Proposals on the Course of Winning the Jerusalem Realistic and Symbolic Battle

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There is no need to reiterate that Jerusalem lies, from a real and symbolic perspective, in the core of the Palestinian issue whereby it serves as a meeting point of all relevant physical components as well as the emotional charge stored within. This perception applies to everyone, including religious people of all affiliations, or non-religious, Arab or Israeli Palestinians, and people in general worldwide.

However, today Jerusalem importance even multiplies placing it as a very pressing issue because Israel is undertaking an expeditious, intensive and accelerated action aimed at determining its fate. To this effect, given the overlapping and cross-cutting situation, what are the elements of the possible?

Is the Israeli action in Jerusalem of a special nature?
It is extremely difficult to provide an answer for this question. Matter of fact, the Israeli action in Jerusalem could be described as purely “terrestrial” with an aim of expanding the occupation, and engineering the field in a way befitting the occupational input. This fact shall not be changed by debating the final function of such accelerated and intensified Israeli actions whether this purpose is impacting the balances, as a proactive measure, which trigger all the negotiations in anticipation of upcoming negotiations. Or it aims at establishing a certain status quo per se. Nevertheless, regardless of the terrestrial Israeli action in Jerusalem, it lays down a foundation for a mythology/religious claim. This claim had been frequently repeated across the era of the most commonly Jewish prayers about the “Eternal City of Jews”. Actually, the prayers take an oath of “never forgetting this city”. This serves as a catalyst for global Zionist organizations to move forward in order to support the Israeli measures undertaken in Jerusalem. In this regard, they provide abundant fund allocated for purchasing Arabs’ properties by offering imaginary amounts of money, or funding housing and public settlement projects after confiscating Arab properties. Other forms of support include immigration to Jerusalem, and fanatic behavior. In any event, it is impossible to overlook the consideration of the Jewish “share” in Jerusalem, just exactly as it is out of question to drop off the share of Christians and Muslims in the purely religious conflationation of the word. However, in this regard, Israel succeeds in mixing between two matters that are not similar. It succeeds as well in investing the religious aspect for serving the occupational reality. This is a manifestation that might be the most explicit for the inherent major confusions in the Zionist ideology per se. It combines between being born from the neo nationalism in the 19th century Europe, adopting extreme secularism/detesting religious groups, and despising their culture on one hand. While, it adopts the legendary perspective of the Divine promise and other myths about “history” which are used in an equal strength as that of religion on the other.
Michel Warschawski\(^1\), refers to the secondary status Jerusalem occupied in the Zionist ideology prior to the 1967 war. In this respect, he stated that Tel Aviv, for instance, represented to Ben-Gurion the project of modern, western, secular Jewish State. While Zionism had been constantly seeking to abolish and dispose of the Jerusalem that accommodate religious individuals and characteristic of intense eastern features. As for major cities of the West Bank, they were considered to be Nablus, and Hebron but Jerusalem was only a place for pilgrimage.

Whereas, A’zmy Besarah\(^2\) is calling to pay due attention to the implication of the Ayah (Quranic verse) saying “the neighbourhood whereof We have blessed” (Quran 17:1) in relation to Al Aqsa Mosque. Using this Ayah, he perceives the Arabic and Islamic position focusing on Al-Haram al-Shareef as a pitfall, of which, the Israeli occupation and policy is benefiting. As such, he regards that Maqdes encompasses all the city then Palestine. He further argues that Israel does not depend on mythology in establishing its domination over the city, but rather employs this aspect as part of a well-planned, and tangible effort on both the military power and laws levels. Besarah believes that referring to only the symbolic and religious discourse legitimatize the counterpart Israeli discourse.

Both positions are very critical. The former, particularly records ideological and sociological changes occurred in the Zionist project because it had been submerged with the real situation and clashing with relevant inputs therein. But the latter disputes the prevailing discourse on our part including all of its malfunctions. Both positions, though, do not deny the religious or mythological dimension of the Jerusalem issue, however, they just realize its complexity.

The core of interest here is this complexity and how to handle its elements rather than setting them one next to another, but in a cross cutting and interactive manner. In addition, how our discourse about Jerusalem would adjust the potential relevant struggling domains including thought, media, legal, diplomatic and popular. There will be also a need to consider how the religious and mythological dimensions, deemed valid to Israel, are perceived because they are neither basis nor the real motive behind the occupation act and its ultimate goal. On the other hand, they are not merely falsification of camouflaging the foundation, materialism and violence of this occupational act. How would you lend Jerusalem its due privacy without detaching it from the overall situation in Palestine. How could we maintain our credibility among the world if we are inclined to consider the Jewish version of the story about association to Jerusalem nothing but “lies” and forgery, or trivial, Whereas, simultaneously, an emphasis is made on the religious significance of Jerusalem to both Muslims and Christians equally. Wasting time and effort in ridiculing the Jewish version about Jerusalem (I am not speaking here about how this version is used) is deemed futile voluntas seeking just to prove that the reality is not related to perceiving reality. It also encompasses an implicit violent position which believes that in order to strengthen our right, we have to deny or marginalize the right of others.

\(^1\) An anti Zionism Israel writer and founder and director of “Alternative Information Center”. Before that, he was one of the founders of anti Zionist Matapan Movement. Warschawski has several writings including “The Nonnational State in Israel”, “One the border”, and “Crisis Programming” and other in addition to hundreds of articles.

\(^2\) Cited from an intervention titled as Jerusalem, very briefly which had been delivered in the Public Library in Damascus, 15-12-2009 as a part of a seminar around “Jerusalem in History”. 
The conclusion in regard to this point is inclined to differentiating the discourse approved by defenders of Jerusalem against the aggression between the religious dimension and political and legal dimensions. This may only take place by admitting the significance of the holy city to the three religions. The global conscience and understanding of the matter is consensus about this point which requires producing adequate relevant resolutions. However, the current situation demonstrates an explicit extortion of the right of two of the three religions. On the other hand, it employs Judaism in serving and justifying a political occupational project in a manner that is not endorsed by many orthodox Jewish groups and finally an aggression against the existence of a whole society. Condemning such acts does not have any religious implications that favor a group over another, or deducting the rights of others.

Our discourse or the position articulated as such, might provide a platform for an expanded action about Jerusalem on the local and international levels. It takes the religious aspect much in consideration, meanwhile, putting it in a reality framework: the existing (aggressor) and the other which should exist (related to seeking future horizons). In this sense, it forms a seed to carry out a forecast based on political imagination specially it is established that Jerusalem is a laboratory for Palestine as a whole for a general ‘projection’ proposed by the Palestinian and ‘Arab’ side: This projection shall take in consideration all elements of the Palestinian issue including the “opposite”, in other words the Jewish but even the Israeli input per se. When we say “take in consideration”, this does not mean submitting to or justifying this input, but rather on the contrary, realizing its operation basis and incorporating them into our plan instead of treating it as temporary or external.

Therefore, it is inevitable to admit the distance between the Israelis clear intention which they are working for (regardless of the ability to achieving it) and our common proposals (the confused and primitive in the sense that it depends on self-evidences and heritage related disputes). In addition, moving from a defensive to a dynamic effective position is a must. This is associated with the overall persuasion ability, not from our perspective only, or even a humanitarian, or right based principle perspective. But it should come as a power capable of forecasting and engineering the future.

An overall landscape:
The landscape today provides overlapping elements of the existing situation in Jerusalem, the relevant plans, and desired goals.

Meron Benvenisti states that “The battle of Jerusalem is a demographic one, Jews had started, and still continuing, their efforts aimed at achieving a demographic majority as of mid of the nineteenth century”. He further adds that the Israeli part of the city witnessed a 60% expansion on the expense of the restituted lands to Palestinians. Continuing, he said, the “Grand Jerusalem” plan uses thousand means and tricks to

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3 Refer back as a general reference to procedures, laws and documentation of aggression “Suffering of Jerusalem and Sanctities Under the Israeli Occupation” published by Al-Zaytuna Center for Studies & Consultations in Beirut, 2011.
4 Meron Benvenisti is Jerusalem deputy mayor in 1967-1971 who administered the east-Arab part of the city. In 1989, he founded “BTSELEM” The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories subsequent to establishing his positions rejecting the occupation reality. Currently he is assuming the position of the Center’s director.
5 This statement was made during an interview with the French Periodical “From the Other Side” published by the French Jewish Union for Peace”, edition 6, titled as “Jerusalem”, published fall 2010.
confiscate the said land. He, although, does not believe that Jerusalem has any special position, nevertheless, he admits that its inputs are explosive. In this regard, he explains that it is the only place, in our present time, where Palestinians and Israelis are interacting physically on their daily lives whereby they are mixing in housing around the sacred sites. He also says that Arabs’ share of public social services come to 5-10% whereas they should be allocated at least 30% according to population rates. In particular, he cites this as an introduction to any Jerusalem related solution. Benvenisti believes that the city is not meant for division, but rather promised to be self-organized as a united city, but may be under different administrations.

Khalil Al Tafakhji concurs with Benvenisti on the importance of the demographic input, and how to manipulate the plans in order to give precedence to the Jews in the city. He refers to the Israeli decree issued in 1973 on maintaining the rate of Palestinian population at 22% of total population. Further, he sets the date of initiating the demographic efforts as mid of the nineteenth century. Tafakhji is saying that the first Jerusalem municipality had been established in 1863 when the area of land inhabited by the Jews did not exceed 5 Donum accommodating total number of families of maximum 90. Afterwards, Jews neighborhoods began expanding and extending crossing the city’s geographic borders aiming to prepare for drawing its “political borders”. However, only in 1921, the city’s borders had been declared when the British Mandate sought, in agreement with the Zionist organizations, to include within such borders the western part of the city’s suburbs accommodating Jewish density. This had been achieved although such suburbs were located far from the old city whereas northern, eastern and southern Arab neighborhoods had been exempted from this expansion although they were adjacent to the city (i.e Selwan neighborhood and others). In practice, the situation stopped at the compatibility between the determined administrative borders with the doors and fence.

All those who are interested in the Jerusalem issue agree on indicating that Israel used Mandating Laws in a later stage for land expropriation purposes. The process had been carried out sometimes under the title of “public interest”, another for “green areas” which applied on land that had not been originally constructed. (However, “green” projects began to encompass constructed areas that had been demolished and turned into parks such as in the case of Selwan during the last two years: This measure took place under religious and archeological pretexts). Finally, the same procedure had been applied under the title of “Properties of the Absents” which is enforced on those who are not included in 1950 census! The aforementioned groups are also consensus on the adaptability and changing of laws constantly in order to serve the occupation. During a second round directly following the 1967 war, particularly, on June 26th, Israel conducted population census during the curfew. It decided that only those who are present shall be entitled to obtain residency. Thus, hundred thousand Jerusalem residents lost their right to the city. During the 1949 cease fire agreement, Jerusalem had been divided-based on the Israeli and Jordanian rejection of an internationalization proposal. In addition, when Israel occupied the Arab part of the city in 1967, the plan that it instantly put into force aimed at

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6 A text submitted to the periodical titled as “From the Other Side”; Ibid. Tafakhji is a geography specialist who assumes the position of Director of Maps and Cadastral Department, “Arabic Studies Association” founded by the Orient House. In the capacity of his specialization, he accompanied the Palestinian delegation to Washington’s negotiations in 1994.
unifying the city in preparation for annexation. Today, 85% of East Jerusalem territory, which was under Jordanian supervision until 1967, had been expropriated.

Israel had been systematically preoccupied with accomplishing a break of the Palestinian side between Jerusalem and its surrounding area vis-à-vis the expansion of the Israeli sustainability. This inclination is both old and strongly renewed as we may observe. It is estimated that 250 thousand settlers reside in multiple settlements surrounding Jerusalem. By virtue of the administrative expansion of its borders, such settlements began to experience inclusion within. In fact, those settlements are nothing but a place for sleeping whereby economic or cultural activities are totally absent (or more to say what forms basis of the social fabric). Matter of fact, its function is to accomplish demographic majority on one hand and separating the old city and Arab neighborhoods from the West Bank on the other.

Additionally, the Wall plays a pivotal role in this regard whereby it serves as an effective tool for annexation and not a security fence that extends around and within Jerusalem for 80 Kilometers. Outside the fence of the Wall, around 90 thousand Palestinians carrying Israeli identity or permanent residence cards as Jerusalem residents.

Warschawski is indicating to the overall connotation, in other words, assassinating East Jerusalem. Today, it stands as a desperate city whereby Palestinian private institutions are leaving to Ramallah. Closure of the Orient House played a main role in this respect. He refers to the similarity between this situation with Yafa which had been the most important Palestinian city before 1948 that turned today to be a poor suburb of Tel Aviv “before some Israelis discovered and invested it in housing, and establishing commercial and cultural institutions.”

Based on all of this, the language of figures bears significant importance as it covers all fields. Maqdesi Palestinians are not entitled after meeting all the conditions which are multiple, difficult and costly, to build except on 75% of their given properties versus 300% for a Jewish owner. Estimations in the present time suggests that three quarters of a million are residing in Jerusalem, broken down as a quarter of Jews living in Western Jerusalem, quarter of Palestinians in Eastern Jerusalem and a quarter of settlers also in Eastern Jerusalem! On the other hand, the EU Heads of Mission Report on East Jerusalem states that after the expansions of Jerusalem, its population reached 920 thousand, including 30% Palestinians. But the important point in this report is indicating that 37% of total settlement houses in the occupied territories all situated in eastern Jerusalem which is a very high percentage.

A report published in November 2010 by “The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies” which is an Israeli institute indicates a regressing graph in the number of Jewish population in Jerusalem versus an ascending one in the number of Palestinians as of the beginning of 1967 and in spite of all the Israeli efforts exerted in this direction. The study confirms that percentage of Arab population in 2008 is 35% with a growth rate in the year in question reaching double the Jewish rate. The study also raises other aspects

8 Refer to item 7 of the EU Heads of Mission Report on East Jerusalem 2010.
of the Jerusalem landscape including the higher rates of unemployment among Arab population, difference of living patterns among Jewish inhabitants who include religious and seculars. Actually, this is one of the exploding paradoxes in Jerusalem described by some Israelis as hard and unattractive to live in.

Unlike Khalil Al Tafakhjy's studies which are incompatible with such figures. He says that the number of Palestinians shrank to 175 thousand due to tightening policies and legal manipulations in the residence rights. Further, he explains that in this sense, the Israeli failure is relative and refers to the slow but constant action aimed at legally annexing Jerusalem which had been formally determined in 1980 under Begin's government. Whereas a host of decrees had been put in place as of 1967 paving the road for this action, however, Jerusalem had not been explicitly named in this regard. Tafakhjy might be concluding to this in order to introduce what shall take place. Under the consecutive expansion of the City's area, the Israeli Government adopting development plans of the city as of 2005 till 2020, he believes that the percentage of Palestinians which the Israeli authorities will accept them to remain in the city had been reconsidered. According to the scheme, the percentage does not exceed 12% of the population drawing the attention to the meaning of the Israeli declaration about 'deeming Jerusalem has a national advantage' and 'capital of the Jewish people' and not of Israel only. Housing and other transportation plans are compatible with such declarations including granting investments in Jerusalem five years Israeli tax exemptions, the Tram project which Alstom Group (French international foundation) attempted to construct and intended to link between the settlements in the heart of old Jerusalem. World solidarity movements struggled against this project to the extend of calling to boycotting the company intended to take it over for being in-collusion with the occupation. The movements succeeded in forcing Alstom to retrogress (although the company claims financial reasons related to the project's management). As such, Tafakhjy sets the direction to which the Israeli authorities are heading in the future. He might be offering an interpretation to its current stimulated efforts. For instance, he speaks about 27 thousand Palestinian students studying in Israeli schools in Jerusalem compared with 18 thousand studying in public or official Palestinian schools. Tafakhjy considers this coupled with health projects sector are aimed at the Israeliization of Palestinians living in Jerusalem when displacement under different pressures and drawing their documents become difficult.

The eastern part of the city had been turned into a cluster of Arab neighborhoods separated by settlements. There are global organizations, in addition to the State of Israel and Municipality of Jerusalem, contributing to this effort. More than hundreds of millions of dollars are directly paid from civil global Jewish religious, or non Jewish Zionist organizations for supporting the Judaization of Jerusalem. A new example on this part of the activity had been published in newspapers since less than two months. The Israeli anti

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9 Al Ghad Newspaper, Amman, 7-12-2010.
occupation “Peace Now” Organization announced\textsuperscript{11} that Jerusalem Municipality had approved building 24 houses for the Jews in the center of Al Sawannah Arab neighborhood. It had been exposed that the land is “owned” by a foreign company, whereas, the application for a building permit was submitted by the El’ad Association which is an Israeli settlement organization. In completion of the story, Irving Moskowitz a wealthy American Jew who is extremely active in financing settlement in Jerusalem, owned this land plot.

The name of this billionaire is frequently cited as a main player in financing. But over and above, the budget of Jerusalem Municipality is huge enough to come close to a billion U.S dollars in addition to allocations directly disbursed from the competent ministries\textsuperscript{12}.

Constant incomparable efforts are exerted for this purpose: competent authorities conduct verifications of personal and ownership documents on each Maqdesi, inheritance lines, and areas...etc. But Arab population have no one to support them. Besharat\textsuperscript{13} states that lately, even the letters issued by the Jerusalem Authority established by the Islamic Conference became rare. He is indicating an Arab trend that is totally opposite to the Israeli in terms of expanding the scope of the concerned parties with the city’s file. In this regard, Arab States initially decided to leave the management of the Palestinian issue to the Palestinians, the Palestinian Authority followed by deciding leaving the management of Jerusalem file to Maqdesis or to an ad hoc committee that would be established for this purpose.

**Global Diplomatic Level:**

The international law and UN resolutions both condemn the annexation of Jerusalem and calling upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied territories including Jerusalem (the first of which had been issued in 4-7-1967) based on deeming them illegitimate measures. The international position had been renewed along the declaration of Jerusalem annexation in 1980 which was considered invalid. In 2003, a declaration was made on the annulment of Israeli laws on Jerusalem. All the declarations concerned with the Palestinian are based on organic acts of the international law (such as the 1907 Hague Agreement, and the 1949 4\textsuperscript{th} Geneva Treaty). The battle of Jerusalem is taking place on the international level. In spite of all the field proceedings, there exist a global rejection to the idea of “the unified Jerusalem, an eternal capital of Israel”.

Actually, this is very valuable, however, not productive in itself. In other words, seeking support based on the bias of the international law in favor of the Palestinian right to Jerusalem like other matters, is not sufficient specially expecting consequent results thereto.

For instance, just a few weeks ago particularly in January 10\textsuperscript{th} 2011 by the UN Secretary General denounced the destruction of Shepherd Hotel in Jaffa neighborhood in Jerusalem, very briefly, Ibid.

\textsuperscript{11} I.F.B Agency 14-12-2010.
\textsuperscript{12} Such as the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning; and Ministry of Works.
\textsuperscript{13} Jerusalem, very briefly, Ibid.
Jerusalem. The hotel enjoys a symbolic significance as it had been residence of Jerusalem Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini. Once again the name of billionaire Moskowitz pops up as a financier. Demolishing the hotel is part of an integrated settlement project encompassing all of Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, according to A’dsn al-Husseini former Jerusalem Mayor, speaking on behalf of al-Husseini family owner of the overall targeted area. The project includes building 400 units replacing the confiscated and demolished units. Once again, the Law on the Properties of Absent Persons had been operationalized. The occupation is demanding another owner from Al Naseeba in Jerusalem, the only remaining person from the owners of a hotel located in Salah-u-Deen Street, to purchase the share of his deceased or immigrant relatives from the occupation authorities otherwise they dispose of the property! Israel is carrying on with similar operations regardless of the international denunciation which turned to be merely words in absence of proper monitoring and practical proposals. This is where our task comes. Nobody else is expected to assume this task as others are only denouncing.

In any event, it is recommended to become attentive to a serious feature that had been part and parcel of the global diplomatic discourse. It had been inclined towards giving precedence to pragmatic considerations although it is always reminding of the initial legal basis. The UN’s statement describes the Israeli act, in other words, “constructing settlement units in the heart of a Palestinian neighborhood” “which will grow tension” as quoted by Catherine Margaret Ashton. She further added reminding that the European Union does not recognize Israeli annexation of West Jerusalem, as such, the EU is deeming it as occupied. As for Clinton, denouncing the destruction of Shepherd Hotel, she described it as “development that raises concern” which “undermines peace efforts”. She added that it is contradicting the achievement of “reasonable and necessary agreement between parties on Jerusalem”.

There is also a European consensus (strongly voiced by two official French and British spokespersons) on denouncing the hotel destruction. In this respect, the British spokesperson described such acts as “unverified provocative acts”. As for the French spokesperson, he expressed concern for the impact of the negative act on “the chances of reaching a peaceful solution”. However, he also refers to the EU position which reconfirmed in December 13th the illegitimacy of settlements including those spread in East Jerusalem calling them violation to the international law in addition to being an obstacle to peace. In this regard, one must also monitor the trend of a growing mix between the initial legal basis of the positions of most international organizations and their concern about the peace process. This trend leads to decreasing the seriousness of the Israeli act. Therefore, efforts should be geared towards changing the position of such organizations from playing the role of points recorder only. But rather makes them put in place actions as consequent to their statements. This is a complete work program that may not proceed properly in the absence of developing an envisagement to our ambitions.

As such, the central question here will be about how to actually benefit from the international law in favor to Palestine in general and Jerusalem in particular which occupies a very sensitive position. Two overlapping matters might be missing. The former is related to the media which is not associated in this regard with news, but rather with raising “dominating collective awareness”, just exactly as “manufacturing the
Holocaust" succeeded. It is expected that such efforts will expressively change power balances. As an example, it suffices to cite the "Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions for Palestine" Movement which was launched with extremely modest capabilities by local Palestinian non-governmental organizations and turned global. Because the Movement owns a coherent discourse, sets forth a clear projection, differentiates carefully between possible, varied and strategic tactics, it managed to disturb the Israeli authorities to the extend that the latter described it as threatening the "legitimacy of Israel". It even allocated huge financial and systematic resources to defy the movement as well as mobilized all of its official diplomatic and other relations calling them to be engaged in the confrontation. What is preventing to transform Jerusalem issue and the relevant violations into a similar activity. It is aimed to turn the Israeli plan impossible, chase all of its expressions, and mainly employ the international law as well as routine diplomatic positions towards the universality of a documented denouncing of Israel that would bear practical outcomes. As for the second matter, it is actually already included in the first but it even serves as one of its conditions. It is related to the coherent discourse and approach. It is not possible to create an impact in order to develop a dominant collective awareness, or supportive conviction when the nature of our attitudes and approaches is swinging! For instance, it is not possible to belittle a trivial example per se, but at the same time it is profoundly expressive of a prevalent general status: Mr. Mahmoud A"bbas, President of the Palestinian Authority accepted last year to visit Paris for inaugurating a small ground in the name of the prominent poet Mahmoud Darwish. This incident took place after few weeks of the opening of a large ground in the name of Ben-Gurion by the Paris Mayor himself amidst huge media coverage and propaganda. This concurred with an organized confrontation denouncing this initiative from all French solidarity movements with Palestine. Our poet could have waited! Mr. A"bbas’s step actually spared the Chief of Paris Municipality compunction or the possibility to continue on holding him accountable. This may be described as seeking strength in authority support or more to say “balancing of positions”. Actually, this is a disease that sets forth indecisiveness and confusion as basis for everything. Israel is excellent in making the ultimate use of this approach. Tens of similar examples may be cited here. But some of those examples are even more serious (such as the Goldstone report). Others are detailed. Nevertheless, they are all common in indicating absence of an approach, and satisfaction with the minimum limit as a result to a humongous amount of an inherent defeat. This situation does not allow for formulating positive approaches and attitudes believing in themselves and ability to accomplish. But they rather waste or threaten to waste gains. In the following, we are going to produce the evidence.

EU Heads of Mission Report: Studying the trends of diplomatic possibilities and relevant means of achievement
In addition to the UN reports (regular reports published by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Occupied Palestinian territory (OCHA) which monitor all transgressions in the West Bank, Gaza as well as Jerusalem, the Report published by EU Heads of Missions operating in Jerusalem and Ramallah submitted to

14 According to the title of a book authored by Norman Finkelstein, however, there are tens of authorship inclined to the same direction.
the EU and titled as “2010 Jerusalem Report”\textsuperscript{15}, stands special as it is straightforward in condemning Israel which lends it special importance. In this respect, the report focused on Jerusalem for being the laboratory for all the events taking place in the occupied territories, secondly it is European whereas Europe had, until now, played the role of Israel’s moral protector, thirdly, is does not stop at merely observing integrity in recording the reality, but introduces recommendations and proposes for the European Union to adopt them. The recommendations involve putting sanctions against Israel, studying proposals for setting up international or European monitor that would deter Israel and concurrently protect Palestinians. Authors of the report, certainly, are not ignorant about the major impact of such a proposed orientation specially that the “natural” economic exchange (in other words between states rather than through grants as conducted by the USA), and cooperation in the scientific, academic and military research between Israel and Europe stands as highest on the global level.

Certainly, the report was not well received by the European administration, nevertheless, this time it did not decide to conceal its first part which sends a message. In addition, it is implied that the heads of missions will frequently reiterate their approach which had been attacked by Israel describing their bias to the Palestinians as terrible (this year’s report comes as last year’s similar report which had been submitted in December; 8\textsuperscript{th} 2009. At that time, the European Commission decided preventing it. Alas, it had been leaked to the press. Last year’s report was no less clear than this year’s). The accusation of bias is somewhat true, however, it adds in itself to the elements of condemning Israel. European heads of mission mostly turn quickly to be “aligned” to the Palestinians. Unlike those who are higher in the diplomatic rank (ambassadors) serving in Tel Aviv (the isolated bubble) who are mostly inclined to favor Israel, which makes them believe and adopt its version of the story rather than the reality. It is not sufficient for some of them to move to Ramallah—if they do so—because the scene in this city might be deceitful. Nevertheless, the position of this category expresses, in the best cases, laziness, because they perceive it as more safe and compatible with the orientation of the overall western policy. This implies the importance of gaining knowledge and practical experience. Concurrently and equally important, it refers to the strength of the Palestinian right. The observation is repeated in relation to the international staff operating throughout the occupied territories. An excellent evidence lies in the declarations made by different diplomats and staff residing in or frequently visiting Gaza for example.

Nevertheless, recording the overall scene gains another importance, because it is needed for drawing the separate and balanced line between classifying the focus on the diplomatic level as a waste of time and effort (perceiving it as futile blabbering, which is a common public and organizations’ position) or betting on it as a determinant element which may reverse the equation (this trend is common among the elite specially officials). We encounter this paradox which is related to sticking to, enhancing or accomplishing achievements based on the international law.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
summary of the recommendations emphasizing an increased presence of the EU in East Jerusalem and using meetings with the Israeli authorities in sending a clear and coherent message about East Jerusalem. The report also recommends studying the adequate means of monitoring, requested to continue on mandating mission heads with working in this area. In its first annex, the report includes an analysis of the field situation during the last years, and the trends identified this year compared against the last year’s report which had been described as “negative”. Annex 2 of the report introduces recommendations for placing sanctions on Israel, involving economic sanctions that encourage boycotting settlement goods including those produced in Jerusalem. It suggests setting strict rules of declaring the origin of Israeli goods exported to Europe, studying preventing settlers from entering European states, and recommending for diplomats to abstain from visiting Israeli official bureaus that are located outside the green line. In addition, it recommends for diplomats to refrain from visiting monumental sites built by settlers. The recommendations call for refraining from using Israeli companies and hotels operating in Jerusalem during trips of European missions to Israel. In addition, it recommends reopening the office of the PLO in the eastern part of the city. But the most important recommendation might be the attendance of international or EU monitors in each demolition or arrest operation.

The General EU Mission Head repeated proposing this position adding that those monitors would assume judiciary follow up on such operations. (Israel called this exercising guardianship and of course rejected it like the overall report). The report recalls statements of researchers that the “internal settlement cycle” which means that of Jerusalem is breaking its communication with the rest of the West Bank (report item 16), administrative plans aimed at promoting settlement had intensified as of beginning of November 2010. While the “external settlement cycle” is expanding in terms of construction in the territories of the West Bank, In 2008, the “Judea and Samaria” Police Department had been moved to this area! After reviewing education, health and so forth issues, the report moves to the grave economic impact of the Wall. It concludes that 75% and 83% of Palestinian adults and children, respectively, residing in east Jerusalem are living under poverty line (report item 47). The report addresses as well the consequent threats of destroying Al-Aqsa (report item 58) due to excavations. Alas, it avoids recalling scenarios stated by several experts about the possibility of engineering an earthquake or similar incidents in order to dispose of this site and creating a fait accompli to the whole world. In this sense, the report stands as an example to what we are supposed to request as a conclusion from any international position, therefore, how about following up on it??

Conclusion:
All circulated papers should certainly introduce proposals related particularly on how to support Jerusalem residents and other specialized aspects Therefore, conclusions herewith will focus on certain points as follows:

To gain self conviction and confidence about the possibility to accomplish achievements related particularly to Jerusalem because of its overall special
position and abandoning the defensive position which is restricted on "identifying the losses". This approach clearly expresses a well rooted sense of defeat. Instead, move to a proactive dynamic attitude that is ready to struggle.

To crystallize a coherent discourse and approach about Jerusalem reflecting the extremely serious and immediate ongoing events. Both the aforementioned discourse and approach should focus on linking between developments in Jerusalem and the real situation of occupation and overall settlement as well as the religious dimension. Matter of fact, in my opinion, I believe that forecasting a future Palestinian and Arab vision in relation to Jerusalem and simultaneously projecting the overall Palestinian cause is a pressing task.

Should declaring Jerusalem a global city and developing a relevant infrastructure appropriate for making it an eternal capital of Israel be adopted? This tactic should not be adopted only versus the Israeli scheme, but it should be well examined, in terms of worthiness, as part of the comprehensive vision of Palestine.

To produce, based on the discourse, a Palestinian reconciliatory document that crosses beyond political and social affiliations: It is also possible to propose adopting this document on the Arab and global levels by advocating for the support of certain figures and agencies. But it might be turned into a public petition and offered for signature.

To formulate an ad hoc international legal working unit mandated with monitoring the Israeli decisions and disclose their invalidity according to all disciplines of international law. This unit would study the practical means of prosecuting Israel in international courts. It should be also mandated with providing direct legal consultancy to Palestinians.

To formulate a media unit that works in English, Spanish and French. It should assume the task of daily monitoring of ongoing events and publications related to Jerusalem. The unit should be mandated with sending alerts whenever necessary, argues, call individuals to write and conduct interviews etc. It is aimed at providing the required memory and accumulative material as well as crystallizing a position that enable ground for an international conviction regarding Jerusalem.

To consider communication with international solidarity movements with Palestine as a priority which should not proceed in one direction; i.e. ("give us your support and shut your mouths"). But it rather should take the form of a struggle relationship that recognizes the right of such movements in choosing their positions and coordinates with them instead of treating them as merely an item of "public relations". This is closely linked with the prevailing projection about the Palestinian in the sense of a potential solution within the diplomatic domain using consecutive tactics or looking at it as an extended struggle process. Specialized branches of such movements might carry out lobbying activities in addition to mobilizing the legal/media and other domains.
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