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Political Islam in Contested Jerusalem:

The Emerging Role of Islamists from within Israel

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Editorial note
This working paper focuses on the contestation of Jerusalem's holy sites by Israel's Islamic movement; exploring themes related to sacred space and heritage as resistance (J2), as well as the consequences of a Palestinian leadership vacuum caused by the separation barrier (J1).

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Political Islam in Contested Jerusalem*:* The Emerging Role of Islamists from within Israel

Mick Dumper and Craig Larkin

Abstract: This paper examines the growing involvement of the Islamic Movement (IM) of Israel in Jerusalem, both in terms of rhetorical discourse and specific facts on the ground. It explores how the 'Al Aqsa' mosque has been employed, particularly by Shaykh Ra'ad Salah (Northern Branch) as a symbol for political empowerment; a site for public contestation (Waqf authority and IAA digs) and a focus for religious renewal (local piety, activism and tourism). Yet how significant and far reaching is the Islamic movement's impact within Jerusalem and amongst the local Palestinian inhabitants? Should their presence be perceived as a growing 'strategic threat' (Israeli 2008, Seener 2008), part of an 'Islamizing' trend (Reiter, 2008) or rather a consequence and culmination of weak local leadership, political intransigence, the failure of secular authority and the unintended consequences of the separation Wall and the non-recognition of the Hamas government.

Keywords: Jerusalem, Islamic Movement, Al-Aqsa, cultural heritage, resistance.

> Hear this Barak and (Prime Minister Ehud) Olmert: Our journey to Jerusalem, which began in 2000 (eruption of second intifada) will continue and grow stronger. If until now 30 buses arrived at the Al-Aqsa Mosque (to defend it) each day, Inshallah 60 buses will arrive from now on.

> Shaykh Ra'id Salah, 24 August 2008

INTRODUCTION

Jerusalem is an arena of conflicting and competing visions of the future. While Israeli political and military control over both halves of the city is not in dispute, there is no sense in which the Zionist imaginary of a Jewish city has been achieved or is irreversible. This has meant that alternative visions of the future of the city, both ethno-national and eschatological in nature, continue to vie for dominance and act as mobilising forces for dissident groups. This paper seeks to examine one such counter hegemonic impulse or 'sacred resistance' championed by the Islamic Movement of Israel (IM). (1) It explores how, through rhetoric discourse and specific activities on the ground, the term and the place "al-Aqsa" has been employed particularly by Shaykh Ra'id Salah (leader of Northern Branch of IM) as a symbol for political empowerment; a site for public contestation (al-Waqf authority and IAA digs) and a

far reaching is the Islamic movement's impact within Jerusalem and amongst the local Palestinian inhabitants? Should their presence be perceived as a growing 'strategic threat' (Israeli 2008, Seener 2008), part of an 'Islamizing' trend (Reiter, 2008) or rather a consequence and culmination of weak local leadership, political intransigence, the failure of secular authority and the unintended consequences of the separation Wall and the non-recognition of the Hamas government. Despite the intensification of rhetoric concerning Jerusalem, and the increased physical presence of the Islamic movement on the streets of the city; what is more difficult to assess is the extent to which these translate into influence in the current governance of the city and, more importantly, influence over the direction of negotiations on the future of the city. The Islamic movement's role in Jerusalem, nonetheless, provides an important lens for exploring broader themes of sacred space, religious resistance and the politicisation of holy sites in contested cities.

This paper is primarily based on grounded fieldwork in Jerusalem, including over 50 in depth interviews with academics, activists, religious leaders and politicians, conducted during April 2008 to July 2009. This is further substantiated by a comprehensive analysis of secondary sources, in the form of Arab/Hebrew media, websites, journal articles, briefing papers and reports. The first section provides a historic context to the IM's (Northern branch) emergence in Jerusalem by briefly examining the Islamic presence and leadership within the holy city; while the second section focuses on the IM's political evolution. The remaining sections examine three spheres and sites of IM contestation: Al-Aqsa and heritage; land expropriation in Jerusalem and Islamization of the Old City. Finally we will conclude by examining the response of Israel to the multi-pronged activity of the IM in Jerusalem.

1. JERUSALEM – ENDURING ISLAMIC PRESENCE, EVOLVING MUSLIM LEADERSHIP.

The Islamic presence in Jerusalem was established in 638 AD and its early history in the city is well-documented.(2) The main point to note is that there then followed a period of nearly fourteen hundred years of Islamic rule in the city broken only by the Crusader invasions of 1099-1187 and 1229-1244 AD. This long period saw the construction of the two main Islamic monuments in Jerusalem, the al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock, locations of the first direction of prayer in Islam (*qibla*) and the Prophet Muhammad's brief ascent to heaven. The city's prominence in the genesis of Islam and its eschatology made the city also the site of religious schools,

to the pilgrimage cities Mecca and Medina. One result of such a role was the evolution of an extensive system of external support in the form of the endowment (or *waqf*) system which generated income for the upkeep of mosques and other communal services. The administration and maintenance of this system led in turn to the creation of an extensive bureaucracy control over which and employment in was highly prized. While there were periods of decline and paralysis during this long and fruitful period, it is clear that on the eve of the 1967 War, the Muslim community in Jerusalem had deep roots, and a comprehensive and strong institutional presence.

Following the Israeli occupation in 1967, the Islamic leadership in East Jerusalem in the form of the Waqf Administration found itself in a highly vulnerable and anomalous position.(3) On the one hand it was obliged to accept to Israeli political and military control over the city which led to tactical compromises over territorial encroachments and in this context it lost property and land to the Israeli state (for example, the Maghribi and Jewish quarters) and a range of its responsibilities were curtailed. On the other hand, in the heart of a city proclaimed by the Israeli state as its capital, it maintained itself as an arm of the Jordanian government with funds, appointments and policy being decided in Amman. Despite Israeli attempts to undermine it, the Waqf Administration was able to re-establish its pre-eminent position in Jerusalem and the West Bank it functioned as a semi-autonomous Palestinian-Jordanian enclave. It reconstituted the Jerusalem Shari a Court system and Shari a Court of Appeal, it prevented any censorship of the Friday sermons from al-Aqsa mosque (highly symbolic in terms of whose authority is recognised) and embarked upon a programme of property restoration, renovation, education and training. All these activities, which flourished in the late seventies and early eighties, breathed new life into the ancient Islamic monumental buildings and re-invigorated the Haram al-Sharif as a spiritual and political centre. With funds from the Islamic world flowing as a result of the hike in oil prices, there was a short but vigorous Islamic renaissance in the city.

However, this period can also be characterised as a triangular tug-of-war between Jordan, Israel and the PLO. These renaissance activities took place during a phase when Israel and Jordan (still smarting from the attempted PLO coup in 1971) tacitly cooperated in the marginalisation of the PLO. Yet, following its eviction from Lebanon in 1982, PLO activity in the occupied Palestinian territories increased and countered this trend. Marshalling a new generation of radicalised professionals and

stepped the traditional religious elites and propertied aristocracy. The Islamic leadership, therefore, was obliged to walk a tightrope between the demands of their paymasters in Jordan and the demands of their increasingly Palestinian-nationalist community, while at the same time fending off Israeli attempts to co-opt and constrain their role. At this point in the post-1967 period, the hottest seat in the city was occupied by Shaykh Hassan Tahbub, the Director-General of the Waqf Administration.

The renewed activity of the PLO in the West Bank and Gaza Strip coalesced to produce in 1987 the first Palestinian Intifada against the Israeli occupation. With regard to Jerusalem the Intifada had three important effects: First, it resulted in the severance of Jordanian administrative ties with the West Bank and East Jerusalem, save, importantly, in those matters relating to the shari a courts, the waqf system and the management of the holy sites. This was a belated recognition by Jordanian of its replacement by the PLO in the representation of the Palestinian people, but it nevertheless retained responsibility for the future of the holy sites in Jerusalem. Second, it set in motion the process of negotiations which culminated in the 1993 Oslo Accords and in the mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO. Third, the Oslo Accords introduced a framework of phased military withdrawal and transfer of responsibilities to the "Palestinian National Authority" but was unclear as to the nature of the Palestinian entity which would emerge from this transition. As a result, agreement on final status issues such as the return of refugees, borders, settlements and the future of Jerusalem were deferred allowing Israel time to consolidate its control over the city through further Israeli colonisation and through the refusal to allow access to the city to non-Jerusalemite Palestinians.

These developments impinged upon the traditional Islamic leadership in a number of ways. In the so-called Peres-Holst letters, the Oslo Accords permitted the development of Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem and the Waqf Administration attempted to use this as a platform for extending its jurisdiction and engagement in the life of the inhabitants of East Jerusalem. (4) The triangular tug-of-war also continued with Jordan attempting to outflank the PLO by signing a peace agreement with Israeli in 1994 in which Israel agreed to 'give high priority to the Jordanian historic role in these shrines.' (5) Nevertheless, while this was an important gain for Jordan, it continued to leave the Islamic leadership in the city facing a dilemma as to where its loyalties should lay. As a result tensions within the

number of HAMAS sympathisers amongst its employees. The PLO attempted to neutralise these Jordanian gains by securing the support of the Organisation of Islamic Conferences (OIC) at the Rabat summit in 1994 and it felt sufficiently emboldened to appoint a Mufti of Jerusalem to challenge that of the Jordanian-appointed one. (6) The PLO attempt to set up a parallel religious leadership in Jerusalem signified the divisions inside the Muslim community in Jerusalem.

However, these internal schisms were overtaken by the failure of the Oslo Accords to produce a credible Palestinian state by 2000 and the reversal back to Israel of many of the security and policing responsibilities that had been transferred to the PNA. The ongoing Israeli colonising of land led to violent resistance and a bombing campaign by Palestinian dissidents, mostly but not all, Islamists from HAMAS or Islamic Jihad. The refusal or inability of the FATAH dominated PNA to stifle such dissidence resulted in the breakdown in security cooperation between Israel and the PNA upon which the Oslo transitional framework was predicated. Israel further marginalised the traditional leadership in Jerusalem, both national and religious, by closing down several key institutions; most notably, Orient House led by the FATAH leader in Jerusalem, Faisal Husseini, and the PNA Ministry of Religious Affairs offices in Jerusalem headed by Shaykh Hassan Tahbub. In addition, the Israeli government signalled an assault against the bastions of the traditional Islamic leadership by permitting the opening of a tunnel along the western wall of the Haram al-Sharif, by demonstrating extensive political and budgetary support of radical Israeli groups working in the Muslim quarters of the Old City. This assault culminated with a show of force on the Haram al-Sharif itself in the guise of an inspection by controversial Israel politician Ariel Sharon and which precipitated the second Palestinian intifada (or Al-Aqsa Intifada, September 2000).

When these events are seen in context of the failure of the peace negotiations between the PLO and Israel both in Camp David in 2000 and Taba in 2001, it became clear to Palestinians in Jerusalem that the PLO and the PNA did not have sufficient leverage to compel the Israelis to concede a strong Palestinian leadership role and institutional presence in the city. Splits in FATAH and between FATAH and HAMAS and between the Palestinians and the Jordanians did not help matters. The death of two key leaders, Faisal Husseini and Shaykh Hassan Tahbub added to the increasing sense of impotence. The perception that Palestinians were losing ground in the 2000s was further strengthened by the construction of the separation Wall

Palestinian houses. The passivity of the international community to the overt activities of Israeli settlers in building and tunnelling in and around the Haram al-Sharif raised the prospect of Palestinian, Arab and Islamic control over the Haram being irreversibly weakened after 1400 years of control. It is into this maelstrom that the Palestinian Islamists of Israel have entered; first as helpers, but increasingly as key mobilisers of both the Palestinians in Israel and Jerusalemites, and increasingly, through the internet, of the wider Islamic world. These Israeli Arabs or 'Palestinians within the 1948 borders' present a different sort of Islamic challenge to the Israeli authorities. Their resistance to Israeli hegemony in Jerusalem is taking multiple forms and dimensions: from championing counter-narratives extolling the city's Islamic past and triumphant future, to widely publicising perceived Israeli threats against holy sites and finally confronting, through legal recourse, municipal attempts to expropriate homes and land in Arab East Jerusalem. To assess and set in context the Islamic Movement's emerging position within Jerusalem, *vis à vis* Palestinian actors (FATAH, HAMAS, Al-Waqf, PA) and the Israeli authorities, it is important to briefly examine its political evolution.

2. THE RISE OF ISRAEL'S ISLAMIC MOVEMENT –COMPETING AND CONTESTING THE STATE

Issam Aburaiya (2004) charts the historic development of the Islamic movement within Israel in four distinct phases. First, the birth of the movement in the 1970s, with the graduation of Israeli-Palestinian Shaykhs (Abdullah Nimr Darwish, Ra'id Salah, Kamal al-Khatib, Ibrahim Sarsur) who were schooled in the West Bank but returned to the Southern triangle (7) with a deep commitment to Islamic teaching (*da wa*) and renewed religious devotion. The second phase during the early 1980's, witnessed the growing popularity of the Islamic movement as a body capable of communal and social change, through an evolving network of local charities, health clinics, mosques and schools; a case of Islamization from below rather than enforced from above. (8) Thirdly, during the mid 1980s to the early 1990s, the Islamic movement expanded its power to local government, winning municipal elections and focusing on regional issues. Finally, the fourth stage (1990-1996) witnessed the extension of the movement into the national arena, through political participation in 1996 Knesset elections (Shaykh Darwish's Southern branch) and also due to the championing of broader Palestinian concerns (Shaykh Salah's Northern branch) such as land expropriation, the protection of religious sites and economic development. The

interpretations, political strategy or leadership claims (9), has failed to detract from each branch's commitment to future Islamic autonomy (10) and an emerging focus on 'Al-Quds- the blessed city' and 'Al-Aqsa –the third holiest Muslim shrine' as unifying religio-national symbols. It is possible therefore to delineate a fifth stage (1997-2009) in the Islamic movement's development: a simultaneous globalisation of the Islamic struggle and a localisation of Palestinian resistance centred upon a defence of Al-Aqsa and Jerusalem. Shaykh Ra'id Salah, head of the Northern branch, has become both a renowned local activist and visible campaigner in Arab East Jerusalem – championing renovations, popular protests and religious festivals at the Haram al-Sharif; yet at the same time he has assumed the mantle of international advocate and spokesman for Al-Quds, warning of the dangers and threats to the city's Islamic heritage at conferences, in newspapers and through electronic media (11), thus earning himself the title 'Shaykh of Al-Aqsa' or the 'Palestinian Mayor of Jerusalem'. This latest expansion of the Islamic movement's remit can be desegregated into three spheres of influence and contestation:

- How has the Islamic movement's religious preservation campaign been used to challenge the traditional guardianship of the Haram al-Sharif by the PA, Awqaf authorities and Jordan?
- How has the movement's activities served to mobilise Palestinian resistance to perceived Israeli threats against holy sites, and expropriation of homes and land in Arab East Jerusalem?
- In what way has the movement contributed to Old Jerusalem's 'Islamisization' through the revitalisation of Islamic tourism, local activism and religious piety?

By focusing on these overlapping spheres of Islamist activity it is possible to obtain a dynamic and complex overview of the IM and their developing role within Jerusalem.

3. HERITAGE AS RESISTANCE

a) *Challenging the Status Quo*

A central tenet of the Islamic movement's activism within Israel has been its commitment to rehabilitate and restore 'holy places' – old cemeteries, shrines, mosques – often the sole remains of erased villages and disserted towns from the 1948 war or in Palestinian discourse *al-Nakba* (the catastrophe). Public battles over

mosques like that in *al-Sarafand* (13), helped to inspire the creation of and to popularise the activities of the Al-Aqsa Association (14) – the Islamic movement's charitable body tasked with coordinating the preservation and protection of sacred places. Al-Aqsa Association's modus operandi has involved a comprehensive mapping and documenting of holy places in Israel; research and archiving of land-ownership records; legal injunctions and court appeals; mobilisation of mass rallies and the construction of resistance tents at disputed sites; and the establishment of closer ties and links with strategic international bodies, like that of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and the wider Islamic world. This fusion of ideology and praxis leads scholars, Efrat Ben-Ze'ev and Issam Aburaiya, to conclude that the Islamic movement, through the work of its subsidiary charity, is contributing to a 'Re-Palestinization' of places in Israel – as ruins become sites of local resistance and places of '(re)production, the locus of personal memories, village myths and legends and national identity-building.'(15) Israeli academic Alisa Peled, goes further in explaining Al-Aqsa Association's heritage campaign not just in terms of a contest over national imaginings, but rather as part of the Islamic movement's escalating struggle to gain political and social control over Islamic institutions in Israel. Consequently, *waqf* (plural *awqaf*: Charitable endowments) assets, the shari a court system, religious education and holy places have become battlegrounds and popular rallying points in the Islamist campaign to create 'a parallel system of autonomous communal institutions.'(16) Beyond debates over the Islamic movement's future goals, it is crucial to recognise that its experience and successes within Israel provided a popular platform, clear strategy and the necessary credentials, as guardians of endangered Islamic holy sites, for expanding its role and influence to Jerusalem. This tactical shift can be traced back to the beginning of Shaykh Ra'id Salah's '*Al-Aqsa is in danger*' (*Al-Aqsa f khaṭir*) campaign in 1996, which refocused funds, volunteers, and media attention towards the contested Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount, challenging both Israeli control of the site and PA and Jordanian compliance.

b) *Al-Aqsa as Ra'ad Salah's stage*

Al-Aqsa mosque has long been considered the third most sacred Muslim holy site yet in more recent years it has become Islam's 'first political qibla' (*āuwla al-Qiblatayn wa thālith al-Haramayn al-Shar fayn*). (17) This elevation or politicisation of the site has been traced by some commentators to former Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husayni mandate efforts to restore and beautify the Haram mosques and to

favours a more contemporary explanation which links Al-Aqsa's increased sanctity with Palestinian and Arab resistance to Israel's post-67 occupation of East Jerusalem and ideological opposition (a 'mirror syndrome') to the resurgence of Jewish Messianic nationalism and its inherent territorial claims (restoration of the Third Temple and Eretz Israel). (19) Perhaps of equal importance has been the growing Muslim perception that Al-Aqsa is threatened by radical Jewish settler groups, right-wing Israeli politicians, and aggressive military forces. Each party intent on asserting their authority and strategic claims on the site, whether through secret tunnelling (Western Wall tunnel 1996), controversial public appearances (Ariel Sharon and Likud visit to the Temple Mount, 2000) or violent confrontations (1990 and 2000 Al-Aqsa clashes). This existential Muslim fear over the safety of Al-Aqsa, has been championed by Shaykh Ra'ad Salah the Northern Islamic movement, who though his 'Al-Aqsa is in danger' campaign has become the pre-imminent Islamic authority on the contested site. An initial *muhrajān* (convention) in Umm al-Fahim has now evolved into an annual rally, drawing around 50,000 supporters and inspiring similar solidarity events, across the Arab and Islamic world, from Lebanon to South Africa. (20) This is consolidated throughout the year by subsidised trips to Al-Aqsa for Israeli Arabs, with over 2 million visits to the holy site since 2001. (21) The initial success of the IM campaign, however, derives from their public involvement and Ra'id Salah's leadership in the renovation of the subterranean prayer halls – *Al-Mussala al-Marwani* (22) - Marwani prayer rooms also commonly known as Solomon's Stables, in the south east corner of the Haram al-Sharif (August 1996 – March 2001). Although Israeli permission for maintenance work at the halls had been granted to the Waqf Authorities; the IM led the way in mobilising funds, supplying Arab-Israeli volunteers and helping to transform the site into one of the largest mosques in the world (6070m²/ 1.5 acres). The restoration work provoked both widespread Israeli opposition and popular Palestinian support. On the Israeli side, running police battles, legal petitions by pressure groups (23) and critical IAA reports, sought to derail the project; highlighting 'the serious damage to antiquities' (24) and branding the excavation work an 'archaeological crime.'(25) For Ra'id Salah, the rehabilitation scheme greatly enhanced both his standing as an Israeli Palestinian leader and his position as a global Islamic figure, concerned with the protection of Al-Aqsa. (26) In the words of a former PA advisor, 'The Marwani halls were Ra'id Salah's gateway to Jerusalem.'(27)   Or as a leading Palestinian academic elaborates, 'The Islamic Movement under Shaykh Ra'id Salah, may not be filling East Jerusalem's political vacuum but through their championing of religious heritage and tradition, they are

restorations were significant in helping to establish the IM as effective and legitimate actors within the Haram al-Sharif, the controversy over Israel's renovation of the Mughrabi Gate Ascent signalled their growing authority and de facto leadership on Islamic holy sites. Israel's remedial action on a collapsed pathway leading to the Haram compound in February 2007, may have opened the way for IAA archaeological explorations and ambitious plans to build a larger ramp structure (29), but it also prompted fierce opposition from within Israel and around the Arab world. The most vocal and visible response in Jerusalem was instigated by Ra'id Salah, who called for a Palestinian 'Intifada' (30) to thwart Israeli schemes to destroy the Al-Aqsa, organising large demonstrations by Israeli Arabs at the site and in Nazareth and throughout the Galilee. Despite a restraining order barring him from entrance to the Old City, Salah continued to mobilise rallies and protests at resistance tents in East Jerusalem (Wadi al Joz and Silwan); even convening news conferences to reveal IAA maps and documents pertaining to the Mughrabi ramp. (31) This case again underscores the new battles over Jerusalem's cultural heritage and the IM's ability to use Al-Aqsa to propagate Islamist positions, to bolster their position in Jerusalem and consolidate their support within Israel. As a professor from Al-Quds University comments, 'Shaykh Ra'id Salah is able to unite many Islamist streams, but the Israelis cannot tie him to Hamas or Iran. He is a danger from within. He represents the growing threat of 48' Palestinians but he also highlights the failings of the PA to protect Islamic sites and defend Palestinian communities. He is helping to articulate Islamist sentiments on the ground in Jerusalem.'(32) Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa have indeed become Ra'id Salah's political stage, and he is well aware that IM 'heritage productions' must involve the right actors, develop Islamist plotlines and play to both local and global audiences.

While the IM have indisputably forged for themselves a role as Al-Aqsa's heritage guardians, it would be wrong to understand them as totally usurping the official position and authority of the Waqf Administration. The relationship remains rather more ambiguous and open to diverse interpretations. Undoubtedly the IM's controversial involvement at the Haram contributed to the Israeli purge of PA Waqf officials and the restoration of a Jordanian administration in the summer of 2004. (33) This has resulted according to one Waqf official (34) in 'organisational stagnancy and inactivity'; with Jordan seeking moderate appointments; the PA politically incapacitated and Israel attempting to control Waqf policy. Against this backdrop of Waqf stasis, the IM have been able to *shaddar al hāl* – seize the opportunity and

religious alike, the IM are not operating in competition to the Waqf authorities, but their unique status as an independent, Israeli Arab, Islamist movement enables them to challenge Israel in distinct ways. Unlike the Jordan controlled Waqf Administration they are not easily co-opted through political pressure or economic reliance; nor are they limited with regards to freedom of movement or indeed legal redress. The IM are also more willing to expand the scope of their heritage campaign, with 'Al-Aqsa is in Danger' becoming the 'the Arab community is in danger' (35) – thus highlighting the need for the protection of East Jerusalemite homes, lands and a flagging economy. It is to this final point that we will now turn and examine how the IM's expanding remit is confronting Israeli colonial practice in Arab Jerusalem.

4. CONFRONTING ISRAELI HEGEMONY: TO (PRE)SERVE AND TO PROTECT PALESTINIAN LAND

A significant shift in the IM campaign within Jerusalem has been the growing emphasis on safeguarding Palestinian land – both private homes and public sites. The initial Israeli threat against 'Al-Aqsa' has been broadened to the impending 'Judaization of Jerusalem' (36) – through the construction of settlements and the confiscation of Arab properties. (37) Ra'id Salah explains this ongoing process:

> In Jerusalem, there is a war going on over each house, each shop, each piece of property. When we have the slogan that Jerusalem is Muslim, Arab and Palestinian, we cannot just stand by and do nothing while Zionist groups, unfortunately supported by U.S. institutions and individuals, continue expropriations there to close the Jerusalem file. There is a pressing need to set up a fund to save Jerusalem before it is literally lost. (38)

This determination to save Jerusalem from Israeli expropriations has been fought by the IM through various techniques, from providing legal advice, documenting settlement plans (39), to supporting housing restoration charities.(40) Under Ra'id Salah's guidance, a number of initiatives have been established such as the creation of the *Al-Waqf Foundation* – helping to support the revival of 'al-awqaf' endowments of Palestinian real-estate, which offers greater legal protection and allows them to become 'an economic lever as they were in the past'. (41) It is difficult to gauge the level of success this is having in East Jerusalem, although some families are indeed reverting to creating Islamic endowments (validated and recognised by the West

from selling their share of inherited property.(42) Another IM initiative is the *One Thousand Charitable Fund* which seeks to mobilise 1000 supporters to donate $1000 annually to help support social and educational projects, as well as contributing to the protection of 'refugees' legitimate right to return by challenging land expropriations' (43), in Jerusalem and the West Bank. Two very distinct and informative cases illustrate how the IM are challenging both, Jewish settler expansion in East Jerusalem and the loss of traditional Arab public land in West Jerusalem. The first case involves the expropriation of the Al-Kurd family home in Shaykh Jarrah and the ongoing legal proceedings and 'Resistance Tent' campaign. The second case concerns the construction of a Jewish Museum of Tolerance on the site of an ancient Muslim cemetery in Mamilla, which has provoked both public demonstrations and disputes over the nature of sacred space.

a) Canvassing Resistance – Um Kamel's protest tent

Since 1972 Israeli Settler groups have been trying to establish land ownership claims and a Jewish presence in Shaykh Jarrah, a Palestinian neighbourhood to the north of Jerusalem's Old City, close to the 1949 Green line. These groups have made significant progress in recent years, with the legal contestation of 27 Palestinian family homes, housing around 500 people, and the recent proposal for a Town Plan Scheme (TPS 12705 - submitted by Nahalat Shimon International in August 2008) which seeks to transform the Wadi al Joz district into a 200 unit settlement called *Shimon HaTzadik.* (44) Peace activists and human rights groups, such as the Israeli NGO *Ir Amim (city of peoples)* fear this plan, alongside three other Shaykh Jarrah development schemes - the Shepherd Hotel, Kerem HaMufti and the Glassman Campus (45) - is a coordinated attempt to 'ring the Old City with Jewish settlements and public projects, cutting off Palestinian territorial contiguity with the Old City', thus thwarting the 'feasibility of future agreed-upon borders for Jerusalem in the context of a two-state resolution.' (46)

Currently, four active court cases threaten a number of Palestinian families; with the forced eviction of the Al-Kurd family in November 2008 and the recent eviction of the Ghawi and Hanun families in August 2009. The dispossession of the Al-Kurds, originally from West Jerusalem, but housed by UNWRA in Shaykh Jarrah 50 years ago, has become a tragic symbol of the ongoing fate of Palestine's internal refugees, particularly after the sudden death of the family patriarch, Mohammad Al-Kurd, two weeks after losing his home. A makeshift tent, inhabited by the grieving widow Um

temporary home but has evolved into an emotive rallying point for non-violent resistance against Israeli colonial practice. Although Israeli police have dismantled the tent 6 times, Um Kamel remains steadfast in her commitment, 'to regain my family rights to our home and to stop Israeli aggression against Palestinian land'. (47)

A diverse range of secular and religious, Palestinian, Israeli and International, activists, NGO's and political groupings have visited the site to demonstrate solidarity and protest the ongoing evictions. The leading advocate however, according to the family (48), has been Shaykh Ra'id Salah, who has helped to raise financial aid, arrange for a lawyer from Umm al-Fahim to pursue their case and help source Turkish (Ottoman) documents which prove the falsity of the Jewish ownership claims (49), and continue to provide moral support and personal encouragement. The IM have been particularly influential in organising solidarity tours, involving supporters from Galilee, Druze activists from the Golan Heights and Bedouin Shaykhs from the Negev. (50) The protest tent, with its 'stop ethnic cleansing' placards and ongoing impromptu acts of resistance (exhibitions/local tours/music concerts) has also become a platform and rallying point for IM demonstrations; a symbolic backdrop for Ra'id Salah's media briefings made all the more significant since his Israeli ban from entering Al-Aqsa or the Old City. In March 2007 the IM leader was arrested at the tent during an organised protest against the Mughrabi gate ascent excavations, and again in March 2009 he was arrested during a celebration of the Arab League's designation of Jerusalem as the "Capital of Arab Culture for 2009." (51)

Resistance tents have been used in the past by the IM within Israel to contest land ownership and protect Islamic heritage, such as the makeshift covering erected over the al-Sarafand mosque in the spring of 2001. Within Jerusalem, the IM are seeking to encourage and support such local forms of resistance, whether it be through leading Friday prayers at a protest tent in al-Bustan, Silwan (where 88 homes face destruction in order to create space for Elad's 'City of David' national park) or organising Israeli Arab trips to Um Kamel's tent in Shaykh Jarrah. In the words of a prominent Palestinian advocate from Shaykh Jarrah area:

> In some way the Islamic Movement are offering people hope and resisting Israeli crimes. I have seen Ra'id Salah at the camp of Um Kamel, in Wadi al – Joz. He is genuine in offering support and even financial contributions for Palestinians who have had homes destroyed; yet I still worry about the

as part of the solidarity, but Ra'id Salah took centre stage. He cut the ribbon while we paid for the exhibition. I'm worried that Islamists will increase their position and support base in East Jerusalem, due to the lack of local leadership and communal solidarity. (52)

While these highly personal and individual responses to Israeli's coercive urban policy lack political force or momentum, they are becoming emotive and potent symbols arousing international concern, solidarity campaigns (53) and Islamist support.

b) Limits to Tolerance – digging up the Mamilla's sacred past

In 2001 a Jewish human rights organisation, the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, publicly declared their intention to build a $250 million dollar Museum of Tolerance, in West Jerusalem, partially covering an ancient Muslim cemetery, Mamilla or *Ma'man Allah* (God's sanctuary). (54) This Islamic necropolis spans a 1,000 year history, containing the remains of emirs, muftis, soldiers of Saladin and numerous Jerusalem notables. While the stated purposes of the Museum was the promotion of 'unity and respect among Jews and between people of all faiths' (55); the immediate effects of its construction was Muslim outrage and ire, particularly with the exhumation of around 250 skeletons. (56) While Palestinian and Jewish activists have attacked the Museum plans on the basis of morality, religious respect and political commonsense; the IM have once again lead the way in mobilising street demonstrations and pursuing a legal injunction through the Israeli court system. A five year series of court battles (2003-2008) by the IM sought to challenge the transfer of the property by the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property to the Jerusalem municipality in 1992 and also critique the justifying rationale that Muslim cemeteries can be deconsecrated after 40 years of disuse. (57)

Relying on the ruling of the President of the Shari a Appeals Court, Qadi Ahmad Natur that Islamic graveyards never lose their sacred status - 'the sanctity of the dead is eternal' (58), Ra'id Salah and his lawyers have sought to portray the Museum plans as part of a co-ordinated and systematic Israeli attack on Islam, Arab heritage and the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem. According to Ra'id Salah, the very name, 'the Museum of "Tolerance" illustrates their utter disdain. They have raped our holy places in the name of tolerance... This resolution is a serious violation of all the holy sites and not only to one cemetery. There are other graves under threat, graves that

hand, Israeli proponents of the Museum, such as Rabbi Marvin Heir who initiated the project, dismiss Muslim concerns as veiled assaults on Israeli sovereignty; simply a cover for an attempted 'land grab by Islamic fundamentalists who are in co-operation with Hamas, in the centre of West Jerusalem.' (60)

Despite heated public debates in Israeli media (61), and attempts at both political and religious mediation; the Israeli Supreme Court in October 2008 approved the Museum's final construction. Although this legal case ultimately resulted in failure for the IM it consolidated their reputation and leadership amongst many Jerusalemites, as legitimate and credible opponents able to challenge Israel's urban planning schemes for Jerusalem. This may lead to similar IM led confrontations over Elad's 'City of David' in Silwan or future municipal plans concerning 'National Parks' and Jerusalem 2020. The Mamilla controversy, however, asks important questions of the IM's ability to sustain popular protests in Jerusalem, as well as the detrimental impact of using the Israeli courts to challenge the system. One of the reasons the Israeli Supreme court gave for approving the Museum of Tolerance was a lack of local opposition to the original construction of a parking lot on part of the site in 1960 and also the continuing apathy and indifference of Jerusalemites, as the 2008 protests were mainly instigated and mobilised by Israeli Arabs from the Galilee and Israeli leftists. Although the IM are increasingly popular in East Jerusalem and have the ability to transcend political infighting and factionalism, this is yet to be translated into political presence on the ground. Therefore while IM support is predominantly linked to Israeli Arab mobilisation, this undermines their ability to champion local Jerusalemite causes or claim to represent popular sentiment on the ground. Finally, there remains a danger for the IM that by seeking to use the Israeli courts to challenge Israeli injustice policy, this can lead to a validation of Israeli authority and a tacit acknowledgement of their decision. A leading Islamic Qadi during a recent interview explained how he had spoken to IM leadership and warned them of the latent risk involved in pursuing legal action over Mamilla. He explained, 'The Mamilla case remains difficult – if you lose you establish Israel's authority and it therefore becomes a 'trap' for accepting Israel's jurisdiction and authority in disputed circumstances.' (62)

While support for Mamilla cemetery and Um Kamel's resistance tent demonstrate the IM's varying pragmatic approaches to challenging Israeli hegemony and consolidating their presence in Jerusalem, an equally important strategy, with

arguably greater impact has been their contribution to Islamic revivalism within the old city. It is to this final strategic sphere of influence that we will now turn.

5. ISLAMISIZING THE OLD CITY

Having previously traced the challenges and limitations of traditional Islamic leadership within Jerusalem in the post Oslo era, it is crucial to explore how the IM have adapted to their political surroundings. Undoubtedly their role and presence within Jerusalem has been aided by a number of internal factors: Israel's restrictive policy on PA activities; the electoral failure of secular parties in 2006 elections; the post-Intifada crackdown and disbandment of urban Hamas cells; al-Waqf-PA-Jordanian power struggles over the governance of Al-Aqsa; and Israel's continuing commitment to establish 'facts on the ground' through Palestinian land expropriation, house demolitions and closures (checkpoints, permits and ultimately the separation barrier). The IM, rather than offer political alternatives, have rallied under the banner 'Islam is the answer' while Jerusalem has become their religious battlefield, or in the words of one leading Muslim scholar, *Jerusalem is the Problem of Every Muslim*. (63) Under Ra'id Salah's leadership the IM have sought to Islamize Jerusalem by firstly restoring Al-Aqsa sanctity and its importance as a teaching and communal loci. Secondly they have used this to increase the Muslim presence (Jerusalemites and Israeli Arabs tourists) at the Haram al-Sharif, contributing to the revival of the old city as a commercial hub; and finally through media campaigns, protests and Islamist discourses the IM are seeking to project Jerusalem globally as the 'future capital of an Islamic Caliphate'. (64)

Ra'id Salah's concern over Al-Aqsa physical rehabilitation has always been matched by his desire to stir spiritual renewal. To this end the IM leader has both encouraged local Jerusalemite families to attend al-Aqsa for Friday prayers (65) and also provided weekly subsidised transportation for Palestinians within the 1948 borders. Since 2001 over 2 million visits have been made to the holy Islamic site, with around 600 buses travelling monthly, carrying around 30,000 people. (66) The overarching aims of this scheme according to the IM website, is to 'break the Israeli siege of Jerusalem', to revive Al-Aqsa by increasing a 'daily intensive Muslim presence which deters settler advances and military oppression', and to reconnect a new generation of Palestinians with Al-Aqsa, Islamic history and culture, and personal piety. (67) This spiritual reconnection has been encouraged through the

Beginning in 2001, the IM have revived a series of lectures on science inside Al-Aqsa mosque (The Science lessons of the Al-Aqsa terraces), in an attempt to restore 'Al-Aqsa's scientific leadership' (68) and contribute to the 'revival and revitalization of the Islamic *da wa* among the people of the city of Jerusalem.' (69) The IM also continue to pioneer popular festivals, such as tree planting projects in the Haram compound and the 'March of flags of Al Aqsa Mosque' (70), when children who belong to the movement's *Sunduq tifil al-Aqsa' (71)* (Al-Aqsa Child fund) charity, travel from all over Israel, congregating in the grounds of al-Aqsa to participate in theatrical plays, Qur'anic recitals and re-enactments of Islamic history. Finally the IM have sought to demonstrate practical charity in Al-Aqsa by providing *sāhour and iftār* meals during Ramadan for around 100,000 pilgrims (2005). Collectively these forms of outreach have won Ra'id Salah local praise and respect; but perhaps more importantly they have fostered a growing communal acceptance, that despite political and social differences between Jerusalemites and Israeli Arabs, 'the battle for al Aqsa completely erases the Green line.' (72)

The impact of Islamic revival on the old city's economy although visible is difficult to accurately ascertain. Certainly the market stalls are no longer empty, on Fridays and Saturdays around the Damascus Gate and the old cities narrow streets, as coach-loads of Arab Israeli's come to worship, tour the sites and shop. An increasing number of stalls and shops along *Al-Wad* street and in the *Suq al-Qattaniyn* are responding to this shift, by providing more religious souvenirs and produce in the form of Islamic books and commentaries, sermons on DVD, Qur'anic plaques and wall hangings, incense and prayer beads, and traditional religious dress. This trend towards the commodification of Islam – *Muhajjiba*(veiled) Barbie dolls, Jihadi computer games, multi-coloured *kuffiyas* (scarfs), Digital Qur'ans, *Azan* (call to prayer) clocks, Islamic jewellery and perfumes – although a global phenomenon is changing both the commercial topography and the spatial practice within the old city's Muslim quarter. While shop-owners and local merchants remain under stress and pressure through high taxation, security closures, lack of public services and the competition from street hawkers; they are among Ra'id Salah's most popular support base. For the IM however, revitalising the Old City is not merely about improving their reputation but defending Jerusalem from Jewish settler penetration. As they explain on their website, one overarching objective is,

The revival of the old town (within the walls of Jerusalem) through the renewal

no need for the sale of property to Settlers, who lie in wait, day and night, looking to pounce on any store or house. Our people in Jerusalem are the interface and the first gate/defence of the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque. (73)

This statement captures the essence of the IM vision for Jerusalem – the holy sites can only be fully protected by safeguarding the Muslim community (a holy people) in Jerusalem – through religious renewal, economic sufficiency and civic unity. In pursuant of this aim the IM realise this can only be achieved through local initiatives with global backing.

The final dimension of IM's islamizing strategy in Jerusalem has been to undermine Israel's nationalist approach to the Haram/Temple Mount by promoting Al-Aqsa as a site of local Palestinian resistance and also a symbol of global Islamic importance. Through a variety of mediums and a multiplicity of strategies, the IM have positioned themselves as key agents in both the struggle on the ground and the regional and international debates over Al-Aqsa and the status of Jerusalem. Some senior PA officials now recognise that Ra'id Salah's public speeches and activities within Jerusalem is impacting their scope for negotiation and will undoubtedly influence future policy. In the words of one such official, 'This self-appointed Shaykh of Al-Aqsa has built his own kingdom within Jerusalem. He is seeking to capture the hearts and minds of Jerusalemites as victory in Jerusalem offers him the greatest platform to Islamic victory in the Arab world.' (74) Such perceptions of the ambition of the Northern IM indicate the stakes that are being played out in the city.

6. ISRAELI RESPONSES TO THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

To conclude we need to consider the response of Israel to the multi-pronged activity of the IM in Jerusalem. How are Israeli state institutions handling this growing Islamist activist presence? There are a number of observations that can be made regarding the approaches adopted by the Israeli state:

i. First, Israel is trying to curtail IM activities, by arresting its leadership (Ra'id Salah was imprisoned between 2004-2007), closing down its media agencies (*Sawt al-Haqq wa-l-huriyya*) and charitable bodies (Al-Aqsa Foundation, 2008), breaking up its demonstrations and restricting Ra'id Salah's movement (barred from entering the old city or leaving Israel) and his links to international Islamist

ii. Secondly, rather than disband the movement Israel is using the IM as a means of undermining the PA's secular leadership in Jerusalem. By permitting the IM to monopolise the 'Al-Aqsa' controversy, this turns the issue into an internal Israeli sovereignty issue (between the authorities and Israeli Arab citizens) rather than a central tenet of future negotiations linked to the creation of a Palestinian state. This is possibly too subtle an approach to have credence as a state policy when the overwhelming evidence of Israeli state policy is the Zionification of the city. Indeed, it can be characterised as having its origins in conspiracy theories regarding Israeli omnipotence in the city. However, some weight should be given to the view that the *unintentional* result of the IMs activities in the city in the absence of an alternative Palestinian activity is to render resistance to state policy an internal Israeli matter.

iii. The third point is more convincing. Regardless of Israel intentions, the policy of crippling the Palestinian national secular movements (PA/Fatah) and their activities (Jerusalem Capital of Arab Culture, 2009) within Jerusalem, the result is to give new impetus to Islamist trends and political groups. Socially, this is being felt with the return of the Mosque as the centre of cultural life, encouraging traditional values, a new conservatism, religious *da wa* and the strengthening of familial structures. (75) Politically, the result can be seen in the resurgence of Islamic groups in addition to the IM, such as *Ahl al-Koran*, *Ahl al-Sunni* and *Hizb ut-tahrir*. (76)

iv. Finally, the growing presence of the IM and other Islamist groups illustrates an associated but broader issue: the fault line that lies at the heart of the Israeli project in Jerusalem. Zionism, as an ideology of exclusiveness, is unable to incorporate non-Jewish groups into its political and cultural sphere. Promoting Zionism in Jerusalem has led, on the one hand, to the acquisition of Palestinian land and property but, on the other hand, leaves non-Jewish groups at the margins where they are left to provide their own services and support systems. In this space between territorial control and service neglect, non-governmental groups, such as the IM, will thrive.

These observations combine to reveal one major aspect of Ra'id Salah's Islamic Movement. It is clear that it represents a unique challenge to Israel that is unlikely to fade with time. They cannot be confronted like Hamas since they are Israeli citizens

be ignored given their growing popularity and leadership over Jerusalem's Islamic holy sites.

7. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

In conclusion, the emergence of the Islamic movement in Jerusalem highlights a number of important trends within the city– the weakness of secular Palestinian leadership; the dislocation of the West Bankers from Jerusalem; and the mobilisation and growing assertiveness of Israeli Arabs. The IM have successfully used Al-Aqsa's threatened status (whether real or imagined) as an emotive catalyst for local resistance, as well as a global rallying call to an 'Arab and Muslim world in shameful and suspicious silence.'(77) Their growing popularity on the Palestinian street is testimony to their ability to offer proactive and highly visible interventions, which seeks to secure and safeguard sacred sites (Marwani prayer halls) and spaces (Mamilla cemetery) as well as residential land, homes and the local businesses (Old City Markets). While the IM and Ra'id Salah's prominent media coverage should not be mistaken for institutional strength, neither can it be dismissed as marginal Islamist diatribe. In the absence of viable political alternatives, the IM are helping to forge new form of Palestinian Islamic resistance – one that crosses political and territorial divides and seeks to challenge Israel both within and outside of the system.

Notes and References
*The IJMES system of Arabic transliteration is used throughout except in cases of common media usage (i.e. Mecca, Qur'an)
1. The political group this paper focuses on operates under the titles the Islamic Movement inside the Green Line (*al-harakat al-islāmiyya dākhil al-khaṭṭ al-akhḍar*) and the Northern branch of the Islamic movement (*al-jināh al-shamāliyya al-harakat al-islāmiyya)*. Their nature and identity remains more problematic and highly politicised, with Israelis referring to this group as Israeli Arabs, Palestinian Israelis or Israeli Islamists. The majority of Palestinians prefer the term 'Palestinians with 1948 borders' or 'Palestinians inside the Green line'. We will use terms inter-changeably, while referring explicitly to the Islamic Movement (IM) within Israel.
2. See for example: Karen Armstrong, *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths* (New York: Knopf,1966); K.J. Asali, (ed.) *Jerusalem in History* (Scorpion 1989);Dan Bahat, *Carta's Historical Atlas of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1976); Alistair Duncan, *The Noble Sanctuary: portrait of a holy place in Arab Jerusalem*, London: Middle East Archive, 1981; Francis E.Peters, *Jerusalem*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1985; Jerome Murphy-

O'Connor, *The Holy Land: an Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

3. For further details see Michael Dumper, *Islam and Israel: Muslim Religious Endowments and the Jewish State* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1997), 101-124.

4. The Peres Holst were a correspondence between the Israeli Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres and the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Holst, appended to the Oslo Accords. Israel agreed that: "all Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem, including the economic, social, educational, and cultural, and the holy Christian and Muslim places, are performing an essential task for the Palestinian population and that the government of Israel undertakes not to hamper their activities."

5. Cited in Menachem Klein, "The Islamic Holy Places as a Political Bargaining Card (1993-95*)", Catholic University Law Review* Vol. 45, No. 3, Spring (1996), 747.

6. Sami Musallem, *The Struggle for Jerusalem*. (Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 1996), 105.

7. This area densely populated by Arab Palestinians stretches from Umm al- Fahim in the North to Kufur Qasim in the South.

8. Muhammad Hasan Amara, 'The Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism in Israel,' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 1996), 156-157.

9. See Issam Aburaiya, 'The 1996 Split of the Islamic Movement in Israel: Between the Holy Text and Israeli-Palestinian Context' *International Journal of Politics*, *Culture and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Spring 2004, 439- 455.

10. For a more detailed discussion on whether the Islamic movement within Israel are seeking to create an independent Islamic state or a 'State within a state' see Jacob Landau, *The Arab Minority in Israel, 1967-1991: Politic aspects* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) and Alisa Rubin Peled, 'Towards Autonomy? The Islamist Movement's Quest for Control of Islamic Institutions in Israel,' *Middle East Journal* 55 (2001), 378-98.

11. The Northern Branch of the Islamic movement's weekly newspaper is entitled *Sawt al-Haq wa al-Hurriyya* (Voice of truth and Freedom) and its official website is www.islamic-aqsa.com

12. Al-Qassam was a leading Islamic figure and Palestinian resistance fighter (the Black Hand group) during the British mandatory rule in Palestine. Although he died in a failed revolt in 1935, his defiant stance made him a popular hero and inspiration to fighters in the Arab Revolt 1936-39, who called themselves *Qassamiyun* 'followers of Al-Qassam'. The image and symbol of Al-Qassam has been reworked periodically by Palestinian groups, such as Hamas who name their military units Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades and one of their weapons the Qassam rocket. For more details see Basheer M.Nafi, 'Shaykh 'Izz al-Din Al-Qassam: A Reformist and a Rebel Leader,' Journal of Islamic Studies 8 (1997), 185-215.

13. Efrat Ben-Ze'ev and Issam Aburaiya, '"Middle-Ground Politics" and the Re-Palestinization of places in Israel,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004), 639–655.

14. The full title of the organisation is 'Al-Aqsa Association for the upkeep of Islamic endowments and sacred places.' See website: http://www.aqsa-mubarak.net

15. Ben-Ze'ev and Aburaiya, *Middle-Ground Politics*, 639.

16. Peled, *Towards Autonomy?*, 394.

17. Yitzhak Reiter, 'Third in holiness, first in politics: Al-Haram al-Sharif in Muslim eyes', in Y. Reiter (ed.) *Sovereignty of god and man: Sanctity and political centrality on the Temple Mount* (Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies; The Teddy Kollek Center for Jerusalem Studies, 2001), 175.

18. See Philip Mattar, 'The role of the Mufti of Jerusalem in the political struggle over the Western Wall, 1928–29', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, 1 (1983), 104 – 118.

19. See Yitzhak Reiter, *Jerusalem and Its role in Islamic Solidarity* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 98.

20. See Sharon Roffe-Ofir 'Israel defiled Al-Aqsa' Ynet news, 22 August 2008, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3586354,00.html (accessed 6/6/2009)

21. For more exact figures see the Islamic movement's website http://www.islamic-aqsa.com/Web/pages/Details.aspx?ID=803 (accessed 6/6/2009) which claims that in 2001: 3158 buses and 157,900 passengers visited Jerusalem; 2002: 6956 buses and 347,800 passengers; 2003: 7060 buses and 353,000 passengers; and in 2004: 7174 buses and 358,700 passengers.

22. The name and historic function of this site like much of the Temple Mount is itself disputed. Many Israeli sources refute the connection to Calpih Abd al-Malik and instead emphasize the link the Crusader use of the site as ancient stables.

23. Most notably the Committee for the Prevention of Destruction of Antiquities on the Temple Mount and the Temple Mount Faithful.

24. Gideon Avni and Jon Seligman. *The Temple Mount 1917-2001: Documentation, Research and Inspection of Antiquities*. The Israeli Antiquities Authority (Jerusalem: Keter Press Enterprises, 2001), 42.

25. Nadav Shragai, 'The Breach of the Temple Mount: a Swift Kick at Jewish History', *Ha'aretz*, 12 February 1999.

26. See Nimrod Luz's article, 'The Glocalisation of al-Haram al-Sharif . Landscape of Islamic resurgence and national revival: Designing memory, mystification of place', http://www.ntnu.no/eksternweb/multimedia/archive/00051/Nimrod_Luz_51579a.pdf (accessed 1/10/2009)

27. Personal Interview, 13 December 2008, Ramallah.

28. Personal Interview, 4 December 2008, Jerusalem.

29. See Marian Houk, 'Countdown to Armageddon A review of Israeli Regional Planning Commission Activities' *Jerusalem Quarterly*, Spring 2009, 34, 89-99.

30. See Jonathan Lis, 'Salah calls for 'intifada' against Temple Mount excavation', *Haaretz*, 29 January 2008, http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/826810.html (accessed 19/09/2008)

31. This news conference portrayed a united Palestinian front including Shaykh Ikrima Sabri, Head of the Higher Islamic Committee and former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; Bishop Attallah Hanna, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and Hatem Abdel –Kader, PLO political advisor on Jerusalem. For more details on the proceedings and the documents presented see the IM website, http://www.islamic-aqsa.com/Web/pages/Details.aspx?ID=1292 (accessed 12/11/ 2008).

32. Personal interview on 13 December 2008, Ramallah.

33. See Dan Diker, 'The Expulsion of the Palestinian Authority from Jerusalem and the Temple Mount' *Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs*, Vol.3, 51 (5 August 2004).

34. Personal interview 27 June 2009, Jerusalem.

35. See Arab Association for Human Rights report 'The right for Muslims to take part in politics – Israel's arrests and the trial of the Northern Islamic movement' (30/7/ 2003), 8.

36. Quoting Shaykh Ra'id Salah from his IM website, 22 May 2009.

37. Since occupying East Jerusalem in 1967 the Israeli government has according to some NGO sources expropriated 24,500 dunams which were privately owned by Arabs and have built 50,197 housing units for the Jewish population [The Association of Civil Rights in Israel, June 2008 Report] . With regards to house demolitions ICAHD (Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions) report that from 1994-2006, 678 East Jerusalem homes were destroyed, while B'Tselem record during 2004-2007, 316 house demolished and 993 Palestinians left homeless (B'Tselem report, April 2008).

38. Jamil Dakwar, 'The Islamic movement inside Israel: An Interview with Shaykh Ra'id Salah', *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, Vol. 36, 2 (Winter, 2007), 71.

39. A recently reported Israeli settlement plan is the Althouidi project or maale hazeitim (www.maale-hazeitim.co.il).This is a settlement project planned for the Mount of Olives, overlooking the Haram al-Sharif.

40. One such charity is the Jerusalem Society for Welfare and Development which is supported by the IM's *Sunduq al-Aqsa*. This organisation has helped restore and renovate 250 houses in the Old City during the period 1986 to 1995. The society main aims, according to their manifesto, are 'preserving and rehabilitating homes and properties and improving living conditions in the Old City and hence enabling its Arab residents to remain steadfast and resist the Jewish attempts to evacuate them.'

41. Ra'id Salah interview, *JPS* (2007), 70.

42. This process was confirmed to be taking place in Shaykh Jarrah in an interview with a leading Qadi of the Islamic Shar'ia courts, 24 June 2009.

43. Dakwar, 'The Islamic movement inside Israel', 70.

44. The settlement would be called Shimon HaTzadik (Simon the Just) after the Second Temple high priest traditionally believed to be buried in the area.

45. These three sites have been recently taken over or are linked to Israeli Settler groups. The Shepherd hotel acquired by Jewish-American philanthropist, Irving Moskowitz is now administered by Ateret Cohanim who seek to build 90 housing units, a synagogue, a

kindergarten, and dormitories. This plan is in its early stages in the statutory approval process. Kerem HaMufti, a 40-dunam olive grove claimed by Palestinian owners, is leased by the Israeli Land Authorities (ILA) to Ateret Cohanim. Finally the Canadian owners of the Glassman Campus, who propose building a conference centre are also involved with the LA based Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies, who are constructing the Museum of Tolerance on and around the site of Mamilla cemetery.

46. See Ir Amim Report, 'Evictions and Settlement Plans in Sheikh Jarrah: The Case of Shimon HaTzadik' (25 June 2009), 2.

47. Conversation with Um Kamel during a visit to the 'Resistance tent', 27 June 2009, Jerusalem.

48. Ibid.

49. See Nir Hasson, 'Turkish documents prove Arabs own E. Jerusalem building', *Haaretz*, 19 March 2009, http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1072208.html (accessed 3/08/2009)

50. Jonathan Lis and Yoav Stern, 'Court imposes additional restrictions on Islamic Movement head Salah', *Haaretz online*, 8 March 2007 (accessed 6/12/ 2008).

51. For more details see the Jerusalem Capital of Arab Culture website http://www.alquds2009.org (accessed 5/6/2009)

52. Personal Interview, 11 December 2008, East Jerusalem.

53. See more details of the International solidarity campaign planned by the Palestinian Monitor, 'Tents as powerful symbols of Palestinians' fates', 13 July 2009, http://www.palestinemonitor.org/spip/spip.php?article1014 (accessed 5/08/ 2009)

54. For an overview of the extensive media coverage the Mamilla Museum of Tolerance has received see: Jonathan Cook, 'Travesty of Tolerance on Display: Museum Lays Waste to Ancient Muslim Cemetery', *MR Zine*, http://www.monthlyreview.org/mrzine/cook051108.html ; Susanna Mendoza, 'Chronicle of a Cemetery: Museum of Tolerance Planned on Muslim Heritage Site in West Jerusalem', *Alternative Information Center (AIC)*, http://apjp.org/archives/2008/11/12/mamilla-chronicle-of-a-cemetery.html ; Heidi Lore, 'Museum of Tolerance atop Muslim cemetery: a war against the dead', http://heidilore.wordpress.com/2008/11/03/ ; Bradley Burston, 'Debate over Museum of Tolerance - an exchange' *Haaretz online*, http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1039816.html (accessed 1/05/2009)

55. Museum of Tolerance manifesto, 2001.

56. Gershon Baskin, 'Encountering Peace: A city of tolerance, not a museum of Tolerance', *Jerusalem Post*, 4 November 2008 (accessed 11/11/2008).

57. This ruling affirming the de-consecration of burial sites was based on a judgement by the Qadi of Yaffo in 1964. Muslim authorities argue that this judgement is null and void due to defective procedure, lack of valid witnesses, and the fact that the former Qadi was notoriously corrupt, being convicted of felonious acts of fraud against the public. For more details see President of the Sharia' Appeals Court, Qadi Ahmad Natur response to Gershon Baskin concerning Mamilla (March 2008), http://www.icpri.org/files/qadi.html (accessed 7/12/2008).

58. Interview with Qadi Ahmad Natur, 24 June 2009.

59. Ra'id Salah quoted by Maisa Abu Ghazaleh, 'Museum of Tolerance atop Muslim cemetery: a war against the dead', *Uruknet.info*, 2 November 2008, http://www.uruknet.de/?s1=1&p=48476&s2=03 (accessed 3/08/2009)

60. Yaakov Lappin, 'Wiesenthal dean rejects museum protests as Extremist agitation', *Jerusalem Post*, 6 November 2008, http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull&cid=122 5910055540 (accessed 11/11/2008).

61. See in particular Gershon Baskin series of articles opposing the Museum of Tolerance and Rabbi Marvin Heir's strong rebuttal in defence of the project.

62. Interview in Jerusalem, 24 June 2009.

63. See sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Al quds, Qadiyyat kul Muslim* (Jerusalem is the Problem of Every Muslim) (Beirut, Damascus, Amman: Al-Maktab al-Islami, 2002). Also available on al-Qaradawi''s website: http//:www.qaradawi.net

64. Quote from Shaykh Ra'ad Salah.

65. This was confirmed in an interview with a former Palestinian advisor on Jerusalem, June 2009.

66. For more exact figures see the Islamic movement's website http://www.islamic-aqsa.com/Web/pages/Details.aspx?ID=803 (accessed 6/6/2009) which claims that in 2001: 3158 buses and 157,900 passengers visited Jerusalem; 2002: 6956 buses and 347,800 passengers; 2003: 7060 buses and 353,000 passengers; and in 2004: 7174 buses and 358,700 passengers.

67. Ibid.

68. From the Islamic movement's website http://www.islamic-aqsa.com/Web/pages/Details.aspx?ID=907 (accessed 10/6/2009)

69. From the Islamic movement's website <http://www.islamic-aqsa.com/Web/pages/Details.aspx?ID=803> (accessed 6/6/2009)

70. The festival which has been running annually since 2002, held its 6th event on Saturday 12th July 2008, more than 150 buses transported tens of thousands of children.

71. http://www.islamic-aqsa.com/Web/pages/Details.aspx?ID=1331

72. A common catchphrase used in both the Palestinian territories and within Israel. See Danny Rubinstein, 'If not Ramadan, then at least an International Koran Quiz' *Haaretz*, 28 August 2008.

73. See the Islamic movement's website, <http://www.islamic-aqsa.com/Web/pages/Details.aspx?ID=803> (accessed 6/6/2009)

74. Personal Interview, 25 June 2009, Ambassador Hotel, Jerusalem

75. These social trends are confirmed by various Palestinian and Israeli sources under the label 'Islamisation', 'conservatism', 'retribalism' or 'Familialism'

76. For more detail on *Hizb ut-tahrir activities* see the Jerusalem Post article 'Hizb ut-Tahrir's renaissance' (18/9/2007)

77. Quote by Shaykh Ra'id Salah, 27/09/2009

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