THE JERUSALEM POST

HAVE A FOOTHOLD IN ISRAEL

For Sale in Jerusalem

YEMIN MOSHE
TOWN HOUSES

with gardens and unique
view of Old City

In Jerusalem's most exclusive
and picturesque neighborhood,
only a few steps from the
King David Hotel

Some for immediate occupancy

ANGLO-SAXON
REAL ESTATE AGENCY LTD.

(March 2, 1979)

YEMIN MOSHE, house 6 rooms, 300 sq. m., view of Old City. $400,000. Exclusive sale.
David Moonshine Real Estate Agency.
Tel. 02–243038.

(March 2, 1979)

IF YOU WISH TO BUY

One of the most beautiful and comfortable houses with seven rooms and two bathrooms, built by Sir Moses Montefiore around 100 years ago, with a magnificent view overlooking Mt. Zion and the Mountains of Moab in the artistic Yemin Moshe area, next to the King David and Sheraton Hotels, surrounded by splendid parks, for only $365,000—write to P.O.B. 4181, Jerusalem.

(October 8, 1982)

We are a real estate office which
specializes in the special homes
of Jerusalem's most exciting
neighbourhoods:

YEMIN MOSHE

OLD CITY

ABU TOR

REHAVIA, etc. etc.

We sell condominiums. Call us for
Israeli expertise with American service.

Motti Kotzer and

Fran Prowisor

Tel 02–225588
Happy Passover

(April 1982)

APARTMENT FOR RENT IN YEMIN MOSHE

June 21–July 31
Luxury apartment, one bedroom, sleeps four, fully-equipped,
Kosher kitchen, 2 TV's, phone and all conveniences.

Elegantly furnished, magnificent terrace with spectacular
view of Mt. Zion, Old-City Walls, and Tower of David.
$1,200 per month.

(June 1983)

Was it justifiable to requisition private land for "public purposes" when the ultimate result was essentially an exclusive residential area for wealthy Israelis and foreigners, a sizeable percentage of whom reside abroad part of the year? Some critics felt that the resemblance to West Palm Beach was clearly not what the expropriation law had in mind.

Was Yemin Moshe actually a case of *post facto* change in plans after the original expropriation permit was approved? Do the final results in Yemin Moshe justify the means used to obtain them? These are questions about which opinions are divided, and they explain why the controversy concerning the neighborhood has not faded away.

WHO GAINED AND WHO LOST IN YEMIN MOSHE

Shalom Reichman, international scholar on urban planning at the Hebrew University, studied the question of who won and who lost as a result of the Yemin Moshe project. His comments, particularly on the economic aspects, are noted below.

In 1966 the municipality decided to rehabilitate the neighborhood by exchanging the population and attracting artists in order for the area to become an artists' colony. The actual work began in 1968, when the municipal corporation (the East Jerusalem Development Corporation), by government decree, expropriated the land (which was primarily privately owned), and began removing the residents by providing either alternate apartments or financial compensation.

In contrast to accepted procedure, it was decided that the number of apartments in the area be decreased instead of increased, and would only be 130 apartments instead of the original 200, and the size of each apartment would be 110 square meters. Anyone who answered selective criteria set by a public committee could apply for a specific parcel, and the price of the parcel was supposed to include costs expended by the corporation for infrastructure and public buildings. Each new resident had to fund the rebuilding or repair of his house out of his own pocket.

The demand for plots was great, since the Six Day War had made the place very attractive. Not only did the danger of living near the border disappear, but the development plans for the area determined that the neighborhood would be surrounded by a national park, as part of the area around the walls of the Old City. . . .

The new residents settled in, and the Development Corporation finished building the new approach roads from the West, South, and North. The company also paved and repaired the inside streets and pedestrian walkways, and built the public buildings. Thus, the face of the restored neighborhood was completely changed, and it became an elite neighborhood.

If we attempt to determine whether the rehabilitation of Yemin Moshe was a success or a failure, we have to look at three criteria, the urban, economic, and social criteria. From the urban point of view, there is no question of the project's success. The area is now highly desirable by the middle and upper class, it is well-developed and a focus for tourists and other visitors, and it houses prestigious public facilities.

From the economic view, the picture is much less rosy. At first glance there is only one criterion: Did the difference between the cost of the plots sold to the new residents and the compensation paid to the evacuees cover the costs spent by the corporation to develop the neighborhood? In other words, did the corporation balance costs with income, as expected of municipal-public corporations, or, did it lose money by spending more than it took in?

Actually, the corporation did not cover its costs, but it lost money. Four factors caused this situation:

1. The longer it took to evacuate the original residents, the greater were the costs of the expropriation, and the greater were the compensations paid.
2. There was an underestimation of the time needed to complete the restoration, and

corporation expenses were covered by loans, the interest for which was not originally anticipated . . .

3. For architectural reasons it was impossible to increase the number of housing units . . . which lowered the income received by the corporation.
4. It was impossible to increase the price of the plots offered to the public, because this would have created an unrealistic gap of 30 percent more for a home in Yemin Moshe as compared to a home in a comparable site in Jerusalem (albeit not a private home with a garden as in Yemin Moshe). At the time (circa 1968), such a gap would not have attracted many people to the plots offered in Yemin Moshe.

From the social point of view, the evaluation is the most problematic. The question here is, who lost and who gained from the public intervention in rehabilitating Yemin Moshe? Regarding the evacuees, the research by students at the School of Social Work of the Hebrew University shows that nearly two-thirds of them feel they were deprived by the move from Yemin Moshe, even if the compensation was enough to obtain a better, alternative apartment. In other words, subjectively, the evacuees lost out because of the move, and the need to adjust to a new environment, and in some cases, they were rehoused in neighborhoods slated for urban renewal, such as Katamon Tet.

There is no question that those who profited were the new residents of Yemin Moshe, who benefited from the infrastructure investments and from the general development related to changing that immediate area to a national park, without their being required to pay the corporation's expenses for the extensive infrastructure work.

In summary, the rehabilitation of Yemin Moshe represents a turning point regarding the legal and economic possibilities or urban renewal involving exchanging a poor population for a wealthy one. It turned out that the economic feasibility of such a transfer is very questionable, and that there are now legal limitations regarding the uses possible for land expropriation for public purposes. (Shalom Reichman, 1984)

Compensation Issues

Perhaps the most crucial issue that arises when land is expropriated by government agencies, and the most sensitive to public opinion, is the issue of compensation provided to the former owners and tenants. In the case of Yemin Moshe, the East Jerusalem Development Corporation made it quite clear (Weil, 1973) that they were acting under the *1943 Lands Regulations (Pekudat Hakarkaot) Concerning Requisition of Lands for Public Purposes*, and these regulations do not relate at all to the notion of provision of "alternative housing" to persons removed from their land, or compensation based on social need of demographic factors such as family size. Such provisions are mentioned, however, in the *Building and Removing (of Residents) in Rehabilitation Areas Law of 1965 (Hok Binui U'Pinui Shel Azorei Shikum)*, but since this was *not* the legal instrument utilized to expropriate Yemin Moshe lands, the Development Corporation insisted that it was clearly working precisely within its obligations under the 1943 regulations. When the Hebrew University researchers noted the need for a fairer, more socially responsible approach to the families removed from Yemin Moshe, the company's lawyer stated their situation as follows:

I must point out that in this matter it is absolutely necessary to study first of all *the legal instruments* existing today for implementing removal (of residents) which *dictate* the removal procedures and the financial and/or social arrangements for those removed. Certainly no removing agency functions in a legal vacuum, being a public and/or accountable body, and consequently tied to a legal framework which empowers it to operate, and it is *forbidden* to deviate from it.

Only after examining the nature of the legal instruments themselves can one evaluate the removing agency's policy and determine to what degree they are able or required to institute in their practices and approach to the subject, a determined, socially fair approach. Thus, for example, if the Pekudat Hakarkaot Regulations of 1943 do not relate at all to family size as a criteria for compensation rates to property holders, then there is no validity to the critical assessment of the research that the East Jerusalem Development Corporation was not considerate of the family size variable in its compensation payments to those removed. It is not my intention to provide an opinion as to whether the above legal instruments themselves need to be corrected or enhanced, but it seems to me that a constructive social research should have related first and foremost to this topic. Proposals that cannot be implemented within the existing legal framework, and which do not relate to *correcting* the legal instruments that dictate practices and policies, lose their value and importance. (Weil, 1973, pp. 1–2)

Thus, the initial compensation arrangements begun in September 1968 by the corporation were strictly within the framework of the 1943 regulations. Nevertheless, some critics felt that the Development Corporation could and should have done more to soften the shortcomings of those regulations. The State Controller (1972) was one of the more prominent critics and wrote the following remarks in his annual report:

The Ministerial Committee on Jerusalem recommended on September 10, 1968 to expropriate the Yemin Moshe land and guarantee the residents alternative housing in Jerusalem; to set up a Ministerial Commmittee composed of the Minister of Justice as chairman, the Minister of Interior, and the Minister of Housing, to discuss all problems resulting from the expropriation and bring their recommendations for the approval of the Ministerial Committee on Jerusalem. (p. 26)

In addition to the above, the State Controller noted that the corporation had not implemented the finance minister's request that a representative of the Ministry of Housing's Renewal Authority be seconded to the corporation, an act presumably facilitated to the nature of negotiations with the residents intended by the Ministerial Committee in 1968, and softening the 1943 legal instrument under which the land was actually expropriated.

However one interprets the initial negotiations, legal instruments, and removal procedures, there seems to be little doubt that the East Jerusalem Development Corporation was affected in a positive way by the publicity given to Yemin Moshe. A much more individualistic, reaching-out, rehabilitative, helpful approach by the corporation was subsequently noticed by some social workers, and fewer complaints from families reached the ears of community organization

workers in Jerusalem. Visitors to the corporation's offices, including the researchers who surveyed the residents, were favorably impressed by the social responsibility and attitudes reflected in the new policies concerning families removed from the area. These are important lessons for those engaged in similar work in other neighborhoods, and they illustrate the fact that physical change in neighborhoods always provides an opportunity and a responsibility to rehabilitate and assist the residents of that community.

Negotiating Compensation

The publicity concerning Yemin Moshe in 1973 and the controversy raised by the conflicting countercharges of those involved apparently effected demands of residents for higher compensation. In March 1973, the mayor of Jerusalem angrily announced that the Hebrew University survey "was premature" and would cause a great deal of damage to Jerusalem (Rabinovich, 1973). The mayor presented his forecast as follows:

> [The survey] will now cause damage in the work of relocation and rehabilitation which has to be carried out in several neighborhoods throughout the city, damage both to the residents and to the City itself. (Kollek, 1973)
>
> All improvement schemes in Jerusalem will probably have to be suspended for a while. (Kollek, 1973)

Much of the "damage" which the mayor was referring to was that "people slated for evacuation have been making greater compensation demands" (Rabinovich, 1973). Increased financial demands were particularly upsetting to the mayor who stated that "the compensation paid them was five or six times the compensation normally paid in urban renewal programs" (Rabinovich, 1973). What emerges from the events at Yemin Moshe was that those residents who held out longer and bargained harder received better compensation than those who did not. It also suggests that there may be no such thing as "normal" compensation rates, and that payments are relatively related to a large number of factors. Some of these factors include the sophistication of the bargaining parties, public opinion, legal counsel, and political clout. Jaffe (1973) responded to the mayor's charge concerning "damages" done to urban renewal problems in the following letter to the *Jerusalem Post*:

> The "damage" which Mayor Kollek believes has been done in urban relocation relates primarily to the increased compensation demanded by residents still living on expropriated land—which they will probably receive because the amount of compensation is primarily determined by bargaining.
>
> On the other hand, one of the benefits of the students' research has been a ruling of the attorney general on the meaning of expropriation for "public purposes"; namely, that expropriated land for public purposes does not include housing for single-family

villas and that land suitable for single homes should be returned to the original owners who are entitled to build there before anyone else. This ruling is a very crucial landmark for Israeli urban development schemes.

The art of bargaining is a crucial skill for residents of renewal areas to learn. Once a timetable for renewal has been set by the expropriating authorities, delays can be expensive, inflation devalues the allocated budgets, and various economic and additional pressures build up to get the project finished. These factors should, if understood by the residents, be helpful in negotiating their fair compensation. In slum areas, legal counsel should be available to residents, individually or collectively, to guarantee skillful bargaining and maximum utilization of the legal system to safeguard tenants' rights. If low-cost legal counsel cannot be obtained by the residents themselves, then legislation may be required to anchor provision of such service in Israeli law, paid for by a government ministry such as the Ministry of Housing, Labor and Social Affairs, or Justice.

RENEWAL, RESEARCH, AND PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

All renewal projects involving the use of public funds, or expropriation of land for "public purposes," must be accountable, open, and receptive to scrutiny by public institutions. Unlike private, purely profit-oriented companies, public corporations receive their funding from the public and consequently, every policy and program they implement should be publicized and made available to interested individuals and agencies. This premise is the basis for the operations of the State Controller's Office, and also for independent research by universities and other responsible organizations.

In the Yemin Moshe case, both the researchers and the Development Corporation learned important lessons. The Hebrew University social work students who studied Yemin Moshe evacuees in 1972 did so out of a genuine desire to learn how they fared and how they felt about renewal procedures and results, in view of their own experience. The research was initiated in 1971 as a result of complaints by social workers in the Katamon municipal welfare office adjacent to Yemin Moshe that an unprecedented number of evacuees were applying for welfare assistance. Despite relatively little cooperation from the Development Corporation (Chalik, 1973), a partial list of evacuees was obtained and interviewed. In brief, findings from this survey showed that 69 percent of the evacuees had gone into debt as a result of the evacuation, and none were debt-free as a result of evacuation; there were no uniform criteria found for compensation rates, and many evacuees were bitter and felt that they were treated unfairly (Baram, 1972). Data regarding compensation payments simply substantiated early findings by the State Controller's Office (1972), but the findings concerning evacuees' indebtedness and feelings of being exploited were new items that had never before been studied or publicized. The survey clearly and honestly noted the fact that the data were based on an incomplete sample of evacuees, and was a

pilot study only. Since this study, like all senior student research theses, was placed in the university library, it became available to everyone, including journalists who publicized it as a sensational exposé. This was certainly not the intention of the university students, who had done a careful, thoughtful research survey. Nevertheless, the publicity around the research resulted in a ruling by the director of the School of Social Work at the Hebrew University that the school would take steps to avoid recurrences where reports of student projects were being disseminated to nonprofessional and nonscientific journals by faculty members "without prior approval of the School."

The response of the municipality and the East Jerusalem Development Corporation to publication of the research in the newspapers was extremely negative, and in our opinion, turned the topic of Yemin Moshe and the issue of public accountability into a cause celebre which was perhaps the opposite of what those parties desired at the time. In a flurry of activity, the municipality hired an economist who wrote a report rejecting the research findings. The Development Corporation's lawyer wrote to the research director hinting at his client's "taking appropriate steps" (Weil, 1973), and noting that "critical data derived from misleading statistics lose their validity and they may be considered unlawfully damaging to the good name of the criticized party" (Weil, 1973). Needless to say, copies of all these letters were sent to the president of the university, the rector, and invariably became part of the faculty members' personal files. The mayor of Jerusalem also wrote to the president, the rector, and the director of the School of Social Work, and to the newspapers as well. Abraham Rabinovich of the *Jerusalem Post* (November 3, 1973) reported the mayor's reaction as follows:

> The Mayor reacted sharply when asked to explain the eviction of the slum dwellers from Yemin Moshe and the sale of their former dwellings to wealthy persons. Mr. Kollek termed "lying propaganda" the charge that the move had caused slum dwellers to become burdened with debts. . . . The reason they entered into debt, he said, was that they preferred to buy their own apartments whereas they had not owned their Yemin Moshe apartments.

In a letter to the president of the university and the director of the School of Social Work, the mayor noted that he could only explain the survey as "Dr. Jaffe's revenge on the Jerusalem Municipality" (Kollek, 1973). In response to these criticisms, Jaffe (1973) dismissed the revenge motive as "absolute nonsense" since the research was begun at least six months before he resigned from his post as director of the Jerusalem Municipal Welfare Department in 1972. He insisted on the legitimacy and importance of studying the subjective feelings of evacuees, and rejected the economist's report as biased. Jaffe felt that if the facts rather than prestige were really at issue, then the Development Corporation and the municipality should commission an independent study of the evacuees and the removal and compensation procedures which would settle the differences of opinion once and for all. Unfortunately, this was never done.

The lessons of the bitter debate over the research findings must not be forgotten. Public projects are legitimate, important objects of research, and public discussion of the findings is not only inevitable, but necessary, and provides a basis for citizen feedback and involvement. Furthermore, it is necessary that those in charge of renewal work should be full partners in research, and should do everything possible to assist in its implementation and learn from its findings, whatever they may be. Researchers, too, should offer every opportunity for early feedback to the partners in the research and view their findings as partial in the absence of comprehensive accumulated research. Nevertheless, researchers should not shy away from studying politically, socially, and economically sensitive topics, nor should they be intimidated or silenced from exploring those topics. While interpretation of the data may differ, it is important to publish one's findings to obtain public and colleagues' feedback, so long as the methodology and limitations of the research are also publicized. Without publication and debate, there can be no discussion and no learning.

RENEWAL, REMOVAL, AND REHABILITATION

Beyond the subjects of compensation, legal instruments, and definitions of "public purposes," there is a more important conceptual, ideological, and planning issue that precedes all of the other operational topics previously discussed. I am referring specifically to the subjective goals and personal *values* which one associates with the terms renewal and rehabilitation. The definitions of these terms and the methods utilized to implement them are value-laden and relative to one's specific social and economic philosophy and assessment of "what is best" for the community. Since these are subjective value issues, they also account for the differences of opinion as to exactly what happened or should have happened in Yemin Moshe.

For example, does neighborhood *renewal* require the total *removal* of prior residents and the substitution of a completely new set of residents? Was there any room for an ethnically and socioeconomically integrated neighborhood of new and former residents, both enjoying physically rehabilitated homes? What were the goals of "renewal": to rehabilitate the real estate in Yemin Moshe, or the slum residents, or both? Which had priority? What did "rehabilitation" of an evacuated family mean: home ownership in a better neighborhood, whatever the family would settle for, or a home for a home? Who would benefit most from the renewal: the former residents, the new residents, the state? The answers to each of these questions involve conceptual and value decisions which automatically dictate the means used for their implementation.

Eliyahu Elyashar, the veteran trustee of the Touro Trust Fund and a respected executive member of the Jerusalem Sephardi Committee, reflected on these questions as he attended the gala concert by Isaac Stern to dedicate the newly rehabilitated Mishkenot Sha'ananim neighborhood in 1973:

It was difficult for me to control the feeling that a wrong was done to the families (of Mishkenot and Yemin Moshe) then. Instead of renewing the neighborhood for them with taxpayers' money as reparation for their suffering and as a sign of thanks from the nation, they were shoved outside the neighborhood and instead, the rehabilitated buildings were given to artists and writers whose rights cannot be compared by any measure to the many sacrifices, including lives, of those who were removed and given small financial remuneration.

Perhaps they are correct, those that say that most of the owners left the place years ago and only a small portion of the veterans stayed on to live in the neighborhood. But the truth is that I am not worried about those who abandoned their homes and their rights many years ago, but specifically for those families that suffered so terribly ever since the first bloody riots in 1920 and up to the War of Liberation in 1948. It would be logical and morally proper that these people would be privileged to enjoy their homes, if the neighborhood were to be rehabilitated for these veterans who proved their loyalty and made not a few sacrifices to hold onto this first neighborhood opposite the walls [of the Old City]. (Elyashar, 1973, p. 6)

Elyashar's proposal for renewing an entire slum neighborhood *for slum residents* was a rare concept in Israeli urban planning in 1973. When Eliezer Jaffe suggested the same idea, one reporter remarked that these were an intellectual's musings, for whom "the practical side of the matter was of marginal interest" (Li-On, 1973). The "practical side" meant that public funds were not going to be invested in renewing slum neighborhoods for slum residents.

In 1977, the newly elected prime minister, Mr. Menachem Begin, changed this approach radically when he initiated perhaps the most important contemporary Israeli urban social development program, "Project Renewal."

Soon after Prime Minister Begin was installed in office, he proposed in the Assembly of the Jewish Agency that Israel and Diaspora Jewry undertake a five-year crash program to renew 160 slum neighborhoods housing 45,000 low-income, mostly large families of Middle Eastern origin. He proposed establishing a fund of $1.2 billion, 50 percent to be raised in Israel and 50 percent to be raised abroad. The Ministries of Housing and Labor and Social Affairs had prepared a list of the most needy neighborhoods, each containing between 3,000 and 8,000 residents, located mostly in urban, but also in some rural, areas. These were neighborhoods which had been forgotten, like Yemin Moshe, after the mass immigration of Jews from Moslem countries were settled in them during the first decade of the state's existence. The small, hurriedly-built apartments were bursting with bright but disadvantaged children, and the social service infrastructure, like the undersized sewage pipes, was inadequate for the needs of the residents almost from the day they were built. These particular neighborhoods fell far below national norms by elementary criteria such as overcrowding, average per capita income, quality of housing, social services available, and citizen involvement. Despite enlightened legislation regarding income maintenance, free high school and other national schemes, the neighborhoods re-

mained untouched and continued to deteriorate. Over 70 percent of Israel's welfare cases still live in the 12 largest towns; the urban slum had become the core of the country's social problems, even more than the development towns. The suburb of Jerusalem, Neveh Yaakov, for example, now houses more Israelis than the town of Kiryat Shmonah in the Galilee.

It is also of crucial importance to remember that the overwhelming bulk of disadvantaged Israelis are Sephardi Jews, the same Jews who gave the majority of their votes to Mr. Begin, hoping they would not be forgotten after the elections (Zipperstein and Jaffe, 1981). After the appearance of street corner Israeli Black Panther Youths in 1971, and the publication of the Prime Minister's Report on Disadvantaged Youth in 1972, the nation became much more aware of the extent of the social problems, and the Sephardi community in Israel and abroad began to congeal around a demand for social change. Project Renewal is a partial, but important, response to that demand (Jaffe, 1975, 1978, 1981).

One cannot avoid noting the ethnic implications concerning events of urban planning today, including the emphasis on residents' involvement in Project Renewal which reflect political developments since 1973. Taking these factors into account, it is quite possible that certain elements of renewal in Yemin Moshe during the 1970s could not have occurred in the 1980s. Elyashar saw events in Yemin Moshe as a *Sephardi* tragedy, feeling that the rights of the predominantly Sephardi Jews in Yemin Moshe and the Jerusalem Sephardi community were transgressed. He writes painfully of his "hope that things will be set right and the theft restored either by proper compensation or by provision of land in place of that which was expropriated, thus enabling our community to work for closing social gaps . . . " (Elyashar, 1973, p. 7). In today's climate of resurgence in ethnic identity, increased overt and covert Sephardi political power, organization of powerful Sephardi lobby groups in Israel and abroad, and the emergence of more sophisticated neighborhood leadership, perhaps the original value decisions and instruments utilized in Yemin Moshe will no longer be acceptable in other neighborhoods. If this is true, the lessons of Yemin Moshe have contributed greatly to this change in approach.

Our own forecast is less optimistic. In the long run, financial interests and economic determinism mobilize potent forces which have little patience for individual rehabilitation, social services, and dealing with community or family problems. The profit potential from the control, sale, rent, and taxes from valuable real estate can be a powerful enticement to overlook social welfare and individual needs of people from disadvantaged and other groups. For example, in February 1982, the *Haaretz* newspaper reported that "the Municipality of Petah Tikva consistently expropriates land in the industrial area of the town and afterwards sells the land back to the former owners; the Municipality never relinquishes this expropriated land and it is a source of important income for the City" (*Haaretz*, February 25, 1982). These economic enticements cannot be entrusted to voluntary safeguards and faith in the altruistic ideals of either gov-



Yemin Moshe, 1986.

ernment or private planners. They require legislation, constant surveillance by independent citizens' groups, the media, academia, and most of all, by the residents involved.

If the goals of urban renewal are inherently controversial and value-laden, and if "renewal" is an economic-political phenomenon, then those who can wield the most influence and power will control the outcome and nature of the renewal work. In this struggle, residents' access to information, to the media, and to consultation are crucial. Furthermore, it is essential to utilize tools made available by government to safeguard citizens' rights such as appeal procedures through the courts, the attorney general's office, legislation by Knesset members, and the State Controller's Office. More than anything else, citizens must be committed to getting involved in what goes on around them, and must learn to translate this desire into persuasive organizational and political skills that can influence the trend of events.

Yemin Moshe was a classic example of competing interests and social values in conflict. It was a case of dispersal of a community in favor of physical renewal, repopulation, and creation of a new exclusive neighborhood in the heart of Jerusalem. Some view it as a tragic case of using a draconian land expropriation law on an unorganized, politically unsophisticated slum community, which was dislocated by means of a highly controversial de facto interpretation of what is defined as "public purposes." All of these issues can and should be corrected by legal means, including new legislation and court rulings.

No one today really knows, in a systematic way, what happened to all of the residents of the old Yemin Moshe community, and whether the move helped or hurt them. This is very unfortunate because beliefs differ greatly on the subject, and because many observers consider this to be a major test of the success or failure of the project. We will probably never know how they fared, but the controversy and legacy they left behind serve as a message to residents of other neighborhoods in Jerusalem and elsewhere to remain alert to the need to protect their rights. Perhaps that is the most important lesson of all.

One cannot help wondering what Judah Touro and Moses Montefiore would say if they stood today on that plot of land purchased nearly 130 years ago with so much effort and plans for easing the hardship of poor Jews living in the Old City. Would they be pleased or disturbed over what they saw? In view of their original goals, one wonders whether they would be proud of what has taken place.

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About the Author

Professor Eliezer D. Jaffe has lived in Israel since 1960. He was trained in the United States, taking degrees in sociology, psychology, and criminology and his doctorate in social work. Since emigrating to Israel, he has taught at the Hebrew University, chiefly at its Paul Baerwald School of Social Work. He has been a consultant to the Israel Ministry of Social Welfare and has served on several ministerial committees including the Prime Minister's Committee on Disadvantaged Youth (under Golda Meir), the Prime Minister's Council on Social Welfare Policy (under Shimon Peres), the President's Committee on Outstanding Volunteers (under Chaim Herzog), and the Committee to Determine Israel's Poverty Line. He is a member of the Editorial Board of Israel's Social Work journal, *Society and Welfare*. Between 1970 and 1972, he headed the Jerusalem Municipal Department of Family and Community Services, introducing major reforms, many of which have since been adopted nationwide.

Dr. Jaffe's research has focused primarily on welfare services to children and their families. He is presently engaged in studying affirmative action in Israeli social work education, private philanthropy in Israel, and ethnic stereotypes among Israelis. He publishes frequently in professional journals and in the Israeli and American Jewish press and is the author of eight books.

In 1976 Dr. Jaffe received the Bernard Revel Memorial award, presented annually to the most outstanding scholar and community leader among the alumni of Yeshiva University. He is an independent, frank interpreter and analyst of social problems in Israel and an ardent advocate of involvement by Jews abroad in Israeli social affairs. It was he who suggested the twinning concept in Project Renewal, whereby Jewish Federations linked up directly with specific disadvantaged neighborhoods in Israel.

He is a co-founder of *Zahavi* (The Israel Association of Large Families), a former member of the Central Committee of the Israel Association of Social Workers, an advisor and community organizer of social action groups, past

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