

Gateway to the World

The Golden Age of Jerusalem Airport, 1948–67

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Abstract

Jerusalem Airport played a vital role in the economic and social life of Jordanian-controlled Jerusalem (1948–1967), despite its basic infrastructure and its situation of operating under political and technical constraints, and subject to disruptive domestic and regional unrest. The unique draw of Jerusalem for Christian and Muslim pilgrims as well as the city's ideal geographical location vis-à-vis the region as a whole established the small airport as the prime gateway to the city and to Jordan. It became a vital connection for middle-class and upper middle-class West Bank Palestinian residents to the outside world for the sake of work, study, and leisure. As such, it served as a critical link between Arab Jerusalem and the Arab world.

Key words

Jerusalem; Jordan; commercial aviation; pilgrimage; tourism.

Jerusalem Airport (known also as Qalandiya Airport or Atarot Airport), located between Jerusalem and Ramallah, near the village of Qalandiya and Qalandiya refugee camp, operated for about seventy-five years under three successive political jurisdictions (British, 1925–48; Jordanian, 1948–67; Israeli, 1967–2001). Under Jordanian rule, it was a major port of entry for pilgrims, tourists, and distinguished visitors to Jerusalem and to Jordan itself. It is tempting to draw a parallel between the Jordanian upgrading of what had been, almost exclusively, a British military

airstrip into a small but busy international airport,¹ and the Ottoman inauguration of the rail link from Jaffa to Jerusalem in late 1892. Both were transportation-related game changers: significant quantitative and qualitative boosts to the city's economy, international connectedness, and cosmopolitan character.

The operation of Jerusalem Airport under Jordanian rule has been referred to in passing in various sources, but almost no single source, academic or otherwise, has been devoted solely to this chapter in the airport's history. Indeed, the article by Nahed Awwad,² dedicated to the airport, may be the only one that has described, in rather nostalgia-imbued terms, its contribution to the city and the potent memories it evokes among veteran Palestinian Jerusalemites. This article aims to add to Awwad's groundbreaking contribution toward our understanding of the importance of Jerusalem Airport to the economy and character of Jordanian Jerusalem, and toward the social life of its small elite.

Historical documentation dealing with the operation of Jerusalem Airport, which could have been a vital means by which to study its impact on the city, is scant. Important primary sources, written and filmed, have been permanently lost for lack of awareness for their importance, negligence, or improper preservation.³ Moreover, secondary mentions of the airport are also rare, and often misleading. In advertising and publications from the late 1940s, for example, several airlines used "Jerusalem" in reference to the airport situated near the town of Lod (Lydda), a short distance southeast of Tel Aviv on the coastal plain.⁴ Known today as the Ben-Gurion International Airport, its affiliation with Tel Aviv (International Air Transport Association code TLV) dates back only as far as the early 1950s.

O'Connor pointed to airports being among the most important elements of the infrastructure of modern cities, and to their seminal role in economic development, especially in regards to tourism, which relies on air traffic for its growth. According to O'Connor, airport traffic reflects the vitality of the tourist industry of a given city or region, therefore its critical contribution to the vitality of metropolitan areas.⁵

At first glance, it is difficult to regard Jerusalem Airport, even at its busiest, as a major economic engine. Indeed, over its eighteen years of operation under Jordanian rule, it was served by a total of fifteen-odd airlines, but these consisted of a handful of modest national flag carriers in constant metamorphosis. Frequent mergers and takeovers kept creating new companies, some of them short-lived. (Jordan alone had no fewer than six flag carriers serving Jerusalem Airport within a period of fifteen years). The airport only operated during daylight, often serving small and medium-sized aircraft. Rough winter conditions in the area could be disruptive to the point of causing the suspension of operations (a problem also encountered by the Jordanian air force, which made use of the airport).⁶

Provincial Jerusalem Airport was, indeed, a far cry from the major aviation hubs which developed around the Middle East in the 1950s and 1960s, such as in Beirut or Cairo. Direct flights were offered from it mostly to destinations on short or medium-haul routes. Nevertheless, in the humble context of Jerusalem itself it facilitated the arrival of hundreds of thousands of visitors to the city, making it a critical element

in its tourism and pilgrimage industry and leaving a decisive mark on its cityscape. Moreover, it allowed easy access from the city to important regional centers of employment, culture, and trade, mostly in surrounding Arab countries. Indeed, the upgrading of the airport and the related investments made in the city's tourism infrastructure are regarded as two major developments initiated by Jordan during its brief control over the city.⁷

More than five decades after the complete termination of flights between the Arab world and Jerusalem, it is rather difficult to retroactively chart, fully and accurately, the true breadth of activity of Jerusalem Airport. Still, contemporary flight timetables of the various airlines that served it, in addition to a handful of auxiliary sources, allow a better understanding of the scope of its operation. This, in turn, allows an overview of the intricate economic and cultural ties Jordanian Jerusalem maintained with neighboring countries, with respect to tourism, pilgrimage, education, and leisure.

Historical Background and Geopolitical Context

The initial construction of an airstrip to the east of Qalandiya village, a few kilometers north of Jerusalem, was carried out by the British army in 1925, roughly seven years after the completion of its occupation of Palestine in World War I. This complies with O'Conner's observation (originally relating to Southeast Asia, but applicable universally), that airports were naturally placed close to the largest centers of colonial power in a given region.⁸ The Qalandiya airstrip's location was chosen for its relative proximity to Jerusalem – Mandate Palestine's seat of government – as well as for the flat terrain in an otherwise hilly area. It was used by the military and by high-ranking officials. In 1936 it was renovated by the prominent Jewish entrepreneur Pinchas Rutenberg. Soon thereafter it was put to very limited commercial use and was served, rarely and irregularly, by Rutenberg's airline, Palestine Airways, and by British carrier Imperial Airways.⁹

The Qalandiya airstrip was damaged in the war of 1948, which also left Palestine divided between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The airport, along with the lion's share of nearby Jerusalem's key holy and archaeological sites, remained under Jordanian control following the war and its inherent economic potential led to a decision to resume its activity. The upgrading of the airport's rudimentary infrastructure allowed for a substantial increase in its scope of operation. It was officially renamed "Jerusalem Airport" on 18 May 1950, with new civilian facilities such as customs and immigration desks added to the existing airstrip. On the same day, a group of thirty Palestinian refugees coming from Egypt landed there on their way to resettlement on the East Bank of the River Jordan, to be followed by subsequent groups.¹⁰

A short tarmacked runway constructed in 1954 was extended in 1955 to 1,850 meters. Having been extended, the runway came precariously close to the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, and vehicular traffic was stopped with every landing and takeoff. At an estimated cost of one million Jordanian dinars (nearly U.S. \$3 million at the time),

construction of a new terminal building and parking lot was completed in 1956.¹¹ A recommendation by a British consultancy firm in 1960 to extend the runway twice more to 2,250 meters and 3,000 meters was adopted but not acted upon right away. In early 1962, the International Civil Aviation Organization conducted a technical feasibility study for construction of Jerusalem International Airport,¹² but the study's results are unknown. The airport underwent a series of improvements towards its passenger facilities in mid-1966; in 1967 works to lengthen the runway were interrupted by the 1967 war.¹³



Figure 1. Jerusalem Mayor, Omar al-Wa'ary, awaiting diplomatic visitors to Jerusalem at the airport in 1954. Source: upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c1/Omar_Elwary_the_Mayor_of_Jerusalem_%E2%80%93_Awaiting_diplomatic_visitors_to_Jerusalem_in_1954.jpg

Beyond the economic rationale, the move to render Jerusalem Airport suitable for regular, civilian service was subject to political considerations. Despite deep-rooted suspicions harbored by the Jordanian leadership towards the West Bank's Palestinian populace, and while careful not to cultivate Jerusalem to the point of threatening the premiere status awarded to the capital Amman, hesitant and measured steps were taken to develop the city. The municipal status of Jerusalem was elevated in 1959 from regular mayorship to metropolitan mayorship, and in 1960 the city was declared as Jordan's "Second Capital."¹⁴ In 1965, British town planner Henry Kendall formulated a master plan for the city, and recommended an extension of its municipal boundaries to include Jerusalem Airport. This recommendation was adopted by the municipality, but was not implemented before the 1967 war.¹⁵

Jerusalem had lost its status as capital and administrative center for the whole of Palestine and much of its cosmopolitan air in the 1948 war, as the city was badly

damaged and was left divided. At the same time, its predicament coincided with the rapid post-World War II expansion of commercial aviation worldwide and particularly in the Middle East, the introduction of high-speed jet planes and an ever-growing aircraft passenger capacity. A fierce competition between airlines – sometimes between flag carriers of the same country – increased the frequency of flights and brought airfares down. The introduction of low tourist class fares in 1952, and lower still in 1958, made air travel affordable to millions and greatly expanded the civil aviation market.¹⁶ All this bode well for tourism and pilgrimage to Jordan, and by extension to Jerusalem Airport.

The increase in popularity of commercial flights coincided with the specific geopolitics of the Middle East and the armistice regime between Israel and Jordan. It should be noted that most international visitors coming to Jerusalem from Israel's only international airport at Lod (Lydda) could not roam freely between the Israeli- and Jordanian-controlled sectors of the divided city. In fact, even if allowed to cross the border, they were barred from reentering the sector they came from,¹⁷ leading many to fly out of Jerusalem Airport once having crossed the border. Jordan's only other international airport, opened in Amman in 1950, was inconveniently located to the east of the Jordan River, some ninety kilometers away.

The occupation by the State of Israel of most of the territory of British Mandate Palestine aided the consolidation of Jerusalem Airport in another sense. The closed borders between Israel and its neighbors greatly increased surface travel times to the primary tourist and pilgrimage attraction of Jordanian Jerusalem. For example, the post-1948 haul from Beirut to Jerusalem by car, over poor road infrastructure and bypassing Israel via Syria and Jordan's East Bank, was estimated to take around fourteen hours, while the flight between the cities took about one hour. For the sake of travelling between the Levant and North Africa, flying was almost a default mode, with ideally-situated Jerusalem being a convenient stopover.¹⁸

During Jordan's rule over the eastern sector of Jerusalem, there was a gradual rise in the number of Western visitors, tourists and pilgrims alike, to travel to its holy sites and biblically-related environs. The total number of visitors to Jordan stood at less than 9,000 in 1950 but grew steadily afterwards. Of the overall number of visitors coming to Jordan, the number of Christian pilgrims alone stood at 35,000 in 1951, 42,000 in 1952, 60,000 in 1953 and over 74,000 in 1954. Just over a decade later, in 1965, the total number of visitors to the kingdom neared 750,000.¹⁹ In the mid-1960s, around two-thirds of air passengers coming to Jordan landed at Jerusalem Airport, twice as much as in Amman. While around 70 percent of pilgrims arrived as members of large groups on commercial flights, some arrived privately, in small groups, on planes chartered from various airlines.²⁰

The surge in the number of Christian pilgrims towards the mid-1960s could be partly attributed to the first-ever papal visit to Jordan in January 1964 by Pope Paul VI. The historic visit was leveraged successfully by tour agencies in Jordan and elsewhere to substantially increase Catholic pilgrimage to the Holy Land in subsequent years. Growing numbers of visitors were clearly reflected in increasing revenues from

tourism. Most of these were generated in the West Bank, which in the years 1963–67 alone registered 60–70 percent of all visits to historical sites in Jordan by tourists. Jerusalem itself accounted for about 85 percent of the revenues generated in the West Bank’s historical sites in the mid-1960s.²¹

Holy sites in Jerusalem and those in the adjacent areas of the West Bank appealed also to a large share of Muslim pilgrims, whether on a dedicated visit or during a stopover on their way to Mecca on *hajj* and *umra* pilgrimages. The number of Muslim visitors to Jordan, some of whom came by air and had connecting flights in Jerusalem, was also steadily on the rise during the period of 1948–67. In 1966, roughly 70 percent of visitors to Jordan came from Arab and non-Arab Muslim countries.²²

A rough indication of Jerusalem’s share in the burgeoning tourism industry in Jordan before the 1967 war can be discerned from its wide supply of hotels, hostels, and guesthouses as compared to the rest of the country. Whereas in 1948 there were a handful of small hotels and guesthouses operating in the Jordanian sector of the freshly divided city, in the mid-1960s it boasted dozens of accommodation facilities – more than in any other city in Jordan and more than in all other West Bank towns combined. Some were run by Christian churches and associations.²³

Exact data regarding the annual number of visitors to Jerusalem, and their mode of travel to and from the city, is almost nonexistent. But the following figures may be helpful in offering us a glimpse of what was an undisputed trend: in 1957, roughly halfway into the period of Jordanian control over the eastern sector of Jerusalem, nearly 60,000 passengers landed at Jerusalem Airport.²⁴ A remarkably modest number by early twenty-first-century standards, it was enough to rank it among the fourteen major ports of call of commercial aviation in the Middle East for that year. In 1966, the approximate number of passengers served by Jerusalem Airport reached 100,000.²⁵

At least nine Western airlines – BOAC (British Overseas Airways Corporation, the predecessor to British Airways), Sabena, Swissair, KLM, Lufthansa, Air France, Alitalia, Cyprus Air, and SAS – were represented by tourist agencies operating in the central business district of Jordanian Jerusalem. Scandinavian airline SAS also included Jordanian Jerusalem in a series of city guides it published in the mid-1960s, and employed a representative in attendance at Jerusalem Airport, assisting tourists with hotel reservations and related matters.²⁶ Despite this, almost no Western airline has ever actually flown into Jerusalem Airport itself. This was probably due to the inadaptability of the small airport and its modest facilities to the needs of large aircraft, as well as to considerations of economic viability.

Arguably, the decision on behalf of Western airlines not to serve Jerusalem Airport may have been compounded by a political constraint: almost no government had officially and fully recognized Jordan’s unilateral annexation of the West Bank in 1950 and the kingdom’s alleged sovereignty over it.²⁷ Consequently, no Western country would allow its flag carriers to serve any airport located in it, an act that might have been construed as such a recognition, as flag carriers are often seen as representations of the states they operate out of. As noted by Dobson, “Civil aviation has always been as much of a political as a commercial affair.”²⁸

The sensitivity involved in having commercial air ties to the politically-disputed West Bank can be gleaned from a 1959 report of the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board. In listing the destinations served by the leading American airliner Trans World Airlines (TWA) along its transcontinental routes – mentioning the name of the city and the country it was in (such as Milan, Italy; Bombay, India) – Jerusalem was the only destination with no country name next to it.²⁹

This is not to say that TWA directly served Jerusalem Airport. Rather, alongside Pan American Airways (Pan Am), it had passengers conveyed to the city by cooperating with Jordanian and Egyptian airlines (Air Jordan and Misrair, respectively) while Air France and BOAC did likewise by hiring the services of Lebanese airlines (Air Liban and Middle East Airlines), and a Jordanian airline (Arab Airways (Jerusalem) Ltd).³⁰ In 1977, ten years after Israel took hold of Jerusalem Airport and renamed it Atarot Airport, Pan Am sought permission to operate flights to it but was denied by the U.S. Government.³¹

Despite the above, the political explanation for Western airlines' avoidance of Jerusalem Airport is not unequivocal. In late June 1949, an Israeli newspaper reported that preparations were made to initiate BOAC flights from Jerusalem to London.³² Western leaders and civil servants, while on official visits to the region, did make use of the airport. U.S. Senator Guy M. Gillette, for example, came through Jerusalem Airport in December 1952, as did U.S. Secretary of State John F. Dulles in May 1953.³³ Moreover, when it was decided that the plane in which Pope Paul VI came in on his historic visit would land in Amman and not in Jerusalem, as initially planned, it was explained as being merely due to the inadequacy of Jerusalem Airport to handle his large aircraft. A year later, the Belgian royal couple flew out of Jerusalem Airport having concluded a state visit to Jordan.³⁴

While Western airlines did not serve Jerusalem Airport directly, passengers coming from Europe and North America could easily find connecting flights to it from other airports in the region. Since the late 1950s, Jordanian airline Air Jordan of the Holy Land most probably operated direct flights from Rome to Jerusalem, a route continued by its successor Jordan Airways – establishing what was most probably the only direct link between Jerusalem and continental Europe. Over the years of its operation under Jordan, one could fly directly from Jerusalem Airport to over fifteen cities in Western Europe, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and central Asia. Some airlines established a flight connection to Jerusalem before establishing a route to Jordan's capital and largest city of Amman.

According to Sela, Arab countries “could not formally acquiesce in a formal annexation of the West Bank to Jordan” but “offered their temporary approval [to it] by formulating it as a ‘trusteeship’,”³⁵ which allowed them to maintain regular flights to it by their flag carriers. Beyond the obvious economic considerations, this may also be traced to the Arab countries' religious attachment to the city and the desire to strengthen their ties to it. Arab states regarded themselves as guardians of the Holy City, and their delegates took part in many political, spiritual and social pan-Arab events in it that were mostly hosted by the Jordanian government. Several of these

catered to attendees from Muslim countries from beyond the Middle East. Some Arab states opened consulates in the city and diplomats constantly shuttled to and fro.³⁶ United Nations personnel serving in the region also made constant use of Jerusalem Airport, and a UN plane was parked there permanently.³⁷

Still, it is important to note that while most passengers coming through Jerusalem Airport were foreign nationals, mostly tourists and pilgrims (as well as the occasional diplomat or military attaché), it was also used by Jordanian nationals, mostly Palestinians from the West Bank itself. Awwad, for example, mentions the owner of a bookshop from Ramallah who would travel weekly from Jerusalem to Beirut and Cairo to purchase books for his shop,³⁸ and most probably was not the only shopkeeper to do so. Souvenir dealers in Jerusalem and Bethlehem used the airport to deliver local olive wood and mother-of-pearl crafts abroad. The airport supplied direct employment to residents of the adjacent Qalandiya refugee camp, who worked there in shifts for fifteen Jordanian piasters a day.³⁹

West Bank Palestinians who studied in universities around the Middle East also made constant use of the airport when travelling between home and school. Under Jordanian rule, no university operated in the West Bank. In fact, the first university to operate in Jordan was opened in Amman, and even that was established only as late as 1962. Palestinians were forced to pursue higher education in universities in Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, and even in Libya.⁴⁰

For the small Jerusalemite elite, Jerusalem Airport presented a way out of what was essentially a small and provincial city, offering a convenient gateway to the cosmopolitan delights available in the major metropolises of neighboring countries. As Ali Kleibo writes, “ennui plagued us.”

Our only respite, for the very few who could afford the indulgence, was the prospect of breakfast in Damascus followed by dinner that same evening in cosmopolitan Beirut. Qalandiya [sic] Airport provided a few flights a week to Cairo where the great divas of Arabic music gave their monthly recitals. A visit to Cairo was our access to the backdrop of all the films and love stories that we knew through the three cinemas of Jerusalem: Cinema Al-Quds, Al-Hamra, and Al-Nuzha [...] To fly to Cairo was to visit the land of dreams, of romance and of magic [...] We would return from Beirut or Cairo a week later to the loneliness of Jerusalem.⁴¹

As Jerusalem Airport allowed privileged Jerusalemites to roam freely around the Middle East, on rare occasions it also brought luminaries of Western and Arab entertainment to the city: actors Peter O’Toole, Omar al-Sharif, Faten Hamama, and Katharine Hepburn; singers Farid al-Atrash, Samira Tawfiq, and Nouhad Wadie‘ Haddad (known as “Fairuz”); and belly dancer Nagwa Fouad. In these respects, and harking back to Awwad, Jerusalem Airport was more than just an airport, a transit point allowing people to travel from A to B; it was a place associated with freedom and cosmopolitanism, and as such of great symbolic meaning to Jerusalem and at least some of its inhabitants.⁴²

The fact that Jerusalem Airport was located in a politically unstable country, in the very heart of a politically unstable region, had some impact on the airport and the flights that operated out of it during the years covered in this article. On 24 July 1950, an Israeli fighter plane attacked a Lebanese civilian plane during a flight from Jerusalem to Beirut, killing two of its passengers and wounding several others.⁴³ In his memoir, Palestinian-Iraqi intellectual Jabra Ibrahim Jabra recalls the suspicious and stern security personnel at the airport in the wake of the assassination of King Abdullah I in Jerusalem in July 1951, and their meticulous search through his luggage upon arriving from Beirut.⁴⁴

Civil unrest followed the Jordanian elections in October 1954, while in 1955 clashes in Amman and Jerusalem following government support of the controversial Baghdad Pact resulted in casualties and heightened tensions. In late 1956 Jerusalem Airport shut down temporarily in the light of the Suez crisis (Western nationals stranded in the city were allowed into Israel, to fly out of Tel Aviv instead).⁴⁵ To this, one should add an aborted anti-Hashemite coup in 1957 as well as the civil war in Lebanon in 1958. That same year also saw the creation of the United Arab Republic, comprised of Egypt and Syria, and the closing of Egyptian and Syrian airspace to Jordanian planes. A second attempt at a joint Egyptian-Syrian republic in 1963, this time to be joined also by Iraq, ignited further civil unrest in Jerusalem.

All the above resulted in tangible tensions, which often led to violent clashes and obviously deterred tourists and pilgrims planning to visit Jerusalem, most of whom would have arrived by air. Even if undeterred, the temporary suspension of flights or the closing of air space between states, as described above, physically prevented visitors from landing in Jerusalem. Non-political incidents touched on the airport as well: In June 1949, a small United Nations aircraft crashed when landing at the airport, with no casualties; in January 1959, a Jordanian cargo aircraft crashed after taking off from the airport, with unknown casualties; and in April 1965, a Jordanian airliner en route to Jerusalem Airport crashed in southern Syria, killing all fifty-four people aboard.⁴⁶

A Growing Connections Network

When charting Jerusalem Airports' overall links to other airports in Jordan, the Middle East, and Europe, it is immediately apparent that its function as a hub or a spoke (in other words, a measure of its centrality) depended on specific airlines and specific points in time. But whether a minor airport facilitating feeder services to bigger regional hubs, a stopover, or a sole destination, all flights to and from Jerusalem augmented the city's international affiliations. These, in turn, contributed towards somewhat restoring its greatly reduced, post-1948 cosmopolitan character. What follows aims to be an exhaustive review of the airlines that served Jerusalem Airport, and the cities directly reachable from it.⁴⁷

Naturally, Jordan was the first country to have an airline operate regularly out of Jerusalem Airport, if only on a short domestic route. In late June 1949, Arab Airways

Association (AAA) was reported to have inaugurated a daily service from Jerusalem to Amman. From the very start service was not as frequent, and was almost immediately suspended before resumed a few months later.⁴⁸ As of early June 1950, Jerusalem was a stopover for near-daily AAA flights en route from Amman to Beirut.⁴⁹

In late August 1953, AAA was taken over by BOAC, which converted its name to Arab Airways (Jerusalem) Ltd. (AAJ), and had its operations relocated to Jerusalem from Amman. AAJ was probably the only airline for which Jerusalem Airport was, from the very start, a primary hub. Upon inception it began operating flights to Beirut, Baghdad, Cairo, Jeddah (and onwards to Aden), before expanding to Damascus, Kuwait City, and Abadan. Domestic destinations included Amman, Aqaba, and subsequently Ma'an, from where tourists could proceed to the ancient Nabatean city of Petra. In its first year of operation, AAJ catered to over 20,000 passengers.⁵⁰

Some of the company's routes (Aden to Baghdad, Aden to Cairo, Baghdad to Beirut, Beirut to Aqaba, Jeddah to Cairo, Jeddah to Baghdad, Baghdad to Cairo, and Cairo to Damascus) potentially benefited hotels in Jerusalem as passengers could spend a night or two in the city at the expense of AAJ. On flights between Beirut and Cairo, a free overnight stay in Jerusalem was also offered. Special excursion rates for flights from Cairo, Amman, and Baghdad to Jerusalem were obtainable. On flights that passed through Jerusalem with no layover, passengers were still encouraged to make an overnight sightseeing stopover at their own expense, with no added cost to the air fare.⁵¹ In October 1958, AAJ ceased to operate as an independent company. This was due mainly to the local and regional political instabilities detailed above, which began a year into its operation and which had a cumulative negative impact on the number of passengers it served.⁵²

Yet another Jordanian carrier serving Jerusalem Airport was Air Jordan (AJ), founded in 1950. Its head office was located in Amman, but it seems initially Jerusalem was its hub and starting point for most of its destinations, namely Amman itself, Cairo, Nicosia, Beirut, Damascus, Abadan, Kuwait City, Manama, Kabul, Kandahar, and possibly Baghdad. By late 1956, service extended to Aqaba, Jeddah, and Dhahran. Partnered airlines took Air Jordan passengers onwards to Alexandria, Tripoli, and Benghazi. In an attempt to appeal to pilgrims, AJ harnessed the holiness and historical significance of the Holy Land. Its timetable brochures included brief poetic descriptions in English and Arabic of the landscapes which passengers would fly over, citing their biblical references. Jerusalem was the only city for which a detailed map was included in these brochures.⁵³

In 1958, AJ merged with AAJ to create a new airline, Air Jordan of the Holy Land (AJHL). By late 1959, AJHL passengers could take direct flights to Jerusalem from Amman, Aqaba, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Ma'an, Dhahran, Jeddah, Kuwait City, Nicosia, and possibly Rome.⁵⁴ AJHL ceased operations in September 1961, a few days after the inauguration of a new, government-owned national airline – Jordan Airways (JA). Its list of destinations was considerably shorter and all Arab, but now connected Jerusalem for the first time to Doha.⁵⁵

In December 1963, Jordan Airways, barely two years into operation, was

superseded by the founding of Alia – Royal Jordanian Airlines (to become Royal Jordanian in 1986), which was based in Jerusalem Airport. Initially, flights reached only Amman, Cairo, Beirut, Kuwait City, and Jeddah, but two years into its operation, Alia established the “Holy Cities” flights from Jerusalem to Rome (and onwards to Paris and London).⁵⁶

The Syrian flag carrier Syrian Airways started operating flights from Damascus to Jerusalem as early as August 1949,⁵⁷ making it the first foreign airline to have served Jerusalem Airport after its coming under Jordanian control. The frequency of this service is unknown. In 1958, following Syria and Egypt forming the United Arab Republic, both countries’ airlines merged to form United Arab Airlines (UAA), which actually operated as an Egyptian, rather than an Egyptian-Syrian, airline, and will be dealt with below when discussing Egypt’s air links to Jerusalem. Syria, with its leaving of the short-lived political union with Egypt, established Syrian Arab Airlines (SAA) in late 1961, resuming a distinct flag carrier. In the 1960s, Jerusalem was served twice-weekly by SAA on flights from Damascus.⁵⁸

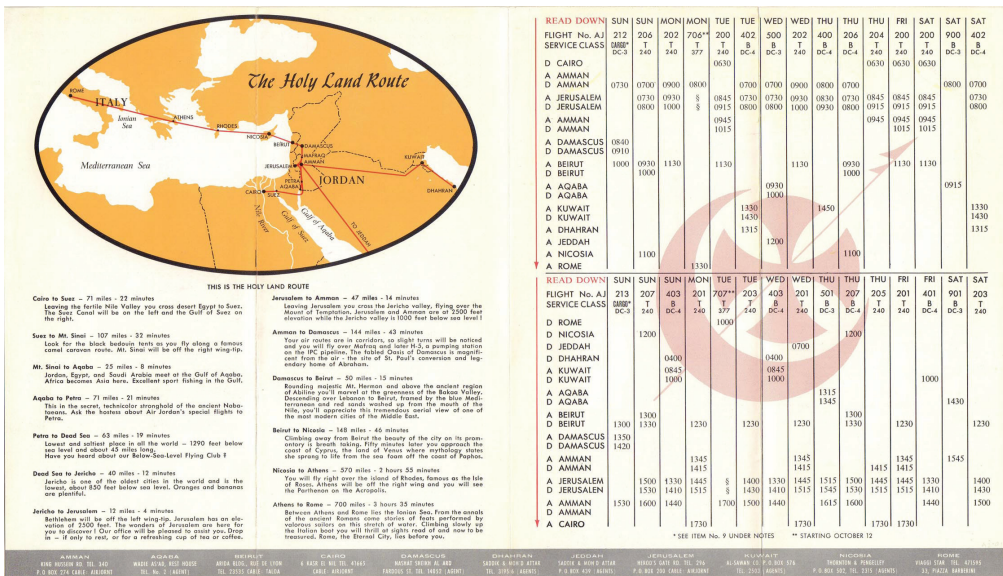


Figure 2. Air Jordan of the Holy Land, October 1959 timetable, Airline Timetable Images Website, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/aj/aj5910i/aj5910i.jpg (accessed 21 October 2020).

Flag carriers of Lebanon and Egypt began serving Jerusalem Airport in mid-1950. From Beirut, Lebanese airline Air Liban (also known as Compagnie Generale des Transport), a subsidiary of Air France, started operating a weekly regular service, with an additional weekly flight added every following year. By late 1955, flights between both cities operated daily. By the summer of 1961, this increased to nine weekly flights, a frequency unparalleled by any other of the airlines serving Jerusalem Airport.⁵⁹

Jerusalem appears as a destination for another Lebanese airline, Middle Eastern Airlines (MEA), on a map dating back to early 1950, but oddly is not mentioned in the flight schedule for that year. MEA was definitely operating daily flights to Jerusalem from 1951 – even before establishing routes to Damascus or Amman. By late 1953, MEA served the Jerusalem Airport twelve times a week. Some flights carried passengers on behalf of Pan Am.⁶⁰ By September 1956, MEA flights between Beirut and Jerusalem were reduced to once daily.⁶¹

When combining the highest frequencies of flights between Beirut and Jerusalem of both Air Liban and MEA, it is immediately apparent that during most of the 1950s and early 1960s these two companies alone connected both cities no less than sixteen times weekly. This made Beirut the most connected city to Jerusalem by air. In 1963, MEA merged with Air Liban and Lebanon International Airways. The new company did not adopt a new name but rather used all three. It continued operating daily flights to Jerusalem until the 1967 war.⁶²

Egyptian flag carrier Misr Airlines operated regular flights to multiple airports and landing strips in British Mandate Palestine since before the 1948 war. In 1949, it changed its name to Misrair and in June 1950, after a hiatus due to the 1948 war, started flying to Jerusalem at an unknown frequency. By early 1955, two weekly flights connected Cairo and Jerusalem Airport, increasing to thrice-weekly by late 1956.⁶³

As mentioned earlier, Egypt and Syria merged their flag carriers in 1958. The combined company, UAA, actually operated more as an Egyptian, rather than a shared, airline. It was even referred to as “Misrair-United Arab Airlines” in its publications, operating four, then five weekly flights from Cairo to Jerusalem by mid- and late-1959, respectively. When the political union between Egypt and Syria terminated in September 1961, UAA turned into an exclusively Egyptian company but retained its name. Until late 1965, and possibly until the 1967 war a year and a half later, flights between Cairo and Jerusalem operated daily, a frequency equal only to that maintained by UAA in flights to London and Rome, and second only in flights to Beirut.⁶⁴

In regards to the daily or twice-daily flights between Beirut and Cairo to Jerusalem, the latter was not merely a stopover on the way to other destinations or a terminus at the end of a multiple-destination route, but a sole destination. The high frequency of service was due to the fact that flights served not only Lebanese and Egyptian nationals but also Westerners who connected in the major hubs of Beirut and Cairo, having arrived there with Western airlines that did not serve Jerusalem Airport, as discussed above. Even when taking into account the possibility that not all flights from Beirut and Cairo to Jerusalem operated at full capacity, the aircrafts used by MEA (Vickers Viscount 800) and UAA (DC 6B) alone had the theoretical, combined ability of transporting a weekly volume of over 1,000 passengers to Jerusalem and back in the mid-1960s.

Kuwait National Airways, founded in 1954, started operating a weekly flight from Kuwait City to Jerusalem – one of its first five destinations – that year. Under its new name, Kuwait Airways (KA), flights increased to twice-weekly by late 1956 and four-

weekly by early 1963.⁶⁵ A second Kuwaiti airline, Trans Arabia Airways, offered four weekly flights between Kuwait City and Jerusalem (two in each direction) in 1963, before being absorbed by KA in April 1964.⁶⁶

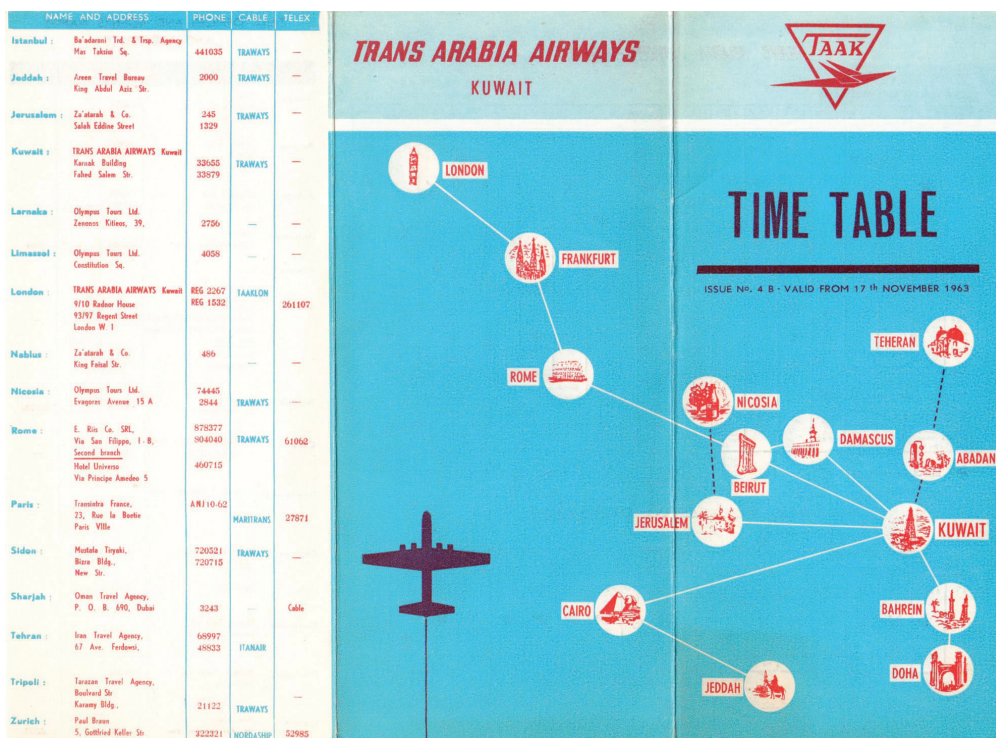


Figure 3. Trans Arabia Airways Kuwait (TAAK), 17 November 1963 timetable, Airline Timetable Images Website, online at www.timetableimages.com/timages/kt3/kt6311/kt6311-1.jpg (accessed 17 October 2020).

Of all destinations by the Persian Gulf reachable on direct flights out of Jerusalem (Kuwait City, Dhahran, Manama, Doha, and Abadan), flights to Kuwait City were the most frequent. This had to do mainly with the relatively large Palestinian community in Kuwait, employed in the booming oil industry and in various, often high-ranking, positions in its private and public sectors. Several hundred Palestinians, many belonging to the educated and professional strata, moved to Kuwait immediately after the 1948 war and took up positions in the administration and civil service of what was then a British protectorate. Jerusalem Airport offered them a convenient gateway when travelling between Kuwait and Jerusalem for holidays or family visits. The airport was of less relevance to the poor Palestinian peasantry that left Palestine to seek work in Kuwait; these usually made their way there using a torturous overground route through the East Bank of the Jordan River and Iraq.⁶⁷

Jerusalem Airport also served Kuwaiti nationals who had sons and daughters

attending some of Jerusalem's renowned schools. A handful of Kuwaiti families added a few homes and a mosque to an unofficial neighborhood known as "Airport Neighborhood" (Harat al-Matar), just outside the airport grounds. There they would stay on regular visits to the city, especially during their children's summer vacation.⁶⁸ Indeed, the "Airport Neighborhood" has its roots in British Mandate times, and even after expansion during Jordanian rule remained small. Nevertheless, it is another expression, albeit small-scale when compared to the hotels and travel agencies built in Jerusalem under Jordanian rule, of the physical footprint that Jerusalem Airport left on the city.

It will be noted that while Iraqi Airways probably never served Jerusalem Airport and did not maintain an office in the city, Jerusalem does appear in one of its timetables in reference to the fares charged on flights between it and various other cities served by the airline.⁶⁹ This suggests that Iraqi Airways passengers may have been shuttled to and from Jerusalem via a different airline through special arrangements, such as those employed by Western airlines.

Cyprus was most probably the only non-Arab country to have had a flag carrier, Cyprus Air, serving Jerusalem Airport. Service to Jerusalem was erratic: from mid-1952 to mid-1954, before Cypriot independence, regular weekly flights operated between Jerusalem and Beirut, but Jerusalem is conspicuously absent from the airline's late 1955 timetable. There followed a few years of political unrest in Cyprus and the handling of Cyprus Air operations by British European Airways, which did not serve Jerusalem. Regular weekly flights to Jerusalem, this time directly from Nicosia, resumed by late 1965, a few years following Cyprus's gaining of political independence and the renewed operation of its flag carrier under the name Cyprus Airways. Jerusalem was once more absent from a mid-1967 (pre-war) timetable.⁷⁰

Conclusions

In the wake of British Mandate rule over Palestine and the 1948 war, the division of Jerusalem, and Jordan's unilateral annexation of its historical core and major holy sites, the small Qalandiya airstrip gradually established itself as a small but busy aviation hub. Renamed "Jerusalem Airport," it became the gateway through which most foreign visitors entered Jordan, and Jordanians nationals – mostly West Bank and Jerusalemite Palestinians – accessed the world for the sake of work, study and leisure.

The rapid development of commercial aviation after World War II and an intense competition among a myriad of airlines in the Middle East facilitated the growth of Jerusalem Airport. It went on to serve multiple airlines that offered direct flights to more than fifteen cities, from Europe to central Asia. Jerusalem's key position in the geographical heart of the Middle East and the fact that Israel, off limits to citizens of all Arab states at the time, occupied the overland routes between the Levant and North Africa, all worked in its favor. Notwithstanding the kingdom's dwindled coffers, the constant political tensions between Amman and Jerusalem and periods of domestic

or regional instability, it remained a major gateway to Jordan. Humble infrastructure and political constraints may have limited the number of airlines and size of aircraft serving it. Nevertheless, it was the first time – and so far, the last – that Jerusalem enjoyed a regular, civilian-oriented connection by air to the outside world.



Figure 4. A photo of the terminal building taken a few months after the 1967 war, in November 1967. Courtesy of Micha Sender.

Jerusalem Airport was vital in restoring, at least to a degree, Jerusalem's cosmopolitan character after the fateful events of 1948. Naturally it did much to bolster the city's tourism-related economy and had a strong impact on the urban landscape from its resultant wide range of hotels, travel agencies, and related businesses. Regular and frequent flights between Jerusalem and a host of major Arab cultural, economic, and political hubs not only offered the occasional respite and business connections to the city's dwindled elite, but also served to emphasize the city's pan-Arab relevance after the trauma of war. This gave Jerusalem Airport a distinct historical and political reputation that will continue to compound its obvious importance as a mere transportation facility in Arab Jerusalem's collective memory.

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Table 1. Airlines serving Jerusalem Airport (compiled by author)

Country	Airlines	Year Began Operations in Jerusalem Airport	Destinations of Direct Flights from Jerusalem (at peak of operation) (domestic; international)
Jordan	Arab Airways Association	1949 (?)	Amman; Beirut
	Air Jordan	1950	Amman; Cairo, Nicosia, Beirut, Damascus, Kuwait City, Abadan, Manama, Baghdad (?), Kabul, Kandahar
	Arab Airways (Jerusalem) Ltd.	1953	Amman, Aqaba, Ma'an; Beirut, Baghdad, Cairo, Jeddah, Damascus, Kuwait City, Abadan
	Air Jordan of the Holy Land	1958	Amman, Aqaba, Ma'an; Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Dhahran, Jeddah, Kuwait City, Nicosia, Rome (?)
	Jordan Airways	1961	Amman; Beirut, Cairo, Jeddah, Kuwait City, Doha
	Alia – Royal Jordanian Airlines	1963	Amman; Cairo, Beirut, Kuwait City, Jeddah, Rome
Syria	Syrian Airways	1949	Damascus
	Syrian Arab Airlines	1961	Damascus
Lebanon	Air Liban	1950	Beirut
	Middle Eastern Airlines (also serving Pan Am)	1950 or 1951	Beirut
	Air Liban – Middle Eastern Airlines – Lebanon International Airways (joint operation)	1963	Beirut
Egypt	Misrair	1950	Cairo
	Misrair-United Arab Airlines (jointly with Syria)	1958	Cairo
Kuwait	Kuwait National Airways	1954	Kuwait City
	Trans Arabia Airways	1963	Kuwait City
Cyprus	Cyprus Air	1952	Beirut
	Cyprus Airways	1965	Nicosia

Endnotes

- 1 In this article, in referring to flights from Jerusalem Airport to destinations outside British Mandate Palestine or Jordan, the term “international” is applied, although most such flights were contained to the regional, Middle Eastern arena.
- 2 Nahed Awwad, “In Search of Jerusalem Airport,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 35 (2008): 51–63.
- 3 Awwad, “In Search of Jerusalem Airport,” 53.
- 4 Trans World Airline, 1948, USA, Europe, Asia and Africa Air Routes, David Rumsey Map Collection, online at www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~271821~90045599:World--TWA-Trans-World-Airline--U-S?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No (accessed 29 December 2020); Trans World Airline, November-December 1949 timetable, Airline Timetable Images, online at www.timetableimages.com/timages/complete/tw49f.htm (accessed 20 October 2020).
- 5 Kevin O’Connor, “Airport Development in Southeast Asia,” *Journal of Transport Geography* 3, no. 4 (1995): 269.
- 6 Yitzhak Ronen, “The Formation and Development of the Jordanian Air Force: 1948–1967,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 5 (2004): 160.
- 7 Shai Har-Zvi, “Meh-Abdallah ve’ad Abdallah: Mediniut Yarden Kelapehy Yerushalayim – Heksherim Azorim ve Leumiym” [From Abdullah to Abdullah: Jordan’s policy on Jerusalem – the regional and national contexts] (PhD diss., Tel Aviv University, 2014), 41. Following the 1967 war, former Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion also had a vision of enlarging the Jerusalem Airport, fully adapting it for large aircrafts and making it into Israel’s second international airport. Such a facility, he reasoned, is “an essential condition for the capital of the country because just as you cannot imagine a tourist being unable to fly to Washington, Paris, or Moscow, there is no capital more precious in the world and more important than Jerusalem.” Quoted in Paula Kabalo, “City with No Walls: David Ben-Gurion’s Jerusalem Vision Post-June 1967,” *Modern Judaism – A Journal of Jewish Ideas and Experience* 38, no. 2 (2018): 172, online at doi.org/10.1093/mj/kjy003 (accessed 8 February 2021).
- 8 O’Connor, “Airport Development,” 272.
- 9 Rivlin Katz, Dikla. 2020. “The Disappearance of “Palestine Airways’ from the Historical Narrative,” *Israel Studies*, 25 (2): 49–71, 57; Gordon Pirie, “Incidental tourism: British Imperial air travel in the 1930s,” *Journal of Tourism History* 1, 1 (2009): 49–66, 62.
- 10 “Qalandia – nemal avir yerushalayim” [Qalandiya – Jerusalem Airport], *Heruth*, 19 May 1950, 1.
- 11 “Ever Hayarden marhiva et nemal aqaba” [Trans-Jordan expands the port of Aqaba], *Al-Hamishmar*, 4 September 1952, 4; *Foreign Commerce Weekly* 49, no. 16 (20 April 1953): 14, and 56, no. 5 (30 July 1956), 14; “Harakevet leyerushalayim mehira yoter” [The train to Jerusalem is faster], *Davar*, 20 August 1967, 4.
- 12 *Foreign Commerce Weekly* 63, no. 26 (27 June 1960): 32; 67, no. 8 (19 February 1962), 288.
- 13 Adnan Mukhles Muhtasib, “Economic Development of Jordan” (MA thesis, Kansas State University, 1966); “Metos hagenal bull honne zemanit beh-lod” [General Bull’s airplane parks temporarily at Lod], *Al Hamishmar*, 16 May 1966, 5; “Leyerushalayim bederech ha’avir” [To Jerusalem by air], *Ma’ariv*, 21 July 1967, 13.
- 14 Naim Sofer, “The Political Status of Jerusalem in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1948–1967,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 12, no. 1 (1976): 85–86; Avraham Sela, “The West Bank Under Jordan,” in P.R. Kumaraswamy, ed., *The Palgrave Handbook of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 286. According to Sela, the declaration of Jerusalem as “Second Capital” was done as early as 1953.
- 15 Walid Mustafa, *Jerusalem Population & Urbanization from 1850 to 2000* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, 2000), 62.
- 16 R.E.G. Davies, “The Seven Ages of Air Transport,” *Transportation Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1996): 43; Paul Hooper, Simon Walker, Chris Moore, and Zain Al Zubaidi, “The Development of the Gulf Region’s Air Transport Networks – the first century,” *Journal of Air Transport Management* 17 (2011): 325–26, online at www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0969699711000147 (accessed 8 February 2021).

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- 17 KIM's Tourist and Travel Agency, *Key to Jordan (The Holy Land): Travel Agent's Handbook for Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq & Turkey* (Jerusalem, Jordan: The Modern Press, 1965), 5.
 - 18 Keith Williams, "Commercial Aviation in Arab States: The Pattern of Control," *Middle East Journal* 11, no. 2 (1957): 136.
 - 19 "Hashana beh beit-lechem" [This year in Bethlehem], *Haboker*, 23 December 1954, 2; *Foreign Commerce Weekly* 53, no. 11 (14 March 1955): 24; Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoal, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage in Jerusalem* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 96.
 - 20 "Matos norvegi hegi'a mi-yarden le-lod" [A Norwegian plane came from Jordan to Lod], *Davar*, 19 March 1953, 3; "Hashana beh beit-lechem" [This year in Bethlehem], *Haboker* 23 December 1954, 2; Muhtasib, "Economic Development of Jordan," 61.
 - 21 Department of Statistics, *Iqtisadiyat al-siyaha fi al-Urdun, 1950–1976*, ed. Fawzi Sadiq (Amman: Jordanian Department of the Economy, 1978); Joseph Anthony Rowley, "Image and Image Making: The Case of Jordan," (MA thesis, University of Richmond, 1990), 8–9; Meron Benvenisti, *Mool Ha-homa Ha-Segura* [The torn city] (Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 105; Kimberly Katz, "Legitimizing Jordan as the Holy Land: Papal Pilgrimages – 1964, 2000," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 23, nos. 1, 2 (2003): 186–87.
 - 22 Benvenisti, *The Torn City*, 105.
 - 23 The exact number of accommodation facilities in Jordanian Jerusalem in the mid-1960s varies among different sources, and ranges between thirty-two facilities (KIM's Tourist and Travel Agency, *Key to Jordan*, 65) and seventy facilities (Benvenisti, *The Torn City*, 105).
 - 24 "Jerusalem in the Jordanian Period," *Al-Akhar* news portal, 22 September 2014, online at akhabarelbalad.net/ar/1/2/1330/ (accessed 2 November 2020).
 - 25 Williams, "Commercial Aviation in Arab States," 127; Benvenisti, *The Torn City*, 105.
 - 26 Scandinavian Airline System, *SAS City Portrait Jerusalem*, 1965?, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/cp-jer.htm (accessed 20 October 2020).
 - 27 Amnon Ramon, "Meh Hashashot Kevedim le-Sipu'ach Nilhav ve-Nirhav: Mahalachei ha-shilton ha-Yisre'eli le-ihud Yerushalayim' (Yooni 1967)," [From great misgivings to Enthusiastic and Extensive Annexation: The Israeli government and 'united Jerusalem' (June 1967)], in Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, Aviva Halamish, Ora Limor, Rehav Rubin, and Ronny Reich, eds., *Heker Yerushalayim le-Tekufoteha: Homer ve-Da'at* [Study of Jerusalem through the ages] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2015), 384. Only Pakistan offered de jure recognition to Jordan's annexation of the West Bank. Britain did likewise, but the annexation of East Jerusalem was only recognized de facto. Ramon, "From Great Misgivings."
 - 28 Alan P. Dobson, "Aspects of Anglo-American Aviation Diplomacy 1976–1993," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 4, no. 2 (1993): 235, online at doi.org/10.1080/09592299308405884 (accessed 8 February 2021). For an in-depth discussion on airlines as national symbols and projections of national identity, see Krishnasamy Raguraman, "Airlines as Instruments for Nation Building and National Identity: Case Study of Malaysia and Singapore," *Journal of Transport Geography* 5, 4 (1997): 239–56, online at [doi.org/10.1016/S0966-6923\(97\)00021-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0966-6923(97)00021-5) (accessed 8 February 2021).
 - 29 Civil Aeronautics Board, *Economic and Safety Enforcement Cases of the Civil Aeronautics Board, February 1955 – May 1955*, 20 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Offices, 1959), 468.
 - 30 Williams, "Commercial Aviation in Arab States," 130–32. In a 1964 ad, a California-based touring agent guaranteed potential participants on a pilgrimage tour of the Middle East, "TWA American Flag Carrier all the way [...] with exception of flight between Cairo and Jerusalem," *The King's Business* [monthly publication of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles], 55, no. 11 (November 1964): 55.
 - 31 Federal Register, 49 (159), *Pan American World Airways Et al., Order to Show Cause*, 41444–46. After the 1967 war, some Western airlines on chartered flights did land at newly-renamed Atarot Airport, as was the case in winter 1967, when an Italian plane brought pilgrims to Israel ("Tzalyanim italkiyim le-bikur beh-yisrael" [Italian pilgrims to visit Israel], *Davar*, 9 November 1967, 4). The company performed only one of

- several scheduled flights, the pilots having complained about the difficulty of landing a DC-6 plane on what was still too short a runway for large aircraft; “Million leerot yisreeliyot ya’aleh tikun sde ha-teufa Atarot” [The repair of Atarot Airport to cost a million Israeli liras], *Ma’ariv*, 28 November 1967, 7.
- 32 “Ketzir yediot” [A collection of news flashes], *Al-Hamishmar*, 29 June 1949, 2. Those flights most probably never took place.
- 33 “Hasenator Gillette hegia leiyisrael” [Senator Gillette arrives in Israel], *Heruth*, 17 December 1952, 3; “Kabalat panim ledallas beyerushalym” [A reception for Dulles in Jerusalem], *She’arim*, 10 May 1953, 1.
- 34 “Kahir mesita neged bikur ha’apifior” [Cairo incites against the pope’s visit], *Heruth*, 9 December 1963, 2; “Hazoog hamalchuti habelgi megia hayom lebiкур” [The Belgian royal couple arrives today on a visit], *Davar*, 16 February 1964, 1.
- 35 Sela, “The West Bank under Jordan,” 283.
- 36 Sofer, “The Political Status of Jerusalem,” 77.
- 37 “Metos hagenral bull honne zamanit belod” [General Bull’s airplane parks temporarily at Lod], *Al Hamishmar*, 16 May 1966, 5.
- 38 Awaad, “In Search of Jerusalem Airport,” 52.
- 39 “Qalandia Camp: A Journey in the World of the Distorted Consciousness,” *Palestinians in Europe Conference Website*, online at www.alawda.eu/index.php/en/palestine/refugees/614- (accessed 4 November 2020).
- 40 Mustafa Abbasi, “Ma’arechet ha-hinuch beh-Mizrah Yerushalayim beh-tekuфat ha-shilton ha-Yardeni, 1948–1967” [The education system in East Jerusalem under Jordanian rule, 1948–1967] in Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, Aviva Halamish, Ora Limor, Rehav Rubin, and Ronny Reich, eds., *Heker Yerushalayim le-tekuфoteha: homer ve-da’at* [Study of Jerusalem through the ages] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2015), 359. Awaad gives a vivid account of the excitement surrounding the arrival at Jerusalem Airport of a Jerusalemite Palestinian on vacation from studies in Beirut in “In Search of Jerusalem’s Airport,” 57.
- 41 Ali Qleibo, “Jerusalem 1948–1967: La Dolce Vita,” *This Week in Palestine* 191, nos. 4–10, (2014): 7.
- 42 For a detailed discussion on transportation infrastructure as symbols, see Gary Warnaby, “Non-place Marketing: Transport Hubs as Gateways, Flagships and Symbols?” *Journal of Place Management and Development* 2, no. 3 (2009): 211–19.
- 43 Kristen E. Schulze, “Coercive Diplomacy: the 1950 Israeli Attack on a Lebanese Airliner,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 4 (1995): 923.
- 44 Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *Princesses Street: Baghdad Memories* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2005), 112.
- 45 “Sde hate’ufa Qalandia – sagur” [Qalandia Airport shut], *She’arim*, 2 November 1956, 1.
- 46 “Metos oom nitrasek beh-kalandia” [A UN plane crashes at Qalandia], *Heruth*, 14 June 1949, 1; “Hitrasek metos hovala yardeni” [A Jordanian cargo plane crashes], *Lamerhav*, 23 January 1959, 1; “54 nehergu behitrasek matos yardeni beh-sooria” [54 dead as a Jordanian plane crashes in Syria], *Davar*, 12 April 1965, 1.
- 47 A direct flight being such that might make stopovers but does not require a change of aircraft by passengers and retains its flight number throughout. A simplified table listing the various airlines which served Jerusalem Airport and the destinations made accessible by them through direct flights from Jerusalem appears in the appendix.
- 48 “Amman-Kalandia Air Service,” *Palestine Post*, 26 June 1949, 2; *Foreign Commerce Weekly* 36, no. 9 (8 August 1949): 36.
- 49 *Foreign Commerce Weekly* 36, no. 9 (8 August 1949): 36.
- 50 “Jordanian Aviation in the Fifties,” *Utopia Airport* (Airline history Internet blog), online at utopiaairport.blogspot.com/2014/04/jordanian-aviation-in-fifties.html?view=snapshot (accessed 26 October 2020).
- 51 Arab Airways [Jerusalem] Ltd., 1 March 1954 and 1 April 1956 timetables, *Airline Timetable Images Website*, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/je.htm (accessed 26 October 2020).
- 52 “Jordanian Aviation in the Fifties,” *Utopia Airport* (Airline history Internet blog), online at utopiaairport.blogspot.com/2014/04/jordanian-aviation-in-fifties.html?view=snapshot (accessed 26 October 2020).
- 53 Air Jordan, 1 August 1952, 1 May 1955 and 1 November 1955 timetables, *Airline Timetable Images Website*, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/aj.htm (accessed 21 October 2020); *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, 42, no. 8 (19 February 1951): 31; 48, no. 23 (8 December 1952): 29;

- 50, no. 8 (24 August 1953): 17; 51, no. 1 (4 January 1954): 23; Williams, "Commercial Aviation in Arab States," 131.
- 54 Air Jordan of the Holy Land, October 1959 timetable, Airline Timetable Images Website, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/aj.htm (accessed 21 October 2020).
- 55 Jordan Airways, 1 May 1962 timetable, Airline Timetable Images, online at www.timetableimages.com/i-gj/jn6205i.jpg (accessed 21 October 2020).
- 56 Rowley, "Image and Image Making," 156; Alia – Royal Jordanian Airlines, 1 November 1964 and 1 November 1966 timetables, Airline Timetable Images, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/rj.htm (accessed 27 October 2020).
- 57 Noam Hartoch, "A History of the Syrian Air Force 1947–1967," (PhD diss., King's College, London, 2015), 131.
- 58 Syrian Arab Airlines, 1 October 1963, 8 March 1964, and 16 June 1966 timetables, Airline Timetable Images, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/rb.htm (accessed 2 November 2020)
- 59 Air Liban, summer 1959, summer 1951, 1 June 1952, summer 1953, summer 1954, 2 October 1955 and 10 August 1961 timetables, Airline Timetable Images, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/ln1.htm (accessed 1 November 2020).
- 60 Middle Eastern Airlines, 1 February 1950, 15 December 1952, and 1 December 1953 timetables, Airline Timetable, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/me.htm (accessed 28 October 2020).
- 61 Williams, "Commercial Aviation in Arab States," 135.
- 62 Middle Eastern Airlines/Air Liban/Lebanon International Airways, 15 April 1967 timetable, Airline Timetable, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/me.htm (accessed 22 October 2020).
- 63 "Sherut avir Kahir-Qalandia" [Air service from Cairo to Qalandia], *Haboker*, 25 June 1950, 1; *Foreign Commerce Weekly* 53, no. 8 (21 February 1955): 18; Misrair and United Arab Airlines, 16 April 1955 timetable, Airline Timetable, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/ms.htm (accessed 27 October 2020); Williams, "Commercial Aviation in Arab States," 134.
- 64 Misrair and United Arab Airlines, 1 May 1959, 14 November 1959, 1 July 1962, and 1 November 1965 timetables, Airline Timetable, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/ms.htm (accessed 27 and 28 October 2020)
- 65 Kuwait Airways, 6 February 1955, 10 June 1957, 1 May 1959, 15 February 1963 timetables, Airline Timetable, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/ku.htm (accessed 17 October 2020); Williams, "Commercial Aviation in Arab States," 135; Hooper et al., "The Development of the Gulf Region's Air Transport," 328.
- 66 Trans Arabia Airways, 1 March 1963 and 17 November 1963 timetables. Airline Timetable Images Website, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/kt3.htm (accessed 4 November 2020); FLIGHT International, World Airline Survey, 15 April 1965.
- 67 Shafeeq N. Ghabra, *Palestinians in Kuwait* (London and New York: Routledge, 2019).
- 68 Awaad, "In Search of Jerusalem Airport," 57.
- 69 Iraqi Airways, 15 May 1964 timetable, Airline Timetable, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/complete/ia64/ia64-3.jpg (accessed 19 October 2020).
- 70 Cyprus Airways, 21 April 1952, 11 April 1954, 1 November 1955, 1 November 1956, and 1 June 1957 timetables, Airlines Timetables Images, online at www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/cy.htm (accessed 4 November 2020).