

## The Jordanian political strategy in preserving Islamic and Christian holy sites in Palestine

### (Jerusalem - a case study)

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### Abstract

This study aimed to shed light on the Jordanian strategy in preserving Islamic and Christian sanctities in Palestine, including Jerusalem as a case study, by focusing and paying attention to it as a basic principle from the Hashemites perspective on the one hand and Jordanian policy on the other. Using the descriptive and analytical approach to analyze and interpret the nature of preserving mechanism of Jerusalem, by clarifying the role that Jordan played towards it during the early Emirate of Transjordan and in the recent Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The study found that Jerusalem was and still considered a central axis to the Jordanian politics and to the Hashemites in particular, and a fundamental principle that cannot be waived and neglected since Al Sharif Hussein bin Ali, all the way to King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein, through the Hashemite reconstruction in Jerusalem and Jordan's positions regarding the transfer of the Israeli embassy to Jerusalem, and regarding the acts of sabotage of the Israelis in Al-Aqsa Mosque.

**Keywords:** *Jerusalem, Jordanian politics, Islamic and Christian holy sites, the Hashemites.*

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### Introduction

Jordan and Palestine are linked geographically and historically since the borders of Transjordan with Palestine were set according to the Palestinian law in the 1st of September, 1922, which stated that the border starts from a line extending from a point located on the Gulf of Aqaba two miles west of Aqaba and passes through the middle of Wadi Araba and the Dead Sea to the point where Jordan River meets Al Yarmouk River, reaching the Syrian border,

Jordan's geographical proximity to Palestine has burdened it with many responsibilities and imposed on it a distinguished position that no other Arab country has played, forcing it to stand on the longest lines of confrontation with Israel, with great consequences. In a letter to the British Colonial Minister in March 1921, Prince Abdullah bin Al-Hussein of Transjordan stated, "The Arabs indicated they rejected Balfour Declaration and hold to the Arabism of Palestine." Jordan and Palestine may form a unitary administration led by an Arab prince." Mahafthah, 1989, p. 51).

Because Jerusalem was given special attention by Prince Abdullah Bin Al-Hussein due to its religious significance, Jordan struggled to preserve its Arabic identity, and the Jordanian Arab army fought many battles to keep it from coming under the rule of the Jews.

After the war ended in 1948, a group of Palestinian families convened the Jericho Conference on the 1st of December of that year, where they made a number of decisions, the most important of which was the call for the unification of the two Jordan River banks, and it was decided to declare unity between them in the National Assembly on April 24, 1950, in one state known as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Jordan was more than ever linked by the Arab-Israeli conflict after the declaration of unification. Confronting Israel and its expansionist ambitions became its case in the first place, and Jordan was dedicated to it as well (Al-Hadid, 2015, 64).

After King Al Hussein bin Talal assumed his constitutional powers, Jordan continued supporting the Palestinian until 1967, when war broke out between the

Arabs and Israel. Jordan participated in this war even though it was not prepared to do so. the war results was that the Arabs lost the remaining part of Palestine represented in the West Bank and Jerusalem after the great sacrifices made by the Jordanian Arab Army in the defense of Palestine, from the first moment that followed the defeat in 1967, Jordan did not hide the danger of Israeli ambitions in Jerusalem and its repeated attempts to Judaize the city. As a result of the current Arab conditions at the time, King Hussein realized that the only hope for recovering Arab lands was to follow political action and diplomatic methods. (Ali, 2020, 50-51).

When King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein assumed his constitutional powers in 1999, it did not take long for him to pursue the same foreign policy that King Hussein had set, which is to follow the path of a comprehensive and just peace based on international legitimacy through his affirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to the establishment of the Palestinian state, which he considered a basic pillar of peace in the region, which was confirmed by the coordinating final statement of the foreign ministers of Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinian Authority issued on March 30, 1999 (Sakheini, 2009, 112).

Jordan's foreign policy towards Jerusalem was founded on several factors dictated by Jordan's national, historical and religious peculiarity towards Arab issues, which later became one of the most important constants in Jordanian foreign policy throughout the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This study sheds light on several main axes in the Jordanian political strategy in preserving Palestinian rights and Jerusalem in particular, and also reviews and analyzes the axes of the Israeli policy to Judaize Jerusalem, and the Israeli violations against Islamic and Christian sanctities.

### **Objectives of the study**

The research aims to identify the extent, size and impact of the Jordanian role in supervising and defending Jerusalem and the holy sites in it, in addition to the factors and challenges surrounding that role and the consequences thereof, which is the main objective that will be addressed through the following objectives:

1. Recognizing the religious significance of Jerusalem.
2. Israeli actions in Jerusalem.

3. Jordan's foreign policy toward Jerusalem, and the holy sites in it.
4. Hashemite reconstruction of Islamic and Christian holy sites.

### **The importance of studying:**

Jerusalem is one of the most important historical cities, which enjoys a special place for the followers of the three monotheistic religions, politically, it represents the most prominent Palestinian cities that have formed the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict since its occupation in 1967, and Israel attempt to change the city's identity and its Arabic character. Therefore, the importance of the study can be clarified as follows:

1. The study sheds light on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict over Jerusalem and Jordan's role in defending this city.
2. The study provides an overview of the essence of the Israeli settlement policy to Judaize Jerusalem and change its features and identity.

### **Study methodology**

1. The Analytical Approach: The analytical approach is considered one of the most important approaches used in the study of political cases, which is based on analyzing the case after describing, focusing and reaching an accurate and realistic understanding of this case, through interpretation and understanding the relationship between this case and reality, taking into account the most important processes through which it is analyzed and interpreted.

This approach relates to the main unit of analysis, which consists of a group of interrelated and interacting elements in the regular structure (Al-Khazraji, 2004, p. 55), where the focus will be on analyzing the case related to the subject of the research in terms of identifying the roots of the Jordanian role towards Jerusalem, causes and its dimensions.

2. The descriptive approach: considered one of the most important and broadest common approaches, as relies on describing the case by studying realistically, expressing it in a quantitative manner shows the extent, size and degree of its connection with other cases, and determines the circumstances and relationships

that exist on the ground (Askar, 1992, p. 131). Where the size, influence and form of the Jordanian role towards Jerusalem will be addressed through a description, which will give a clear picture of the features of this role.

3. The historical method: is considered one of the most important social approaches that describe and record the past facts and events, which researchers study and analyze on scientific, methodological and accurate bases aiming to reach facts and generalizations in order to understand the present situation based on the past and predict the future.
4. The historical method is concerned with events that took place in the past, considering that history is a science that examining honestly and faithfully the truth by collecting, criticizing, arranging, interpreting and presenting the facts in a correct scientific form (Abd al-Rahman, 1998, p. 144). The history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Jordan's role in supervising and protecting Jerusalem from Israeli practices, with its political and legal dimensions, and the results of this role will be traced back to the beginning of the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem.

### **The study Problem**

Jerusalem is a city of great importance to the Jordanian political decision maker because of its historical elements. The Jordanian role stems from the historical role under Hashemite leadership, which is in the guardianship and defense of Islamic holy sites, which Jordan has continued to the present history. The study shows the following main aspects of the problem:

1. The situation under which Jerusalem lies and the seriousness of the challenges it has faced since the Israeli occupation of the city after the 1967 war and the endeavor to Judaize the city and change its historical features through Jewish settlement.
2. The great role played by Jordan, whether on the political level, by exerting pressure on the Israeli side and mobilizing an international stance to stop the attacks and practices that are taking place to change the identity of the city.

3. Hashemite guardianship for Islamic and Christian holy sites in Jerusalem, including reconstruction and restoration.
4. Building international recognition of the importance of the Jordanian role in the guardianship of Islamic and religious sanctities in Jerusalem, which was confirmed by international agreements and the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty.
5. Guardianship of religious sites in Jerusalem, which made Jordan the best representative for defending the city against Israeli violations in international forums.

### **The first topic**

#### **The historical and religious importance of Jerusalem, and the Israel's ambitions**

The Arabs are closely associated with Jerusalem, and the importance of the city is due to its historical components, as it is an Arab city, established by the Canaanites Arabs. The city has been subjected to numerous invasions and built upon successive civilizations throughout its history, but it has maintained its Arab character and inhabitants, and with the Islamic conquest to the Levant, it has continued to receive great care for its sanctities and the safety of its inhabitants of various religions.

#### **The first requirement: historical dimension of Jerusalem**

Historical studies indicate that the arrival of the Canaanites who immigrated from the Arabian Peninsula around 7000 BC and settled in the current land of Palestine establishing cities, such as Jericho, and they were the first to historically inhabit this region. Historical records shows that the Canaanite were originally Arabian tribes. They were also the first to establish and reside in Jebus (Jerusalem), which became a populated fortified city with a unique location between the ancient world's continents. The city of Jebus (Jerusalem) was both commercially and militarily important due to its location on historic trade routes. When the ancient Israelites fled Egypt, they invaded and attempted to rule it, but the Canaanites were able to repel them with the support of the Egyptians.

#### **The sons of Israel:**

When the Israelites left Egypt during the era of the Pharaohs around 1350 BC with Moses, they attempted and failed to enter the land of Palestine. After the death of Moses, Joshua bin Nun crossed Jordan River with them in 1189 BC and was able to control Jericho. When the Canaanites learned of the arrival of the Israelis, they made alliances with the neighboring countries and established a powerful army, and were able to stop Joshua from controlling Jerusalem (Urshalim), because of its fortifications, and high walls (Siyam, 1996, 24-25).

The Jebusites controlled and ruled Jerusalem until 1010 B.C, when David resented it and renamed as the City of David. Solomon succeeded David, who became a king if the Israelis, whom Israel now claiming that he built the alleged temple presenting no evidence regarding that, Many studies indicate that Jerusalem was subjected to many invasions during the Israelis' era, the most important of which were the Chaldeans and then king Nebuchadnezzar's, who attacked the Jews in what was known as the Babylonian captivity, and then the Persian invasion of Jerusalem in 534 BC. The city was also invaded by to the Greeks when Alexander the great attacked it in 332 BC and their rule continued until the Romans entered Jerusalem in 63 BC. (Al-Hadid, 2015 28) This era witnessed a rebellions by the Jews that were repressed by King Titus who burned Urshalim and established the city of Elijah this Roman era witnessed the birth of Jesus. (Sakhini, 2009, 72).

#### **The Christian era:**

After Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity in the 4th century AD, allowing Christians to worship freely throughout the Roman Empire. Thus, the city of Jerusalem became a holy city for all Christians. His mother, Empress Helena, and Archbishop Makarios set up places for Christian pilgrimages in the same places that Jesus Christ visited before, Like the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Since then, the city of Jerusalem became of great importance to Christians, churches were built, and the Roman Empire became Christian. Palestine witnessed stability that lasted for two centuries, witnessing economic and urban prosperity due to the Christian pilgrimage ceremonies, which continued until the Persians occupied Jerusalem in 614 AD, under the leadership of Khosrau Eberweiz who destroyed the churches and the holy places, until Heraclius conquered

Palestine in 628 AD and expelled the Persians from the city (Siyam, 1996, 26).

#### **The Islamic era:**

The city of Jerusalem is of great importance to Muslims, as it is the first of the two Qiblas and the third of the Two Holy Mosques. The Caliph Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq ordered the Muslim army to conquer the Levant in 11 AH, were they kept fighting in many battles against the Byzantine Romans, when the Muslim army imposed a siege on Jerusalem. The city surrendered to Caliph Omar Ibn al-Khattab, who succeeded Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq in 17 AH, and travelled himself to supervise the handing over of the city to the Muslims and wrote with his own hand, what was known as the Omari Pact and ordered the construction of its Mosque and appointed a judge over it (Ihsan, 1985, 22).

#### **Jerusalem in the modern era**

In 1917, Britain issued Balfour Declaration, under which it pledged to establish a state for the Jews on the Palestinian lands. Palestine was subject to the British Mandate by virtue of the League of Nations resolution in 1922. Britain prepared all the conditions for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, as waves of Jewish immigration continued to Palestine. the Jews seized the lands increasingly protected by the British, which led the Palestinians to many revolting attempts against the British policies, the most famous of which was the Al-Buraq Revolution that broke out in Jerusalem in 1929, which led to a collision between Arabs and Jewish immigrants supported by the British police and led to many Arabs casualties in these confrontations, after this revolution, Britain formed Shaw Committee in 1929 AD to investigate the causes that led to this revolution, the committee concluded that the practices of the Jews next to the Al-Buraq Wall led was the main reason and recommended the formation of an international committee to look into the ownership of Al-Buraq, which concluded that the Al-Buraq Wall is a purely Islamic endowment to which the Jews have no right.

In 1936, the Great Palestinian Revolution erupted, and the revolutionaries attacked British camps and Jewish colonies and clashed with British forces in many battles, as a result, the Peel Committee was formed in 1937, which came out with recommendations to divide Palestine

into two states, according to which Jerusalem was placed under the Mandate system (Grace, 1983). , 22-23).

The recommendations of the Peel Commission prompted King Abdullah to submit proposals to the British government, based on his belief in the unity of Jordan and Palestine as a basis for confronting British and Jewish policies in Palestine.

He proposed forming a united Arab kingdom between Palestine and Transjordan, giving Jews special administration in areas where they are the majority, and forming an Arab-British-Jewish committee to determine the boundaries of these areas, restricting Jewish immigration to those areas, and giving Arabs the right to accept or reject Jewish immigration to the Arab lands. Similarly, the new state's British mandate constraints should be eased. These recommendations were adequate in King Abdullah's opinion, as they ensured the unity of the Palestinian lands and Jerusalem, as well as preserving the Arab majority in Palestine, but the Partition Committee rejected them on the basis of its incompetency.(Al-Mousa, 1988, 575-585).

The Arab governments also opposed King Abdullah's project, which he defended that the demands of the Palestinians at that time could not be fulfilled by the Arabs due to the lack of force in their hands. Whereas, King Abdullah believed that if the project had been accepted, it would have restricted the Jewish immigration and eased the burden of the mandate to supervision, which would end with complete independence from Britain (Al-Sasamah, 2001, 78).

In the face of Arab opposition, Britain announced in 1938 that it had abandoned these recommendations and suggested holding a conference in London that would include representatives of the Arabs of Palestine, neighboring countries and representatives of the Jewish side to discuss the future of Palestine.

In 1939, World War II began, and the discussions were freezed, awaiting for the end of the war, which highlighted the Jewish alliance with the United States, which provided full support for Jewish demands and demanded that the British government allow Jewish immigration and land ownership.

This same year witnessed the establishment of the Jewish military organizations, the most famous of which were the

Haganah, which carried out military actions against the Arabs. Britain concluded that it was unable to solve the Palestinian issue and presented the matter to the United Nations General Assembly, which formed a committee to investigate the prevailing conditions in Palestine. The committee submitted two proposals to solve this problem the first - which was supported by the majority - recommended dividing Palestine into two states, an Arab state and a Jewish state, and making the city of Jerusalem international. As for the second -

Which was supported by the minority - it recommended the formation of a federal state between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, with Jerusalem as its capital. After the two projects were presented to the United Nations General Assembly, it approved the majority's project, and it was issued by Resolution No. 181 of 1947. Following the decision, the United Kingdom declared its intention to withdraw permanently. The Arabs rejected the partition plan, which had been approved by the Jewish Agency. Then, in 1948, the Arab-Israeli war broke out, resulting in Israel's occupation of a large portion of Palestine's lands and the establishment of their state on it. (Greys, 1983, 34-35).

## **The second requirement: the religious significance of Jerusalem**

### **First: Islamic sanctities**

#### **1. Al-Haram Al-Sharif:**

The Noble Sanctuary is the most important Islamic religious and historical site in the Old City. It is located in the southeastern region of the Old City and covers an area of approximately 144 dunums.

#### **2. Al-Aqsa Mosque:**

located in the southwestern region of the Haram al-Sharif, constructed during the Umayyad Caliph Abd Al-Malik bin Marwan reign and was completed by his son Al-Walid, between 693 -705 AD, the a mosque is 4400 m 2, and contains 53 columns, 9 masts, 7 corridors and 11doors.

#### **3. Dome of the Rock Mosque:**

The Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik bin Marwan commissioned the construction of the dome 685-691 AD, the diameter of the dome is 20.3 m, the height: 20.48 m,



including: 16 windows, 12 columns, 4 pillars, the base of the dome is an octagonal building each side is 20 m long and 9.50 m height, the parapet height is 2.60 m, the base has 5 windows, 4 doors and 40 columns.

#### **4. Al Bouraq Wall**

A part of the western wall of the Haram esh-Sharif, one of the holiest Islamic places for Muslims, where Prophet Mohammad tied the Bouraq that transported him from Mecca to Jerusalem and then ascended with it to heaven. The wall is 48 m long and 17 m high.

#### **5. Al-Marwani Mosque**

The al-Marwani Mosque, also known as the Musalla Marwani located on the southeast side of the Haram esh-Sharif. Some 5 dunums, with 16 corridors. (Al-Sahli, 2006, 10).

### **Second: Christian antiquities**

#### **- The Church of the Holy Sepulcher**

The Church of the Resurrection, commonly known as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, houses Jesus' tomb as well as the tombs of Joseph and his family. Queen Helena constructed it around 335 AD after discovering the cross on which Jesus was crucified in the same area. The church was burned down by the Persians in 614 AD and rebuilt by monk "Modestus" after two years, but it was destroyed again during the reign of "Ikhshidi" Sultan of Egypt in 965 AD and reconstructed in 980 AD, then entirely demolished and rebuilt again. Until the Crusaders arrived and repaired it, uniting its buildings and temples and combining them into a single structure. When Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi liberated Jerusalem and defeated the Crusaders, he did not assault it, but rather protected it and respected its holy importance. It was burned by in 1808, which damaged numerous characteristics. It was afterwards rebuilt. To be hit later by a major earthquake in 1834, when France and Russia pledged at the time to finance the costs of reconstruction, as long as it was done under the supervision of the Ottoman authorities. This was followed by another earthquake in 1927, which affected its foundations, prompting British authorities to reinforce the structure with iron and wooden beams to protect it from natural disasters.

#### **- Way of Suffering (Via Dolorosa)**

It is a way believed to have been taken by "Christ" carrying his cross when Roman soldiers led him to the site of his crucifixion. The way consists of 14 stages, starting from the School of the Sisters of Zion, where the Roman ruler "Theosh" issued his sentence of crucifixion of Jesus Christ and heading west to Al Wad area and Aqabat al-Mufti, then through the road that connects Al Wad with Bab Khan Az-Zayt, at the end of Aqabat el- Khanqah, to reach the Holy Sepulcher in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Jesus fainted several times on this way due to the torture he suffered and the weight of the cross he was carrying.

#### **- Church of the Sepulcher of Saint Mary,**

built between 450-457 AD, also called Tomb of the Virgin Mary, the church is located in the Kidron Valley in an intermediate location between Silwan, the Mount of Olives and Bab Al-Asbat. The church contains the tombs of "Mary the Virgin" and her parents, as well as the tomb of Saint Joseph.

#### **- The Church of Saint Anne:**

The church is located to the north of the Temple Mount near the Lions Gate, where Jesus came to this site with one of his miracles. The church was burnt down during the Persian invasion in 614 AD, so the Crusaders rebuilt it and was converted during the reign of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi into a school for Shafi'i jurists, then the French received it from Sultan Abdul Hamid al-Othmani. In 1855, and they established a school in it.

#### **- Gethsemane Church:**

This church is located in the area between Silwan, Jabal al-Tur and Bab al-Asbat. It was built by the Latin Catholic in 1924 AD. It is believed that the site witnessed the arrest of Jesus when Judas Iscariot denounced him.

#### **- The Cenacle (Zion Monastery):**

Also known as the Upper Room, located on the top of Mount Zion near the Gate of Hebron and some Christians believe that "Christ" and his followers had their last supper. (Diplomatic and Public Policy Department, 2013, 25/3).

**The third demand: the Israeli measures to Judaize Jerusalem**

The Jews became interested in Palestine at the close of the nineteenth century, when the Jewish Conference met in the Swiss city of Basel in 1897. After the negotiations that took place between the members of this conference by choosing a national home that would accommodate the diaspora of Jews from all over the world, one of the most important decisions of the conference was the consideration that Palestine constitutes the Promised Land and will be the national home for the Jews. During the First World War, the Jews and their unwavering efforts began to contact European countries, particularly Britain, thanks to the efforts of the world Zionist organization. During the war, the Sykes-Picot Agreement was signed in 1916, resulting in the distribution of influence between Britain and France in the regions controlled by the eight, including the Arab regions. The relations between the Zionist movement and Britain resulted in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which granted the Jews the establishment of a national home for them in Palestine, and it was the beginning of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is also the Arab-Israeli conflict, which Jordan became a part of in 1921 AD (fine, 1981, 204).

Israel's ambitions and intentions for the city of Jerusalem have existed since the country's inception. With the establishment of the British Mandate over Palestine in 1917 AD, the pace of Jewish attempts to expand and take the old city's districts and lands quickened. Following the end of the British Mandate in Palestine, the Zionist movement hastened to establish the State of Israel, sparking the Arab-Israeli war. The first occurred in 1948, and it resulted in Israel conquering (78 percent) of the Palestinian territories. Israel has acquired control of the western portion of Jerusalem, and since that time, the city has begun to take steps toward strengthening its control over it, removing its Arab people, and making it part of its state.

During the 1967 war, Israel conquered East Jerusalem, which was under Jordanian authority, and declared it Israel's capital. It established rules and plans to dominate the city, expand its bounds, and build Jewish enclaves, including the demolition of a portion of the Maghariba neighborhood and the expulsion of Jews from certain municipal neighborhoods. It also segregated entire city neighborhoods and sped up operations. The creation of Jewish neighborhoods, which aided in the migration of

thousands of settlers to the city and the formation of a settlement cordon around it.

Israel has conducted significant excavations and explorations aimed at validating its claims to ancient rights, and has continued to construct tunnels around the Al-Aqsa Mosque to the present day (Royal Commission Publications, 2008, 37).

Following the 1967 conflict, Israel took military and administrative actions to unite the city's western and eastern halves and recognize Jerusalem as part of Israel. The Israeli Knesset approved a law in 1980 to designate the undivided Jerusalem the capital of Israel, the seat of the Knesset, the government, the President of the State, and the Supreme Court, then in 1990, under the guise of extending the city, it expanded it to the west to create Tel Aviv. It covers an area of 126 skm.

Israel did not stop building settlements on these regions quickly, as it tried to isolate the Arab areas from one another, making the establishment of a Palestinian state harder and limiting transit between these areas. It built the separation wall, which began in 2002 AD and runs over most of the Arab territories in the West Bank to prevent its Arab citizens from entering its territories or Jewish settlements, to achieve these aims intended at isolating the Arab territories. This separation wall was built in heavily populated areas, such as the Jerusalem area, where Israel is actively creating settlements (Ali, 2020, 60).

Since its occupation of Jerusalem, Israel has initiated the process of Judaizing the city, annexed the eastern portion of the city to the area it controls, razed the Maghariba district, seized the Al-Buraq Wall, razed Arab homes, and expelled many of its population. Israel's operations in Jerusalem have been summarized as follows:

- Occupation and land confiscation: From the beginning of its occupation of Jerusalem, it worked to complete its settlement scheme by expanding the city's borders in what was known as Greater Jerusalem, which began in 1982 with the goal of expanding the city's borders to the outskirts of Jericho and the Dead Sea, so that the area of Jerusalem becomes one-fifth the size of the West Bank. Israel has built dozens of settlements.

The goal of these measures is to integrate settlement operations and security requirements, as well as settlement and negotiating stance, because Jewish

settlement strengthens Israel's bargaining position by creating a new reality on the ground. The settlement process is also tied to Jewish religious beliefs, considering that Jerusalem is the Promised Land recognized by Jewish religious law. In addition to all of these reasons, Israel believes that the settlement in Jerusalem contributes to the resolution of demographic and economic problems by utilizing the settlement lands for agricultural purposes, particularly with the building of settlements in fertile territories. (Barakat, 1995, 165).

- Displacement of the Arab population from Jerusalem: Israel is displacing Palestinians from Jerusalem in order to create a new reality on the ground in which Jews are the majority in the city of Jerusalem, and the construction of Israeli settlements in return work on demolishing Arab homes and displacing their residents in order to create a demographic imbalance in its favor.
- Withdrawal of Israeli identity from Arab citizens of Jerusalem: This practice, used by successive Israeli governments, tries to shift the city's demographic balance in favor of Jews, as Palestinians account for only 35% of the entire population.
- **Excavations to prove the existence of the Temple of Solomon**, which serves Israeli claims on the city. The majority of these excavations were undertaken at the request of Israeli government agencies and Jewish religious organizations, with Israeli authorities continuing to condone the settlers' attacks and permitting them to reach the Temple Mount and perform their rituals. (Najm, 2009, 33-34).
- The study examines Israel's breaches of the hallowed Al-Aqsa Mosque during Ramadan in the year 2021, when Jewish settlers seized the courtyards of Al-Aqsa Mosque, holding Talmudic services around it and prohibiting Muslims from doing Tarawih prayers. All of this had an impact on the feelings and consciences of Muslims and Arabs in general.

## **The second topic**

### **Jordanian policy towards Jerusalem**

#### **1- The policy of the Hashemites towards Jerusalem**

Throughout the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Jordan's geographical, historical, and demographic ties to Palestine have imposed many burdens on it, requiring it to play a distinguished role in supporting the Palestinian

cause that no other Arab country has ever played, putting it on the longest lines of confrontation with Israel, with the attendant great consequences. ,

As the Emir of Transjordan, Prince Abdullah bin Al-Hussein was the first to criticize the Balfour Declaration in a letter to the British Colonial Minister in March 1921: "The Arabs reject the Balfour Declaration and hold to Palestinian Arabism. Jordan and Palestine may form a united administration led by an Arab monarch as a solution."

Jordan's foreign policy toward Jerusalem was predicated on a number of reasons determined by Jordan's national, historical, and religious aversion to Arab issues. Disasters for the message of the Great Arab Revolt, which sought Arab freedom and unity, as well as the preservation of Arab territory and its sanctuaries, which later became one of Jordan's most important constants in its foreign policy through the years. The Arab-Israeli conflict's history the stages of Jordanian foreign policy regarding Jerusalem are as follows:

#### **First: During the era of Sharif Hussein bin Ali**

Sharif Hussein bin Ali declared the Great Arab Revolt in 1916 in order to free the Arabs from Ottoman domination. In 1923, Sharif Hussein bin Ali visited Amman at the invitation of Prince Ali bin Al Hussein and was sworn in as caliph by delegations from Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt. The king stated that Hussein bin Ali warned these delegates that he would not accept the mandate or division of Palestine, which caused Britain to be concerned about the implications on its attitudes toward Palestine.

Later on, the position of Sharif Hussein bin Ali towards Palestine and Jerusalem in particular was considered one of the constants of foreign policy, especially after Musa Al-Kadhim sent a written book to Sharif Hussein bin Ali in which he explained Britain's position towards the recognition of Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine in general, to which Sharif Hussein bin Ali responded that the position of the Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine in general, and that the sons of Palestine, Muslim or Christian, are his sons, and he will not give up the unity of Palestine as an Arab land, and one of the most important achievements of Sharif Hussein bin Ali towards Jerusalem was sending the Hijazi Committee for the reconstruction of Al-Aqsa Mosque, led by Abbas Al-Maliki, who was sent by the



Sharif to restore and strengthen the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque. (Al-Momani, 1996). , 185-186).

### **Second: Jerusalem during the reign of King Abdullah I**

Since its inception in 1921, the Jordanian state's orientations have been geared at realizing the Jordanian people's national and national objectives. Due to restricted options, the importance of political and diplomatic tactics and methods to achieve goals has emerged. Jordan's affinity to the Palestinian cause has led to the mobilization of all available resources and methods to resolve this issue while protecting Islamic sanctuaries in Palestine.

Prince Abdullah bin Al Hussein continued to confront the British administration, rejecting its efforts to permit Jewish immigration to Palestine, until Britain lost its mandate over Transjordan on 23 March 1946, and King Abdullah bin Al Hussein was proclaimed King of Jordan on 25 May 1946. In May 1948, Britain declared the end of the Mandate over Palestine, and on the same day, Israel declared the foundation of its state on part of the Palestinian territory, and the Jordanian army entered Jerusalem to defend it against the Israeli army.

In the heart of King Abdullah bin Al-Hussein, Jerusalem had a special status, which made him stand up to the repeated attempts of Jews to reach the city's holy places, as well as their demands in a passage to the Al-Buraq Wall and Jewish immigration to Palestine, where he continued to call for the Islam of Jerusalem and its Arabism until he was martyred in Al-Aqsa Mosque on Friday 20/7/ 1951. (Al-Hussein, 2012, 154-155)

### **Third: Jerusalem during the reign of King Hussein bin Talal**

Since King Hussein bin Talal assumed his constitutional duties, he has focused his attention on Jerusalem, which he considers to be a city of peace and over which sovereignty should belong solely to God, as it is the focus of attention for adherents of the three monotheistic religions, and because Jordan is the banner bearer of the Great Arab Revolt, this Arab Hashemite character has given the religious "My tale, and Jordan's, began with the first Hussein, who preferred to sacrifice all rather than deal over Palestine, the right of Palestine, the right of the Palestinian people, the territory of Palestine, or its

Arabism. May God have mercy on him in 1948, and you did the unthinkable in our country to save what could be preserved, and Jerusalem and the West Bank were saved". (Al-Hadid, 2015 68).

Following the 1967 war, Jordanian diplomacy returned to moderation and rule, as it backed the principle of diplomatic solution and the restitution of occupied Arab territory. King Hussein recognized that the only way to achieve this aim was through political action and diplomatic approaches, as well as the necessity of Israel's withdrawal from all Arab countries and the resolution of the refugee crisis as a consequence of the efforts undertaken by the Arab League. Jordan was a signatory to Security Council Resolution 242, which was issued by King Hussein, which was regarded as one of the fundamental pillars of all diplomatic efforts aimed at establishing peace in the Middle East. Resolution No. 338 was published in 1973, which confirmed the previous resolution and underlined the notion of land for peace and the conduct of discussions aiming at a final settlement under the auspices of the United Nations, and the PLO's attention began to focus on this day. The Palestinian Authority split from Jordan to form a single Arab entity. (Talal, 1980, 35).

### **Fourth: Jerusalem during the reign of King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein**

Jordanian diplomacy towards the Palestinian case did not change significantly throughout the reign of King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein.

This position was established in 2009 by the Aqaba Quartet Summit, the Sharm el-Sheikh Conference, and the Arab Summit in Doha, where King Abdullah II focused on his interest in the Palestinian case and Jerusalem regarding the Israeli measures targeting the city.

"It is important to emphasize the importance of reaching an Arab plan of action to safeguard Jerusalem against attempts to modify its Arab identity and depopulate it. On this premise, it is vital to adhere to the Arab Peace Initiative, which has been recognized internationally as one of the primary references for resolving the Arab-Israeli issue. Emphasizing the rejection of any attempt to change the international references agreed upon to

address the Palestinian case" (King Abdullah II's speech at the Doha Summit, 2009).

The twenty-second Arab summit was held in the Libyan city of Sirte, and the summit focused on the subject of Jerusalem. Jordan, addressed by King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein, stressed Jordan's historical role in preserving the city's holy places from Judaization and the erasure of its ancient identity. In this Word, His Majesty said: "On a daily basis, occupied East Jerusalem is subjected to Israeli policies that alter the city's population composition, Judaize it, eradicate its Arab identity, and jeopardies its Islamic and Christian sanctuaries. While we denounce and reject these Israeli efforts, we will do all in our power to maintain our historical role in safeguarding Arabic Jerusalem and caring for and protecting its sanctuaries until it is liberated from occupation I must also emphasize the importance of stepping up our efforts with the international community to end Israel's illegal siege on our patient people in the Gaza Strip, who live in horrible conditions that must be permitted".

#### **The second requirement**

##### **Jordan's policy towards the city of Jerusalem during the reign of King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein**

The city of Jerusalem has been at the top of Jordan's foreign policy priorities, represented by His Majesty King Abdullah II, where his vision has become clear through coordinating Arab and international action to stop Israeli attacks on the city and support its steadfastness in the face of Israeli measures aimed at Judaizing the city and emphasizing the historical role of the Hashemites in establishing the city.

When the city was under Islamic administration under the Ottoman occupation of Palestine, which lasted until the end of World War I, the Ottoman Caliphate had the final say in matters of sanctity. As a result of it, Jerusalem became subject to a foreign military government, with Sir Herbert Samuel in charge of its affairs. (Al-Shanaq, 2001, 206).

The Hashemites' contribution to the restoration of the holy places in Jerusalem began with Sharif Hussein bin Ali, since it stems from the Hashemites' past role in handling the affairs of the sacred sites in Makkah.

The question of supervising endowments and Islamic holy places in Jerusalem was not under dispute between the

beginning of the British Mandate over Palestine and its end in 1948. The situation began to change, however, with the announcement of the resolution to divide Palestine on General Friday of the United Nations in November 1947. The judgement gives Jerusalem a unique status that separates it from the territories allotted to Arabs and those given to Jews.

Following the completion of the union between the two banks in 1949, which agreed to annex the West Bank to the Emirate of Transjordan and later paved the way for the establishment of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on both banks of the Jordan River, the city and its holy sites and endowments became subject to direct Jordanian rule by de facto.(Shaath, 1988, 30-31).

Despite Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Jerusalem in the 1967 war, the West Bank and Jerusalem remained administratively and legally subordinate to Jordan. The foundation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964, as well as the Arab summit's acceptance of its legitimacy to represent the Palestinian people in 1974, did not change this position. Jordanian government. Despite the late King Hussein bin Talal's proclamation in 1988 that he would withdraw from the West Bank, he maintained Jordanian control over the holy sites in Jerusalem. After the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty was signed in Wadi Araba in 1994, Jordan insisted on including a paragraph stipulating that he would take care of the city's holy sites, provided that Jordanian guardianship would be transferred to the Palestinian Authority when the Palestinian and Israeli parties reached a final agreement, and Israel in 1994 in Article9/2, with Israel's, when the final negotiations take place, Israel will priorities the historical Jordanian role in those places, as stipulated in the first clause, that each party will grant the other party freedom of entry to places of religious and historical importance, the Custodian of the Holy Places agreement between Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. (Masalha, 2001, 83).

His Majesty King Abdullah II and President Mahmoud Abbas signed an accord in Amman in 2013 asserting Hashemite guardianship over all holy sites in Al-Quds Al-Sharif. The agreement grants His Majesty the King the right to use all legal means to protect Al-Quds, particularly the Al-Aqsa Mosque, which is defined as the entire Haram esh-Sharief.

As a result of the Jordanian-Israeli Peace Agreement and the Jordanian-Palestinian Agreement, religious guardianship has shifted from a historical-moral religious framework to a legal framework, and His Majesty King Abdullah II now has the legal mandate to defend the holy sites in international forums against any Israeli violations of the agreements' obligations. (Foreign Ministry publications Jordan, 2013). If Israel is an occupying force under international law, which it regards to be a temporary occupying force, it has occupied Jerusalem and the rest of the Arab lands on the basis of the occupying power.

Although the final negotiations on the Jerusalem issue have been postponed, the Israeli government, as an occupying country, is still obligated to implement the Fourth Geneva Convention, which protects religious, cultural, historical, and archaeological objects, as it continues to disregard all international laws and covenants with the alteration of manuscripts and cultural and religious property in Jerusalem and other occupied places in Palestine (Samih, 2020, 57).

From the foregoing, it is apparent that Jordan is eager to play a part in safeguarding the city of Jerusalem by enacting the legal procedures required to halt assault on Islamic sanctuaries in Jerusalem. In the event of an attack on any of the sacred sites, His Majesty the King has the legal authority to take legal action at all levels and in all international venues. Islam in Al-Quds Al-Sharif, as well as diplomatic means. Jordan has resorted to employing all friendly diplomatic methods with Israel, whether through direct formal diplomatic methods through the Jordanian government or at a higher level through His Majesty the King, or even through external mediation with countries with influence over Israel.

The Israeli attacks and harassment continued, with the most recent example being the closure of Al-Aqsa Mosque to worshipers and then reopening it in response to pressures from His Majesty the King personally to reopen the mosque, as well as the Israeli side's intransigence and the persistence of the attacks, including raising the issue of reconsidering Hashemite guardianship before the Israeli Knesset. Jordan had no choice but to summon the Jordanian ambassador in Israel and to the United Nations to stop these illegal practices and to file a complaint before the Security Council to condemn Israel

and press it to stop the illegal practices against the Islamic endowments, particularly Al-Quds Al-Sharif.

Indeed, the complaint was discussed, and members of the Security Council voiced their support and gratitude for Jordan's guardianship position over Islamic and Christian holy sites, and called on Israel to respect and not interfere with that duty, as well as to avoid provocative steps surrounding the holy sites and not to disturb the status quo.

At its (95) session in Paris, the UNESCO, which is concerned with the preservation of the world's cultural and historical heritage, also adopted draught laws submitted by Jordan and Palestine on the condemnation and illegality of Israeli attacks and violations, considering that these violations are illegal and illegitimate, and in violation of international laws and covenants in preserving the heritage of the global human legacy, in terms of legal procedures, establishing the reality of the Hashemite guardianship over the holy places in Al-Quds Al-Sharif is not a matter of controversy or legal dispute based on the peace treaties signed with the Israeli side that expressly recognize the Jordanian guardianship and that any breach of this agreement under international law will expose the Israeli side to international responsibility.

As a result, Jordan is unconcerned with legal or judicial arbitration as long as the dispute concerns a breach of responsibilities originating from an international agreement signed by the two parties. As a result, Jordan has the authority to approach the world community and the United Nations to demand international actions or penalties against Israel in order to compel it to comply with a treaty. International laws and charters, as well as peace (Masalha, 2001, 65).

The Jordanian position on Jerusalem was distinguished after US President Donald Trump declared Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel; if Jordanian-American relations began to deteriorate negatively as a result of Jordan's reaction to this decision, Jordan considered what was happening void in all its characteristics because it represented a violation of the legality to the city, and therefore validates what was said in Security Council Resolution 478, which said that the Israeli Basic Law governing Jerusalem should not be recognized. (Samih, 2020, 83).

Jordan admitted in statements issued by the Jordanian Ministry of Information in December 2017 that what is happening in Jerusalem in terms of legal recognition of Jews' affiliation with it represents a breach of the international legal legitimacy of the United Nations Charter, and that Jerusalem is being negotiated unilaterally, imposing facts that are not true to its existence. (Samih, 2020, 84).

Jordan confirmed this during its participation in the emergency Islamic summit held in Istanbul on December 13, 2017, where His Majesty King Abdullah II stated in his speech that this recognition may pose threats at the regional and international levels, and will reflect on the security and stability of the Arab region as a whole, and that Jordan He is recognized by history as the keeper of the Islamic and Christian sanctuaries in Jerusalem. As a result, Jordanians will refuse to accept any compromise from Jerusalem and will refuse to recognize it as the capital of the Zionist State.

Jordan was dissatisfied with these efforts, but it started with diplomacy, as His Majesty King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein did in his meeting with US Secretary of State Mike Pence on January 21, 2018, and His Majesty's insistence that Jerusalem is historically and civilly significant to Muslims and Christians, and they should not give it up, as it is the key to peace in the Middle East as a whole. (Samih, 2020, 84). Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs publications relate to Jordan's attempts to safeguard Islamic and Christian religious sites in Jerusalem, as well as to respond to the US decision to relocate the US Embassy to Jerusalem:

1- The King's efforts in Washington on the Jerusalem issue, including extensive meetings with the US Vice President, the US Secretary of Defense, the US Secretary of State, the National Security Adviser, the leaders of Congress and the heads of its various committees, and the American-Israeli Relations Committee (AIPAC), and His Majesty informed them that such a step would constitute a violation of international law.

2- On May 12, 2017, the King notifies the US President of the dangers of such a decision, and that such a choice will have major ramifications for Middle Eastern security and stability.

3-Jordan's Foreign Minister also communicated with the Egyptian, Saudi, Omani, Kuwaiti, Moroccan, and Iraqi

Foreign Ministers, as well as the European Union's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the Secretary General of the League of Arab States, and the Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

4- The General Assembly passed a resolution opposing the decision to relocate the American embassy to Jerusalem with (128) votes "in favor," (9) votes "against," (35) votes "abstention," and (21) votes "absent."

5-At the same time, the Security Council settled on 14 "with" votes and one "against" vote - America's (veto).

6-The King's meeting with Christian and Muslim clerics, during which he referred to Jordan's historical responsibility in guarding and caring for the sacred places in Al-Quds Al-Sharif from the times of Sharif Hussein Ibn Ali. "Jerusalem is the first of the two Qiblahs," he added. Churches of Christ Muslims and Christians have an inalienable right to Jerusalem. (Publications of the Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018).

The factions of the Jordanian popular movement and the party movement, represented by the following parties, have stated their unwillingness to relocate the embassy, namely:

-Jordanian media.

- The Jordanian House of Representatives (studying all agreements and treaties with the State of Israel, and requesting the cancellation of Wadi Araba Treaty).

-Jordanian unions and universities.

-The Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs (Friday prayer speeches) and the Committee for Reconstruction and Continuing to Implement Projects, Appointments, and Firefighter Training are in charge of project implementation, appointments, and training of firefighters.

-On Nov 3,2017, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also sent a protest note to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, regarding the violations against Al-Aqsa (the Archaeological Park and Elad Organization) - the administration of the Umayyad Palaces area.

-The official spokesman of the Jordanian government also condemned the continuous Israeli violations against Al-Aqsa, regarding the rise of settlers on the Holy Rock.



-On November 30, 2017, the United Nations General Assembly also voted a resolution affirming the Arabic Jerusalem and declaring that the Israeli measures in it are illegal and void. The resolution was backed by 151 countries, opposed by six, and abstained by nine.

-Jordan's efforts resulted in the scheduling of an emergency session of the Arab Council of Foreign Ministers on December 9, 2017.

-Calling an emergency assembly of the Arab Parliament on December 11, 2017 in Cairo to organize an Arab meeting to challenge the US decision.

-In addition, the Arab League announced the formation of a mini-Arab ministerial mission for diplomatic and media action in response to the US President's decision.

-On December 8, 2017, the Security Council conducted a session during which it was reported that the American decision violates international law and UN General Assembly resolutions.

-The Jordanian Foreign Minister met with the British Minister of State for Middle East Affairs on December 9, 2017, to examine the implications of the American decision.

-The King also held intensive talks with the President of Tajikistan on (Dec 11, 2017) on rejecting the US decision.

-The Istanbul Summit on December 13, 2017 also called on the world to recognize East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine, and the conference praised His Majesty the King's tutelage, with His Majesty emphasizing that the Hashemite tutelage is a historical responsibility that he is honored to bear, and that he will oppose all attempts to change the historical situation in Al-Aqsa. "Jerusalem is the first of the two Qiblahs, Jerusalem is in the conscience of all Muslims, and Jerusalem is in the conscience of all Christians," His Majesty added. The right of Muslims and Christians to live in Jerusalem is unassailable."

-The Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the American decision has no legal impact on the guardianship because it is fixed, well-established, and legitimate, with religious, political, and historical dimensions, and confirms that the Jordanian guardianship of the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque is an inalienable right, as it declared Jerusalem to be an occupied land and its legal status as such. (Al-Juneidi, 2018).

### **The third requirement: Hashemite responsibility and the Hashemite reconstruction in Jerusalem**

The Hashemite custodianship of the holy places was reaffirmed in a historic agreement signed in Amman in March 2013 AD by His Majesty King Abdullah II and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, and that the King is the custodian of the holy places in Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and he has the right to make all legal efforts to preserve it, particularly Al-Aqsa Mosque, which is defined in the agreement as the entire Al-Haram esh-Sharif.

### **The first Hashemite reconstruction:**

The Hashemites battled Zionist charges in Jerusalem, which posed a direct threat to the Arab capital and its historic heritage. The Supreme Islamic Council was founded in Jerusalem in 1922 AD as a civil Islamic organization to preserve Jerusalem's legacy, and it took the initiative to raise the monies needed for the restoration of the Dome of the Rock. Sharif Al-Hussein bin Ali, Sharif of Mecca, donated 50,000 gold pounds to repair Al-Aqsa Mosque and other mosques in Palestine, laying the groundwork for Islamic money for holy site renovation. (Sheikh Muhammad, 2018, 51).

The founding king, on the other hand, rejected the Balfour Declaration and insisted on putting the fate of Palestine in the hands of its people. His Majesty possessed a forward-thinking perspective for the region's realities and destiny. Throughout the Mandate period, his stance toward Palestine were more consistent, particularly in the post-World War II period. At the same time, he insisted on the Arab people's demands.

The course of events was tough throughout the reign of the founding king. With Britain's announcement on May 15, 1948, of its plan to withdraw Palestine and refer the matter to the United Nations, Israel declared the formation of its state in Palestine, and thus the 1948 conflict started. Where Jordanian Arab Army soldiers fought in this battle to rescue Jerusalem and the remainder of the Palestinian lands, fierce fights were waged in Bab al-Wad and Latrun, but the Arabs were defeated, and substantial damage was done to the Haram esh-Sharif in Jerusalem. His Majesty's care was not confined to Islamic sanctuaries; he personally worked to put out a fire that nearly destroyed the Church of the Sacred Sepulcher in 1949, and he was the protector and protector of Christian



holy sites in Jerusalem during his reign from 1951 to 1921. (Rabaa'a, 1988, 59).

### **The second Hashemite reconstruction:**

The second reconstruction occurred during King Hussein bin Talal's reign, from 1954 to 1964, beginning with his assumption of constitutional powers on May 2, 1953, until his directives were sent to the government to rebuild the Dome of the Rock. His Majesty ordered the formation of a commission under a special statute for the repair of Islamic holy sites in the Haram al-Sharif, under the auspices of the Hashemites, in 1954, as a result of the Hashemites' historical responsibility for the sacred sites.

The interest in Jerusalem and its sanctuaries persisted between 1956 and 1959, the year of the start of the second renovation, which was supported by Jordan in addition to other Islamic countries. The second restoration was completed on August 6, 1964.

### **The Third Hashemite Reconstruction:**

The third Hashemite reconstruction begins in 1969, after the Al-Aqsa Mosque was subjected to a painful incident on August 21, 1969 AD, when a zealous religious Jew invaded the mosque, set it on fire, and resulted in the destruction of most elements of the mosque, including the pulpit of Salah al-Din. It is a pulpit brought from Aleppo by the Muslim leader Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, who liberated the city from the Crusaders in 1187, the Omar Mosque located in the southeast corner of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, Mihrab of Zakaria, the Forty Shrine, the Mosque's main Mihrab, the inner wooden dome, the Mosque's windows, and the Southern Wall. The carpets covering the mosque's floor were also exposed to fire and destruction, as a result, His Majesty King Hussein bin Talal issued orders to reconstruct Al-Aqsa Mosque. Both Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock were reconstructed, with the dome's original aluminum panels replaced with sealed gilded copper panels. Other portions of the Haram al-Sharif and Jerusalem that were rebuilt included: (the Dome of the Chain, Bab al-Rahma, the mosque of the Argouni School, the Library of al-Aqsa Mosque, and the market Al-Qattanin, the Islamic Museum, and Sabil Qaitbay). (Najm, 1994, 107-108).

His Majesty the King donated some of his own money to the Reconstruction Commission in order for it to carry out its job, as indicated in his letter to the Chairman of the

Reconstruction Committee on February 11, 1992: "What has been accomplished thus far in terms of beginning the process of restoration and reconstruction gives us all satisfaction and pride, and in light of the completion of studies and tenders related to this process, we are pleased to convey to you our personal donation, in advance of this great work in the name of my Hashemite family, and since we learned from you that what is available"

The Hashemite interest in Jerusalem was not confined to the renovation of Islamic holy places, but also to the development of colleges, religious schools, and heritage preservation institutions, including the establishment of colleges, religious schools, and heritage preservation institutions, including:

- College of Da'wah and Fundamentals of Religion in Jerusalem 1978
- The College of Islamic Sciences in Jerusalem 1975
- The College of Islamic Sciences in Qalqilya 1978
- Al-Aqsa Sharia High School 1958
- The Sharia School in Jenin 1975
- The Sharia School in Hebron 1962
- The Sharia School in Nablus 1962
- Department of Islamic Archeology in Jerusalem 1977
- The Department of Reviving Islamic Heritage in Jerusalem, 1978. (The Committee for the Reconstruction of Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, 1998).

### **The Fourth Hashemite Reconstruction:**

This reconstruction is considered modern because it took place between 1994 and 2017, during the reign of King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein, when the Islamic and Christian holy sites in Jerusalem became an integral part of the work programs of Jordanian governments, as well as the books of the high commission to them, in which His Majesty stressed the importance of maintaining its facilities. During His Majesty King Abdullah II's reign, Al-Aqsa Mosque reconstruction projects included the sanctified Al-Aqsa Mosque pulpit, "Salah al-pulpit." Din's On Ramadan 26, 1423 AH, corresponding to December 1, 2002 CE, His Majesty King Abdullah II had the distinction of placing the first decorative painting on the

body of the pulpit, and the work on the production process was completed. ” Constant attention and follow-up to ensure that the pulpit returns to its real, distinct image with remarkable beauty, correctness, and perfection. (Al-Abadi, 10/8/2009). The Hashemite sponsorship during His Majesty King Abdullah II's reign included the restoration of artworks in the Dome of the Rock's various facilities, as these decorative artistic facades are among the treasures of Islamic artistic achievement dating back to the Umayyad era, including the restoration of the dome walls' interior marble.

### **Restoration of the Holy Sepulcher**

His Majesty King Abdullah II donated a royal honorable donation to restore the Holy Sepulcher in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on April 4, 2016. In a formal note delivered to His Beatitude Patriarch Kyrios Theophilos III, Patriarch of the Holy City and other works of Jordan and Palestine, the Royal Hashemite Court informed the Patriarchate of Jerusalem of the donation.( Sheikh Muhammad, 2018, 53) .

### **Jordanian institutions supervising the reconstruction of Jerusalem**

1. The Royal Committee for Jerusalem Affairs: In 1967, a royal decree established the “Royal Committee for Jerusalem Affairs,” whose objective was to care for Jerusalem, promote its steadfastness, emphasize its cause in international forums and global public opinion, and conserve its monuments. This committee was excluded from the decision to disengage, as it continued to play its role, as is the case in the endowments of Jerusalem and her sanctities. In 1994, King Hussein bin Talal ordered the re-formation of this group, which comprised Arab and Islamic world figures, and it grew to 22 members.

2. Ministry of Awqaf Islamic Affairs: Since the decision to combine the West Bank with Jordan in 1952 until now, the Ministry has been supervising and caring for the Islamic endowments in Jerusalem, where it administers mosque matters as well as the maintenance of archaeological and historical monuments within the city of Jerusalem. Islamic antiquities are the restoration of historical Islamic monuments. (Najm, 1994, 127-128).

3. Jerusalem Antiquities Documentation, Maintenance, and Restoration Center: The Conference of Housing and Reconstruction Ministers decided in 1981 to establish the

Center for Documentation, Maintenance, and Restoration of Jerusalem Antiquities, which is linked with the League of Arab States. Jordan's capital and the seat of the Hashemite Kingdom. The following are the tasks assigned to this center by the center's statute:

- a. Develop a general plan for surveying, documenting, maintaining and restoring the antiquities of Al-Quds Al-Sharif.
- b. b- Approving the annual implementation program for this plan.
- c. Follow up on the implementation of surveying, documentation, maintenance and restoration works carried out by the Jordanian Ministry of Awqaf Islamic Affairs in Jerusalem.
- d. Cooperating with Arab and religious bodies, as well as institutes specializing in the documentation, maintenance, and restoration of historical and archaeological monuments, to assist in the process of restoring and maintaining the old city (Samih, 2020, 83-86).

### **Conclusion**

The Palestinian case, particularly Jerusalem, is regarded as one of Jordan's most significant and urgent foreign policy issues.

In a letter to the British High Commissioner in October 1933, Prince Abdullah I expressed his opposition to Jewish immigration to Palestine, seeing it as a precursor to Jewish domination of economic life in Palestine and the Jordanian people's worry about the status quo in Palestine. His Highness stated in the letter that he, as an honorable Muslim, is close to its sanctuaries, particularly the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Palestine and the holy sites in Jerusalem were also included in Prince Abdullah I's Levant unity initiative, which advocated for the establishment of a constitutional national government in Palestine. It should be recalled that Prince Abdullah bin Al Hussein rejected various British schemes to put Jerusalem under international protection, just as he rejected a United Nations resolution to put Jerusalem under international protection in 1947. Jordan entered the war in 1948 and was able to keep many Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, which became known as East Jerusalem. To protect these regions, the East and

West Banks declared union, including East Jerusalem, which served as the West Bank's capital.

Since the era of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan during the reign of King Abdullah I, in continuation with the reign of King Hussein bin Talal, and an extension to the reign of King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein, Jordanian foreign policy has continued to defend the holy sites and adopted their preservation and maintenance, which confirms the importance of Jerusalem on every occasion or international meeting.

After Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967, Jordan, in all international and regional forums, rejected the Israeli occupation and the annexation of East Jerusalem, and declared the Hashemite custodianship (sponsorship) of the Islamic and Christian holy places. Jordan has worked and invested its relations with European countries, Afro-Asian countries and Latin American countries to urge them not to recognize the annexation of Jerusalem or transfer their embassies to Jerusalem. Jordan has succeeded in this field and curbed an American and Israeli plan to pressure many countries to move their embassies to Jerusalem, and to recognize the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem.

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