The Contested City: Jerusalem 1917-2017

A Full Day Workshop Organised by
the Middle East Institute (MEI) Transystemic Law Research Cluster

MEI Conference Room, Level 6
29 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Singapore 119620
Workshop Statement

This workshop is devoted to the historical, legal, and political aspects of the Jerusalem Question from the Ottoman period to the present. The years 1917-2017 have been chosen as the timeframe as these span two controversial moments in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict: The year of the famous Balfour Declaration promising the Jewish people a national home in Palestine, and President Donald Trump’s decision to recognise Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Jerusalem is not only a symbol of the long-running Israel-Palestine conflict; it is also a living city, where peoples of all faiths have lived, prayed, and worked. In this workshop, historians, political scientists, and legal scholars from all sides of the dispute will gather to discuss the different stages of Jerusalem’s history, with panels devoted to Ottoman Jerusalem, Jerusalem in 1948, modern Jerusalem, the Holy Places, and the city’s cultural heritage.
Workshop Schedule

Thursday, July 4, 2019

8.30am  REGISTRATION

9.00am  INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Bilahari Kausikan  
Chairman, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore

Victor Kattan  
Senior Research Fellow, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore

9.20am  KEYNOTE LECTURE

Jerusalem: A Many-Bordered City  
Michael Dumper  
Professor in Middle East Politics, University of Exeter, UK

10.00am  BREAK

10.30am  PANEL DISCUSSION ONE: OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Chairperson  
Serkan Yolocan  
Research Fellow, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore

Panellists
Holy Land or Palestine? The Establishment of the Italian Consulate in Jerusalem  
Roberto Mazza  
Lecturer, Department of History, University of Limerick, Ireland

The De-Municipalisation of Urban Governance and of the Post-Ottoman Political Sphere in Jerusalem  
Falistan Naïlîî  
Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo), Amman, Jordan

12.00pm  PANEL DISCUSSION TWO: JERUSALEM IN 1948

Chairperson  
Gretchen Head  
Assistant Professor, Humanities, Yale-NUS College

Panellists
“Corpus separandum”: The United Nations Plan for the Internationalisation of Jerusalem  
Elad Ben Dror  
Head of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Dividing Jerusalem: The Fate of the Jerusalemites in 1948  
Issam Nassar  
Professor, Department of History, Illinois State University, USA
Workshop Schedule

Thursday, July 4, 2019

1.30pm  LUNCH

2.30pm  PANEL DISCUSSION THREE: MODERN JERUSALEM

Chairperson
Michelle Teo
Deputy Director, Middle East Institute,
National University of Singapore

Panellists
Social Changes in Jerusalem 1949 – 1967
Menachem Klein
Department of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Which Jerusalem? Israel’s Little-Known Master Plans and Their Impact on Palestinian Lives in Jerusalem
Nur Arafeh
Rhodes Scholar, Oxford University, UK

4.00pm  BREAK

4.30pm  PANEL DISCUSSION FOUR: THE HOLY PLACES AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Chairperson
Naoko Shimazu
Professor of Humanities (History), Yale-NUS College

Panellists
Russian Jerusalem: Construction, Deconstruction, Reconstruction
Elena Astafieva
Senior Researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CERCEC, CNRS-EHESS -PSL, Paris)

The Vatican and Jerusalem: Another Turning Point?
Silvio Ferrari
Professor of Law and Religion, University of Milan

Jordan’s Custodianship of the Muslim Holy Shrines in Jerusalem
Victor Kattan
Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore

France and Jerusalem: A Special Relationship
Dominique Trimbur
Associate Researcher, Centre de Recherche Français à Jérusalem, Paris

6.30pm  END OF CONFERENCE
Mr Bilahari Kausikan is the Chairman of the Middle East Institute, an autonomous institute of the National University of Singapore. Mr Kausikan was Permanent Secretary of Singapore's Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2010 to 2013, having served as Second Permanent Secretary since 2001. He was subsequently Ambassador-at-Large until May 2018. His earlier appointments at the Ministry include Deputy Secretary for South-east Asia, Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York and Ambassador to the Russian Federation. Raffles Institution, the University of Singapore and Columbia University in New York all attempted to educate Mr Kausikan.

Victor Kattan is a Senior Research Fellow of the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore (NUS). He is also an Associate Fellow of NUS Law. Dr Kattan has published widely in his field and is the author of numerous articles in international law journals and the author and editor of three books: “From Coexistence to Conquest: International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1891 - 1949” (Pluto 2009), “The Palestine Question in International Law” (BIICL 2008), and most recently (with Peter Sluglett) “Violent Radical Movements in the Arab World: The Ideology and Politics of Non-State Actors” (I.B. Tauris 2019).
Professor Michael Dumper

Middle East Politics,
University of Exeter, London

Michael Dumper is Professor in Middle East Politics, University of Exeter, UK. In addition to his most recent edited book, Contested Holy Cities: Urban Dimensions of Religious Conflicts (Routledge, 2019) he is also author of Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History and the Future of the Holy City (Columbia University Press, 2014), The Politics of Sacred Space: The Old City of Jerusalem and the Middle East Conflict, 1967-2000, (2001) and The Politics of Jerusalem Since 1967 (1997) and a number of books on Palestinian refugees. He has just completed a Leverhulme Fellowship comparing religious conflicts in cities in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. The book from the project, Power, Piety and People: Holy Cities in the 21st Century will be published by Columbia University Press. He has acted as a consultant on Middle East politics for the UK and Canadian governments, as well as for the UN and the EU.

Jerusalem: A Many-Bordered City

This paper examines the dynamic nature of the borders of the city of Jerusalem. It also discusses how these may impact on the nature of the political agreement between the Israeli and Palestinian leaderships over the city. First, it provides an overview of the changing political and municipal borders from the late British Mandate period (1940s) to the current day. Reference will also be made to other cities with ethnic and religious divisions (eg Banaras, Lhasa, George Town) with a view to situating Jerusalem in a broader political context. The paper then explores how these borders need further dis-aggregation to understand how the different historical, religious, legal and economic dimensions of the city connect and provide the basis for differing political claims to it. Examining two different proposals for the city in the peace negotiations reveals the extent to which the “many-bordered city” offers some flexibility in positions and the potential for a negotiated agreement.
Holy Land or Palestine?
The Establishment of the Italian Consulate in Jerusalem

According to the Oxford Dictionary, diplomacy is ‘the activity of managing relations between different countries’ while a diplomat is ‘a person whose job is to represent his or her country in a foreign country.’ Though this may be a simplified definition of a rather complex matter, it highlights the fact that we often believe diplomacy is just a way to see how countries relate to each other in other words, it is a business of high politics. This paper will address the establishment of consulates, which was a response to an increasing activity in the economic, social and religious spheres of the foreign subjects in Jerusalem and the surrounding areas.

The British consulate was first established in 1839, followed by the German in 1842, and then those of France, Italy, Austria and Russia. Other small consulates opened at the beginning of the 20th century, making Jerusalem a centre of diplomatic activity that went beyond the borders of the city and the region.

As representatives of their governments, consuls had to deal with both Ottoman authorities and the local population. Consuls were, in general, largely critical of the Ottomans and of the locals. Despite their latent and visible Orientalism, we can certainly say that it was partly because of their constant pressure that the municipality of Jerusalem worked towards the improvement of services like lighting, cleanliness and public security. This paper will present an overview of the establishment of the various consulates in the late Ottoman era, and will trace their activities until 1948, trying to connect their work and the local population. I will also show, relying on maps and possibly GIS technology, how the location of these consulates changed in order to link the past with the present. It must be said that an organic history of the diplomatic missions in Jerusalem has yet to be written and perhaps will never be, considering the number of challenges such work would need to overcome. However, I hope to bring a fresh overview of diplomacy in the Holy Land, putting the city at the centre and making diplomacy a part of it.
Falestin Naïli
Researcher
Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo), Amman

Falestin Naïli is a researcher at the Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo) in Amman. She specialises in the social history of late Ottoman and Mandate Palestine and Jordan, but through her interest in collective memory and oral history often reaches present-time issues. She also works on the politics of heritage and folklore.

The De-Municipalisation of Urban Governance and of the Post-Ottoman Political Sphere In Jerusalem

During the transition from the end of the Ottoman period to the instauration of the British Mandate rule in Palestine, the sphere of urban governance underwent a major transformation. Ottoman civic institutions such as the municipal council were slowly stripped of their power in favour of confessional representatives and British “experts”. At the same time, the city’s space was conceived in terms of heritage preservation and Ottoman schemes of modernisation were undone.
Elad Ben-Dror
Senior lecturer, Head of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Elad Ben-Dror is a senior lecturer and Head of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel. His research focuses on various aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, especially the early stages of the UN’s involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict. His most recent study about the UNSCOP Committee and the Partition Plan for Palestine will soon be published as a book. His current project deals with the UN’s plans for the internationalisation of Jerusalem.

“Corpus Separandum”: The United Nations Plan for the Internationalisation of Jerusalem

The internationalisation of Jerusalem was one of the UN’s central elements in the Partition Plan (November 29th, 1947) - the city and its environs were to be a separate body with special UN status (“Corpus separatum”). Although war erupted in Palestine, erasing the Partition Plan, the UN still tried to promote the internationalisation idea that took shape several times. At the end of the 1948 war, Jerusalem was divided between Israel and Jordan, but in December 1949, the internationalisation plan was accepted as a UN General Assembly resolution, winning renewed support. This decision caused an extreme diplomatic confrontation with Israel and Jordan, which refused to comply and conducted a political struggle that led to the idea’s dismissal. My lecture will examine the UN’s handling of the question of Jerusalem in its first chapters of involvement in the Palestine question.

My paper will be based mainly on research I conducted in the UN Archives in New York, and in other archives in the United States, Israel and Britain.

The paper will examine how the idea of internationalisation was shaped by UNSCOP; how the UN planned to implement it from 1947-1949 and why this idea was a complete failure in the end.
Dividing Jerusalem: The Fate of the Jerusalemites in 1948

Following the disappearance of Palestine from the map of the world in 1948, Jerusalem was partitioned between the newly-created state of Israel and the kingdom of Jordan. The partition came after vicious battles that raged in the city from the last week of April of that year, during which Palestinian and Arab fighters managed to preserve the Old City under their control, while at the same time Zionist forces managed to occupy the southern and western suburbs of the city.

By the end of April, dramatic events took place including the massacre at Dier Yassin, a village in the vicinity of the city, and the occupation of the western suburbs by the Zionist forces. Around 30,000 Palestinians were evicted or left their homes from that part of the city and were prevented from returning after Israel was declared and that section of the city was declared as part of the state. The events changed the nature of the Jerusalem society in ways not known before as the Palestinians in the western and southern suburbs were replaced by Jewish immigrants who resided in their homes.

Using photographs, memoirs, dairies, and official documents, my presentation will examine the changes that occurred at that time, with a focus on the two years following the partition. I will examine the dramatic effects on the lives of the Jerusalemites who were expelled and the few who managed to stay in the Israeli-controlled section of the city. Although the events that my presentation will focus on occurred more than seven decades ago, the conditions in the city not only persisted, but continued to be repeated to this day, as far as the Palestinian Jerusalemites are concerned. Understanding the fate of Jerusalem, and the entire conflict over Palestine, cannot be complete without serious consideration of what happened in the city at the time.
Social Changes in Jerusalem 1949 – 1967

Following the 1948 War and up to the 1967 war Jerusalem was divided between Jordan and Israel. During this period, each of the two cities has changed demographically and geographically. In my presentation, I sum up the major changes in those fields as well as the cities’ development policies implemented by each of the two governments. Thus, my presentation relates to not only urban realities, but also how they integrated in each of the two states’ national policy.
Nur Arafeh
Rhodes Scholar
University of Oxford

Nur Arafeh is a Rhodes Scholar, currently doing her PhD at the University of Oxford. She was a Teaching Assistant at Columbia University and a Visiting Lecturer at Al-Quds Bard College. Nur has consulted for several international organisations, and previously worked as a Policy Fellow of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network, and as an Associate Researcher at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS). She has written numerous policy briefs and op-eds on the Palestinian economy in Arabic, English and French, in the Guardian, Le Monde Diplomatique, and Al-Jazeera, among other outlets. She recently published an essay with the Institute for Palestine Studies/Jerusalem Quarterly, entitled: “How Strategic is the Strategic Sectorial Development Plan For Jerusalem? A review of the Strategic Sectorial Development Plan for Jerusalem (2018-2022)” (December 2018), and another essay with the Austrian Journal of Development Studies, entitled: “Resistance Economy: A new buzzword?” (May 2018).

Which Jerusalem? Israel’s Little-Known Master Plans and Their Impact on Palestinian Lives in Jerusalem

In 1995, Edward Said had warned that it was “only by first projecting an idea of Jerusalem [that] Israel could then proceed to the changes on the ground,” which “would then correspond to the images and projections”[1]. What is Israel’s “idea” of Jerusalem? What is Israel’s vision of Jerusalem five years from now or 30 years from now? This presentation will attempt to answer these questions by critically examining three Israeli master plans that convey Israel’s colonial projection of Jerusalem and its plan to turn this image into reality. The presentation will also highlight more recent measures undertaken by Israel to further “Judaise” the city. The Palestinian Authority’s response to Israeli plans and its development approach for Jerusalem will also be critically discussed.

Elena Astafieva
Senior Researcher
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

Elena Astafieva is a Senior Researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CERCEC, CNRS-EHESS -PSL, Paris). Her research focuses on the entanglements of religion and politics in the Russian Empire from the end of the 18th Century until the beginning of the 20th Century.

The Russian Jerusalem:
Construction, Deconstruction, Reconstruction

In my paper, I aim to present the history of the “Russian Jerusalem” - its construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction - during the imperial era, the Soviet period, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union. More concretely, I would like to expose the stakes - political, religious, cultural - of Russian settlement in Palestine, as well as present the several stages of the construction of “the Russian Jerusalem”, defined as “New Jerusalem” or “Moscobia”, during the imperial period. Then, I will put forth the changes in the status of the Russian properties and institutions in connection to the Holy Land after the October Revolution, during the British Mandate, and after the creation of the State of Israel. Finally, I will provide some elements of the reconstruction of part of “the Russian Jerusalem” after 1991.
Professor Silvio Ferrari
Law and Religion
University of Milan

Silvio Ferrari is the Professor of Law and Religion, University of Milan, Visiting Professor at the University of California (Berkeley, 1994 and 2001), the Institute for Advanced Legal Studies (London, 1998-99) and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris, Sorbonne, 2004), the University of Leuven (2000-2012), Center of Theological Inquiry (Princeton 2014).

His publications in English include Religious Rules, State Law, and Normative Pluralism. A comparative overview (together with R. Cristofori and R. Bottoni), Springer, 2016, Switzerland Handbook of Law and Religion (Routledge 2015), Religion in Public Spaces (Ashgate 2012, ed. together with S. Pastorelli), Law and Religion in Post-Communist Europe, Leuven, Peeters, 2003 (ed. together with W. Cole Durham, Jr. and E. A. Sewell). His main fields of interest are law and religion in Europe, comparative law of religions (particularly Jewish law, Canon law and Islamic law) and the Vatican policy in the Middle East.

He is honorary president of ICLARS (International Consortium for Law and Religion Studies). In 2012, he was invited to deliver the Messenger Lectures at Cornell University and received the Distinguished Service Award of the International Center for Law and Religion Studies of the J. Reuben Clark Law School (BYU, Provo, Utah).

The Vatican and Jerusalem: Another Turning Point?

After the Second World War, the Vatican was one of the strongest supporters of the internationalisation of Jerusalem and later of an internationally guaranteed statute for the Holy City. In the recent statement signed with the King of Morocco, Pope Francis no longer insists on an international guarantee, and mentions only the preservation of the spiritual dimension and cultural identity of Jerusalem. How should we read this de-escalation of the Vatican’s demands concerning Jerusalem? As a step towards a more “spiritual” conception of the Vatican diplomacy, which distances itself from any precise political content? As an expression of real politik recognising that any kind of international status for Jerusalem is unattainable in the present political context? As part of a broader strategy aimed at maintaining good relations with the Jewish and the Islamic community worldwide? In my presentation, I shall try to answer these questions through an analysis of the turning points of the Vatican policy on Jerusalem, placing it in the broader context of the relations between the Holy See, Israel and the State of Palestine.
Victor Kattan is a Senior Research Fellow of the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore (NUS). He is also an Associate Fellow of NUS Law. Dr Kattan has published widely in his field and is the author of numerous articles in international law journals and the author and editor of three books: “From Coexistence to Conquest: International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1891 - 1949” (Pluto 2009), “The Palestine Question in International Law” (BIICL 2008), and most recently (with Peter Sluglett) “Violent Radical Movements in the Arab World: The Ideology and Politics of Non-State Actors” (I.B. Tauris 2019).

Jordan’s Custodianship of the Muslim Holy Shrines in Jerusalem
Twenty-five years have passed since Israel and Jordan concluded the Washington Declaration (25 July 1994) that paved the path for the historic peace treaty between the two nations. Among the treaty’s provisions is Article 9(2) according to which “Israel respects the present special role of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Muslim Holy shrines in Jerusalem. When negotiations on the permanent status will take place, Israel will give high priority to the Jordanian historic role in these shrines”. Given recent events on the al-Haram ash-Sharif/Temple Mount complex, understanding the meaning of this provision has never been more important. In ascertaining the meaning of Article 9(2), this paper revisits the drafting of the original language used in the negotiations of the Washington Declaration, and explains how the declaration found expression in the peace treaty, before exploring Jordan’s historic role in the Muslim holy shrines in Jerusalem in order to shed light on the special role that Israel recognised in the treaty.
Dominique Trimbur
Associate Researcher, Centre de Recherche Français à Jérusalem


France and Jerusalem: A Special Relationship

For centuries, up to our days, France has had a close and very special relationship to the Holy Land and Jerusalem. The paper aims at describing briefly the history of the link, and to establish the current state of facts: Present on the ground with a Consulate General and through various and numerous religious (Catholic) institutions, France still possesses “national domains”, extraterritorial grounds inside and outside the Holy City. Based on tradition and her own interests, France rejects any modification of the “status quo” linked to the very nature of Jerusalem, and specifically any move within its international situation.
CHAIRS

Serkan Yolaçan
Research Fellow, Middle East Institute
National University of Singapore

Serkan Yolaçan studies mercantile and religious networks as channels of informal diplomacy across West Asia. His book project “The Azeri Triangle: Informal Diplomats across Iran, Turkey, and Russia” connects the modern histories of three major states through an ethnographic and historical study of a diasporic society and its cross-border engagements. The project reveals the Azeris’ historic role in West Asian politics and parallels it to that of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean and the Chinese in Southeast Asia. Dr Yolaçan holds a PhD in Cultural Anthropology from Duke University and an MA in Sociology and Social Anthropology from the Central European University. Prior to obtaining his doctoral degree, he worked as projects officer at the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) in Istanbul.

Gretchen Head
Assistant Professor, Humanities, Yale-NUS College

Dr Gretchen Head is originally from the New York area and has a Bachelor’s degree in English and Middle Eastern Studies from Rutgers University. After spending a year in Egypt on a Fulbright fellowship, she completed her MA and PhD in Arabic literature at the University of Pennsylvania. She has lived, studied, and worked in Palestine, Cairo, and multiple cities in Morocco (Rabat, Tangier, Casablanca, Fez).

After finishing her PhD in 2011, she joined the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of California, Berkeley in 2012 as a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow and Visiting Assistant Professor. She has been the recipient of fellowships and research grants from the Center for Arabic Studies Abroad, the American Institute for Maghreb Studies, and the EUME (Europe in the Middle East)/Forum Transregionale Studien Summer Academy.
CHAIRS

Michelle Teo
Deputy Director, Middle East Institute
National University of Singapore
Michelle Teo has more than 20 years’ experience in both the government and private sectors. Her career has spanned international relations, corporate and digital communications, and the globe. Ms Teo’s career with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken her to Europe, Australia and the Middle East. She then joined IBM, first as Communication Leader with IBM Singapore and later with IBM ASEAN.

Professor Naoko Shimazu
Humanities (History), Yale-NUS College
Professor Naoko Shimazu joined Yale-NUS College after 20 years of teaching at the Department of History, Classics and Archaeology, Birkbeck University of London. She obtained her BA (Hons) in Political Studies at the University of Manitoba, followed by MPhil and DPhil degrees in International Relations at the University of Oxford. For three years, she worked as a merchant banker in the City of London. She is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Professorial Research Associate at the Japan Research Centre at SOAS, London, Research Associate of the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore (NUS), and an Honorary Professor in the Department of History, NUS, among others. She has held research fellowships at the Institute of Social Science at the University of Tokyo, Japan Foundation Fellow at Waseda University, Visiting Senior Research Fellow at Asia Research Institute, NUS, and most recently as Fernand Braudel Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence. She has been the recipient of research grants, such as from the Arts and Humanities Research Council of UK, British Academy, and Leverhulme Trust, and USPC-NUS Fund.