Cities 75 (2018) 50–58

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Cities

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/cities

Post-traumatic urbanism: Repressing Manshiya and Wadi Salib

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A B S T R A C T

Trauma is defined as a wound or an injury caused by an act of violence on one's body, or as a severe anxiety caused by an unpleasant experience. The victims of traumatic events may develop psychological stress disorder, which is manifested in several symptoms: post-traumatic stress disorder. The 1948 Arab-Israeli had caused both physical and psychological trauma. The symptoms of this trauma are still visible today in various Israeli cities. As a result of the war, Israeli cities had annexed formerly owned Palestinian villages and neighborhoods. Along the years, these vacated Palestinian houses were settled by Jewish immigrants, turned to slums and became the target of several urban renewal projects. These renewal projects mainly asked to erase all traces of the neighborhood's Arab past, and to introduce a new urban order. This research focuses on Al Manshiya in Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Wadi Salib in Haifa, two former Palestinian neighborhoods, which were vacated from their original inhabitants. This research surveys the re-planning process of both neighborhoods, its implementation and its current status. Asking whether one can depict symptoms of post-trauma in the urban scheme and in the buildings' architecture. Al Manshiya was torn down completely in the 1970's, in order to make place for Tel Aviv's new central business district. This project was never fully completed, as the symptoms of the post-trauma are manifested in the disconnected grand office buildings, the urban void and the parking lots surrounding them. The majority of Wadi Salib was torn down as well, as several decaying buildings are still standing in the cleared and empty neighborhood. The emptiness, neglect and oblivion emphasize the post-traumatic experience. In the recent years however, several projects asked to deal with the neighborhoods' past and heritage. Even then, the references remained superficial leaving the trauma unattended and not curing the neighborhoods' from their post-trauma symptoms.

1. Introduction

> "…*The old world we shall destroy to the ground* (*olam yashan `adey haysod nachriva*)
> *From a bended back we will relieve the burden* (*migav kafuf nifroq ha`ol*)
> *Then we will construct our world* (*et `olameinu az naqqima*)
> *Nothing from yesterday* (*lo-khlum mitmol*)
> *Tomorrow is everything* (*mahar hakol*)…"
> (*l'Internationale*, Hebrew version by Avraham Shlonsky, 1945)

These were the words chosen by Avraham Shlonsky while translating Eugène Pottier's *L'Internationale*. Shlonsky's version was adopted by several movements and organizations like *Hashomer Hatzair*, *Hapoel Hatzair* and *Mapai*, which led the formation of the Zionist Ideology in the 20th century, and played a crucial role in forming the hegemonic class in the first decades of the state of Israel (Oz, 1992).

Shlonsky's words corresponded with the ruling Zionist agenda, which asked to promote the rebirth of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland, upon the ruins of the old diasporal Jewish lifestyle, while the primal landscape of Palestine was seen as the ideal platform for this renaissance. Therefore, the local landscape had to be perceived as pristine, as if it waited for 2000 years until the Jewish nation's return home. Consequently, the Israeli government's agenda in the 1950s and 1960s, was to ignore and disregard all indications to the Arab/Palestinian past of the local landscape. In line with this agenda, as illustrated by Walid El-Khalidi and Meron Benvenisti, places were renamed, people were resettled and the Arab history of towns and villages was repudiated (Benvenisti, 2002, 2012; Khalidi, 1992; Bar Or, 2012).

The 1948 war, aka "War of Independence" by Israelis, or "*Alnakba*" (the catastrophe) by Arabs, began as civil war between local Jewish and Arab militias in British mandatory Palestine, and expanded into a full-scale war between Israel and its Arab neighbors. This war led to the birth of the state of Israel, but also to the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem, as described by Benny Morris (Morris, 2004).

Arab neighborhoods in Jewish cities, which were abandoned by

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https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.12.016
Received 14 June 2017; Received in revised form 20 December 2017; Accepted 22 December 2017
Available online 02 January 2018

their original inhabitants during the 1948 war, formed a burden for Israeli planners and city officials, who had difficulties in adopting the inherited Arab houses and streets. As shown by Sharon Rotbard and Amnon Bar Or, in most cases, these neighborhoods were re planned with the intent to revoke their Arab heritage, turned into a clean slate while promoting the formation of a new urban order upon the ruins of the old one, compatible with the hegemonic Israeli agenda (Bar Or, 2012, 2013; Rotbard, 2005). In line with these claims, the Palestinian-American scholar Saree Makdisi states that:" the attempt to secure a sense of Jewish national homeliness involves an endless process of covering over, removing, or managing a stubbornly persistent Palestinian presence" (Makdisi, 2008). Therefore, when dealing with architecture and urban development, Makdisi argues, just like Rafi Segal and Eyal Weizman as well as Yosef Jabareen, that one of Israeli planers' main objectives is to veil and efface any Palestinian presence in the local built environment (Weizman, 2007; Makdisi, 2010, 2008; Jabareen & Dbiat, 2014). Hence functioning, as Foucault would say, as "continuation of war by other means" (Foucault, 2003).

These former Arab neighborhoods in Jewish towns formed a continuing monument to the trauma of the Israeli-Arab armed conflict, and to the ideological one regarding the historical right over the land. In this paper I would ask to show that the hegemonic Israeli ideology of cleansing the local built heritage from its Arab past was that that led to the eagerness to renounce, neglect and demolish the war torn former Arab neighborhoods in Jewish cities.

This paper focuses on Al Manshiya and Wadi Salib, two Arab neighborhoods in Tel Aviv and Haifa, which were abandoned in 1948, and seeks to reveal how traumatic past events affect contemporary urban everyday life. By surveying the neighborhoods' planning and deconstruction history, this paper aims to show that the Israeli planners aimed to re plan the neighborhoods by ignoring and not treating the trauma's presence (the inherited Arab neighborhoods), and therefore succeeded only in intensifying its symptoms, rendering the area post-traumatic.

2. Trauma and the city

In his 1917 essay, Sigmund Freud claimed that there are two similar yet different responses to loss: *Mourning* and *Melancholia*. Mourning, stated Freud, takes place in the subject's conscious mind and occurs when the subject has to deal with the grief of losing an object of love. Melancholia on the contrary takes place in the subject's unconscious mind and occurs when the subject is unable to identify or fully understand the loss he is grieving. In the state of melancholia, the subject is possessed by the past and is unable to move forward, while in the case of mourning the subject engages the past in a manner that enables him to start over (Freud, 1957).

In line with Freud's theory, American historian Dominick LaCapra differentiates between *loss* and *absence*. Loss, relates to a specific tangible historic trauma, while absence is trans historical and signifies an existential lack (LaCapra, 2001). LaCapra further claimed that there are two possible ways to deal with trauma. In case that trauma is accepted as loss, then it could be dealt with by *working it through*, which resembles Freud's mourning. However, when trauma is conceived as absence, then it is dealt with by *working it out*, which resembles Freud's melancholia. Therefore, historic traumas that are perceived as loss enable their subjects to reconcile with the past, while traumas that are perceived as absence haunt their subjects and lock them in the past (LaCapra, 2001).

Urban systems could also be subjected to trauma as a result of past violent events as Tali Hatuka showed in her 2010 book. According to Hatuka the urban trauma could be *worked through* and treated only if it is perceived as *loss*, and not as *absence*, meaning that in case the city and its community are redeveloped while acknowledging their past, then trauma could be reconciled by spatial transformations and the improvement of conditions (Hatuka, 2010). In line with Hatuka's writing, it is possible to claim that when an urban area is subjected to a trauma, then its everyday life is disturbed and unable to regenerate, causing it to perform as an exterritorial urban void. Then, as trauma is perceived as *absence*, and the area is redeveloped with a clear intent to obliterate its past, the urban system will be unable to recover from its past, and the trauma will continue to dictate its everyday life.

Furthermore, urban traumas that are ignored or replaced by an alternative narrative are treated as *absence* rather than *loss*, leading urban planners to *work out* and not *work through* the trauma. As a result the trauma is avoided and therefore retained, and it is even amplified and the urban systems to which they belong are prevented from spatial reconciliation. This reconciliation could have been achieved by redeveloping the city while remembering and confronting the trauma. However, as the trauma is repressed the individuals in the urban system are deprived from mourning its loss and are designated to remain in a state of constant melancholia. I would suggest terming these urban systems as post-traumatic environments.

In this paper, I would ask to show how the planners' intent to ignore and efface the history of Manshiya and Wadi Salib had only perpetuated the trauma, and have turned the neighborhoods into post-traumatic environments.

3. Manshiya

The construction of Al Manshiya neighborhood began in the 1870s, as a northern suburb to the developing port city of Jaffa The majority of its inhabitants were Arab Muslims, though it also had Christian and Jewish minorities (Rotbard, 2005). Al Manshiya was constructed as a modern and planned neighborhood, with two story residential houses, commercial streets and recreational facilities on its seashore (Aleksandrowicz, 2013a).

Due to its railway station, orchards, German Colonies and Jewish neighborhoods on its east, Al Manshiya's further development happened mostly towards north. The growing neighboring city of Tel Aviv halted Al Manshiya's development as it surrounded the neighborhood from its west and north (Rotbard, 2005; Kark, 1990).

Being on the front line between the Arab Jaffa and the Jewish Tel Aviv, Al Manshiya was the host of many ethnic clashes. However, this also allowed it to develop a thriving economy. In its height, the 1940s, Al Manshiya was home to almost 15,000 inhabitants, a quarter of Jaffa's population. It managed to become a large residential neighborhood with a thriving commercial economy (Aleksandrowicz, 2013a).

As part of Arab Jaffa, Al Manshiya was designated, by the United Nations' partition plan of 1947, to become a part of the future Arab state. The municipal border between Jaffa and Tel Aviv that stretched on the eastern and northern outskirts of Al Manshiya was therefore to become an International one (Aleksandrowicz, 2013b).

In April 1948, however, Al Manshiya was occupied by the Jewish *Irgun* militia, which led to the surrender of entire Jaffa to the *Haganah* Jewish forces in the beginning of May that year (Aleksandrowicz, 2013b).

The 1948 war had left the city of Jaffa in general, and Al Manshiya in particular in ruins (see Figs. 1 and 2). Most of the city's Arab population had fled during the war, and later was unable and prevented to return (Morris, 2004). The houses of the exiled Arab refugees were declared as absentees' property, and were confiscated according to the Absentees' Property Law 5710 of 1950 (Berger, 1998). The shortage of dwelling units in Jewish cities, due to the influx of Jewish refugees from Europe and from Islamic countries, had led several refugees to settle in absentees' houses in Jaffa (Aleksandrowicz, 2013b; Marom, 2009), as well as in other vacant Arab villages and quarters in the new state of Israel.

At the same time, a debate had developed in the 1950s regarding the treatment of vacated Arab houses in Israel. While most planners and officials called for their immediate demolition due to so called sanitary and structural issues (Paz, 1998; Gluckstein, 1961), others, like the

Fig. 1. Manshiya 1947, Faculty of Geography Archives, Tel Aviv University.

Fig. 2. Manshiya 1949, Faculty of Geography Archives, Tel Aviv University.

representatives of several Israelis ministries, in the deliberations of the "Inter-ministerial committee for the improvement of historical sites" of the 1950s, were more blunt and asked to "reduce as possible anything that mentions the presence of the Arabs in the country" (Paz, 1998). Even those who were in favor of preservation, asked mostly to protect specific historical, archeological and architectural elements, that would function more as museum to the modern city of Tel Aviv (Paz, 1998). In this discourse, the existing urban fabric was forsaken, and the discussions focused more on how to demolish it, while attempting to secure several monuments of religious and historic importance (Paz, 1998).

In the case of Al Manshiya, the combination of an abandoned and war-torn neighborhood and a poor refugee community had turned it into one of Tel Aviv's most problematic neighborhoods (Gluckstein, 1961). The first plans made for Manshiya in the 1950s sought to solve its problems by relocating its inhabitants to newly built housing estates in the city's outskirts, demolishing the neighborhood's existing houses and turning them into a public park (Marom, 2009).

In 1960 the municipality of Tel Aviv established the *Ahuzot HaHof* Company, and put it in charge of the redevelopment of the Al Manshiya neighborhood, which began with conducting a real estate survey and analysis on the future potential of the area. The analysis concluded that Manshiya's area, located on the city's shore and in its center, with a large percentage of public owned land, had a high potential to become the city's central business district, with luxury housing and shopping centers built in high rise buildings (Marom, 2009). The analysis also suggested the manner this redevelopment should occur. It concluded that in order to supply the sufficient funds needed for a project of this sort, the public authorities should seek and encourage large private investments (Marom, 2009).

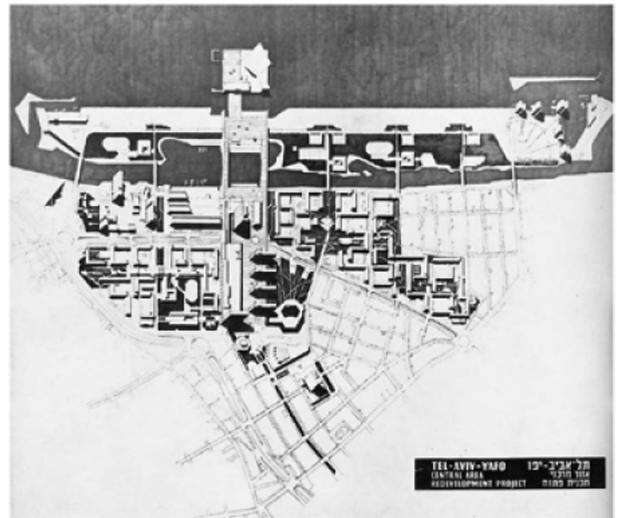

Fig. 3. Proposal for Manshiya. 1963, Tel Aviv Municipal Archives.

After these recommendations, the municipality of Tel Aviv and the *Ahuzot Hahof* Company declared an open conceptual international architecture competition for the development of central Tel Aviv in 1962, referred to as "The City" competitions, or just "The City". This competition attracted 152 submissions from 33 countries. Most of these submissions, as well as the wining one by German architects Fred Angerer and Alexander Branca (see Fig. 3), suggested the total deconstruction of Al Manshiya and Neveh Tzedek, and the construction of a series of mega-structures in their place.

Though no concrete plans were approved, the evacuation of Al Manshiya's inhabitants began in 1961, as did the demolition of their houses. From 1961 to 1970, 2616 housing units were evacuated in Al Manshiya (General report on the vacations in Manshiya 01.04.1979, n.d.), while their inhabitants received minimal compensation from the *Ahuzot Hahof*, which was sufficient only for several months of rent (General report on the vacations in Manshiya 01.04.1979, n.d.). The evacuations encountered some acts of resistance and demonstrations, however these actions were minimal and unable to disrupt the entire process (Housing for housing in Tel Aviv's neighborhoods, 1962; Subsistence in exchange for subsistence, 1962). In the meantime Tel Aviv municipality and *Ahuzot Hahof* Company began searching for private corporations willing to construct their headquarters, offices or hotels in the future business district (Subsistence in exchange for subsistence, 1962).

The outcomes of "The City" competition led to the commissioning of the local architects Amnon Niv and Rafi Reifer, who became responsible to implement the competition winning visions into a new urban plan. Their work began in 1963. Their first planning concepts came to light in 1967, and they focused on the establishment of a new urban quarter, which would house the city's main business center and function as a connection between the new city of Tel Aviv and the old city of Jaffa as well (see Fig. 4) (Nitzan Shiftan, 2011). From the morphological perspective, Niv and Reifer suggested a blend of the first and second prize

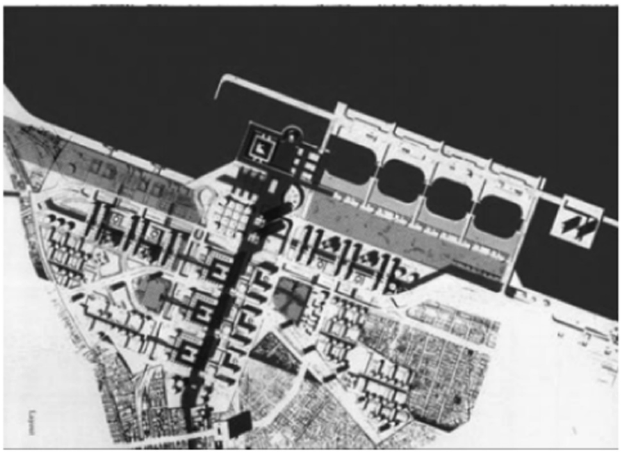

Fig. 4. Manshiya's plan by Reifer and Niv, early 1970's, Tel Aviv Municipal Archives.

winning proposals.

Niv and Reifer asked to break up the development of Al Manshiya to 3 phases:

Phase A: Business district, which includes buildings and large hotel compounds; Phase B: Further development of the business district, which includes the construction of more office buildings, corporal headquarters and a shopping center; Phase C: Residential district.

The construction on site began in 1972, with *Larom* Hotel in 1972 (see Fig. 5), followed by *Beit Gibor*, a 14-story high office building, which was concluded in 1980. In 1974, works for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Hotel began, which were finished in 1999, after being bought by Intercontinental Hotels. *Beit Hatextile* and *Beit Hatasiyanim* were built in the early 1980's. *Sharbat 1* and *Sharbat 2* were concluded in the early 1990s, and the Trade Tower in 1998. In the meantime, The Charles Clore Park, on the other side of the new constructed multi-lane road, was built on top of a landfill made out of the ruins of Manshiya's houses in 1974 (Rotbard, 2005). In the park's northern end a maritime center (the Dolphinarium) was initiated in 1981, however it closed only 3 years later due to financial issues. The *Hassan Bek* mosque was abandoned for almost 40 years. The Tel Aviv municipality planned to convert it into a cultural center, this led to high criticism from the Islamic community in Jaffa, and after the court intervened the mosque was reopened in the 1980s (Rotbard, 2005e).

In the meantime, Tel Aviv's decline, which had begun in the early 1960s continued and even intensified.

Mayor Shlomo Lahat, elected in 1974 after the approval of phase A in Manshiya's reconstruction, sought to revive Tel Aviv as a city that offered a quality of living that included a large and diverse supply of residential units, civic infrastructure and a varied cultural scene. The construction of a large-scale financial district in the heart of the city did not match Lahat's vision of the city (Marom, 2009). Therefore, in line with Lahat's new agenda, the next phases of the planning of Manshiya, sought to introduce a residential neighborhood (Marom, 2009). Furthermore, in the 1990's, due to the construction of the *Ayalon* freeway, a national highway system in the city's eastern boarder, the Tel Aviv municipality began to promote the construction of a new CBD (central business district) in its side of the *Ayalon* freeway. Which later would be called "the City", a term which Manshiya's business district was called by in the 1960s and 1970s (A war between Cities, 2000).

All the mentioned events, made the idea of a CBD in Manshiya, even before the first wave buildings was completed, not applicable (Marom, 2009). The Tel Aviv municipality therefore asked to form a new town planning scheme for the area, which would promote the construction of a new residential neighborhood. These efforts, led this time by Amnon Niv and Amnon Schwartz, resembled their earlier proposals in scale and size (see Fig. 6), however they were not realized, and were finally abandoned in the early 2000s (Manshiya's plan for 1500 dwelling units in western Tel Aviv was cancelled, 2003).

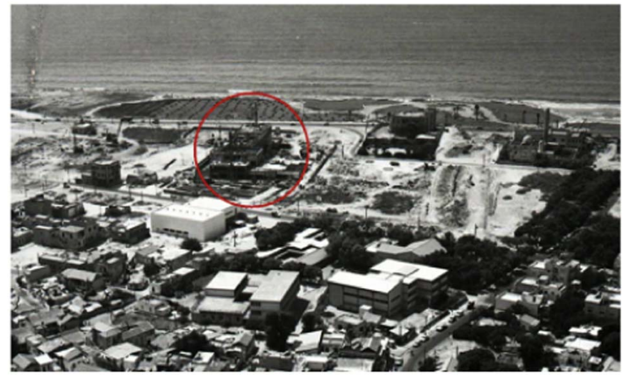

Fig. 5. Construction of Hotel *Larom*, 1973, Tel Aviv Municipal Archives.

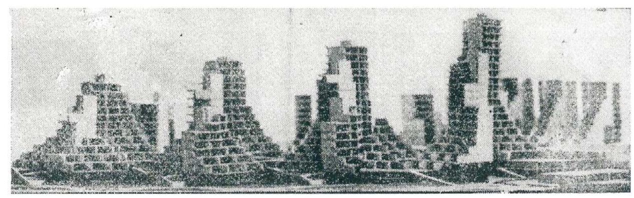

Fig. 6. Proposal for Manshiya, Tel Aviv Municipal Archives.

In the meantime, Manshiya's business district became one of the least attractive office complexes in the city. Since the end of the 1990s, with the construction of newer and netter accessible business centers, the rents in Manshiya dropped significantly (Owners of old offices in Tel Aviv are forced to reduce prices, 2000). Property owners began seeking to convert their commercial properties into residential condominiums, or into small-scale tourists' facilities. This was the case of the *Gibor* building, when American star architect Daniel Libeskind was hired to transform their building. However, Libeskind's new plan (see Fig. 7), requires time, as it needs the approval of the Tel Aviv municipality, the Tel Aviv District and that of more than 100 property owners. Furthermore, in order for Libeskind's plan to be realized it needs large investments, hence his proposal to add 8 more stories to the building, almost doubling its size, in order to fund the building's transformation.

Nowadays, the Tel Aviv municipality is asking to transform the area of Manshiya into a mixture of medium-scale hotels and residential buildings. Therefore, it is planning to divide the area into a system of medium scale lots to be leased to private entrepreneurs. In the meantime, the six constructed southern office buildings and the two northern hotels, in front of the disconnected Charles Clore Park, the abandoned *Dolphinarium* and the *Hasan Bek* Mosque, continue to stand alone in the vacated ground of Manshiya, while almost 40% of the area serves as parking lots (see Fig. 8).[1] *Ahuzot Hahof*, the public company founded in order lead Manshiya's reconstruction now operates all the municipal owned parking lots in Tel Aviv (http://www.ahuzot.co.il, n.d.), as well as those that cover 40% of Manshiya. The mixture of out of scale high-rise hotels and office buildings, accessible only by car, surrounded by a territorial chain of parking lots disconnected Manshiya from the greater urban system, and what was intended to act as a bridge between Tel Aviv and Old Jaffa, turned into a sort of no man's land.

An abandoned and war torn Arab neighborhood in the heart of a contemporary Israeli city is not an uncommon scenario. The story of Wadi Salib neighborhood in Haifa, resembles that of Al Manshiya, as it too challenged, and continues to challenge urban planners and city officials with its contested past.

[1] Calculated by the Tel Aviv GIS system. https://gisn.tel-aviv.gov.il/iview2js/index.aspx

Fig. 7. Proposal For Beit Gibor, 2015, Haaretz Digital Archives.

Fig. 8. Manshiya 2016 (Photographed by the Author).

4. Wadi Salib

The development of the city of Haifa began in the end of 18th century, as the first neighborhoods were constructed outside of the old city walls. However, the city's rapid development began at the turn of the 20th century with construction of the Hijazi railway station, the influx of Arab, Jewish and German immigrants, as well as large foreign investments in local industries (Yazbak, 2008). The neighborhood of Wadi Salib was mostly constructed in those decades as well (see Fig. 9).

The neighborhood's main road consisted of Omar El-Khattāb Street (see Fig. 10), which ran through the valley as small houses were constructed alongside both of its sides, and later larger and more luxurious

Fig. 9. Wadi Salib, Haifa 1919, Municipality of Haifa, Department of Historic Conservation Archives.

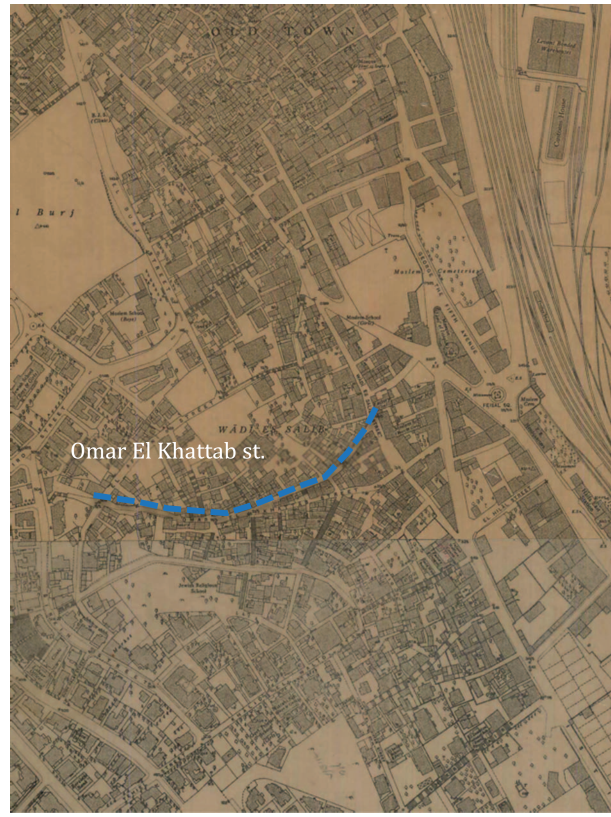

Fig. 10. Wadi Salib map 1937, Municipality of Haifa, Department of Historic Conservation Archives.

houses were built as well. A network of staircases was built to connect the upper parts of the neighborhood with its lower ones, and also succeeded to connect the neighborhood to the other areas of the city, which stretched between the bay area and mount Carmel. The neighborhood's proximity to the train station, the naval port and the new constructed industrial area contributed greatly to its development, and in the 1940s Wadi Salib was home to more than 10,000 inhabitants (Goren, 2009) (see Fig. 11).

According to the UN resolution of November 1947, Haifa, a mixed Jewish/Arab city, was intended to become a part of the future Jewish state. The resolution ignited a series of ethnic clashes that intensified until April of 1948 (one month before the declaration of the state of Israel), when all Arab forces in the city surrendered to the Jewish *Haganah* militia. During these months, the Arab population of Haifa, which included more than 110,000 individuals, 50% of the city's inhabitants, was reduced to less than 6,000 (Morris, 2004, 2008). The remaining Arab population was resettled and concentrated in the neighborhood of Wadi Nissnas, while other Arab neighborhoods, such as Khalisa, Abbas and Wadi Salib were vacated (Yazbak, 2008).

Wadi Salib, was not as severely damaged during 1948 war as Manshiya. However, the war did take its toll, and the condition of the majority of its houses, which were even previously considered as slums, deteriorated even further. During the first months after the surrender of Haifa, Jewish immigrants, mainly from North African countries (Mizrahi Jews) and Holocaust survivors that suffered from the national lack of dwelling units in the young state of Israel, settled in the neighborhood's vacant houses. The population of Wadi Salib reached a record high of more than 24,000 inhabitants in the 1950s (Weiss, 2011; Tzuberi, 2002).

Being home to an impoverished community of immigrants, Wadi Salib's state deteriorated even more during the 1950s (Gluckstein, 1961), and in 1959 it became the site of a large-scale protest later known as the Wadi Salib riots (Bernstein, 1979) (see Fig. 9). The events

Fig. 11. Wadi Salib Events, Cover of *Haolam Haze* Newspaper, July 1959.

began as spontaneous protests after an ordinary police activity ended in the shooting of Yaakov Elkarif, a North African Jewish immigrant who was involved in a fight in one of the neighborhood's cafes. Following this incident, as rumors regarding Elkarif's death began spreading, a series of events began, which included protests, vandalism, violent attacks on governmental agencies, clashes with police forces and strikes (Weiss, 2011; Tzuberi, 2002). These events led to a wide spread solidarity across Israel, and especially within Mizrahi Jewish communities, and later became a symbol of the Mizrahi Jewish struggle against discrimination and oppression (Tzuberi, 2002).

The governmental inquiry regarding the events of 1959 concluded that the neighborhood of Wadi Salib was not suitable for residential use, and in order to prevent future uprisings it should be evacuated and deconstructed (Weiss, 2011). The evacuation and deconstruction of the neighborhood houses began as soon as 1962, led by *Shikmona*, a municipal company in charge of urban redevelopment, became in charge of the operation (Weiss, 2011). In the following decade the vast majority of the neighborhoods' houses were demolished, while only several large ones were kept, mainly due to their size (Weiss, 2011).

The majority of the neighborhood's land was regarded as absentees' property, and therefore publicly managed (Weiss, 2011; Berger, 1998). Therefore the entire area could have been re planed and reconstructed according to municipal and governmental interests. In 1968 Industrial Development Company Ltd. for the Housing Ministry's Department of Physical Planning conducted a survey regarding the future of Wadi Salib (The Wadi Salib Survey, 1968).

The survey stated, without demonstrating reasonable explanation, that the best alternative for Wadi Salib was to convert the neighborhood into an artists' quarter (see Fig. 12), which would include accommodations for artists and artisans, galleries, small shops and cafes, which will be housed in the neighborhood's un-demolished buildings (Plan HF/1826, n.d.). The neighborhoods' vast majority however (more

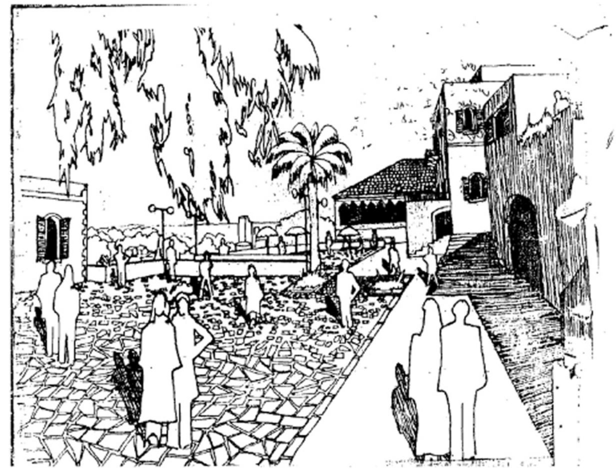

Fig. 12. Wasi Salib Artists' Quarter, Plan HF/1826, Israeli Land Authority digital archives.

Fig. 13. Wasi Salib Artists' Quarter, Plan HF/1620, Israeli Land Authority digital archives.

than 70%); the rubbles of its demolished houses were to be converted into an open park (see Fig. 13). This solution was preferred over others, such as converting the area to a residential neighborhood, mainly due to the survey's conductors' disbelief in middle class families' will to live in the neighborhood's area, as the latters were expected to choose to live in the city's developing suburbs.

The tactic to convert Arab houses and neighborhoods into and artists' district was common in Israel, occurring in other places such as old Jaffa and Ein Hod (Rotbard, 2005; Bar Or, 2013b). In 1986, the plan for an artist quarter in the neighborhood's area was finally approved (Bar Or, 2013), and a couple of years later a plan for a park on the rest of the area was approved as well (Plan HF/1620, n.d.).

In the plan's instruction there was some consideration and reference to the neighborhood's history. However, in the plan's drawings (see Fig. 12) it is possible to notice that the reference was done mainly to aesthetical values (stone walls, arches, wooden shades and red roof shingles), and Wadi Salib was designated to function more as an artists' village, rather than as an urban quarter. The neighborhood's built heritage was intended to perform no more than an orientalist decoration for the new artist community, who unlike the former inhabitants, are able to appreciate the aboriginal architecture, and are able to be inspired by it (Yacobi, 2008; Said, 1978).

These reused environments were stripped from their past heritage as Saree Makdisi claims, addressed as picturesque Mediterranean or Ottoman villages, and rather as Palestinian Arab, while denying their original inhabitants from any right to access them (Makdisi, 2008). In line with Makdisi's conclusions, Jabareen claims that this is an act of appropriation of the Palestinian past, which intends to use its oriental architectural characteristics for commercial reasons, while referring to it as a part of the original pristine biblical scenery (Jabareen & Dbiat, 2014).

However, in the case of Wadi Salib, the high maintenance costs, the large investment needed to develop the park area, the location of the buildings in an undesired neighborhood and the relatively low land value led to a situation where it was economically unreasonable for the Wadi Salib Artists village to be carried out (Weiss, 2011).

As the plans to reconstruct Wadi Salib were not realized the entire area was left in neglect. The abandoned houses continued to deteriorate and the neighborhood became a blind spot, an empty, unknown and neglected part of the city (see Fig. 14). Furthermore, the neighborhood's function as a connector between upper and lower Haifa suffered, as the historic staircases deteriorated and the main road passing through the area and up the hill was blocked and never repaired. From 1948 to 2012 the neighborhood was deconstructed while the areas around it, had undergone intensified development, which included large governmental buildings and highways. This highlighted the urban void and Wadi Salib became even more secluded (see Figs. 15 and 16).

Rising property values in Israel however, led to an intense increase in construction since 2008. The area of Wadi Salib, like other neglected areas in Israeli cities, became economically suitable for the construction of residential buildings. A part of Wadi Salib was converted into residential area upon it some 180 dwelling units are to be constructed (NC Architects, n.d.) (see Fig. 17). As of today these dwelling units were under construction, and one could only wonder what effect this project will have on the neighborhood. It is possible to notice that the project's architects asked to refer to the neighborhood's historical buildings as seen in the stone-cladded shopping arcade. The architects even chose to fragmentize the new constructed mass, in order to resemble the historic neighborhood.

However, this fragmentation is merely a spectacle, as the new project will eventually function as one large mass. Furthermore, the old pathways between the buildings will exclusively serve the new project.

Fig. 14. Wadi Salib, 2011 (Photographed by Hannah Yariv).

Fig. 15. Wadi Salib 1947.

Fig. 16. Wadi Salib 2012.

Therefore, this project will not function as an urban neighborhood, but as a closed compound, as its scale and detachment from its surroundings would, very likely, create a gated community. This will not help to revive the area, but rather intensify its seclusion, and maintaining its function as an urban void.

5. Analyses and conclusions

The planners of both neighborhoods I have examined asked to treat the trauma of the war torn areas, cleansed from their original community, by erasing their history and creating a new urban narrative. In

Fig. 17. Wadi Salib Project 2016, NC Architects, Wadi Salib project architects' official website: http://www.ncarch.com/.

the case of Manshiya, the deconstruction of the neighborhood could be understood as collaboration between Israeli interests to deny any acknowledgement in the country's Palestinian past, as shown by Benvenisti (2002), and Harvey's concept of capitalist creative destruction (Harvey, 1990, 2008). The vast deconstruction was carried out mainly because it was possible, as the houses were almost all publicly owned and the built heritage was of no importance to city officials. As Tel Aviv's deputy mayor, and later mayor, Yehushua Rabinovitz claimed repeatedly, the main objective of the planning process was to leverage the economic value of the area in order to attract investments, therefore, an intense and wide scale evacuation and demolition project is needed (Ahuzot HaHof Directory Meeting Protocol, 1966; Ahuzot HaHof Directory Meeting Protocol, 1966; Ahuzot HaHof Directory Meeting Protocol, 1967). This matched earlier statements of city officials, like that of the municipal planner in 1949 that asked to "destroy the entire old city immediately" (Paz, 1998) and to "solve the problem of Old-Jaffa for once and for all" (Paz, 1998).

This was in line with the interests of entrepreneurs, who were able to take control of large and empty lots with significant economic potential. In a way, the vast destruction, which asked to promote a future financial district by stripping the area from its present and past only for the neighborhood from its urban context, and left it to the mercy of private entrepreneurs and corporation.

Therefore, in order to promote its economic value, Manshiya's planners asked to ignore its trauma, and preferred forgetting it. The neighborhood's physical reconstruction was not intended to recover it from its trauma, but rather to cover it up. Manshiya's trauma was therefore treated as *absence*, rather than *lost*, as it planners sought to *work it out* by ignoring it. Consequently, Manshiya, with its out of scale high-rise hotels and office buildings, surrounded by a sequence of parking lots was detached from its environment and became an urban void, in a state of constant melancholia, unable to reconcile with its trauma, and to move on.

In Wadi Salib there were two urban traumas: that of 1948 and that of 1959. The plan to preserve some of the neighborhood's houses and to turn them into an artists' village could be seen as *working through* the traumas, as the planners did acknowledge the neighborhood's past and heritage. However, Wadi Salib was a vibrant urban quarter and converting it into a picturesque village, which it had never been, is not an act of mourning, but rather an act of concealing. Therefore resembling Melancholia, were the subject is unable to identify the loss as the neighborhood's planners, as stated in the 1968 survey, asked to improve its public image, by burying its traumas under renovated houses and a vast park.

Wadi Salib's traumas were therefore not *worked through*, but rather *worked out* as well. Consequently the neighborhoods remained in a state of neglect for more than three decades. The new efforts to regenerate the area by new construction, which relies on some aesthetic elements from its built heritage, could also bee seen as an act of urban reconciliation. However, it could also been seen as act of oblivion, as the neighborhoods past and heritage are converted into a stone cladded façade and a shopping arcade.

Manshiya and Wadi Salib's traumas were never addressed, as they were ignored and covered up by their planners. Consequently, these traumas only intensified, and are seen even clearer today, as both areas, in the heart of large and wealthy Israeli cities, are stuck in time, detached from the greater urban context and in a state of constant melancholia. Manshiya and Wadi Salib, could therefore be considered as post traumatic urban neighborhoods.

By returning to Shlonsky's version of *l'Internationale*, one could claim that while re-planning Manshiya and Wadi Salib the planners thought only of *tomorrow* while asking to forget *yesterday*. However, as they ignored *yesterday* they were unable to produce a *tomorrow*.

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