IDENTITY, IDEOLOGY, AND
THE FUTURE OF JERUSALEM

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DAVID HULME

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PREFACE

As might be expected in a work on one of the world's most perplexing political and humanitarian problems, the final product represents the culmination of many years of research and extensive travel. And as might be hoped, the author ought to undergo a significant change of perspective as the complexities of the area under study become better understood.

I began the project as many in the West would, with an already acquired admiration for the Jewish people's monumental achievement of statehood against what seemed all odds and in the terrible aftermath of the Nazi attempt at genocide. There is, of course, much to be said for the remarkable post-Shoah resurgence of this gifted people. Nevertheless, as my continuing research revealed, their success has come at a terrible price for the similarly gifted Palestinian people displaced during and following the two wars in 1948 and 1967. These massive disruptions of indigenous Palestinian life created the seemingly irresolvable Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The specific subject matter of this work is but a fragment of the whole that makes up a very complex arena. Jerusalem is a microcosm of the conflict, and the Jerusalem Question rests heavily on all who labor to resolve the broader impasse. Without resolution on the issue of Jerusalem, its holy sites, sovereignty, and municipal government, there can be no peace. The just and equitable peace that all people of rationality and goodwill seek must come through honest and searching dialogue. As this study makes clear, a profound understanding of personal identity, its creation and its malleability, must play a central role in the critically needed realignment of the thinking of Israeli and Palestinian leaders and publics alike.

Experience has also taught me that many readers of the book's findings will struggle to steer a middle course. One well-informed recipient of an earlier version of the manuscript wrote that he agreed with me one hundred percent about the Israeli findings, but disagreed one hundred percent about the Palestinian ones. It was a striking confirmation of how difficult it is to get beyond established identity. He simply could not see the Other's needs. And therein lies the challenge and opportunity of the Jerusalem Question, when seen through the prism of identity and ideology. Read on with the

caveat that you may find your own identity challenged, no matter which side of the conflict you occupy.

I would be remiss if I did not thank Laurie Brand, Anne Crigler, Michael Fry, Steven Lamy, and James Rosenau for their support, encouragement, and critical thinking during the process of research and writing. Duane Abler, Jeannette Anderson, and Gina Stepp were my indispensable helpers with cartography, word processing, and proofreading. I also want to thank Farideh Koochi-Kamali, David Pervin, Heather Van Dusen, and Elizabeth Sabo of Palgrave Macmillan for their encouragement and enthusiasm for the project, as well as Maran Elancheran and Bhuvana Venkatesh for their expert help in preparing the typescript for print. My two sons, their wives, and my daughter have had to withstand my frequent digressions into the latest findings, and I thank them for their patience.

By no means least, I thank my wonderful wife Deborah for her continuous support and cheerful spirit as she endured my "absent presence" during months of writing. This book is dedicated to her, and to two other very special people: my late wife Robin, who was there for the beginning, and our new granddaughter, Riley, who is here for the completion. It is for Deborah in gratitude, and for Robin and Riley—as for the Israelis and the Palestinians—in memory and in hope.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Though Arabic can be transliterated in more than one way, some names have become best known in a particular form, which I have chosen to follow. But because of the possible variations, a number of inconsistencies will be apparent between the text, the notes, the bibliography, and other sources. Hence Yasser Arafat may appear as Yasir 'Arafat and Ahmad Quray' as Qurei, Korei, or Quri. In some cases, the *'ayn* (') and/or *hamza* (') are retained (as in Abu Ala') and not in others (as in Edward Said, rather than Sa'id).