

T.C.
GAZİANTEP ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANA BİLİM DALI

ORTADOĞU'DA DİNİ JEOPOLİTİK: KUDÜS'ÜN SEMAVİ DİNLER İÇİN ÖNEMİ

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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GAZİANTEP
ARALIK 2017

T.C.
UNIVERSITY OF GAZİANTEP
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**RELIGIOUS GEOPOLITICS IN THE MIDDLE
EAST: THE IMPORTANCE OF JERUSALEM FOR
ABRAHAMIC RELIGIONS**

MASTER'S OF ART THESIS

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RELATIONS 2017

GAZİANTEP
DECEMBER 2017

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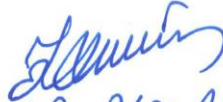
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 20th century the importance of religion was underestimated because the main focus of the people was on daily realities and needs. This situation, accordingly, culminated in an underestimation of the significance of religious geopolitics. Nevertheless, religion was an important determinant to understand ongoing conflicts or peace processes in the world. However, in 21th century it is much more important to reflect on religion in terms of evaluation of current conflicts in the world. In fact, many Western people were not aware of the effect of religion on international relations until the September 11. They regarded religion and even ethnicity was not related to international relations and because of this underestimation, couldn't perceive the importance of religion in world politics as well.

At this point, it is useful to clarify the modernization perception of Fox and Sandler. They emphasize that there is clearly not an inverse interaction between religion and modernity. As Huntington states, "many simpler theories of modernization" regarded tradition, which can be defined as religion here, and modernity two different and independent subjects. However, in current international relations, many scholars like Fox, Sandler and Huntington state that modernity and religion are intertwined and rise of one directly and sometimes indirectly affect the other in a positive way. To understand this interaction, it is better to read a very useful analysis of Huntington between modernization and religion. "Modern society is not simply modern; it is modern and traditional... In addition, one can go further and argue not only that coexistence is possible but that modernization itself may strengthen tradition. It may give new life to important elements of the preexisting culture, such as religion" (Huntington, 1971:45).

Moreover, it is possible to connect many past and current events to religion. For example, beside the Crusades, the super power rivalry during Cold War is also

defined as a religious struggle between beliefs. For instance, Walsh, who is a popular figure of American geopolitics perception and also influential on American politics during Cold War, claims that the struggle between the US and USSR was not only a struggle between West and East rather it was a struggle between Christianity and Marxism, a struggle between Bible and Communist Manifesto. Therefore, it is of great importance to regard religious geopolitics as a significant determinant in international relations. According to a common approach that clarifies the connection between the religion and geopolitics, in our modern age's conflicts the role of religion is the most predominant rather than globalization or modernization (Fox, 2004). That is possible to claim that it is not possible to explain every war or conflict with religion, but it is also true that especially in the 21st century, it is explicitly inadequate to explain the conflicts without the impact of religion. Therefore, it is not wrong to note that the religion is a tool of such an explanation. Another important explanation of religious geopolitics is that of Davut Kılıç. He states that "religious geopolitics includes all the strategies which re-shape the future of the region and which depend on the religious documents and society's beliefs based on a certain area" (Kılıç, 2008:72). This study will specifically try to demonstrate the importance of religious geopolitics in the Middle East and particularly that of Jerusalem. There are holy places for all the religions but when the topic is Jerusalem, the situation is much more controversial. Jerusalem is a holy place not only for Palestine or Israel; it is a holy place for all the three Abrahamic religions. As constructivists state, there should be a great emphasis on the social dimensions of international relations and this tenet is key to understand to the case of Jerusalem in terms of religious geopolitics. To understand the constructivist approach, it is of great significance to figure out the identity concept for Jerusalem. This study will try to show the significance of Jerusalem with a constructivist approach. Upon regarding the significance of Jerusalem for these religions and their believers, it is not an exaggeration to note that the problem of Jerusalem is the problem of the Middle East and in this context the problem of the Middle East can be counted as one of the most prominent problems in the world in terms of religious geopolitics. Here it is much better to read the analysis of Fox in terms of religion and its effects:

"The founders of the social sciences and their heirs, including most major Western social thinkers, rejected religion as an explanation for the world. They believed that primordial factors such as ethnicity and religion had no part in modern society or in rational

explanations for the way the world works. They also focused most of their studies on the West, where religion's influence was least apparent and argued that its influence in the non-West was a primordial remnant that would disappear as the non-West modernized. Ironically, rather than causing religion's demise, modernity has caused a resurgence of religion, but this did not conform with the *Zeitgeist*. This resurgence, while visible in the West, was most visible outside of the West" (Fox and Sandler, 2004:2).

Additionally, in history the states tried to conquer lands under the mask of religion. Even the secular states or people just made their ambitions in accordance with holy places and attacked. Keeping in mind that Middle East is the place where many prophets lived and, the Abrahamic religions were born and have many religious sites, it is not wrong to figure out current power conflict in the area in terms of identity.

To clarify the religious geopolitics in the Middle East, this study will focus on the Arab-Israeli case to demonstrate the significance of religious geopolitics. Jews managed to establish a state in just 50 years, which is actually very hard to accomplish. Indeed, it is also necessary not to forget that they had the necessary background. According to Zionist ideology, the most significant thing is to go back to 'home'. Most Jews in the world have just one dream, to go to Jerusalem. According to Zionism, which is the idea behind Israel, there are three things to materialize the great idea of Jews. The first two are already succeeded. A Jewish state was established in Palestine and Jerusalem was declared as the capital city of Israel. The last thing is to build the Solomon's Temple, but it is very hard and controversial because to build that temple they have to demolish *Al-Aqsa Masjid* and the *Dome of the Rock*. The likely result will be a military conflict between the Muslims and Jews and maybe an indirect war between the US and other Muslim countries. Consequently, to understand the current conflict in the Middle East, it is obligatory to understand the importance of religious geopolitics of the region.

The Middle East is undoubtedly the most controversial part of the world in 21th century. It is no matter how you regard the Middle East; it holds a very crucial region for every nation in terms of its history, energy resources and geological location. Because of these traits the Middle East had and still has a very crucial role in world politics. Every dominant power finds some reasons to intervene in the Middle East. Some claim human rights, some claim religious locations, and some

claim rights on energy resources. Regarding the religious geopolitics of the region, this study tries to focus on the interaction among local and global states in terms of religious geopolitics. However, a short research upon the history of Middle East and a detailed one on Jerusalem, which holds the largest and most important part in this study, will be very effective to understand the role of religion in the region. Moreover, keeping in mind that Israel, as being a very effective country in the region, and its explicit supporter USA have many common interests in the region, and this situation makes Middle East issue very significant in world politics as well.

However, the political significance of the region is not about, only Israel or the USA. When a detailed study is conducted about the Middle East, it will be very clear that many developed countries paid a great attention to Middle East. For example, Germany, after setting its power inside, immediately started to build schools and other organizations in the Middle East to affect the local people and tried to gain their trust for its future ambitions. Additionally, in case of Germany and religious geopolitics, during the WWI Germany strove to gain the support of Caliph and especially Muslims in English colonies to win the war. Regardless of the fact that they won the war or not but for religious geopolitics this is a very implicit and important example to understand the interaction between religion and politics.

The importance of this study is to regard Jerusalem from the perspective of religion and geopolitics. In the 21th century people and scholars began to pay more attention to religion and it is of great importance and actually a need to reflect on Jerusalem in terms of religious geopolitics. It is impossible to understand the problem of Middle East conflicts without religion. Because, not only for Muslims or Jews but also for Christians, Middle East is very important. This study will try to demonstrate not only the religious identity of Jerusalem but also the importance of religious inspiration that attracts the dominant powers in the Middle East. However, it is a must to give a brief definition of how religion plays a role in geopolitics to figure out the religious geopolitics better. "... we accept that it exists and influences human behavior and focus our efforts on discovering these influences. There are several such basic influences.

- 1) It can influence people's worldviews, which in turn influences how they think and behave.

- 2) It is an aspect of identity.
- 3) It is a source of legitimacy, including political legitimacy
- 4) It is associated with formal institutions that can influence the political process” (Fox and Sandler, 2004:136).

The main focus of the study will be on the religion and its effects Jerusalem and as a result in world politics. Moreover; upon giving a clear analysis of the region this study will strive for making explicit explanations of some dominant states’ attitudes on the Middle East and in this regard, it will be easier to understand the problem of Jerusalem in context of religious politics.

This study will try to find the answer to the question of “What is the significance of Jerusalem for Abrahamic religions in terms of religious geopolitics? The second question will be what is the identity of Jerusalem in the region for Abrahamic religions? Upon answering this question, this study will try to focus on Jerusalem and its holy place for the states who are supporters of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The third research question will be about the conflict between Israel and Palestine. In short, this thesis will try to find an answer to the question “What is the religious inspiration behind Palestinian-Israeli conflict?”. Hopefully this study will discuss the importance of Jerusalem in detail by looking at the religious perspectives of the parties of the crisis in the region. For example, Jerusalem is so important for Arab countries in the region that these states are able to create an alignment for this holy city. For example, it is only for the sake of Jerusalem that the Muslim countries gathered and created a common reaction against Israel in particular and Western countries in general. In 1969, when a fire damaged many significant monuments in Al-Aqsa, Muslims protested against Israel all over the world and wanted jihad against Israel. Only after a few days on 25th August, 25 Muslim countries gathered and stated a declaration which is Declaration of the Rabat Islamic Summit Conference. It is very important to note that this was the first common and broad reaction in the world by twenty Muslim countries. In short, these Muslim countries strove to dissuade Israel. However, these Muslim countries were unable to create some consistent and insistent steps to stop Israel.

This study consists of an introduction, five chapters with sub-sections and the conclusion chapter in the end. The initial step of this study will be a detailed

introduction on Jerusalem and Middle East. A well-developed introduction part not only on Jerusalem but also on Middle East will enable to re-evaluate the significance of religion and religious geopolitics in international relations. Second chapter of this study will be on the religious inspiration of the states and religious geopolitics which are underestimated for a long time. When the importance of the religion and geopolitics perceived in the area, it will be easier to figure out the current situation of the area. The third chapter of the thesis discusses the history of Jerusalem and its importance for Abrahamic religions. The main ambition of this chapter is to state Jerusalem's identity and the interaction and conflicts of the states and religions in terms of this holy land. Since the importance of religion and religious inspiration is realized especially in the Middle East upon regarding the current issues in the area. In addition, a short but comprehensive analysis about Arab-Israeli conflict in the region is conducted in the fourth chapter as an example to exhibit the importance of religion and religious geopolitics while interpreting the current and future prospects of the area. The final chapter of the study will conclude the overall situation and the importance of religion and religious geopolitics upon regarding Jerusalem and the Middle East together.

In order to understand religious geopolitics in terms of constructivism in the region, this study will focus on cultural phenomena, which are claimed by Wendt to be just as objective, constraining, and real as power and interest. These cultural phenomena are very vital in the Middle East upon regarding the long history of Jerusalem, Israel and Palestine which will constitute the core of this study. More specifically, this study will discuss Israel and Palestine in terms of social construction of reality which states the importance of Jerusalem not only for Jews but also for Muslims. Moreover, it is also crucial to regard the identity of Jews and Muslims in the region because when this identity is understood, it is easier to figure out the conflict with different aspects. The constructivists state the social world as 'intersubjective' and meaningful structures and processes where material resources only obtain meaning for actions with the structure of common knowledge in which they are embedded. This argument is vital to this study, because as it is discussed in the second and third chapters, beside the historical background, it is also the perception of states towards Jerusalem that constitutes their policies in terms of

international relations. Another constructivist approach is that of Wendt's which clearly summarizes the situation of Jerusalem and on-going conflict in the area:

"... the basic idea is that identities and their corresponding interests are learned and then reinforced in response to how actors are treated by significant Others. This is known as the principle of "reflected appraisals" or "mirroring" because it hypothesizes that actors come to see themselves as a reflection of how they think Others see or "appraise" them, in the "mirror" of Others' representations of the Self. If the Other treats the Self as though she were an enemy, then by the principle of reflected appraisals she is likely to internalize that belief in her own role identity vis-a-vis the Other. Not all Others are equally significant, however, and so power and dependency relations play an important role in the story" (Wendt, 1999:51).

This basic ground of constructivist approach is a brilliant component of the discussion upon regarding Jerusalem's identity, its perception by the states as holy. This argument by Wendt is also important in terms of Arab Israeli conflict as well who regard themselves as natural enemies of each other, indeed neglecting their common historical and cultural roots. Constructivist approach is described as the most suitable one to evaluate the interaction of religion with International relations:

Constructivism, with its central role for identity, norms and culture, provides a potentially favorable theoretical environment in which to bring religion into international relations theory. Consequently, constructivist approaches would seem most likely to provide an analytical environment to encourage understanding of religion in international relations. This is because constructivism is generally concerned with the impact and power of ideas, norms, identity and culture on behavior. (Haynes, 2014:85).

The identity and interest terms are very controversial and also crucial to understand not only the holiness of Jerusalem but also the current conflict in the region. First of all, the identity of Jerusalem should be identified to figure out its importance for Jews, Muslims and also Christians. Jerusalem is identified "As a sacred city, Jerusalem is arguably the single most important place in the Middle East: for Muslims, the Haram al-Sharif is a symbol of victory; for Jews the Wailing Wall is a symbol of loss, and for Christians, the Holy Sepulcher a symbol of victory through loss" (O'Mahony, 2005:87). As O'Mahony states Jerusalem is very crucial to three religions and their supporters from different perspectives. Muslims regard it as a basis of their victories upon the West which indeed consists "the Other" term for many Muslims and Jews regard it as their holiest city and also a source of their loss

which dates back to past when the Temple was destroyed. To recognize the identity of Jews and Muslims and also the concept of Other in region it of great importance to know Herzl's ideas who was the founder of the Zionist organization: "We should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." (Herzl,1960:204). Christians also attribute holiness to Jerusalem because of holy shrines in the region. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that Jerusalem cannot be defined a single piece of land in the Middle East because many people and three major religions regard it as holy. Upon regarding the identity and interest in terms of Jerusalem it is inevitable to reflect on Palestinian Muslims which regard themselves as the owner of Jerusalem and other land which are occupied by Israel. Palestinians claim that they have the right on the land is because of sovereignty that they had on the land for long years. Israel, on the other hand, demands land in the region claiming that there was a Jewish Kingdom in the area long time ago and reigned the area which makes Jews and thus Israel right to occupy the land.

Indeed, the main struggle is about two communities demanding one land. Arabs and Jews claim their sovereignty on the land depending on their own 'rightful' claims. Jews claim that they have right to rule the land because of existence of a Jewish state in the area approximately two thousand years ago. Palestinians, on the other hand, intensify their claims on the existence of Arab presence on the land for centuries and also on the occupation of the land long time ago. Additionally, they rely on the fact that they didn't play any role in case of Holocaust which led Jews to migrate to the land from all over the world. Both communities demanded this land which seems very small on a map. On the other hand, however, this particular land was very special for Christians because they believe it is the land of Messiah, for Islam because it is the symbol of their victories and now the symbol of their failures and West imperialism, for Jews it is the particular land which simply and basically means the survival of Israel state.

CHAPTER TWO

RELIGION and RELIGIOUS GEOPOLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Middle East is the most important region in terms of religious geopolitics because it is located at the core of Abrahamic religions and “the Middle East was the birthplace of ‘three main world religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam’” (Korany, 2005:69) Thus, it’s of no use to regard the Middle East or any other region in the world without the effect of religion or culture that has be framed and created there. However, as its stated by Fox, religion has always been underestimated in international relations and terms like realism, globalism and liberalism stated as more important in international relations and politics among the states. Rather than religion, the main focus was rational, military and economical. Upon a study on Palestinian children’s view on ‘the other’ it’s seen that a 14-year-old child describes the problem of Arab-Israeli conflict: “Their ancestors are prophets Moses and Christ. However, Judaism at present is not the same as that old Judaism. Jews are fighting with Christianity and Islam. However, the Jewish race in Koran is not the enemy of Christians or Muslims. Judaism is a religion, but they converted it into a state.” (Habashi, 2012:62). In terms of Arab- Israeli conflict the religion is beyond any determinant of the conflict.

The hardship regarding the boundaries of the Middle East is that it doesn’t have a certain geographical area. “Centering on the eastern Mediterranean basin, the Middle East is, however, a geographical region without clear or obvious borders,” (Haynes, 2014:367). This means that it doesn’t cover a geography like West Europe, rather it’s determined by political or cultural components like the West. Therefore, it is definition faced some changes because of West’s interventions and imperialist desires. The most widely accepted definition of the area by the scientists is that the Middle East covers the area where Arab states are located with Turkey, Iran and Israel (Sander, 2014:84). However, it is accepted the Middle East region is under Arab culture and majority of the people are accepted as Muslims. There are two sub

zones one of which is the center consisting of Egypt, Israel and Arab states in the East Mediterranean, Arab Peninsula and Turkey. The second sub-zone is the neighborhood region which consists of North Africa, Sudan and Iran.

Middle East's historical importance for the world politics is that it holds a transition role in terms of cultural and economic interactions among Europe, Asia and Africa. The Middle East cradled the philosophical and scientific ideas of ancient Greek and China. Moreover, the region improved and transferred them to Europe. Furthermore, it is the area where Judaism, Christianity and Islam emerged. While its importance in the world politics which is becoming more global because of scientific improvements is becoming much more important. On the other hand, the importance of the region declined in 15th century when new sea lines had been found. Nevertheless, with Suez Channel and emerging of airports, it regained its importance in intercontinental transportation. This importance is more explicit when keeping in mind 1956 and 1967-1970 the close of Suez Channel. The importance of the region in the 20th century has become clear with oil production. The Middle East oil consists the %75 of European consumption and %90 of Japan consumption. This situation is the direct cause of great power's conflicts among each other and with regional powers in the Middle East. This region became the key for international relations with 1980s Iran-Iraq war, 1990 Kuwait invasion and still continuing Arab-Israeli conflict (Sander, 2014:85).

The Middle East, especially after WWII from Turkey to Israel, Egypt to Saudi Arabia, has played a crucial role in the world politics. Beyond all other importance of the region, it was a transition way among Asia, Africa and Europe and this situation made the region an explicit target for European countries in the 19th century and the Middle East was a conflict area in the world for the superpowers whom were seeking the world hegemony. Especially after the oil was found in the region and is still a basic energy source in the world, the rivalry of the powers upon the region escalated and increased the importance of the area in the world politics. The world oil's %70 is produces in the Middle East and Africa while North America, West Europe and Japan consumes %75 while producing %10. Moreover, the Middle East is accepted as the birthplace of all the Abrahamic religions. The religious conflict is going on nearly for 1500 years and as it is clear that after 1945 the world

is witnessing a new 30-year wars started between Arabs and Jews (Sander, 2014:88). The problem of the Middle East in terms of international conflict is regarded as the oil while the cause of the conflicts in regional terms is accepted as nationalism and religion. Oral Sander makes a great comparison and explanation of international and regional conflicts regarding the economical and religious causes:

If the oil is the basic reason of the conflict among the great powers, then the reason that escalates this conflict is the Arab and Israeli nationalism. This is also the basic reason of Arab-Israel conflict. The area which holds a great deal of Arab nationalism and the struggle of Israel to survive, caused four wars after 1945 and brought the United States and Soviet Union on the brink of a war. The reason that makes the Middle East problems, which are caused by oil and escalated by nationalism, very hard to solve if even not impossible is the 'religion' which is relevant to nationalism as well. Both Muslims and Jews are struggling to have Palestine with some historical backgrounds. Despite Muslims nowadays are following a more efficient politics due to their wealth and numbers, they cannot show their true power. The reason behind this fact is that they are facing religious discriminations, different regimes and foreign interventions which culminates in lack of unity (Sander,2014:88).

The term religion is regarded as a very complex phenomenon to explain. There are many controversial definitions of religion. At this part of the study, however, both religion and religious geopolitics terms will be explained carefully. Abdullah Kurt states that Western religion philosophers generally explain religion term as essentialist and functionalist. He emphasizes that 'this explanation is generally based on the questions of What is religion for? by Durkheim and 'What is religion? 'by Weber (Kurt, 2008:79). As it is explicit these explanations seem to be very blur and pragmatic. There is also one more way to explain religion which is polythetic definition. Essentialist religion is solely about the essence. Simply, if someone has a belief on God, religious powers or 'the holy', then they have a religion but if not, it means that you don't own a religion. Functional definition explains religion in case of its world appearance, and its effects on people and society. It means that if religion is an important determinant in someone's life or has a big effect on someone's psychology then it can be evaluated as a religion otherwise it is not a religion. Turner states that

Durkheim (1995: 33 – 44) identified four definitive features of religion: (1) it is collective, (2) it is composed of both beliefs and practices, (3) it articulates a fundamental distinction between sacred and profane, and (4) it is conceptually distinct from magic, which is

instrumental, not obligatory, and not essentially collective). The core definition of the sacred (which resonates with a tradition of anthropological studies of liminality and of rites of passage from van Gennep to Victor Turner and Maurice Bloch) is that it is set apart from everyday life and use, placed under an interdict. The profane, by contrast, is available to ordinary touch, sight, use or consumption. To Durkheim, sacredness does not inhere in any essence of things, but is a consequence of repeated actions which *make things so* in participants' representations of them and relations to them in specific ritual contexts. The sacred does not always involve awe and veneration; some things are negatively sacred; set apart by repugnance, disgust and fear. But all sacred things, whether positively or negatively, represent elements of the collective (Turner, 2010:76).

For this study, this functional definition is much more important and acceptable because while regarding the religion as the core of the conflicts in general in the world and in particular as the real reason behind the Arab-Israel conflict, it makes more sense to regard the impact of religion on society and people. To explain the situation, when it is accepted that religion has a great effect on the philosophy of people it is easier to understand the reaction of Muslims' identification of Israel which is explained as 'Western, evil or imperial'. Also, it is easier to understand Jewish perception of Muslims which is 'the other, evil and terrorist'. Moreover, Huntington's opinions on civilization which is based on religion claim that religion can be unifying and separator at the same time. Upon regarding all these, it can be inferred that religion has a clear and deep impact on the people and society's psychology and identification of self and other societies. Another definition of religion is "Religion is man's continuous effort to deal rationally with the irrationalities of life. Religion arises out of the *Not* [poverty, hardship] of existence, its ambiguities and conflicts, and gives the necessary *Begeisterung* [spirit, enthusiasm] to live. It makes life's precariousness acceptable, gives life preciousness and prescribes a way of life that makes living worthwhile" (Steeman, 1964:45).

Kurt concludes that these two definitions are monothetic and social diversities are not complete definitions. Instead, he offers a polythetic definition which points out a criterion to find out which system can be regarded as religion.

Despite the deep impact of religion on people and their lives with all the society, this impact is especially effective since 20th century and it is a fact that

religion still stands as a very important factor not only in politics, society and culture but also in international relations and interactions among the states:

In the modern world, religion, contrary to the conventional understanding of modernization as secularization, continues to play a major role in politics, society and culture. Indeed, that role appears if anything to be increasing rather than decreasing and hence in recent years that has been a flurry of academic activity around such ideas as “political religion,” religious nationalism,” and “post - secular society.” In broad terms, religion appears to be increasingly an important component of public culture rather than a matter of private belief and practice (Casanova, 1994:175).

There is a huge discussion in Robert Crawford’s book *What is religion?* He states that it is too hard to make a correct or valid definition of the religion which can embrace the all religions in the world and their adherents. However, he finally gives a definition which is: “Religion is a belief in God, who is the unconditioned ground of all things, and in spiritual beings, resulting in personal experience of salvation or enlightenment, communities, scriptures rituals, and a way of life” (Crawford, 2002:92).

Karen Armstrong’s long and broad definition states that the religion is a practical discipline which enables us to re-discover the mind and the heart:

Religion, therefore, was not primarily something that people thought but something they did. Its truth was acquired by practical action. It is no use imagining that you will be able to drive a car if you simply read the manual or study the rules of the road. You cannot learn to dance, paint, or cook by perusing texts or recipes. The rules of a board game sound obscure, unnecessarily complicated, and dull until you start to play, when everything falls into place. There are some things that can be learned only by constant, dedicated practice, but if you persevere, you find that you achieve something that seemed initially impossible. Instead of sinking to the bottom of the pool, you can float. You may learn to jump higher and with more grace than seems humanly possible or sing with unearthly beauty. You do not always understand how you achieve these feats, because your mind directs your body in a way that bypasses conscious, logical deliberation. But somehow you learn to transcend your original capabilities. Some of these activities bring indescribable joy. A musician can lose herself in her music, a dancer becomes inseparable from the dance, and a skier feels entirely at one with himself and the external world as he speeds down the slope. It is a satisfaction that goes deeper than merely "feeling good." It is what the Greeks called ekstasis, a "stepping outside" the norm. (Armstrong, 2009:6).

In history and still today, religion and cultural beliefs have had a common and great effect upon the behaviors of the states and communities. Religion and the beliefs, generally supported and positioned at one certain part of the conflict regarding two states. It is remarkable to note that religion or beliefs cannot be regarded as the sole causes of the wars between the states, however, it is not wrong to emphasize that religion and beliefs are generally used as the incentive factors for the wars. As Haynes notes “Overall, religion affects:

- who the actors in world politics are;
- what they want;
- what resources they bring to the tasks of mobilizing support
- and making allies;
- what rules they follow (Haynes, 2014:27).

Even the secular states or statesman used the religion and beliefs of the communities to carry out their personal ambitions and national interests of their states to be able to motivate huge numbers of people to fight while the ordinary people and societies believed that they were fighting to accomplish a divine goal. Here, it is important to state that especially the conflict regarding religious geopolitics in the Middle East is futile one because all three religions derive from the same Source:

Jews, Christians, and Muslims worship the same God, believe in revelation, holy scriptures, heaven and hell, and have similar attitudes toward history and the role of humankind in fulfilling the divine purpose. If one is to think in global terms, which would seem to be the only acceptable norm in this age, then the most significant dividing line is not among any of the three Semitic monotheistic religions but between all of them and the other major world religions such as Hinduism or Buddhism (Brown, 2000:21)

Religious geopolitics, upon stating the importance of religion in international relations also stresses that holy structures, monuments and places consist of substantial part of the foreign affairs and internal affairs of the states. Many states generally used holy places to carry out their own ambitions, or sometimes states even created some holy places to motivate the people. For example, Crusaders is a good example to examine this situation because many European warriors were affected by the speech of the Pope. The main goal of the Crusaders for many European warriors participated in was just to regain the control of the holy places in Jerusalem.

Moreover, it is an incontestable fact that there were other reasons such as economic benefits for Crusaders to achieve but many people took part in the wars regarded the situation as a struggle for existence against ‘the other’ or natural enemies of the Christians.

On the other hand, for Muslims the conquest of Constantinople is regarded as a holy struggle against the West or Christianity. Not only because of its strategic location but also because of its religious importance and hadith of Prophet Mohammed Muslims were motivated to start the conquest of Constantinople and secure the city as an Islamic one. It is again important to note that Prophet Mohammed’s hadith which is “Verily you shall conquer Constantinople. What a wonderful leader will he be, and what a wonderful army will that army be!” (Narrated from Bishr al-Khath`ami or al-Ghanawi). That is why Muslims desired to conquer this strategical city with a religious motivation. Moreover, Huntington regards this as a conflict between the Islamic and Western civilizations that is indeed a struggle between Christianity and Islam:

Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. After the founding of Islam, the Arab and Moorish surge west and north only ended at Tours in 732. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century the Crusaders attempted with temporary success to bring Christianity and Christian rule to the Holy Land. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Turks reversed the balance, extended their sway over the Middle East and the Balkans, captured Constantinople, and twice-laid siege to Vienna. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as Ottoman power declined Britain, France, and Italy established Western control over most of North Africa and the Middle East. (Huntington, 1996:383).

If there are some holy places in a state, then the state needs to be more careful about its policies. Furthermore, if the situation and holy places are regarding the Middle East, then religious geopolitics is much more important. There are many places which are accepted as “holy” by many people from different religions. With no doubt, the most striking place in the region is Jerusalem which has a special importance for the Abrahamic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Apart from that, Middle East and, in particular, Jerusalem is a good example to understand religious geopolitics because it is the place where Abrahamic religions emerged and adherents of the all three-religious live. All in all, the people who are connected to Abrahamic religions regard themselves responsible for the region and the events

occurring in the region. There are inevitable conflicts between the states and communities because of the holy places and monuments and state behaviors upon these holy places and structures. Moreover, Middle East, because of its religious geopolitics, has become a crucial place for many regional and global actors. At the end, it was inevitable that global actors took part in the conflicts in the area. For example, the US never gave up supporting Israel against Arab communities. One more thing to note about the region is that the conflicts because of its religious geopolitics and the conflicts because of its energy resources and strategic position are different. Another current issue regarding the geography is that of Saudi Arabia missile attack. In the early November of 2017, a missile attack was carried out against Saudi Arabia which was prevented at the last second. Additionally, Saudi Arabia was quick and 'eager' to blame Iran for this attack and also Saudi authorities stated that the kingdom reserves its right to respond to Iran in the appropriate time and also in the suitable manner. Moreover, the US president, Donald Trump's speech is interesting enough which emphasizes that in Trump's opinion it was Iran who carried out this attack against Saudi Arabia and it was the US who prevented the attack by referring to patriots which were sold to Saudi Arabia by the US. It is worth to note that the historical rivalry of Saudi Arabia and Iran is at its triumph and the current situation in the Middle East can cause a vast and destructive war all around the world. It is not wrong to state a war in the area at least can trigger a global war in the world (Al-Haj and Gambrell, 2017).

In terms of religious geopolitics, states need to be much more careful because any undesirable movement regarding the holy places can culminate in wide protests in a country. For example, neither in Iran nor in Pakistan any Muslim leaders can declare a foreign policy stating that Palestine and Jerusalem are no more their problems. No matter how much power or popularity the leader has, if he denies the importance of Palestine and in particular Jerusalem, it can be a political suicide for that leader.

Samuel Huntington in his famous *Clash of Civilizations* (1996) states the importance of religion, culture and civilization by focusing on the 'clash' among the civilizations is greater in terms of culture and religion compared to the clash of civilizations' domestic conflicts. He also emphasizes that in the modern world religions is probably the most important actor that inspires and actuates the people.

As an example, he regards that in 16th century when Western communities tried to conquer the world their only motivation was not only the money or welfare, but also they did it because of God.

Another important point regarding the religious geopolitics of the Middle East is that the states who have the control of the holy places or structures will be able to affect the large numbers of people and reign in the area more easily, so the states are in a struggle with each other obtain the control of the holy places which makes local and global actors get involved in the conflict. At this part, this study will give some countries as example of religious geopolitics to understand the religious geopolitics of Middle East better and also to understand the importance of the religion in terms of internal and foreign affairs especially in the Middle East. To have holy places provide prestige and spiritual power and leadership for the countries like Mecca and Medina which give privileges and opportunity to Saudi Arabia.

A crucial country in the Middle East, Syria, has been forced to create an Alawite religious geopolitics to survive and keep its political position after the Civil war in the country which is still going on with many participants. Latakia, as being the center of secular Alawites is the city of resistance against Arab Sunni majority. Latakia, the city which is crucial for Alawite culture has been the safe place of Syrian Alawites because of its religious geopolitics.

Iran another important state in the Middle East tries to expand its reign in the region. Iran mostly uses Imam Reza Shrine in terms of religious geopolitics to motivate the people. Especially after the invasion of Iraq, Iran was more independent to carry out its imperial ambitions. Moreover, the Shiite holy cities in Iraq are used very elaborately by Iran to accomplish the Shiite union in the area. "In Iraq, the government of Iran is seeking to win the hearts and minds of ordinary Iraqis, the majority of whom are Shiites "(Haynes, 2008:151). One more important thing about Iran and religious geopolitics is Quds Brigade which constitutes the basis of Iran military special ops. By using this name Iran symbolically gives the message that Palestine and especially Jerusalem is of great importance to Iran and by means of that Iran wants to take the leadership of the Muslim countries.

Egypt, which has a long history in the region is not so important in terms of religious geopolitics because the country doesn't host any important religious places. However, Egypt is more mentioned with Arab nationalism after Nasser and Baath party. After Mamelukes brought the Caliphate to Egypt, and the situation of Egypt against Israel during Palestine-Israel struggle helped Egypt to take advantage of religious geopolitics. Moreover, it is important to note that the national identity of the area which corresponds with Arab nationalism of Nasser and Baath, helped Egypt to gain power and popularity over the societies of Arab countries.

Saudi Arabia, which is under the effect of Wahhabism, couldn't take the advantage of holy places and pilgrimage for long years. However, after years Saudi Arabia geographical position began to be defined as "the geography with two holy mosques" and the king was the protector of the region. After that, Saudi Arabia authorities began to use the pilgrimage as a way of establishing better and stronger relations with their Muslim neighbors and sometimes Saudis took the advantage of the pilgrimage while struggling with Iran.

Saudi Arabia has consistently sought to exploit its position as guardian of the most holy places in Islam – Mecca and Medinah – strongly encouraging Muslims around the world to make the pilgrimage (*hajj*), while also expanding arrangements to house and transport the millions of pilgrims who arrive annually. Even if there are some very important religious places in Saudi Arabia, like Hejaz, because of close relations with the West, Saudi Arabia is incapable of leading the other Islam countries. This situation results in the fact that Saudis are unable to use the soft power of religious geopolitics in the region (Haynes, 2014:389).

The emergence of the Abrahamic religions in the Middle East and the fact that many prophets and also civilizations lived in this region states Middle East different and special from many other parts of the world in terms of religion. The culture and civilization of the Abrahamic religions combined in the Middle East and the inhabitants of the region managed to live together. This situation of cultural combination causes many conflicts and problems as well as a common culture and life and it is all up to the societies of the region to decide to live together or not.

Religious geopolitics is the symbolization of the holy places in accordance with the beliefs of the communities and religious norms of a region, all the strategies to reshape the future of the location and a political approach to affect a geographical

position with religious resources. The most crucial example of religious geopolitics in terms of Middle East is Jerusalem. Jerusalem stands as a holy place for all three Abrahamic religions and their sects as well. All the people who believe in these religions can find some holy places or structures in the region for their religions and this makes Middle East and in particular Jerusalem a very crucial and special location for the adherents of the religions. For Jews, Jerusalem is the place where the location of the Temple of Solomon is determined. The sacrifice in the name of the God can only be done and accepted at this specific location. According to Jewish tradition, reconstruction of the Temple which was destructed by Babylonians is necessary to achieve their old and glorious days. Also, Messiah's arrival is depended on this re-construction as well. For Christians, Jerusalem was the place where Christ was born and lived the last days of his life. This situation states Jerusalem for Christians crucial even before Crusaders. Additionally, it should be stated that Crusaders to Middle East, partly though, was carried out to accomplish a religious goal, which was to take control of Jerusalem back from the Muslims. Jerusalem was the city where Prophet Mohammed ascended, and it is the third holiest city. Upon the situation of Jerusalem and foreign intervention in the city which refers to apocalyptic perspectives of the city, here it is of great importance to state a remarkable reference. This reference states the importance of Jerusalem for religious sects and states' the foreign intervention in the area explicitly. The Evangelists who have great effect upon the U.S authority believe that the arrival of Messiah depends on the foundation of an Israel state on the promised land (Palestine), Jerusalem to be declared as the capital city of this nascent state eternally and reconstruction of Solomon Temple:

The Christian Zionist establishment of ICEJ of course can believe whatever they want. The important thing here is that no matter we care or not but they work for the Great Israel project with great resolution. The US, as being the superpower of the world, which is under the great effect of this establishment-ICEJ- one should be bind not to observe that the Great Israel project is being carried out mischievously and implicitly. Or upon regarding the situation, it is possible to understand why the superpower of the world is so occupied by Israel's interests (Killoğlu, 2016).

On the other hand, it is also important to note that the believers of ICEJ are generally regarded as Evangelical Christians and are in great support of Israel state. They also believe and regard Jerusalem as a source of holiness which is also related

to divinity of the God. They believe that that is the God that dwells there and will gain the victory at the end, at Dooms Day: “Those who sympathize with the ICEJ are mostly Evangelical Christians. For them, the holiness of Jerusalem concerns not only the holy sites, but also the historical and future significance of the city.” (Leppakari, 2006:156)

The case of Israel state is very remarkable to regard in terms of Jerusalem and religious geopolitics. Zionism managed the two dreams of Jews which were to establish a state upon the promised land and determine Jerusalem as the capital city. However, the foundation of Solomon Temple is nearly impossible which means to destroy Al Aqsa and Dome of the Rock, the situation which may culminate in a war between the Muslims and Christians. Indeed, such a situation can be regarded as the beginning of the III. World War. Another important apocalyptic prophecy is that of Armstrong which states that the God’s own will lead the Jews for the last war:

All the nations of the world would gather at the Mount of Olives opposite Jerusalem and there would be a battle in which God himself would lead the Jews into the fray and cruelly exterminate their enemies. Then the Kingdom of God would be established, the Jews would rule the world and the redemption would have been accomplished. Jews of this persuasion began to look forward to a Messiah, the anointed one of God, who would prepare them for this final cosmic triumph. 25 They believed that he would be a Jew of the house of David) In the Holy Land, which was now occupied by the Romans, several people came forward claiming to be this Messiah: they undertook to wage a holy war against the Romans in order to eject them from the land as a first step to the final redemption.26 These apocalyptic ideas flourish in Israel today, where many radical Jews expect the imminent coming of the Messiah. (Armstrong, 2001:19).

2.1 RELIGION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International theory has little to do and say about religion mainly because of IR discipline’s background, history and development in the past. As it is noted in Haynes’ study, “International relations, especially in the West, has been both state focused and secular in outlook (Haynes, 2014:82). It was only after September 11, 2001 that religion has become indispensable in terms of International relations. Scholars began to turn their attentions to religion more than before. Indeed, religion had been an important determiner even before that time, but scholars of secular and state based states chose to ignore it.

In the post-cold war world, some have come to see religion as a main threat to the new order, as a source globally of division and disruption, thereby enhancing any centrifugal tendencies; this view has become especially prevalent in the secular West and is expressed not least by politicians and media commentators. More specifically, the threat is understood as one to Western interests and values (mainly by Islam). Outside the West, religion's more active role is more appreciated by reforming and popular forces – if not always by rulers. These perspectives clearly require examination and explanation. Beyond this, the religious response to the global phenomenon, and what religious idea and values can and do contribute to the debate, are also important concerns; this is especially true given the decline of political ideology as a source of competing, alternative world-views. So the relationship of religion to the question of global order emerges as a diverse and complex one in the realm of thought and ideas as well as that of practice, on which we cannot hope to be exhaustively comprehensive but nevertheless can see to throw significant light (Esposito and Watson, 2000:30).

This study's goal at this part will be why the religion is degraded in terms of international relations and how it regained its importance for International Relations scholars. First of all, major Western scholars wanted to create a world with exclusion of the religion from the modern life which is indeed stated above as threat by Esposito and Watson to the Western interests and values. They regarded religion out of their ordinary life which resulted in the fact that religion was not a compound of international relations. Moreover, as many Western social thinkers degraded the religion and in terms of international relations which can be counted as the most Western centric social science discipline, it was inevitable for religion to be underestimated with regard to international relations studies:

Until the end of the Cold War, it is not an exaggeration to say that only a few theorists of International Relations (IR) or policy-makers engaged in either substantial investigation or articulation of the links between cultural variables like religion and ethnicity on one hand and international affairs on the other (Sandal and James, 2011:17).

Perhaps, the key example of this underestimation is Huntington's: Huntington himself, avoided the term religion in his well-celebrated clash of civilizations theory. Yet his definition of civilization is clearly religion oriented. Similarly, some of the participants in the debate, even when they address religion more explicitly, also try to avoid calling religion by its name. This phenomenon strengthens the argument that

international relations as a Western-centric theory has an inherent difficulty in including religion in its terms of reference (Fox and Sandler, 2004:19).

In his book *Ortadoğu* (1995) Bernard Lewis makes a comparative study on religion regarding the Middle East. He states that *jihad* in Islam was a strong religious inspiration and motivation for Muslims to try to conquer other lands, especially that of Christians. On the other hand, as a counter argument he states the Crusades as the religious inspiration of Christians to attack the lands under the Muslims sovereignty. This analysis shows that even in the past, religion was an efficient actor determining the policies of the states (Lewis, 1995).

2.2 THE EARLY REJECTION OF RELIGION

International relations' conventional theories particularly focus on secular actors and their analysis of religion is generally regarded as unsatisfactory. The reason for that is because religion can affect the actors-policy makers and their behaviors in terms of International relations (Haynes, 2014:128). Moreover, religion can also encourage or even hinder that behavior or reaction.

“The majority of the most important eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and early twentieth- century Western social thinkers who profoundly influenced the evolution the social sciences, such as Comte, Durkheim, Freud, Marx, Nietzsche, Toennies, Voltaire, and Weber, had one thing in common, they all believed that an age of enlightenment would replace religion as the basis for understanding and running the world. For instance, Nietzsche's “God is dead” thesis refers to the loss of credibility of Christian belief and the loss of commitment to absolute values. Similarly, Weber argued that secular ideologies were replacing religion as the basis of legitimacy and social control in nineteenth-century society. In all, these social thinkers rejected religion as an explanation for the world and believed that in the modern industrial age more rational, scientific, and legalistic means were needed in order to explain the world we live in as well as to manage it. While clearly the understanding of religion and society by these scholars is considerably more complex than represented here, the theme that religion was to become a less important factor in the modern world was an essential element of this understanding” (Fox and Sandler, 2004:21).

These scholars' strong influence on the literature caused modern social scientists to regard religion as unimportant and didn't count it as an important determiner in world politics. It is also important to note that this paradigm resulted in

modernization theory in terms of political science. Modernization is literally, as Huntington states, everything that becoming ‘modern’ in the world:

Modernization involves industrialization, urbanization, increasing levels of literacy, education, wealth, and social mobilization, and more complex and diversified occupational structures. It is a product of the tremendous expansion of scientific and engineering knowledge beginning in the eighteenth century that made it possible for humans to control and shape their environment in totally unprecedented ways (Huntington, 1996:68).

This theory includes the assumption that modernization means urbanization, pluralism, education or improvements in science and technology will sooner or later replace primordial factors like ethnicity and religion.

The sociological aspect of modernization seems to be secularization theory, which means that with the help of modernization and modern social institutions, a secular reality will replace the religion. This paradigm was very effective even until 1990s. According to this paradigm, the states are becoming more modern which makes them more secular and this secularization situation cause religion to be underestimated. As a result, the states do not need the legitimacy of the religion which was common in the past, because the legitimacy of the state is provided by the free will of the people which is enabled by democracy or other social institutions. Moreover, religion is now unnecessary to interpret the natural order as well, because scientific rationalism is ready to carry out this duty which was traditionally carried out by the religion.

One important idea how religion is underestimated consciously in IR studies is that of Huntington’s book, *Clash of Civilizations*: “Whenever international relations scholars do deal with religion it is almost always as an element of some other overarching phenomenon or mediating variable. Perhaps one of the most prominent examples of this is Samuel Huntington’s clash of civilizations theory. Huntington, put much emphasis on that in the post–Cold War era most conflicts will be between several civilizations that, by his own admission, are primarily defined by religion” (Fox and Sandler, 2004:15). No matter how the religion was underestimated consciously or unconsciously, religion realized a resurrection during the 1990s despite modernization or even with the help of this theory. It is also worth to note that the religious parts in the U.S and Iran Revolution strongly affected the Western world who regarded religion unimportant. Moreover, in spite of modernization

theory, people were still religious and lived in accordance with their beliefs and even social institutions which were established as a result of modernization still interpreted and somehow included the religion to their interpretations. Even if it seems like modernization and secularization caused the religion to be degraded in the societies, however it is a profound fact that modernization, adversely, stated the religion at the center of the society:

“Ironically, this reassessment of the role of religion in society has resulted in an argument that is nearly exactly opposite to the argument made by modernization and secularization theory: modernization, rather than causing religion’s demise, is responsible for its resurgence. The magnitude of the change in attitude toward religion caused by this reassessment cannot be underemphasized. In practice it represents a complete reversal in the role religion is believed to play in modern society in politics. While modernization and secularization theorists posited that modernity had made religion a primordial remnant that was fading away as an important social and political factor, the central argument of this reassessment is that modernity is increasing the role of religion in society and politics” (Fox and Sandler, 2004:12).

In the modern world many of the conflicts and wars no matter economical or ideological, it is possible to link them to religion and culture elements. This religion or cultural struggle among the people can be regarded easily while paying attention to Huntington’s sentences which indeed refers to religion and its effects on both the communities and the people:

In this new world the most pervasive, important, and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor, or other economically defined groups, but between peoples belonging to different cultural entities. Tribal wars and ethnic conflicts will occur within civilizations. Violence between states and groups from different civilizations, however, carries with it the potential for escalation as other states and groups from these civilizations rally to the support of their "kin countries."² The bloody clash of clans in Somalia poses no threat of broader conflict. T h e bloody clash of tribes in Rwanda has consequences for Uganda, Zaire, and Burundi but not much further. The bloody clashes of civilizations in Bosnia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, or Kashmir could become bigger wars. In the Yugoslav conflicts, Russia provided diplomatic support to the Serbs, and Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran, and Libya provided funds and arms to the Bosnians, not for reasons of ideology or power politics or economic interest but because of cultural kinship. "Cultural conflicts," Vaclav Havel has observed, "are increasing and are more dangerous today than at any time in history," and Jacques Delors agreed that "future conflicts will be sparked by cultural factors

rather than economics or ideology." And the most dangerous cultural conflicts are those along the fault lines between civilizations (Huntington, 1996:28).

The impact of culture, indeed which is religion, is so huge that it can be both disjunctive and unifying. Ideology can create a combination but sooner or later culture or religion will apart it. Huntington makes some examples regarding the religion element in international relations:

- the failure of the West to provide meaningful support to the Bosnian Muslims or to denounce Croat atrocities in the same way Serb atrocities were denounced;
- the intensification of the war between Armenians and Azeris, Turkish and Iranian demands that the Armenians surrender their conquests, the deployment of Turkish troops to and Iranian troops across the Azerbaijan border, and Russia's warning that the Iranian action contributes to "escalation of the conflict" and "pushes it to dangerous limits of internationalization" (Huntington, 1996:38).

In terms of Huntington's *The Clash of Civilization* he strongly emphasizes the conflicts among the civilizations. Here it's important to understand that when he defines the term civilization he mentions the religion as the most important compound of civilization. Indeed, it is not a wrong to state that in the modern world the religion can be regarded as the core of the civilizations. Moreover, it is not an exaggeration to evaluate the religion as the basic reason of the conflicts among the states especially those of Middle East. Huntington states that civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and most important, religion. After giving this explanation, he states the process behind the modern conflicts of the world:

The people of different civilizations have different views on the relations between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife, as well as differing views of the relative importance of rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centuries. They will not soon disappear. They are far more fundamental than differences among political ideologies and political regimes. Differences do not necessarily mean conflict, and conflict does not necessarily mean violence. Over the centuries, however, differences among civilizations have generated the most prolonged and the most violent conflicts (Huntington, 1996:378).

Huntington defines two distinct conflicts, one of which is micro conflict and the other major conflict. The first is among the small groups while the second is among the civilizations. Furthermore, he states that the interaction between Islam and West is a clear example of a clash of civilization. Both during the Crusaders and during the Gulf war it is possible to realize the strong impact of religion upon the communities. During the Crusaders, the religious leaders of Christian world started a 'holy war' against Muslims and called every Christian to take part in this holy war. And again, during the Gulf war just one Arab state attacked another Muslim one and had to fight against not only a coalition of Arab states but also against Western states. Here, Huntington states that some religious leaders of Arab states regard this war as a holy one which is against West and Western imperialism which is indeed a war between Islam and Christianity:

In the Gulf War one Arab state invaded another and then fought a coalition of Arab, Western and other states. While only a few Muslim governments overtly supported Saddam Hussein, many Arab elites privately cheered him on, and he was highly popular among large sections of the Arab publics. Islamic fundamentalist movements universally supported Iraq rather than the Western backed governments of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Forswearing Arab nationalism, Saddam Hussein explicitly invoked an Islamic appeal. He and his supporters attempted to define the war as a war between civilizations. "It is not the world against Iraq," as Safar Al-Hawali, dean of Islamic Studies at the Umm Al-Qura University in Mecca, put it in a widely circulated tape. "It is the West against Islam." Ignoring the rivalry between Iran and Iraq, the chief Iranian religious leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, called for a holy war against the West: "The struggle against American aggression, greed, plans and policies will be counted as a jihad, and anybody who is killed on that path is a martyr." "This is a war," King Hussein of Jordan argued, "against all Arabs and all Muslims and not against Iraq alone." (Huntington, 1996:35).

After stating that religion's importance was believed to be declining, now it is of great importance and serves more to the ambition of this study to show how religion was excluded from the international relations. First of all, religion was regarded as "in fact, the study of international relations was founded, at least, in part, on the belief that the era of religion causing wars was over (Laustsen and Waever, 2000:48). Moreover, it is a charming fact that many international relation scholars avoided consciously to use the term religion, rather they intended to use some other terms to replace the religion. One important example of this is Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*. Upon regarding the book, it is noticed indeed easily that the

basis of the civilization is set on the term religion, which Huntington refrains from using systematically. Furthermore, the critics of Huntington claim that he didn't use the term religion on purpose while this study states and aims that religion has been a crucial determinant while interpreting international relations. The idea that religion is not important basically originated from Western ideology.

In fact, Western philosophers supported the idea that modernization theory would culminate in the same conditions in all the world including Western and non-Western communities, which refers to the fact that religion compared to modern conditions and institutions would be unimportant in terms of international relations. Secularization theory is "an ideological impulse strongly rooted in the Western Enlightenment, and one that resonates with the conventional wisdom of many Western elites" (Sherkat and Ellison, 1999:378). Also, it is important to note that because of September 11, 2001 and Iran Revolution which made it possible and also necessary to re-interpret the influence of religion in terms of international relations and global order.

To conclude it all, the situation of religion in social sciences in general and in international relations in particular can be regarded as a charming paradox. First of all, Western philosophers until the recent years hoped that secularization, science and modernity could surpass and then replace the religion's position in societies and governments. However, as explained above, it was inevitable to cause the religion to survive in communities and even governments. Keeping mind that international relations is the most Western influenced area in social science, it is not a surprise to realize the exclusion of religion from IR the most:

If one looks closely at some major elements of international relations theory, one can still find these religious roots. For example, Smith (1999, 2000) has shown that many forms of nationalism have their roots in religious identities and that nationalism has many similarities to religion. The neoliberal tradition is linked to the thoughts of Christian philosophers (Baldwin, 1993: 11). Secular states develop civil norms of behavior with characteristics similar to religion (Bellah, 1970). The origin of the modern Westphalian state system is linked to the Protestant reformation (Philpott, 2000). Totalitarianism and ethnic cleansing have both been linked to ideas inherent in European Christianity (Osiander, 2000). Finally, the elements of modernity that were expected to bring about religion's demise, have ironically, been linked to its resurgence (Fox and Sandler, 2004:32).

Additionally, in addition, Fox discusses in his book, *Religion, Civilization and Civil War* (2004) that religion has a clear effect on the current conflicts of the war. He accepts that it is not possible to set the religion on the core of every conflict but assumes that it is not possible to regard the conflicts without the effect of religion. He also states that many Western scholars avoided and underestimated religion and even avoided using the term religion. He emphasized that even in 1990s when Huntington started to mention about religion he didn't use the term religion rather he included terms like culture, civilization and society. Fox in his book makes a great analysis about how Western social thinkers disregarded religion for long years (Fox, 2004).

2.3 THE LEGITIMACY OF RELIGION OVER THE STATE

Religion in the past centuries was the sole basis of legitimacy for states in nearly all the world, especially in Europe. This right of managing people belonged to kings which was delivered by Church and made kings responsible for ruling the communities. Over the time, however, with liberalism, communism and nationalism many states and authorities began to use this ruling and controlling right by means of free will of people (Haynes, 2014). Liberalist states manage their people via free will of people while communist states with economic true interests of workers and nationalist states with the nation's own and all. On the other hand, Fascist states claim the superiority of the leaders who are the most appropriate one compared to common man to manage a society.

However, still in modern times, religion is still a strong legitimacy source for the states. In many countries and for many communities, religion is still evaluated as a strong way of legitimacy for the communities and also authorities strove for kind of a divine power to be able to preserve their authority upon the communities. A very important and interesting example of this legitimacy power of religion is in Indonesia:

For example, in Indonesia, it is very important for a leader to have religious legitimacy. Among the Javanese, the dominant ethnic group in Indonesia, power is believed to have a spiritual essence known as *wayhu* that is given to chosen people. As a result, all five of Indonesia's presidents since independence have sought to create the impression that they possessed *wayhu*. They all made frequent visits to holy places both during and before their

terms of office. President Wahid, who ruled briefly for 21 months in 2000–2001 was the most overtly religious being a Muslim cleric. Indonesia’s first president is “said to have surrounded himself with magic charms and with dwarfs, albinos, and others believed to have spiritual qualities.” President Suharto, one of Indonesia’s longest-serving presidents, is said to have gained his *wayhu* through his wife. When she died people began to believe that he had lost his *wayhu* and was removed from power two years later.² Clearly his removal from power was also due to Indonesia’s economic problems and corruption as well as the desire for a less autocratic style of government, but the removal of President Suharto’s aura of legitimacy likely facilitated his downfall (Fox and Sandler, 2004:37).

Moreover, in their article, Fox and Sandler discusses the effects of religious inspiration so delicately that it becomes easier to understand the case of Jerusalem identity in terms of religious geopolitics. They state that it is becoming increasingly clear that religion plays a substantive role in world politics, both internationally and locally. They also gather that many localized disputes with religious elements have had international implications due to the spread of conflict across borders and increasing international involvement in solving local disputes. They give the conflict between Palestine and Israel as an example. They also suggest Al-Qaeda and its possible international impact as an example of the effects of religious movements (Fox and Sandler, 2005:320). Here, it is very significant to note that Fox and Sandler explain the effect of religion upon domestic and international politics very clearly. Upon regarding the case of Jerusalem and involvement of for example United Nations and Arab states, it is explicit that the conflicts including religious elements especially when the geography is important it is nearly inevitable to avoid an international involvement (Fox and Sandler, 2005).

2.3.1. The Case of Iran

To show the condition of religion in politics and upon the society, now this part of the study will cover the Iran and its Revolution as an example. Iranian Revolution and the reaction of the state is an example how the Islamic communities may react against Western imperialist philosophy and even social institutions.

For many people, the relationship of religion and politics in the Middle East is contextualized by two key events: the 1948 founding of Israel as a homeland for the Jews and Iran’s 1979 Islamic revolution. The latter was internationally significant in three main ways. First, unlike earlier globally resonant revolutions – such as the French Revolution (1789) and the

Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917) – the dominant ideology, forms of organization, leading personnel, and proclaimed goals of the Iranian Revolution were religious in both appearance and inspiration. Second, in Iran the key ideological sources and ‘blueprint’ for the post-revolutionary period were all Islamic, derived from the Muslim holy book, the Qur’an, and the *Sunnah* (the traditions of the Prophet Mohammed, comprising what he said, did, and of what he approved). Third, there were fears expressed by Western governments – emphasized by the fact that, following the revolution, approximately 70 US hostages were held in Tehran for 444 days by student militants – that Iran’s revolutionary regime would now aggressively attempt to utilise an Islamist revolutionary ideology to try to export revolution to radicalise further already restive Muslims in the Middle East and elsewhere (Haynes,2014:368-369).

Geography is among the important determiners that religion can affect the foreign policy of the states. This situation is basically because of the fact that some places which witnessed some important religious events are no more regarded as ordinary places. For example, Mount Hira where Prophet Mohammed began to get the first Quran verses is no more regarded as an ordinary place, because it gained a divine holiness that time. Moreover, Jerusalem city in general and the Temple Mount in particular where Jews regard as the holiest place is a good example to define and show the relationship between the religion and geography. When a place with religious importance to the communities is regarded it should be stressed that the foreign policy of the state should and even sometimes must be evaluated and created very elaborately. Religious geopolitics in terms of Middle East can be regarded in three aspects including domestic policy, regional policy and international policy. First of all, domestic policy is crucial in Middle East, because many Muslims in the region will not show tolerance to the policies which will ignore the Islamic sensibilities of the communities. Regional and international policy is also remarkable in terms of Middle East especially regarding Jerusalem and the presence of a Jewish state in an intensely Muslim populated area.

The overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 was one of the most significant, yet unexpected, political events of recent times, because of the pivotal role of Islamic actors in his downfall. Unlike earlier revolutions in other Muslim majority countries, such as Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Libya, Iran’s was not a secular, leftist revolution from above, but one with massive popular support and participation from below that ended with an Islamic theocracy in power, with the state dominated by Muslim clerics under the overall leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini (Haynes, 2014:395).

For a more specific argument about the effect of religion in international relation and the Middle East Oran Sander's book *Siyasi Tarih* (1989) is a perfect reference. In his book he claims that the conflicts in the Middle East are not impossible to work out but very hard because of religion. He also makes a connection between religion and nationalism which is very correct. The Arab nationalism and Zionism are two reverse incentives of each other because it was just after Zionism that Arab nationalism began to rise. Moreover, he emphasizes that the conflict in Middle East and more specifically on Jerusalem is between Christians and Muslims (Sander, 2014).

After 1979 Revolution, Iran has become one of the four countries which are defined as Islamic Republics with Afghanistan, Mauritania, Pakistan. The basis that determines the religious geopolitics of the foreign policy of Iran is Islam and Shiite. Shiite as being a sect in Islam like other religious sets evaluate some places holier compared to other places. In terms of Iran and Middle East, it should be emphasized that the religious places which refer to religious geopolitics do not only consist of the places from the country's own borders. There are some important religious locations outside of the country, as well and these locations are very crucial places for Shiite sect. Mashhad, Imam Reza Shrine, is a good example to examine the religious geopolitics of Iran. It is a crucial city for Shiite pilgrimage. After the Revolution, Iran authorities desired to be the center of Shiite in the Middle East and to carry out this ambition, the government fixed up Imam Reza Shrine and also provoked the pilgrimage toward this location. As a result of this state policy upon the pilgrimage in Iran cities, it is of great importance and reveal the religious geopolitics influence in foreign affairs that Iran gave 3000 visas daily to Iraqis who wanted to visit Iranian Shiite places for pilgrimage.

On the other hand, upon regarding Iran's foreign policy in context of religious geopolitics, there is a good example which occurred after the Revolution. In the first year following the Revolution, when Iranian people visit Mecca and Medina, it is explicit that Iranian authorities used the pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia as a tool to expand the influence of Revolution. Moreover, it is crucial to note that Khomeini himself many times defended the idea that pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia is a chance and way to show the faults of Saudi Arabia which is under the great effect of the U.S.

Moreover, for Saudi Arabia this pilgrimage situation has become a security issue because of Iran's stimulating ambitions. Because Saudi officials began to regard the pilgrimage situation as a security problem and they were anxious about the actions of Iranian pilgrims, they began to take some precautions against Iran pilgrims and implicitly against Iran foreign policy in the Middle East. As a result of this situation, it was inevitable for Iranian pilgrims and Saudi officers to cause a conflict. The most violent of these records was recorded in 1987 when some Iranian pilgrims wanted to take the control of Grand Mosque and declare Khomeini as the leader of Islam world. However, unfortunately this situation caused 275 Iranian pilgrims to die. Additionally, still today the pilgrimage issue between Iran and Saudi Arabia is still a contradictive one.

Besides, there are some important cities in Middle East which hold a remarkable interest in context of religious geopolitics for some countries and religious sects. Najaf and Karbala cities in Iraq are the remarkable cities in terms of Shiite and because of that these cities are important for religious geopolitics of Iraq and its relations with Iran. First of all, Najaf is accepted as the third holy and important city after Mecca and Medina for Shiite sect. This results from the fact that Ali is regarded as the leader of Shiite and his grave is located in this city. Moreover, as being an important pilgrimage place in Iraq, because of city's importance for Shiite communities, every year nearly one million people visit there. Second, Najaf is a very important city not only for Iraq but also for the Middle East as well. The reason of that is because Najaf is described as a city which enabled Shiite sect to improve and expand and also survive its legitimacy in the region. This is because of the fact that Najaf is called as Ilmiyya or Shiite Teaching Institution where many people are educated and thought in accordance with Shiite religious norms. However, it should be noted that Iran's influence on Iraq is inevitable in terms of both soft and hard power: Iran's capacity, capability, and will to influence events in Iraq are high in terms of both hard power and soft power' (Kemp, 2005:101).

Karbala is another important city because of its importance for Shiite sect. Every year many people who are generally Shiite visit Hussein Mosque because of the incident took place in Karbala and resulted in Imam Hussein's death. Furthermore, it is a must to note that because of Hussein is the grandson of Prophet

Mohammad, Karbala case is accepted a common grief day for all the Muslims in the world which states Karbala in a different position compared to Najaf.

In terms of religious geopolitics and Middle East with Shiite dominance, it is nearly impossible to ignore Iran and Iraq conflict which is going on for many years. Both Iran and Iraq authorities want to dominate their region in particular and Middle East in general via soft power of religion. However, to achieve this, they are well aware the fact that, at first, they need to dominate the domestic areas in their countries which can lead them to dominate or even control the important places which refers to religious geopolitics in the area. For instance, Najaf which was traditionally accepted as the education place of Shiite sect is the city of conflict between Iraq and Iran. Iran authorities even at the time of Khomeini and Revolution wanted to change this education place with Kum Basin.

2.3.2 The Case of Saudi Arabia

Regarding the interaction of religion with the societies and international relations now this part of the study will cover the case of Saudi Arabia as an example of religious geopolitics and its impact on the states both internal and foreign affairs. In terms of the relations among the states there are some important factors like the trading, economy, social and cultural determinants. However, especially in today's world where religion is regaining importance in society and in general in states' relations, religious geopolitics is becoming a much more important determinant. Particularly, in the Middle East religion has a substantial importance upon the politics of the states. It is also significant to note that religious geopolitics as being the geography of some important monuments can affect the future politics of the states in the same geography. Moreover, it is possible to state that religious geopolitics is becoming more substantial to the states which the religions are a distinctive component of the state. That is why at this part, this study will cover the case of Saudi Arabia.

The concept of religion is maybe the most important component of Saudi Arabia which is the birthplace of the three Abrahamic religions and for which the impact of the religion is inevitable. The interaction of religious geopolitics and Saudi Arabia is because of two main factors. The first is Kaaba which accepted by the Muslims as the qibla is in Mecca. Second reason is that Saudi Arabia states is located

on the lands that Islam have grown and extended its adherents. Because of the holy sites that are very crucial for the Muslims, the Arabia land has always been so important to all the Muslims around the world (Haynes, 2014). However, this importance, respect and love of the Arabia, where Islam birth and expanded, cannot be equal to the love of caliphate in the Ottoman Empire.

Owing to that reason, it was only in the 20th century that Saudi Arabia attained a large-scale importance in Muslim world after the Ottoman Empire and caliphate dissolved. There are some important reasons that affect the religious geopolitics of Saudi Arabia which are the Wahhabi ulama's influence of the state, the desire to lead the Sunni Muslims, Arab nationalism and the significance of holy sites in Islamic culture. The Arabia geography covers the area where not only the Islam state emerged but also experienced the formation of a civilization that of Islam. Arabia gained importance with Islam and had been the center of the power until the Umayyads chose Damascus as their centers. It was with Ottomans who conquered the holy lands; Hedjaz and controlled these lands until the Empire went out of existence in the 20th century. There is an important point here that Ottomans didn't regard Najd (Central Arabia) an important place to invade because it wasn't important economically or politically, but this place would be the birth place of Wahhabism which is not accepted by many Muslim intellectuals:

Najd's isolation also obtained in the political sphere, as none of the great Muslim land empires had ruled it since the weakening of the Abbasid caliphate in the tenth century. The Ottoman Empire at its height in the sixteenth century surrounded the region on two sides, projecting its authority like two arms, one down the Red Sea coast to Yemen in order to secure the Holy Cities and another down the Persian Gulf to guard against Portuguese interlopers and to fend off Persian advances in Iraq and on the Gulf's western Arabian shore. The Ottomans saw no reason to invade and subdue Najd – it lacked valuable economic resources, it posed no strategic threat and it offered the sultan no prestige. Istanbul regarded the peninsula as a primitive frontier zone whose primary importance was as the site of Islam's Holy Cities. The sultan claimed to be their guardian on behalf of all Muslims, both inside and outside his domain. As long as the Ottoman-commanded pilgrim caravans made the journey safely, Istanbul was satisfied with arrangements managed by sharifs of Mecca with nomadic tribes. Interfering with or obstructing the pilgrimage, however, would pose a threat to the sultan's prestige and provoke a strong reaction. Except for the rare successful nomadic raid on pilgrim trains, Ottoman sultans had little reason to worry about that quarter of their realm in the early 1700s (Commins, 2006:8).

After the Ottomans the conflict between Rashidun and Sharif tributes until Abdul-Aziz Al Saud, with the help of England, took the control of Hedjaz in 1926 and established Saudi Arabia in 1932. This newborn state was explicitly based on the religion and the importance of religious geopolitics was in use in nearly all the institutions of the state.

Of key importance among the historical, economic, environmental and social factors which have shaped the contemporary Saudi state has been the link between the Al Su'ud and the *Salafi* movement commonly known as Wahhabism. The link originated with the alliance which the religious leader, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, forged with Muhammad ibn Su'ud, the ruler of the statelet of Diri'iyah in Najd, in 1744. The conception of the Saudi state being shaped by the intertwining of temporal power and religious activism has remained a constant in subsequent Saudi rule on the Arabian Peninsula. This can be traced through all three historical articulations of the Saudi state: the first (1744–1818), second (1843–91) and third (1902-present) (Niblock, 2006:52).

Saudi Arabia is the outcome of nation-state that emerged in the Europe. It is possible to note that Saudi Arabia is directly affected by the concept of nationalism in the 18th century (Luciani, 1990) and the state accepted the religion, indeed Wahhabi discipline at the center and designed itself as a nationalist and religious state. Wahhabism can be described as a sect of Salafism in Islam and the interaction of Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia is closely intertwined.

2.3.2.1 Religious Geopolitics in Saudi Arabia

Kaaba, as being the central religious place of Saudi Arabia, is composed of one determinant of Saudi Arabia's religious geopolitics. As Kaaba is crucial to Muslims, on the other hand Jerusalem is crucial for Abrahamic religions and for many states in the Middle East which constitutes the core of this study. Moreover, keeping in mind that Saudi Arabia is a combination of different tributes, locating the religion at the core of the state is another religious geopolitics component of Saudi Arabia which uses the religion to found the state of Saudi Arabia.

Hedjaz which is in the Arabia has a quiet important place for all the Muslims in the world. This area holds Mecca which includes Kaaba that embraces the House of the God and Medina where Prophet Mohammed's grave is in. That is why some many conflicts and wars arose in this area. It is because of this importance that

Muslim states perpetually struggled to obtain this holy region's control. After Mamelukes, Ottomans gained the control of holy places which are significant to Muslims and managed these places until the 19th century when the Empire began to lose its power. Moreover, it was Ottomans who gained the control of pilgrimage routes after the conquer of holy places. The Ottoman Empire was the first to use the pilgrimage for political reasons even before Saudi Arabia. Sultan II Abdul Hamid's construction of Hedjaz railway was a result of the attempt that aimed to unify the Muslims around the world with also the help of caliphate.

However, the importance of Hedjaz railway which was designed to be a bridge between the Muslims couldn't have been understood. When Abdul Aziz invaded Hedjaz region he couldn't understand the unifying importance of the area and emphasized the secularization of the holy places. He also maintained the idea that both Mecca and Medina should have stayed holy and peaceful places where the people could go and carry out their pilgrimage and praying in peace. For example, in 1937 when the Arab committee's members gathered even during Hajj period, Abdul Aziz didn't let them to carry out their pilgrimage (Long, 1979:108). Another important point here is that European countries were also reluctant to send the Muslim population under their control because they regarded that such a gathering of Muslims around the world could unify them again. However, as it is stated before in this study many Muslim countries and Muslim population are unable to create a combination under the religion of Islam. Nevertheless, especially after the II World War, Saudi authorities accepted the importance of Hajj because of economic and political reasons. First, Muslims coming from all over the world was a good resource for the economy and also Saudi authorities could take advantage of Hajj in terms of religious geopolitics. The King of Saudi Arabia accepted many guests from all around the world because of Hajj and had an opportunity to take care of these visits. The religious geopolitics of Hajj did not always affect the relations positively. For example, in 1927 and in 1979 Saudi Arabia had some problems because of pilgrimage praying with Egypt and Iran respectively (Long, 1979:110).

Saudi Arabia has been in a long struggle with other neighbor countries for the leadership of the Muslim world. Arabia's current situation regarding Yemen, Syria, Kuwait and Iran is a good explanation of this struggle for the leadership of Muslims.

However, the most important problem here for Saudi Arabia is that many Sunni ulama and Muslims didn't accept Wahhabism as a sect of Islam which forced Saudi Arabia to accept Sunnism to lead in particular; Middle East and in a broad understanding; all the Muslims in the world. There are two important concepts regarding the Middle Eastern countries. This first one is Pan-Arabism supported by Egypt and Pan-Islamism supported by Saudi Arabia. After the II World War and during the bipolarized world order, the Middle East and Muslim world was bipolarized as well. Saudi Arabia was supported by USA while Egypt was supported by Soviet Union. Saudis regarded themselves especially because of holy sites and economic power while Egypt emphasized the Arab nationalism. Another example of Saudi Arabia's leadership struggle is that of Iran after the Revolution in 1979. Shite Iran was a great rival for Saudi Arabia and force Saudis to found Gulf Cooperation Council in 1981 and also organization of Islamic cooperation in 1969 is another institution that Saudi Arabia pioneered against Iran. An example of the struggle between Saudi Arabia and Iran is that it is stated by Robert Baer, an agent of Intelligence Agency, that Saudi authorities even paid money to convert Shiites: "... especially in the ethnically Arab, oil-rich south of the country. Riyadh is said to have offered financial incentives for local people to convert from Shi'ite to Sunni Islam" (quoted in Haynes,2014 pp:402).

Indeed, Saudi Arabia as being at the center of the area where Islam emerged could take the advantage of holy sites more efficiently. However, at first especially because of Wahhabism which emphasized only the holiness of God it was not possible take the advantage of Hajj and Hedjaz for Jerusalem. Yet after the threat of Pan Arabism and Iran Revolution which were great dangers to the position of Saudi Arabia, the authorities of the state changed its political position and started to take advantage of holy sites in the area. All in all, it should be noted that Saudi Arabia is far ahead of its ambition of leading the Muslim world because of the state's international relations especially with the USA and Europe. For example, "Fear of offending Washington also prevented a Saudi/OIC stand against US sanctions against Iran and Pakistan for their development of nuclear capacities (Kamrava, 2011:200).

Indeed, particularly following the petroleum welfare and the West's impact on Saudi Arabia, the state's attitude against the Arab countries during the Arab Spring affected all the Muslims in a negative way which also culminated in a sharp decrease in Saudi Arabia's position in Muslim world. To gather, it is true to say that Saudi Arabia cannot use its religious geopolitics power sufficiently because of many reasons like relations with the USA which is explained by Chomsky more clearly: "The most extreme Islamic fundamentalist state in the world is the loyal U.S. ally Saudi Arabia or, to be more precise, the family dictatorship that serves as the 'Arab facade' behind which the U.S. effectively controls the Arabian peninsula"(Chomsky,1999:18) and Wahhabism which forbids any holiness rather the God's own presence. Wahhabi ideology also struggles with other Islamic sects as well. Wahhabi ulama states that travelling to other Muslim countries has some problems, so they discourage their society from travelling to other countries. They state that the practice of the religion can be carried out solely and isolation of the Saudi or Wahhabi community is better than living with other Muslim people. They believe that that idea of separation is based on the fact that 'idolatry spreads like a germ through contact with non-believers' (Commins, 2006:205). However, it is an explicit fact that because of the foreign affairs of the Saudi Arabia state, the rulers of the state began to adopt a more flexible policy in religious places like Hedjaz. Additionally, Saudi authorities also welcomed the American engineers for the oil resources and they aimed to create new funding for the state and citizens.

2.3.3. The Case of Israel

As being at the center of holy places for Jews and under the great effect of Judaism and Jewish tradition, Israel is a distinguished country in terms of religious geopolitics. The state is literally founded on the religion and geography components. Accordingly, Israel's foreign policy is based on the holy books, geopolitical facts and the idea of chosen people which purposed to legalize an expansionist strategy (Kılıç, 2008:73).

Israel states and Israelites also regarded themselves as struggling with neighborhood communities to survive. As being an Israelite, the only ambition of the people is to perpetuate their lives and presence in the world until the Doom's Day and for this ambition it is of great importance to keep on the struggle with 'the

others'. Israel word means "the ones who fight with the gods, the ones who fight for the God" and "the ones whom God manages". In accordance with these terms, the Israelites adopted that mood of fighting and struggle and endured many griefs as a result of these fights: this trait of struggles consists the basic component of Jewish state and Jewish identity (Johnson, 1988:68-69). Jewish identity in Israel always have been very effective in Israel state's politics. For example, return to the promised land is among the most significant cults of Jewish identity because after being exiled many Jews longed for a return to their 'own land' for centuries. This situation is even very explicit in Israel's national anthem, Hatikva, which means 'the Hope' in Hebrew and which holds the idea of returning to Jerusalem and the hope of being a free state in Jerusalem.

As long as deep in the heart,
 The soul of a Jew yearns,
 And forward to the East
 To Zion, an eye looks
 Our hope will not be lost,
 The hope of two thousand years,
 To be a free nation in our land,
 The land of Zion and Jerusalem.

Moreover, the idea of Temple is still a very important religious component for Jewish identity. Many Jews around the world are still hoping to return to Jerusalem and found the Temple. Zionism as being the constituent ideology of Israel state also supports and provokes the return of Jews to 'the holy land' and the idea of reconstructing the Temple.

2.3.3.1 Zionism and Israel State

It is should be remembered that it was not until Zionism that Jewish people were in search of founding state; "the Zionist movement was officially committed to the establishment of a Jewish state" (Chomsky, 1999:285). When Zionism emerged, then the idea of founding the state on the holy sites showed up. Moreover, political Zionism was a result of Jewish identity and history which criticized Orthodox Jewishness rather traditional and conservative. Orthodox Jews also regarded the idea

of Zionism as disturbing and did not approve their ideas. They argued that only the final state of Jewish people could be with the help of Messiah and all the other attempts to carry out this mission was futile and also a distrust against the God's order.

There were many, including Jews, who rejected this diagnosis and prescription. Some, especially among the religious Jews, saw in Zionism an impiety, an intrusion of alien secular nationalist notions into the Jewish religious community, and a blasphemous attempt to force the hand of God, from whom alone would come redemption. Other opponents saw in Zionism both a danger to the position of Jews in the countries of which they were or hoped to become citizens, and a source of conflict with the Arabs of Palestine and, beyond them, with the Arab and Islamic worlds. This consideration was particularly important with those governments, corporations, and other institutions and individuals who for political, strategic, commercial, or career reasons wished to remain on good terms with the Arab and Islamic worlds. (Lewis, 1986:3).

Zionism term is an analysis of the problematic situation of Jews and the solution to their problems. In short, it can be regarded as a prescription that will find a solution Jews' problems. Jews were foreigners in everywhere and did not have a homeland of their own, that is why they were murdered, massacred or expelled. The solution was to create a Jewish homeland that would turn into a Jewish state at last. This homeland would be a sanctuary for Jews living in different places of the world. Moreover, this homeland would be a life center where they could perpetuate their cultures and lifestyles without the fear of being murdered or distrusted. Apart from all, this homeland could be the unique place in the world where Jews could be the masters of their own lands without anyone else's indulgence or sympathy which is stated as:

In 1975, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution slandering Zionism by equating it with racism. Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, which holds that Jews, like any other nation, are entitled to a homeland (Bard, 2006:6).

Some claimed that this Jewish homeland could be established at any place in the world. It could be an empty area or a volunteering state. Some attempts for this ambition "made in Uganda, Australia, Sinai, South America, and, under Soviet auspices, in the remote Siberian province of Birobidzhan, on the border of Mongolia." (Lewis, 1986:7). None of these places were accepted. There was just one

place that Jews proclaimed a historical right, “and which had an emotional appeal powerful enough to evoke the necessary effort and endurance. That was the ancient land of Israel” (Lewis, 1986:8). Zionism is also described as the desire of founding a home for Jews.” A mobilizing political ideology reflecting this aspiration – Zionism, focus of the endeavor to create a national home for the Jews – emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. (Haynes, 2014:375).

There were great crucial problems for political Zionism during the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. The first one was that they had to acquire the support of Western Powers and Jewish communities living there to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, Argentina or Cyprus. Second one was that they had to turn Palestine, which held a crucial amount of Muslim population, into a Jewish state. Now as it is very clear that Jewish Zionists were able to accomplish their these two crucial goals:

The success of the Zionists in achieving both goals was largely due to the efforts of the Zionist leaders, who preached the use of deception and force. This was cogently illustrated in the Zionists’ basic strategic approach to Palestine, succinctly put by the leader of the Zionist movement Theodor Herzl: “Might takes precedence over right.” (Safty, 2009:9).

Zionism is described not only nationalist but also imperialist as well. While Zionist movement desired to be nationalist by founding Jewish state by which the members of the same religion, history and country would share the same culture. And this movement was imperialist as well because to carry out their ‘state founding’ ambition, they had to invade Palestine or some other places and live with their own cultural, religious and historical characteristics. However, it’s also important to note that Zionist imperialism was much more different from that of Western powers. While Western forces wanted to impose their language, culture and sometimes religion on their colonies, Zionists never accepted any kind of integration with other communities. They just wanted to take their country and send them away. They also didn’t regard it as a need to civilize them because they never thought to live with their colonies. The Zionists were also very unusual democrats and despite being democrats, they were actually dominated by social nationalist thoughts:

The Zionists were also unusual democrats in that while they constituted themselves as a democratic polity, the Zionist movement contained, and eventually came to be dominated by,

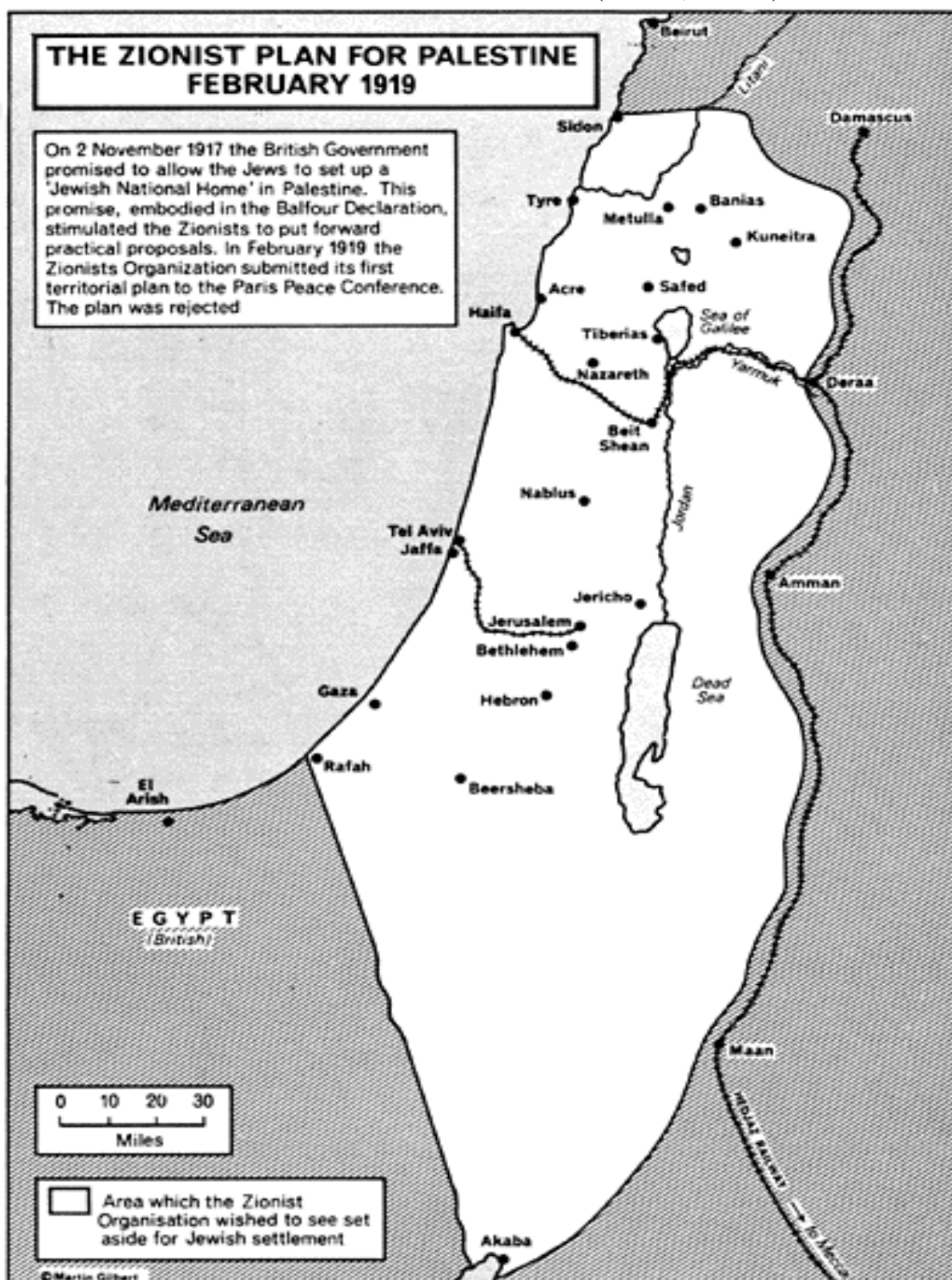
totalitarian social nationalist thoughts. This at once explains the contradiction of Israel being a democratic state that is not the state of all of its citizens, but the state of an exclusive group of people belonging to a specific religious faith no matter where they may be around the world. It also explains the extremist views, which were originally at the margin of the Zionist movement, but which eventually came to dominate the Zionist and the Israeli body politic. While democratic imperial powers were able to accept the consequences of a changed balance of power, and of the emergence of new normative values in international relations and international law such as equality of peoples and the principle of self-determination, the Zionist movement and the Israeli body politic were unable to adapt. This was a result, in large measure, of the dominance of totalitarian thought, at least vis-à-vis the Palestinian people. (Safty, 2009:13).

The idea of creating a Jewish identity in a Jewish state had been discussed after the Enlightenment of 18th century. At this period many Western Jews were ready to accept the idea of integration with other Europeans while Eastern European Jews, because of persecutions and pogroms, declined the idea of integration and maintained the idea of a new state which stands as the nationalist solution. “Theodor Herzl, especially after Dreyfus affair in 1894, concluded that anti-Semitism was a perpetual and unalterable force in Jewish life” (Safty, 2009:23). Thus, he decided on Argentina for a Jewish colonization however in 1896 in his pamphlet *Der Judenstaat*, he stated that a Jewish identity could freely develop in either Argentina or Palestine. However, after realizing the reluctance of Jews for Argentina he maintained a Jewish state would be established in Palestine where Jews had cultural and historical heritage for centuries and he also maintained that such a state would rally the support of Western powers as well: a Jewish state would “form a part of a wall of defence for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism (Herzl, 1960:206). After the Russian pogroms, many Jews migrated to Britain and began to live there. This period of migrations is sometimes described as the beginning of political Zionism:

According to Sokolow, the history of Zionism began with the return of the Jews to England in the mid-seventeenth century and the man who promoted it, Rabbi Menashe Ben Israel. Sokolow’s account ends in 1918. Faithful to the spirit of the age and to the new British-Jewish alliance embodied in the Balfour Declaration, he contended that the roots of Zionism were primarily English, deriving from a profound affinity for the Bible and its language as evinced in English literature from Shakespeare through Milton, Byron, Shelley, and Browning to George Eliot (Morris, 2007:63).

Herzl, as being the president of Zionist Organization discussed the possibility of a future Jewish state with Britain officer. He was offered to take Uganda where white men did not live while he wanted Palestine or some other land close to Palestine. Later in 1903 in Basel, he proposed the idea of Uganda to the Organization and although many voted for the proposal the idea of the new state in Uganda was not accepted.

Illustration 1: The Zionist Plan in 1919 for Palestine (Gilbert, 2005:9).



As it is stated above, the British government of the time strongly supported the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and embodied it in Balfour Declaration. It was only after Herzl's death that Chaim Weizmann, the president of the Organization at that time, convinced Balfour upon the opposition and reluctance of Jews for Uganda. Moreover, Lord Rothschild as being a wealthy and efficient actor in Great Britain was converted to Zionism and supported the idea of a new Jewish state which was also a very crucial support for Jews in Great Britain. It is not an exaggeration to say that Rothschild's support for Jews opened the doors of Palestine to Jews after the First World War.

2.3.3.2 Religious Geopolitics in Israel

After the born of modern Israel state, Jewish people always refrained from making a difference between the religion and state and the legal system and politics have been regarded with religion. That is to say law, politics and religion were somehow integrated with each other. This combination of religion and state itself made every Jewish people feel at home in Israel. As a result of this pragmatic approach, a combination of secular-modern nationalism aroused in Israel. Upon this state, it was inevitable for even the most secularists that religion had a great effect on state's nearly all institutions. However, in the early years of Israel state there were inevitable conflicts between secular and conservative Jews. These conflicts were resolved to a great extent when some pioneers of Zionism stated that Zionist movement did not contradict Judaism and tried to accommodate secular and conservative sects. They claimed that this secularist cover will turn into its essence with religion, Israel became a Torah state and the Temple will be founded for the third time where Jews will start to pray again (Inbari, 2007:32). Another important event that makes the secular and conservative Zionists to move on the same path is the persecutions and violent attacks against Jews in especially Europe. After these events, many Jews started to change their minds against Zionism and created the religionist side of Zionist movement.

The most important religious geopolitics of Israel is the situation of the Temple which was destroyed before. Despite the fact that the re-construction of the Temple does not matter all the Jews in Israel it is still of great importance for seculars who regard the Temple as a symbol, for some religious sects regard the

Temple as irrevocable and for Christian Zionists who regard the Temple as the core of their beliefs. Especially for religious sects and Christian Zionists, the situation is that of State-Jerusalem-Temple apocalyptic prophecy's last and the most important part (Kılıç,2008). The first part is carried out when the State founded in 1948, second part was carried out when Jerusalem announced as the eternal capital and the last part of the prophecy is still waiting. This last part is so crucial and hard because Israel had to destroy Al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock to rebuild the Temple. This situation is still an important part of the Arab-Israeli conflict which will be studied in the next chapter in this study.



CHAPTER THREE

GEOPOLITICS AND HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF JERUSALEM

Jerusalem's long history is created by a combination of geopolitical realities and human needs because it was a center for cross continental transition and had necessary water resources. Indeed, that is why Jerusalem was at the center of the conflict between Egypt and Mesopotamian civilizations. The necessary water and security issues with transportation convenience made the city a very important place for these civilizations. Jerusalem is located at a hilly area and can control the coastline. Because of these reasons which are security, water and safe transportation, Jerusalem hosts monuments and background of 4000 thousand years. Jerusalem is defined as an ancient city and its long history dates back to even 4500 B.C.

For Sophronius, the 7th century Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Old City was the "splendid sun of the world"¹. Described in the Holy Qur'an (17:1) as the land whose surroundings God "blessed", the area between the Jordan and the Mediterranean was — for a large portion of its history — called 'Palestine', the south-western part of the biblical Land of Canaan. Today, the mere mention of "*Al-Quds*", one of the city's Arabic names, conjures up a flood of emotions and longing for the holy sites within the confines of the Old City (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:1)

Jerusalem, which was regarded as being at the core of the world is now regarded as the battlefield of clashing of civilizations. Jerusalem has been long regarded as both terrestrial and celestial which means that it has a twofold meaning for Abrahamic religions. It is the birthplace of all Abrahamic religions and it's believed that it is the place on earth where the world and life started and will end at the Judgement day. Simon Sebag Montefiore states that it was only after the translation of the Bible into Greek and then Latin and finally English that made not only Bible a universal book but also Jerusalem a universal city:

Every great king became a David, every special people were the new Israelites and every noble civilization a new Jerusalem, the city that belongs to no one and exists for everyone in their imagination. And this is the city's tragedy as well as her magic: every dreamer of

Jerusalem, every visitor in all ages from Jesus' Apostles to Saladin's soldiers, from Victorian pilgrims to today's tourists and journalists, arrives with a vision of the authentic Jerusalem and then is bitterly disappointed by what they find, an ever-changing city that has thrived and shrunk, been rebuilt and destroyed many times. But since this is Jerusalem, property of all, only their image is the right one; the tainted, synthetic reality must be changed; everyone has the right to impose their "Jerusalem" on Jerusalem—and, with sword and fire, they often have (Montefiore, 2011:18).

In the important essay about Jerusalem's identity, Kevin Armstrong carries out a very useful and interesting study upon Jerusalem based on historical facts. The writer contends that nascent state of Israel pragmatically regarded the holiness of Jerusalem. Sometimes the politicians of Israel regarded Jerusalem as nonnegotiable while sometimes they regarded Jerusalem as an ordinary part of land which in effect proved to be a trick. For instance, the study gives a brilliant example about Theodor Herzl when he visited Jerusalem in 1898. When Herzl saw the city and the musty deposits of two thousand years of inhumanity, intolerance and foulness, he vowed that the first thing the Zionists would do when they got control of the city would be to tear most of it down. However, interestingly and pragmatically enough, he changed his ideas upon holy shrines and the city by claiming that he would build a city which is secular. Until the 1967 war, Zionist movement seemed to be a secular movement. However, when the East Jerusalem was occupied by the Jews, the situation was much more different. The study states that many generals and politicians were around the city with full of happiness. Moreover, some politicians like Levi Eshkol and Defense Minister Moshe Dayan began to talk about the holiness of the city and also vowed never to abandon Jerusalem again. Another important part about this situation is that despite the United Nation's partition resolution of 1947, Israel annexed the city officially one month after the war (Armstrong, 1998).

On the other hand, Maria Leppakari's *Apocalyptic Representations of Jerusalem* (2006) is a great resource not only recognize the importance of the city but also to study the holiness of Jerusalem. In her book, she states that there are two different Jerusalems for the people who are longing for it. The first meaning of Jerusalem is only the geographical site of the city in the world. It only refers to the land that people live in and thus does not include any holiness. However, the second meaning of the city is much more important because it refers to an idea. An idea of resurrection or an idea of a godly plan that will eventually come to an end. She writes

down: “In history, as has been illustrated earlier in this study, the spiritual emphasis came to be focused on the heavenly Jerusalem, with the earthly Jerusalem being not much more than a memento of the holy events enacted there” (Leppakari,2006).

Christianity and Jerusalem: Religion, Politics and Theology in the Modern Holy Land (2005) by Antony O’Mahony identifies Jerusalem as: “As a sacred city, Jerusalem is arguably the single most important place in the Middle East: for Muslims, the Haram al-Sharif is a symbol of victory; for Jews the Wailing Wall a symbol of loss, and for Christians, the Holy Sepulcher a symbol of victory through loss.” Moreover, the article also argues that religion and politics are so interacted and intertwined with regard to Holy Land (O’Mahony,2005).

3.1 A SHORT HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO HOLY CITY

There is an abundance of literature on the topic of Jerusalem, but this study will focus on Jerusalem’s identity and on the importance of religious geopolitics while regarding the international relations. This study does not just cover the current situation of Jerusalem but also it covers the historical background of this holy place in Middle East to clarify the importance of religion and geopolitics in international relations. Additionally, because this study will also focus on the interaction between religion and international relations it will be useful to review the literature for religion, too.

Roberto Mazza’s *Jerusalem; From the Ottomans to British* (2009) is a great resource to regard the identity of Jerusalem both with a historical and modern perspective. The book also provides a well-constructed basis for the holiness of the city. Jerusalem by Ottomans is regarded very crucial in terms of religion. This was because the Muslims regarded it as the third most important holy city in Islam. On the other hand, it is stated in the book that Jerusalem was neither important strategically not economically until the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798. With this invasion, Europeans began to pay more attention to Holy Land and holy places and regarded these places more sensitively. This invasion also referred to a transfer of French civilization to the historic cradle of civilization (p.13). The most important thing about this invasion regarding current Arab-Israeli conflict is that, it revealed the awakening of local cultural life. Moreover, it’s possible to gather that, upon the time, this invasion can be regarded as the Palestinian basis or principle for their

independence desire against Western imperialism, especially that of French and British (Mazza,2009).

The chronological history of Jerusalem dates back to 4500 BC. There isn't sufficient information about the people of that time but during Early Bronze Age the habitants of the area were Canaan. After David, who managed to integrate the Jews and found a strong kingdom, Solomon takes the control of kingdom and established the first temple. The establishment of this first Temple is of great importance to Jews and Judaism, because with the construction of the first temple, Jews had a deep change in terms of their religion. Now, they had sacrificed rituals and the king became the sole authority of the country. Upon regarding that Near East civilizations accepted kings somehow related to the God, it can be inferred that the reign and authority of Solomon was then much stronger.

The Hebrew domination of the land of Canaan began with the reign of three kings: Saul, David and Solomon. Saul is credited with uniting different tribal groups from the peripheries of the Holy Land and the Negev, and is recognized as the first king of the united kingdom of Israel. David, his son-in-law, then seized the city from the Jebusites and established Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. His son Solomon built the temple in 957BC (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:8).

After his death in 928, the kingdom was segregated in Israel and Yehuda states, and Jerusalem stayed as the capital of Yehuda. The separation of Kingdom weakened not only the political situation, but also weakened the morality and faith of the people as well. Then, Assyrians destroyed the Israel state located in the north." In 732, the Assyrians annexed Syria and ravaged Israel. In Jerusalem, King Ahaz agonized over whether to submit to Assyria or fight" (Montefiore, 2011:76). This destruction helped Jerusalem to gain its importance with the immigration from the north. However, Assyrians threated Yehuda and took 46 cities of Yehuda Kingdom." In about 720 BC the newest great power from northern Iraq- the Assyrians- overran the two little Jewish state and caused them to disappear. From then on there was never an independent Jewish state until the twentieth century." (Mansfield, 2013:89). However, in 587 Babylonians captured Jerusalem and destructed all the city including the Temple and exiled some of the local people to Babylon. "The destruction of the Temple must have seemed to be the death not just of a city but of

an entire nation” (Montefiore, 2011:91). This is called as the first diaspora and referred as the end of the first temple era.

Under the reign of Herod, Jerusalem improved in terms of religious and social activities. Herod contributed to Jerusalem’s construction, established water channels and founded new buildings reflecting Roman architecture. Moreover, “King Herod the Great, who was appointed as a Jewish king allied to the Roman Empire, restored and enlarged the Second Temple in Jerusalem.” (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:10). The reign of Herod is very interesting in terms of Christianity and Judaism. Herod was indeed an Arab but reacted as a Jew who had close relations with Roman Empire. He achieved to build the Temple for the second time but on the other hand still got many pious Jews’ hatred and regarded as the ogre of Christian tradition. On the other hand not only the born of Christ but also his execution was at the time of Herod as well:

In 40 BC the Romans appointed Herod from Idumaea (Edom) in southern Palestine as King of Judaea, with Jerusalem as his capital. In his long reign he extended his effective rule over most of Palestine, earning the title of ‘Herod the Great’... He rebuilt the Temple of Jerusalem, but as Hellenizer and a Roman protégé he was detested by the pious Jews. His reign ended in bitterness and violent dispute over his succession in which he ordered the notorious massacre of the innocent infants of Bethlehem. Thus, he also became the ogre of Christian tradition, as it was in the little Herodian kingdom that Jewish founder of Christian religion was born, lived and was executed- the founder of the religion which in time triumphantly converted the entire Graeco-Roman world (Mansfield, 2013:95).

Over the years, Titus was in power and assigned to take the control of the city after Herod. He controlled Jews with barbarism and destructed the second Temple. Jews, before the destruction of the Temple were able to control the city for three years. Many of the cities monuments were and those of the Temple were carried to Rome. During the Bar Kokhba revolt Romans had serious losses but this revolt made Emperor Hadrian to start a great struggle against Jews and Judaism. Nearly all of Jews were expelled from Jerusalem and allowed only once a year to visit the holy city. Moreover, Jewish holy books were damaged, and Hadrian built two great temples. He also changed the city’s name to Aelia. The most important impact of the Bar Kokhba revolt in religion history is that many Jews converted to Christianity and didn’t support Jews and the revolt. They started to dissolve from Jews (Uğurluel, 2017:93). It was also in 135 A.D when the Roman Empire ordered exile for Jews.

They were thought as disturbing to all other neighborhood people and because of that they were decided to disperse all around to world. Some of them were expelled to Arab Peninsula and lived among Arabs and they were called Mizrahi Jews. Some of them were sent to North Africa and Spain and were called Seferad Jews. Some of these Jews were saved from the massacre of Isabel in 1492 and brought to Morocco, the Balkans and Istanbul. Some of Jews moved ahead in Europe to Russia and Poland and were called Ashkenazi Jews (Uğurluel, 2017:125). Emperor Constantin, when came to power, made great efforts for Jerusalem to gain its importance as a city where people visit to carry out their religious responsibilities. The official religion was Christianity in Roman Empire and he assigned his mother, Helena, to locate the holy places in Jerusalem. In the 7th century, Jerusalem was under the control of Christians, but Persians were a great danger to Jerusalem and other Arab cities. In 614 Persians captured Jerusalem with many other cities. In 622, Heraclid attacked Jerusalem and regained the control of the city. However, Persians took the Holy Cross while leaving the city. Eventually in 630 Holy Cross was safe in Jerusalem and then because of Muslim threat taken to İstanbul by the Emperor.

Roman invasion of Jerusalem at the time of Titus was the result of Jewish revolt against Roman Empire to re-found an independent Jewish state. After Emperor Nero, who suicided and caused a great chaos in Roman Empire, during the reign of Vespasian, Titus was in charge of controlling Jerusalem. At that time, Jerusalem was under the control of three warlords who were fighting with each other. Despite the warlords' unlawful pleasures and uncleanness, the Temple was still in progress for religious people. When Titus arrived the city walls, "there were hundreds of thousands of people in the city" (Montefiore, 2011:35), many of whom were pilgrims and refugees escaping from the war. Titus' arrival also integrated the warlords to fight against Romans as well. Jewish rebels fought against Romans with courage to protect their holy city. However, at the end, the result of siege was a catastrophe for all the city and its dwellers and other guests as well. Nearly all the people in the city who were closed in there during the siege were murdered with cruelty; some of them by sword and some of them were left to burn in the fires. At it is noted in Montefiore's book, Jewish people were ready to die for Jerusalem and their holy places (Montefiore, 2011:43). Even when Titus went in the city, the warlords were still insisting on fighting instead of surrendering. All in all, that was just a destruction

of rebellion by Jews which culminated in Jerusalem's destruction, many Jews' murder and perhaps most important the Temple's destruction. This situation resulted in Jews' great suffer and yearning for the city and the Temple for many long years until now:

Jerusalem had been totally destroyed six centuries earlier by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. Within fifty years of that first destruction, the Temple was rebuilt, and the Jews returned. But this time, after AD 70, the Temple was never rebuilt—and, except for a few brief interludes, the Jews would not rule Jerusalem again for nearly 2,000 years. Yet within the ashes of this calamity lay the seeds not only of modern Judaism but also of Jerusalem's sanctity for Christianity and Islam. (Montefiore, 2011:44)

3.2 CRUSADERS IN JERUSALEM

In 1099, Christian warriors with religious inspiration of Pope Urban II 'called for recruits to march to the relief of their fellow-Christians in the east and to restore the security of the western pilgrim-routes to the Holy Land (Mansfield, 2013). At the same year, they made a really violent massacre in the holy city, Jerusalem (Uğurluel, 2017:171). There were enough reasons for Christians to attack Jerusalem. First reason was religious which was their strongest motivation because they regarded Muslims as evil. Here to serve the ambition of this study it is very crucial to note that the religious inspiration behind the Crusaders especially on Jerusalem and other Muslim countries explicitly shows the effect of religion on international relations. Moreover, these crusaders affected nearly all the world not only in terms of culture or religion but also in terms of economic welfare. Additionally, it is beneficial to state that Catholics coming with crusaders were not as tolerable as the Muslims against Orthodox who were living there before. Upon the arrival of Catholics, they began to degrade Orthodox Christians and tried to proselytize them to Catholic Christians. Indeed, it was something Muslims never tried.

In 1187 Saladin got back Jerusalem and secured Islamic structures. For religious inspiration and religious geopolitics, it is again important to regard this invasion. Saladin's main purpose of invading Jerusalem was absolutely about religion. We understand it from his letter to his brother which, was referred in this study before. Moreover, as result of religious geopolitics of the holy land of Jerusalem and religion's effect on the states' and the societies' policies, Muslims managed to gather under the leadership of Saladin: The crusader states embroiled

with their neighbors, and eventually caused the divided Muslim states to unite in a *jihad* or holy war against them” (Mansfield, 2013:135). After the invasion of the city he at once began to construct Jerusalem in accordance with Muslim tradition in terms of culture, religion and architecture. He changed the Christian symbols and buildings where it was possible. He didn't refrain from destroying the Christian monuments if it wasn't possible to renovate them. He immediately took down the Cross at Dome of Rock. (Uğurluel, 2017:51).

Yusuf El- Karadavi in his book *Her Müslümanın Ortak Davası : KUDÜS* (2014) states that Jerusalem is under the threat of the Zionists who are trying to destroy it, and make it a Jewish city or isolate it from the identity of Arab and İslam. Zionists have challenge all the states and didn't conceal their hostility and decision. Despite their tremendous geography and abundant natural resources, the Muslim states were unable to oppose Israel state. He emphasizes that Jerusalem does not solely belong to Palestinian Muslims even if they have a priority, Jerusalem belongs to every Muslim in the world; in the north, in the south, in the east, in the west. It doesn't matter whether they are educated or not. Every Muslim needs to carry out his/her responsibilities in terms of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the third of holy cities for all the Muslims; the first one is Mecca and second one is Medina (Karadavi, 2014).

3.2.1 Crusades and Reflections upon the Religion in International Relations

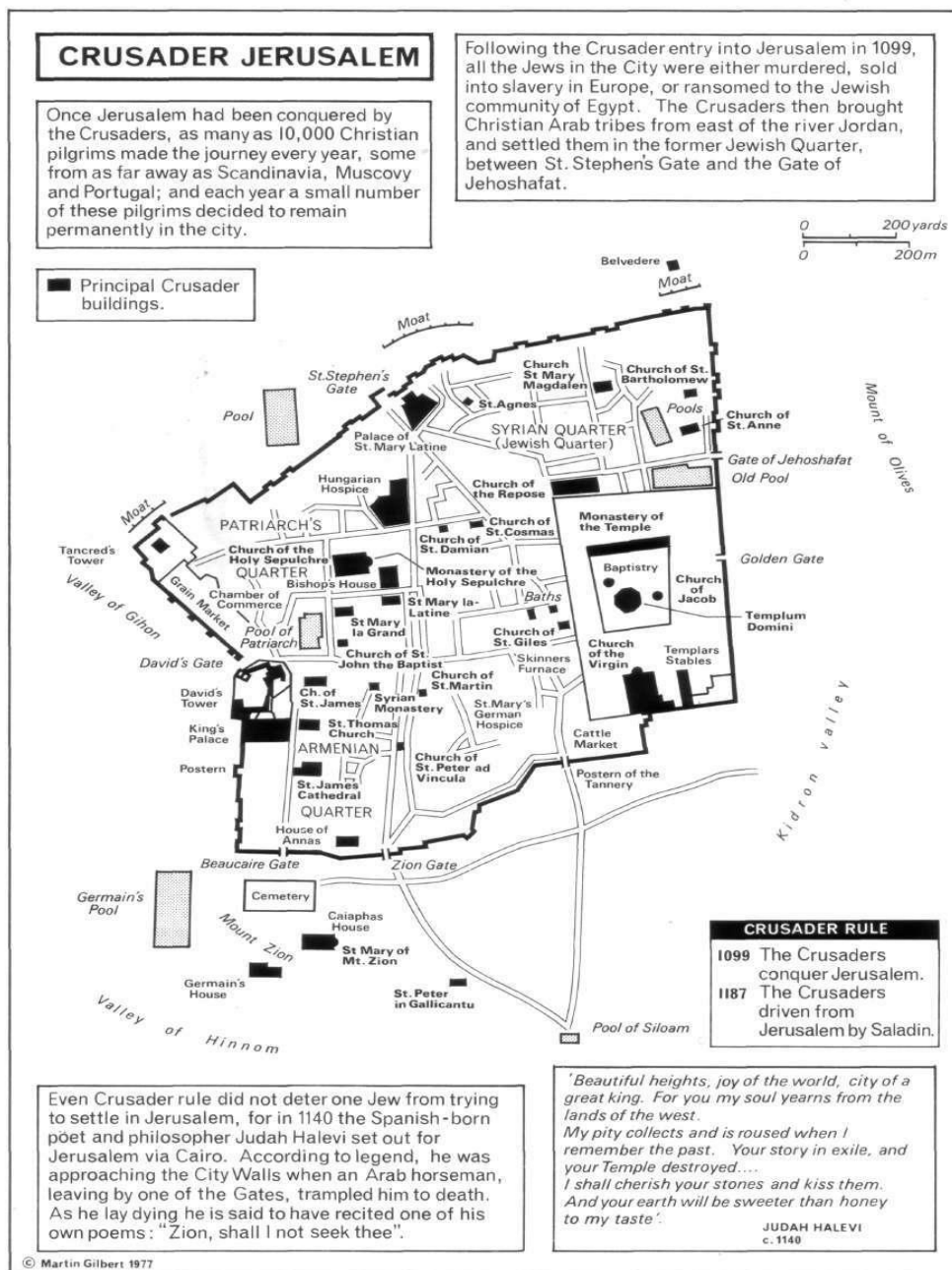
Crusades were not just a holy war against the other, they were also at the core of a new Western identity which was based on the assumption that Islam and Muslims were the eternal enemies of the West. For almost a thousand years observes from the first Moorish landing in Spain to the second Turkish siege of Vienna, Europe was under constant threat from Islam (Lewis,1993). Indeed, Islam was the only power and civilization that could affect and impend the survival of the West. This prejudice may still be in many Western societies' mind and can explain, to a great extent, their assumptions and reactions to Middle East. Karen Armstrong explains that Crusades cannot be explained solely with economical or security issues rather, it is important to understand the fueling power behind the crusades:

The Crusades, like so much of the modern conflict, were not wholly rational movements that could be explained away by purely economic or territorial ambition or by a clash of rights and interests. They were fueled, on all sides, by myths and passions that were far more

effective in getting people to act than any purely political motivation. The medieval holy wars in the Middle East could not be solved by rational treaties or neat territorial solutions. Fundamental passions were involved which touched the identity of Christians, Muslims and Jews and which were sacred to the identity of each. They have not changed very much in the holy wars of today (Armstrong, 2001:13).



Illustration 2: The Crusaders in Jerusalem, the Holy City (Gilbert, 1987:23).



Pope Urban II summoned the First crusade on November 25 of 1095. It was a holy war against directly to Islam consisting of priests, knights and poor people. He stated that The Seljuk Turks had to be expelled from former Christian lands; which were once belonged to the *Christian Byzantium Empire*. He urged the knights of West to stop the wars among themselves and join that holy war against Islam. After cleaning the Asia Minor, there was another 'holier' cause which was to secure Jerusalem and Christ's tomb from the hands of Islam.

The West was invading the East for the first time in the modern period, filled with the aggressive righteousness of a holy war, a righteousness that would characterize its future dealings with the Orient. This Crusade was the first cooperative act of the new Europe as she

crawled out of the Dark Age It appealed to all classes of society: to popes, kings, aristocrats, priests, soldiers and peasants. People sold all they had to equip themselves for this long and dangerous expedition, and for the most part they were not inspired by lust for material gain. They were gripped by a religious passion. They sewed crosses on their clothes and marched to the land where Jews had died to save the world. It was a devotional pilgrimage at the same time as it was a war of extermination (Armstrong, 2001:4).

3.2.2 The Holy War

It is a must to understand the Abrahamic religions attitude to holiness, holy land and holy war before starting to examine the Crusades. At first place it should be understood that all three religions needed, to a certain degree, violence and holy wars upon other religions and societies. Jews and Judaism regarded their Gods as the first and real God who is the real and true God in those times' pagan religious life. Christians and Muslims, on the other hand, regarded that the God chose them after Jews and promises made to Jews were for them and their religions. For example, "To your descendants I will give this land (Genesis 12:7) promise is a good reason to fight a holy war and Jews still regard it as compulsory to integrity of Judaism. Jews regard themselves as the chosen or holy people of the God. For instance, in the very past, when Moses came to save them from Egyptians and Pharaoh, God promised to help them. This mythical story is that Pharaoh captured and used many Jews as slaves until Moses came. Moses was reluctant to carry out the mission which seemed impossible but on God's promise he started his struggle against Pharaoh for Jews' salvation. At first glance God helped them because he sent many plagues to Egypt. The last was the most severe one indeed, and Jews still celebrate this event as Passover every year during which the Angel of Death just 'passed over' the Jews and killed the sons of every Egyptian family who were born first. After that Pharaoh let Israelites to leave Egypt but follows them and drowns in the Red Sea. After being an independent community now Jews had to accomplish their goal which was to acquire the holy land given them by their God, because of this they started their migration. Here it should be noted that journey and migration terms are accepted holy also in Christianity and Islam as well. Israelites began their migration to their promised land where Canaanites live with a higher level of culture and civilization. Once again, their God helped them to overcome their enemies in the holy war of Jews for their promised land:

When Yahweh your God has led you into the land you are entering to make your own, many nations will fall before you: Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, seven nations greater and stronger than yourselves. Yahweh your God will deliver them over to you and you will conquer them. You must lay them under a ban. You must make no covenant with them nor show them any pity. You must not marry with them: you must not give a daughter of yours to a son of theirs, nor take a daughter of theirs for a son of yours, for this would turn away your son from following me to serving other gods, and the anger of Yahweh would blaze out against you and soon destroy you. Instead, deal with them like this: tear down their altars, smash their standing stones, cut down their sacred poles and set fire to their idols. For you are a people consecrated to Yahweh your God. It is you that Yahweh your God has chosen to be his very own people out of all the peoples on the earth. (Deuteronomy 7: 1-6) (quoted in Armstrong, 2001:47).

After Moses' death, before arriving to the promised land Joshua was in charge and obeyed God's command perfectly; every living creature in a conquered territory was massacred, it was a total destruction and indeed extermination:

When Israel finished killing all the inhabitants of Ai in the open ground and where they had followed them into the wilderness, and when all to a man had fallen by the edge of the sword, all Israel returned to Ai and slaughtered all its people. The number of those that fell that day, men and women together, was twelve thousand, all people of Ai . . . Then Joshua burned Ai, making it a ruin for evermore, a desolate place even to this day. (Joshua 8:24, 25, 28) Then Joshua came and wiped out the Anakim from the highlands, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, from all the highlands of Judah and all the inhabitants of Israel; he delivered them and their towns over to the ban. No more Anakim were left in Israelite territory except at Gaza, Gath and Ashdod. (Ibid., 11: 21, 22) (Armstrong, 2001: 47-48).

Solomon's era is regarded as an era of peace and security which was lost with his death. After his death, many Jews believe that era of peace and security is so hard to live again. First of all, indeed, the problem was about the Temple because the structure which was constructed by Solomon was full of Canaanite cults like "the tall free-standing pillars reminded them of the standing stones," (Armstrong, 2001:19) the fertility symbols of Canaanite cults which had been commanded to tear down. Solomon also established a strong kingdom which could be regarded as a despotic one and because of that many Jews thought that this was against the basic institutions and beliefs of monotheism of Moses. He also didn't hesitate to marry foreign women which was also unacceptable because these marriages would affect the pure presence of chosen Jewish society. Soon after, this religious strife culminated in a political

division. The northern tribes established the Kingdom of Israel which was conquered by Assyria in 722 and Kingdom of Judah in the south. After being conquered in 586, the Jews in kingdom of Israel were literally annihilated in terms of religion and culture. This invasion was also the beginning of catastrophes and an era of insecurity with wars after Solomon's era of security and peace. This situation is explained in Deuteronomy that if Jews disobey the God's will, they will be punished severely as it was happening in those years:

Just as Yahweh took delight in giving you prosperity and increase, so now he will take delight in bringing you to ruin and destruction. You will be torn from the land which you are entering to make your own. Yahweh will scatter you among all peoples, from one end of the earth to the other; there you will serve other gods of wood and stone that neither you nor your forefathers have known. Among these nations there will be no repose for you, no rest for the sole of your foot; Yahweh will give you a quaking heart, weary eyes, halting breath. Your life from the outset will be a burden to you; night and day you will go in fear, uncertain of your life. In the morning you will say, "How I wish it were evening!" and in the evening, "How I wish it were morning!" such terror will grip your heart, such sights your eye will see. (Deuteronomy 28:63-67)

The first trauma of exile came Jewish consciousness in 586 BCE when Babylon destroyed Jerusalem. With this invasion many Jews were sent to Babylonia and had to live there. However, here they didn't encounter the assimilation like the Jews of Kingdom of Israel. Instead, they were free to live in small Jewish communities which could be regarded as the first ghettos. However, there was a strange situation, which can be evaluated as the effect of religion and identity on Jews, because the exiled Jews in Babylonia had to commit themselves to holy book of Torah. There was no more a Temple for them to pray in and this situation made them to live their religious life exactly according to Torah and this resulted in a deeper level of religious commitment in Jews. Upon their readings, they learned much more things and adopted these to their lives. In exile years with the effect of their religious commitment Jews were looking forward to someone who could set them free and take them back to their homes and allow them to rebuild the Temple. This salvation was in 538 BCE when the King of Persia, Cyrus carried out it (Mansfield, 2013:23). However, there is an irony here that Cyrus' this reaction was nothing more than that his ambition to ease the authority of his empire while Jews were sure that he was the one to save them from the exile. However, there is an

important part here that some of the Jews refused to return to Jerusalem because of religious concerns. They thought that physically living in Jerusalem was not so important. Rather, they believed that living in Jerusalem could affect their religious beliefs and they because of this reason they chose to stay in diaspora for long years.

The second exile of Jews was in 70 CE when Romans conquered the holy land and destructed the Temple for the second time. Upon this conquer many Jews accepted Roman dominance and created Talmud for the survival of their religion while some others went on fighting with Romans. However, in 73 CE the last rebels of Jewish revolt who were controlled by Eleazar ben Yair committed suicide rather than surrendering to Romans. This was a magnificent event for Romans and they admired their honorable reaction “when they came upon the rows of dead bodies, they did not exult over them as enemies but admired the nobility of their resolve and the way in which so many had shown in carrying it out without a tremor an utter contempt of death” (Josephus, 1959).

The idea of arrival of Messiah and Second Coming of Christ are so similar in the three Abrahamic religions. Moreover, because the followers of the Abrahamic religions thought that the victory would be theirs, the term martyrdom gained a special place and provided a strong motivation for them. In case of Roman Empire, it is important to note that Romans didn't only nearly destroyed Jews and Judaism, but also there was a very strong persecution upon Christianity and Christians, too. For example, this destruction is explained here like:

In CE 70, the Second Temple was destroyed by the Roman Emperor Titus, when he crushed a rebellion by the Jewish Zealots; a rebellion that was considered fanatical and self-destructive by most of the Jewish elite and by the original Jewish followers of Jesus. The prophecy came true: “*no stone was left upon another*”. (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:10).

This was such a powerful one that many Christians began to lose ideas of peace and love which were vital for Jesus's own and started to feel aggression and violence for Romans. Afterwards, they were ready to accept the death voluntarily with the idea and hope that their deaths would shorten the arrival of Christ and the world would be a safer and peaceful place with their triumph. This passion for martyrdom was an important impulse in terms of Crusades upon the Muslims or in other words the enemies of the God.

Islam was born as a necessity of Arabs in the 7th century under the leadership of Mohammed who did the same thing as Moses did for the Israelites. Arabs, after gaining the welfare owing to trading, were fighting each other violently. Their social life of sharing the wealth was destroyed after some of them were rich and this resulted in some serious conflicts among the tribes especially in Mecca. When Mohammed got the first revelations and slowly explained the new religion and his prophecy to his family and closest friends, this was the beginning of a new religion which will expand its power along the world for centuries until today. However, as it is for Abrahamic religions, the birth of this new religion was not so easy, because it is not so hard to imagine that many uneducated Arabs wouldn't accept this new born religion which was opposing all their gods and civilization. After Mohammed and Islam, Meccans began to use severe violence against Muslims, because Mohammed was challenging all their cults and Gods. After facing many tortures, Mohammed decided to immigrate which is Hijra in Islamic literature. Hijra is a very important term in Islam and is the beginning of Muslim calendar. Also, Hijra is regarded as the same concept that of Exodus in Judaism. Another important term is the doctrine of Jihad in Muslim world and Islam. Muslims believed that at first Islam would spread around all the world and it would be the last and the unique religion in the world. However, even in the 8th century, they understood that this ambition was impossible because of the internal conflict among themselves. Therefore; they postponed this goal like Jews and Christians until the Last Judgement. As a result, they established normal relations with surrounding countries and they also understood that they had to live with other religions and their supporters. For example, Andalus was an Islamic state and Sultan recognized the Christian people and their king Leon. This was nearly an impossible situation when regarding the theology of jihad. Islamic conquests and the idea of jihad was turning into an Arab imperialism which also impresses that Arab holy war ignored the idea of regarding non-Muslims as perpetual enemies. Here, as a current perspective of Europeans and their mistakes, it is of great significance to note Armstrong's opinions on Islam and Muslims:

If most Western people were asked today which of the three monotheistic religions was the most violent, they would probably unhesitatingly reply: "Islam." For hundreds of years, Western Christians have described Islam as "the religion of the sword" but this is inaccurate, one of the prejudices we have inherited from the period of the Crusades. It is just one example of the distorted picture that many people in the West have of Islam, about which we

are generally rather ignorant. It will therefore be important to give some account of the rise of Islam to show how Muslims see themselves as part of the divine plan for the world. It is certainly true that the holy war played its part in the establishment and spread of Islam, but it is not correct to see Islam as a bloodthirsty and essentially aggressive religion. When the first Muslims converted to Islam, the idea of the holy war was far from their minds (Armstrong, 2001:26).

Upon regarding Islamic states with their foreigner communities who are described as *dhimmis* it can be concluded that living in a single state with different religions is possible and also can be peaceful. However, unfortunately the Christian people didn't live that privilege of peace and security when Crusaders arrived on Muslim lands. That is why, the dhimmis in Islamic states had faced many violence during the Crusades, too.

3.2.3 The New Christian Soul and Crusades

The barbarian attacks in the 5th and 6th century destroyed not only the political order of Roman Empire it also destroyed the wisdom and culture of the ancient world. However, Western Church was able to make Anglo Saxons and Franks very good Christians who were uneducated people. Upon combining with these communities, the Christian world had a very long way to go before the recover after the loss of Empire. Moreover, the crisis between the West and East was deepening in the Christian world:

The Byzantines were seen as the antithesis of the Western identity. There was a new polarization at a time when the West was making a new attempt to revive the old glories of the Roman Empire, and as Europe defined herself anew the Greeks became everything that the Westerners were not. This stereotype of "the Greeks" persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Their elegance and refinement (which the Westerners in fact deeply envied and knew was quite beyond them) have been distorted into an image of weak effeminacy. This scurrilous portrait, as fictional as the ninth-century Cordovan portrait of "the Muslim," was a crooked mirror image of Western deep-rooted feelings of inferiority and a projection of Western envy. The Westerners for their part were already cultivating an image of tough aggression and presenting it as virtue. They were opposing their brute brawn to the Byzantines' brains. It was still not a case of a religious split between the two churches and both Greeks and Europeans would have found the very idea of a divided Christianity a shocking state of affairs, but there was an ever-increasing tension between the two. From this point, as Europe really did begin to recover from the Dark Ages, this tension increased (Armstrong, 2001:53-54).

Emperor Alexis was successful in dealing with Turks who come from Asia and invaded many Christian land that belonged to Byzantium. The problem was that Alexis didn't have enough soldiers to obtain a clear and ultimate victory upon Turkish forces. Such a defeat would send back Turks to even Asia and Christians would re-gain their lands. That is why the Emperor demanded the help of Pope Urban II who regarded that as a chance to gain power against Byzantium. This was still an opportunity for Pope even if Alexis was very insistent that all the land conquered should be left to Byzantium again. The aim of the Crusades, as Armstrong states was the peace of the God in the West and the war of the God against Islam in the East which would be a perfect solution to the problems of all Europe:

Urban also seems to have reminded them that Christ had urged the Christians to be ready to die for his sake, as a Crusader would have to do. The Crusade would therefore demand a conversion of life and would be a dramatic journey to a new self. But hitherto the pilgrim had always been forbidden to bear arms during his pilgrimage. By giving these "pilgrims" to Jerusalem a sword, Urban had made violence central to the religious experience of the Christian layman and Western Christianity had acquired an aggression that it never entirely lost (Armstrong, 2001:67).

After the age of Crusades, not only Muslims but also Jews were regarded as enemies who were capable of destroying Europe and Christianity. There was such a powerful dread against these communities since then. In Granada, for example, where all adherents of three Abrahamic religions lived in peace Christians literally tortured both Jews and Muslims and killed nearly all the populations or forced them to convert to Christianity. Jews and Muslims were not regarded as ordinary enemies rather they were accepted synonymous with evil. This was the basic mentality of Christianity and West after the crusading period.

Upon the holiness of Jerusalem; Talha Uğurluel's *Arzın Kapısı Kudüs* (2017) presents a substantial and detailed study about Jerusalem's historical and political importance. The book argues the holiness can change, develop or sometimes even demolishes in the history which historically appears explicitly. The holiness of a city or the places in a city increases particularly when it is not possible to be in touch with that holiness. Sometimes, it causes to create some discrete holiness that indeed do not appear at first. For Jews, Jerusalem is at the core of this religion during Babylon exile and after Roman assault. For Muslims, it more essential during the Crusades and

European sovereignty and for Christians the experiences of Christ or a visit to these places to share his experiences and griefs. Moreover, Uğurluel emphasizes that it is meaningless to evaluate the importance of Jerusalem. For Jews and Christians, it is regarded as the holiest city while it is regarded as the third holiest after Mecca and Medina for Muslims. However, this doesn't mean that Muslims pay less attention to Jerusalem compared to Jews and Christians. As the author states holiness is a comparative statute in a religious tradition. (Uğurluel,2017).

3.3 JERUSALEM DURING OTTOMAN REIGN

In first years of Ottoman reign there weren't any remarkable architectural developments in Jerusalem. With Suleiman the Magnificent, there were many public fountains constructed as Ottomans were used to define themselves as a civilization of water. In 1863, the first municipality of Jerusalem and second of Ottomans was established. In 1881, Protestants founded a pilgrimage place for Protestants after England invaded Egypt in 1881.

The reign of Ottomans in Jerusalem began in 1516 when Sultan Selim conquered Syria and eradicated Mameluke reign in Cairo with Marj Dabik war. Ottoman reign in Jerusalem continued until 1917 except for 1831-1840 when Mehmet Ali Pasha took the city's control. Suleiman the Magnificent is the most important sultan in Jerusalem's architectural construction. His wife Hürrem Sultan founded a social complex (Külliyeye) in 1551 and established a waqf to provide the expenditures of that social complex. Suleiman the Magnificent constructed the walls that would protect the city. Maybe the most important monument of the Ottoman empire in Jerusalem is the epitaph on Al-Halil gate which says "*Lâ ilâhe illallah, İbrahim halîlullah*" which shows that the Ottomans were aware of the conflict among the supporters of Abrahamic religions and wanted to secure the city by accepting all of their religious sensitiveness (Harman and Çift, 2016:126).

During the period of regression in the 19th century, European countries perpetually tried to intervene Ottoman's internal affairs. England especially supported Jews and strove to create a Protestant population around the city. France was working for Catholics while Russia intensified its ambitions on Orthodox Christians. For the time being and also during Ottoman reign different communities of Abrahamic religions were struggling with each other because of holy sites in

Jerusalem. Ottomans were generally successful in dealing with these conflicts and balancing among these struggling communities. However, in 1882 and 1905, when large groups of Jewish population arrived Jerusalem, the city character started to alter dramatically, and urbanization began to continue out of the city walls. Ottoman empire was taking some precautions to inhibit the immigration of Jews in great numbers but because of generally international interventions was unable to stop the immigrations. For example, in 1871, %80 of Palestine land nationalized against the Zionist movement of Jews. II. Abdulhamid, expanded these precautions and in 1883 local people of Jerusalem were banned from selling land to Jews and in 1900 Jews were asked to get a passport which stated their personal information with their occupations and also forced to leave the city in 30 days after their visit. (Harman and Çift, 2016: 185).

3.4 JEWS IN JERUSALEM

In Tanah, Jerusalem is described as the chosen city of the God and located in the very middle of the nations which symbolizes also the core of the world. Because Jerusalem has a twofold meaning, which is not only terrestrial but also celestial, the terrestrial one is at the same position with the celestial one which is created even before the Earth. For Jews, to show the importance of Jerusalem, *Even Şatiah* is upon which the Temple is constructed which is the core of Jerusalem that is the center of the world. This Even Şatiah is where Abraham ordered to sacrifice his son, Isaac, and Solomon constructed the Temple. It is also the place where Mohammed began his journey to heaven, Miraj. Jerusalem is the qibla of Jews where they turn their faces while praying. Also, the Temple is not only a place of sacrifice but also it is the holy area of the pilgrimage. When the Temple was destructed in 70 BCE, Jerusalem was the ultimate destination of Jews for pilgrimage. Even after 70 BCE many Jews didn't forget the Temple, rather they had a stronger feeling with the Temple and prayed the God for re-destruction of the Temple. Even in *Amidah*, Jews pray the God to reconstruct the city of holiness, Jerusalem (Harman and Çift, 2016:41). For Jews, it is a must to live and even die in Jerusalem because many of Jews believe that as it is stated in *Talmud*, it is not possible to be accepted to celestial Jerusalem without living in terrestrial Jerusalem. Moreover, because the Resurrection after death will start in Jerusalem, they want to be buried in Mount of Olives which is closer.

On the other hand, Eli E. Hertz, (2008) in his study *This Land is My Land* emphasizes a different approach to the problem of Palestine and to Arab-Israel conflict. He strongly states the historical right of Jews on Palestine and maintains that Arabs have no right on the land and this situation is also verified by global powers upon the resolve of 1922. He makes a significant interpretation of Palestine upon stating that

Palestine is a name coined by the Romans around 135 CE from the name of a seagoing Aegean people who settled on the coast of Canaan in antiquity—the *Philistines*. The name was chosen to replace Judea, as a sign that Jewish sovereignty had been eradicated following the Jewish Revolts against Rome. (Hertz,2008:25)

The arrival of Jews to Egypt is because of Prophet Joseph who lived in Egypt after left to death by his brothers. After some important events witnessed by Pharaoh, Joseph gained the admire of Pharaoh and became a very crucial executor in Egypt especially when he managed 7 years abundance and 7 years famine. Yehuda one of the brothers of Joseph was the most brilliant one after Joseph and that is why the Israelites are called Jews, it is because of Yehuda's name (Uğurluel, 2017:89). David, who would conquer Jerusalem in the future, was from his ancestry, too. After Prophet Joseph, Israelites were enslaved by Egyptians and they were waiting for a divine redeemer. He was Moses who came to save them from slavery, but he had to deal with II. Ramses who claimed that he was the God and denied the prophecy of Moses (Uğurluel, 2017:36). After that he was struggling with Moses and his society until he drowned in the Red Sea while following to destroy all of Jews with Moses. When Moses away to talk to the God, his people were praying for an ancient God. Moses dealt with his society for forty years and finally understood that it was impossible to make them believe God's reliance. After realizing that they were having great difficulties on believing and accepting the God rather than ancient Egypt gods, Moses decided to educate and grow a new generation who hadn't seen or lived any kind of Egyptian idolatry. After all, everyone witnessing ancient Egypt culture and gods were dead except Moses. When Moses died, the new generation that Moses grown were ready to enter Jerusalem.

The holiness of Jerusalem for Jews began with Prophet David when he conquered the land and declared it as the capital of Jews. After the conquer, he secured the Ark of Covenant in Jerusalem which is the most important item in

Judaism. David also convinced Jewish pilgrims to go to Jerusalem to carry out their pilgrimage instead of Silo. Interestingly, the construction of the Temple is by Solomon, the son of David. God chose Solomon instead of David and according to one common belief David made bloody wars to conquer Jerusalem which made God to choose Solomon to construct the Temple (Harman and Çift, 2016:47). It is important to note that whereas the God lets Solomon to construct the Temple instead of David, David is a very important figure in Jewish tradition and Judaism and this situation does not degrade his dignity for Jews. Even his name; David, means the most beloved one in Hebrew and also in Tanah it is stated that the Messiah will be a descendant of David and Jews believe that their survivor will arise from David's bloodline.

During Solomon's reign, Jews had their most powerful times, they had vast lands and strong armies. However, after Solomon's death Jewish state split in two different states Yehuda and Israel. They perpetuated their presence until 586 BCE when Babylon invasion began. Babylon king Nebuchadnezzar decided to a certain dominance on Jews and attacked Jewish communities to halt Jewish revolts. This was a real massacre; thousands of Jews were murdered, the Temple was destroyed, and the king expelled many Jews to Babylon. With Persian King Kira, Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem if they wanted to. Some of Jews returned and saw prophets like Uzair, Zakariya, Yahya and Christ while some of them stayed in Babylon and only believed what Moses brought and ordered them. They were called Babylon Jews (Uğurluel, 2017:241).

In 1881, when there was a great slaughter in Russia called as pogrom against Jews, they started to migrate to Jerusalem in huge numbers.

... and these unleashed bloody attacks against Jews across Russia, encouraged and sometimes organized by the state. These predations gave the West a new word: pogrom, from the Russian gromit—to destroy. The new emperor, Alexander III, a bearded giant with blinkered, conservative views, regarded the Jews as a “social cancer” and he blamed them for their own persecution by honest Orthodox Russians. His May Laws of 1882 effectively made anti-Semitism a state policy, enforced by secret-police repression. (Montefiore, 2011:530).

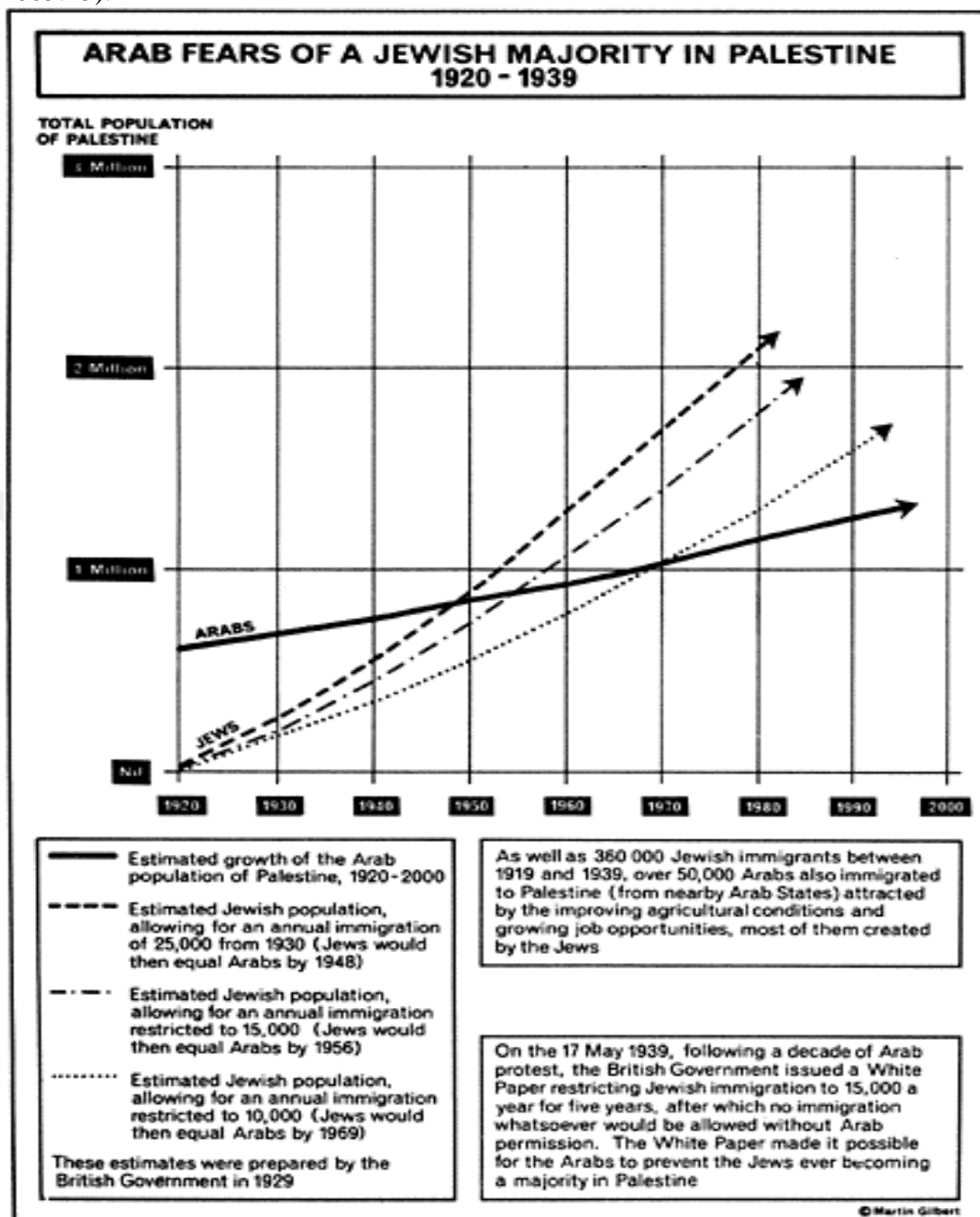
Ottoman authorities were aware of the situation, but it was too hard to stop this immigration especially because of western powers like England and France. It is

important to note that the first Jews arrived in Palestine but then moved to Tel Aviv which had water and it was essential for Jews to do agriculture. However, the first Jews were generally old and religious Jews who just wanted to die in the holy land. After that Ottomans realized the treat of Jews and incoming conflict and deported all the Jews who didn't have Ottoman citizenship:

Two million Jews left Russia between 1888 and 1914, but 85 percent of them headed not for the Promised Land but the Golden Land of America. Nonetheless thousands looked to Jerusalem. By 1890, Russian Jewish immigration was starting to change the city: there were now 25,000 Jews out of 40,000 Jerusalemites. In 1882 the sultan banned Jewish immigration and in 1889 decreed that Jews were not allowed to stay in Palestine more than three months, measures scarcely enforced. (Montefiore, 2011:532).



Illustration 3: Estimated Jewish Population in Palestine During 1920-1939 (Gilbert, 2005:15).



After 1850s' when the new population arrived from Europe, there was a huge architectural construction in Jerusalem. It was possible to realize the features of Russian, German and Italian architecture in Jerusalem. Moreover, as it is also stated in Illustration 3, between 1919 and 1939 many Jewish immigrants and also Arab immigrants started to immigrate to Palestine.

Jews' intention to find and create a state was in 19th century with Dreyfus case in 1894. When Captain Dreyfus was accused of being a German spy and condemned, Theodore Herzl was watching the case. The judges condemned him

even if there was enough evidence to prove his innocence. At that time, this event provoked Herzl to decide that there wasn't a possible way to live in peace with Western people. After that he devoted all his life to an independent Israel state and made many negotiations with Western and Ottoman authorities. In fact, he assumed that they would let Jews to found a Jewish state but it was only England that accepted the idea of a free Jewish state. However, the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine wasn't accepted, rather England supported the idea of a state in Uganda. Herzl was convinced with that idea when he died in 1904. Here, it should be note that, according to Bard, Herzl never desired for a Jewish state instead of Palestine:

Theodor Herzl sought support from the great powers for the creation of a Jewish homeland. He turned to Great Britain, and met with Joseph Chamberlain, the British colonial secretary and others. The British agreed, in principle, to Jewish settlement in East Africa. At the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basle on August 26, 1903, Herzl proposed the British Uganda Program as a *temporary emergency refuge* for Jews in Russia in immediate danger. While Herzl made it clear that this program would not affect the ultimate aim of Zionism, a Jewish entity in the Land of Israel, the proposal aroused a storm at the Congress and nearly led to a split in the Zionist movement. The Uganda Program, which never had much support, was formally rejected by the Zionist movement at the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905 (Bard, 2006:8).

3.5 HOLINESS OF THE HOLY

Jerusalem, as being a holy city, has a twofold meaning which makes it more interesting to interpret. First, it is the name of geopolitical location near the eastern shore of the Mediterranean where Israel is located now. The second meaning is more complex and crucial for this study. It is regarded as an idea, an idea which is the core of an independent Israel state. There is a chronological and cosmological history of Jerusalem. As emphasized there are some beliefs according to Jewish Kabbalah that is a discipline or school of thought in Judaism. God began the establishment of the world from Jerusalem. Upon creating Adam, God used some land from Jerusalem and Adam paid it back when he died. Again, Noah's dove took the oil stick from Jerusalem. Abraham wanted to sacrifice his son, Isaak, in Jerusalem. These are the conscious efforts of Jews who are creating some background to the holiness of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, some of these beliefs are accepted in Islam and Christianity as well. For example, the case of sacrifice or arrival of Jesus and his war against Antichrist are accepted by Christianity and Islam, as well (Uğurluel, 2017:151).

“The term holiness has not affected any other area so effectively and broadly and hasn’t been so combined with any other city” (Uğurluel, 2017:12). As for the case of Jerusalem, this study will cover the holiness of a city, here it is of great importance and also is very useful to understand how a city can be regarded as holy. The question here is to understand what is meant by holiness or more broadly what is meant by a holy city and what should people understand from a holy city. It is absolutely out of dispute that holy cities are regarded as distinctive and respected more when compared to other cities by many people. Beside Jerusalem, there are other holy cities like Varanasi, Mecca, İstanbul or Kyoto, but here it is important to figure out how a city can be a holy one. Is it human beings regard the city as holy or the city is selected by God’s own will? Or is it just the number of holy sites, the geography that determines the proportion of a holiness of a city? Or is it possible to attribute the holiness to the amount of the people living in it or the visitors who yearly, monthly visit the city? Beside it’s holiness now scholars and many Western people are paying more attention to Jerusalem because some different reasons:

Detroit, Michigan or Baltimore, Maryland may be cities of intense racial segregation. But one could hardly imagine people from around the world converging on these sites of post-industrial decline to fight and die for them. Though smaller than Charlotte, North Carolina, Jerusalem has retained an almost magical intensity as mighty or mightier than places revered as “global cities” or glamorous capitals of high finance, political power, and the arts (Abowd, 2014:8).

Another idea of holiness is being a burial place of prophets, religious people or even great leader. For example, there many prophets, priests or great leaders buried in İstanbul, Rome or Jerusalem. So, does it make these cities holy? Moreover, it is the routines or religious activities like prayer, pilgrimage, preaching and other rituals that determine or affect the holiness of a city. If some religious rituals are not carried out in a holy city, then there is no importance of the holiness. All in all, it is possible to summarize the holiness depend on variables differing from nature, geography and human. A broad definition of holiness is made in the study of Michael Dumper:

Professor Francis Peters, who has studied both Mecca and Jerusalem in some depth, has highlighted what he regarded as the four main attributes of a holy city. These are an institutional hierarchy comprising senior clergy and priests, an administrative apparatus owning land and property such as glebe land or waqf endowments a source of revenue

independent from the regime or state authorities within which the city is located, and, finally, an international network of allies and supporters that has evolved through and is maintained by pilgrimage and educational activities (Dumper, 2014:100).

3.6 THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM

It is ironical that any archeological remains of the First Temple cannot be found at any place even if the Temple of Jerusalem still holds a very crucial position for Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Even if it is not possible to see any physical remains of the Temple, it is interesting and remarkable to see that people still go there and pray for their salvation. During the centuries, just the idea of Temple, inspired many men and women and also triggered wars between the communities. Actually, for many people the Temple is not something which is destroyed or just vanished. Rather, it is an idea which was present in the past and will rebirth in the future with its all magnificence. In fact, the Temple is a place or for some an idea which stirs people for war and inspire many artists to show their artistic capabilities:

“The Temple of Jerusalem incorporates this entire body of symbols, and is indeed viewed as the very archetype of the Temple by people all over the world, in spite of the fact that it has not existed since 70 C.E. In the form of its present offspring, the Dome of the Rock, which stands upon the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, still stands as beacon to the world, a cosmic center, the place on earth nearest to Heaven” (Lundquist, 2008:16).

Solomon was able to found the first temple by means of his father’s help, David, who gave the plans and the idea of the temple to him. After being constructed, it immediately became a religious and political place. It was destroyed in 587 B.C by Babylonians. Second temple was constructed by Persians in 515 B.C. Indeed, according to Lundquist, there are three temples which are named as Solomon’s, Zerubbabel’s and Herold’s:

“Its original construction in the time of King Solomon (the First Temple), its role in the spiritual and ritual life of ancient Israel, its destruction in 587 B.C by Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar, its reconstruction in 516 C.C. under the guidance of Zerubbabel, as a result of the commission of the Persian King Cyrus (the Second Temple), the vast enlargement that occurred during the time of the Idumean King Herod (around B.C), its final destruction in 70 C.E. by Roman general Titus, and then its dynamic and abundant afterlife as the leading influence in the construction of Jewish synagogues, Christian cathedrals, and Islamic mosques” (Lundquist, 2008:17).

The area where the Temple was located captured with wars for several times and this situation damaged the holiness of the Temple which was resurrected again. The history of the Temple is the history of culture conflicts. This conflict was that of monotheistic Jews with their neighbor religions and communities; and the conflict of monotheistic Jews with non-monotheistic Jews as well. It was also the struggle of Romans with Jews, Christians with Romans and Jews; the conflict of Islamic traditions with Christianity and Judaism. Moreover, it should be stated that it is explicit that culture or religion conflict is still going on in the area between Arab and Jewish people, and also between the faithful and secular ones. Upon regarding Jerusalem and the Temple, it should be regarded that the conflict or war cannot be only because of land, there should be more reasons. Montefiore states “The Temple was not just a shrine, it was the home of God himself, a complex made up of three parts, standing about 33 by 115 feet, in a walled enclosure” (Montefiore, 2011:67). The Temple is still at the center of the Middle East politics and still stands at the location even in the 21st century after its long history. This is a rivalry that soldiers, religious people, politicians, artists and even ordinary people are competing with each other. Everyone has a vision about the Temple but the only answer that can be found regarding the issue is the Temple belongs to them.

In both Islamic and Jewish resources, David wanted to create an impartial city with his people and for this ambition he conquered Jerusalem and made it the capital city of the new state. He also purposed to construct a Temple for the God. However, “Prophet Nathan warned him that he couldn’t accomplish this goal by messengering God’s will: You shed too much blood and made great wars, you won’t construct a home by my name because you spilled a lot of blood on the ground in front of my eyes” (Harman and Çift, 2016:29). Therefore, Solomon oversaw constructing that magnificent Temple in the name of the God. Many people were working during the construction of the Temple and like a miracle and help of the God none of the workers were ill, injured or died until the construction of the Temple was over. The Temple was, after finished, at the center of Jewish rituals and worships.

There is another important aspect regarding the Temple and religious geopolitics as well. The Temple and Jerusalem’s own is regarded to be the basis of

the catastrophic and apocalyptic events as well. Here there is an important quotation which should be regarded very carefully:

Within the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic religious traditions, the apocalyptic, eschatological traditions are centered in and on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The catastrophic events of the Last Days, of the time preceding the end, the time before the ushering in of the Messianic Era will play themselves out in Jerusalem, in and on and around the Temple Mount. The Judaeo-Christian traditions both foresee a Third Temple, a Messianic temple, which is described primarily in the Books of Ezekiel in the Hebrew Bible and of the Revelation of John in the New Testament. In each of these cases, the Temple is the Heavenly Temple, not to be built by hands, but that already exists fully “built” in Heaven, and will come down to earth in the Messianic age. The Islamic tradition cannot of course envision a “Third Temple,” because to a large extent, particularly within the Palestinian community, an ancient, pre-Dome of the Rock temple on the Temple Mount is denied. Furthermore, the Dome of the Rock is the permanent shrine sitting atop the Temple Mount from the Islamic perspective. But the events of the End of Time within the Muslim tradition still focus on the Temple Mount (Lundquist, 2008:235).

Meanwhile, Simon Goldhill’s explains the Temple in Jerusalem and its history is contextualized within a historical background. The book stresses that there are few structures in the world which are a great inspiration source as much as the Temple in Jerusalem. The building had been destroyed by Romans in 70 B.C. which culminated in Jewish mourning of the Temple since that time. Christians, on the other hand, regard it as a metaphor and Muslims as an icon. Goldhill demonstrates the historical, religious, political and cultural structure of the region and in this sense, helps us to understand the conflict upon Jerusalem (Goldhill, 2011).

3.7 THE WAILING WALL/WEST WALL

According to a legend, which is stated by Ömer Faruk Harman, God orders Solomon that during the construction of the Temple every sect of the society will join the process of construction; the loyal people, wealthy ones, powerful ones, clergymen and last but not least important poor and weak people. The last part of the Temple which is finished is that west part that is built by the poor and weak people. When the Temple is constructed ultimately, God examines this magnificent statue and says that ‘the manual labor of poor and weak people is the most valuable part for me. Hence, I bless this wall’ and it’s stated that God’s holy presence will not forsake the West Wall eternally which makes it survive until this time (Harman and Çift,

2016:56). Jews have esteemed this wall for long years. They always visited this place to remember their past experiences, their exiles and destruction of their temples. Moreover, they go and mourn for their losses throughout the history and long for the re-construction of the Temple. However, Jews were not allowed to visit the Temple and Jerusalem for long years. It was with Ottoman Empire that Jews acquired a perpetual right to pray in Jerusalem next to Wailing Wall in the 16th century when the expelled Jews arrived coming from Europe, especially Spain. However, there were and still are many conflicts regarding the site of the Temple and Jerusalem in general and the Wailing Wall in particular. For example, in 1929 there was a conflict between Muslims and Jews because of the Wailing Wall and in 1948 Jordan invaded the East Jerusalem and banned Jews to visit the Wall until 1967 war. After the war, East Jerusalem was under the control of Israel and Jews were allowed to fulfil their religious worships freely. This was regarded as a great victory for many Jews because they thought that they were very close to achieve their eternal ambition which is to reconstruct the Solomon's Temple for the third time. Although Jews think that the residues of the Wall belong to Solomon's era, indeed they date back to Herod's era in terms of architectural features (Harman and Çift, 2016:85).

Just as the navel is found at the center of a human being, so the land of Israel is found at the center of the world. Jerusalem is at the center of the land of Israel, and the temple is at the center of Jerusalem, the Holy of Holies is at the center of the temple, the Ark is at the center of the Holy of Holies, and The Foundation Stone is in front of the Ark, which spot is the foundation of the world. (Midrash Tanhuma, *Qedoshim*) (quoted in Lundquist, 2008:14).

To conclude, the Temple is regarded as the holiest place in the world by Jews and they visit the Wailing Wall to mourn their grief for Temple's their identities loss. Moreover, they also pray for the construction of the third Temple which will enable them to enjoy the security and peaceful era of great King Solomon.

3.8 JERUSALEM IDENTITY FOR JEWS

Eli E. Hertz (2011) in his study *Jerusalem One Nation's Capital Throughout History* gives some specific information about city's significance in terms of religion and international religion as well. He states that there is a great and strong relationship between the city and Judaism and Jerusalem. "For more than 3000 years,

Jerusalem has played a central role in the history of Jews, culturally, politically and spiritually, a role first documented in the Scriptures.” The writer also states that during the 2000 of diaspora years Jerusalem always has been recognized as the ancestral home of Jews. He also emphasizes that the Arab rulers did not show any tolerance to any religion and this situation have changed after the Six Day War in 1967 with Israel’s regaining the control of the whole city. Another important part in the book is the excerpts by Edwin S. Wallace which were published by Cosmopolitan Magazine in 1898: “It is hardly exact to call Palestine “the Land,” or Jerusalem “the City, of the Jews” today. But Palestine is the land of Judaism and its chief city is beyond doubt the world’s capital of this particular form of religious belief. “In this City of the Jews, where the Jewish population outnumbers all others three to one, the Jew has few rights that the Mohammedan or average Christian is bound to respect.” (Hertz, 2011)

If I forget you, Jerusalem,
 may my right hand forget its skill.
 May my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth
 if I do not remember you,
 if I do not consider Jerusalem
 my highest joy. (The psalms 137: 5-6)

Jerusalem’s significance for Abrahamic religions and especially for Jews is because of Temple of Solomon. In terms of religion, it is possible to realize that the supporters of the religions can regard some geographical places as sacred. People regard some places because of some reasons. For instance, for Hinduism, Varanasi is a sacred place and a core worship and pilgrimage place where people visit very often. For Islam, on the other hand, Mecca is a very special geographical site that many Muslims visit every year to carry out their religious responsibilities. For Christianity, Rome and İstanbul are holy places and for many Christians these cities have an intrinsic importance. Jerusalem, when compared to all these cities is much more different because it is a holy place for Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Unlike Jerusalem, no other city in the world has this importance to Abrahamic religions. The importance of Jerusalem for Jews is mainly because of Dome of Rock where Adam is crated and gave back the soil he was created with. Jerusalem is also important for Jews because of Mt. Moriah where Abraham was

about to sacrifice his son. Important enough this sacrifice event is existing in Islam as well. However, Judaism names the son Isaak whereas Islam names the son as İsmail (Harman and Çift, 2016:28). Another very crucial in Jerusalem for Jews is the Temple of Solomon or just named as the Temple. Temple was first established by the king Solomon whom David appointed as the king intentionally to balance the power and justice among the Jews. After that in 586 BCE the Temple was destructed and then rebuilt again. It is important note that Jews regarded the temple as the core of Jewishness and never gave up it. During the exile time, they built synagogues as a replacement of the Temple for their worships but never gave up it. After centuries, the wailing wall have become very crucial to Jews that they gave nearly the same importance they gave to the Rock. The Wall itself is the symbol of Jewish longing for Jerusalem and broadly for a full independence of Israel state. “The Jews soon called this place ha-Kotel, the Wall, outsiders called it the Western or Wailing Wall and henceforth its golden, ashlar stones became the symbol of Jerusalem and the focus of holiness.” (Montefiore, 2011:430). Jews or Zionists dream of Jerusalem as the capital city of an Israel state seems to be fulfilled at least for now and with many problems culminated in Arab-Israel struggle. Here, it is important to note that the word Zion was used for Jerusalem and it shows that Jews regard Jerusalem not only in terms of historical or religious yearning but also regarded it politically and iconized it as the capital city of Israel. Furthermore, religious Jews think that Palestine is given to Jews by God and because of that they have a divine right on Palestine. This belief is based on Torah that ‘all the land you can promised to you and your sons. There are maximalist and minimalist ideas about the promised land its limit. To maximalist idea all the land where Prophet Abraham walked on are the promised land. This means Fertile Crescent which is from the Euphrates to Nile river. On the other hand, according to minimalist idea which accepted generally, this land is the ancient kingdom of David and this promise is carried out by the God. This land, in our day, includes Israel and Palestine and some Jordan river’s east coast cities.

Jerusalem as being the most sacred and important city for Jews is regarded as the core of the world and also core of the Judgement Day. In Judaism, it is believed that the Temple and its holiness preceded the creation of the world which means that even before any existence and Adam himself, God created the site of the Temple

which is at the center of Jerusalem. Moreover, the presence of prophets like David and Solomon and their struggle for Jews and Jerusalem makes the city a holier place with the site of the Temple. In Jewish tradition especially for David, it is a common cult to pray with David's name. Moreover, both in Jewish tradition and Judaism, at the time of the Temple, Israelites visited Jerusalem three times a year to carry out their pilgrimage (Deuteronomy 16: 16-17). This situation, therefore, resulted in with a strong spiritual and religious unity of Jews (Psalms 122). Jews also believe that Foundation Stone which is at the center of the Temple is also the core of the world as well. Furthermore, they believe that it was the land of Jerusalem's temple site, the foundation stone, that God used to create Adam.

After it was built by Solomon, however, the Temple and nearly all the city was destructed and many of its people were murdered for two times. After the Temple's each destruction, however, Jews went on their praying and indeed this was a revolutionary deepening of faith for Jews, because they thought that the destruction was because of their devil manners and God didn't hesitate to punish them. This made Jewish people to deepen and make their faith stronger with the God and Jerusalem, the city of Holiness:

The special days of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile sustain the central character of the city in the spiritual life of Jews. At the conclusion of the two most prominent religious ceremonies in the Hebrew calendar — the Day of Atonement, when Jews fast for twenty-five hours, and the Passover meal on the first night of this seminal festival of Jewish life and history — Jews continue to recite the words "*leshanah haba'ah bi Yerusalalayim*", "next year in Jerusalem". These words traditionally were an allusion to the yearning for the coming of the Messiah, who would then, without any human agency, miraculously bring all of the Jews to Palestine (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:36).

Until 1850s Jews in Jerusalem were Sephardi most of whom came from Spain. Their religious lives were only bound to synagogues and 'koeilim' where they were able to learn Jewish traditions. However, when the Russian Jews and those from Eastern Europe arrived the city character permanently changed because there were too many Jews who overpopulated Jewish Quarter of the Old City and this culminated in the destruction of Magharbeh Quarter. This overpopulation of Jews also resulted in the establishment of militant Rabbinical schools with the aim of reconstruction of Solomon's Temple on the holy structures of Muslims which are

Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque. However, it is important to note that not all Jewish people were willing to destruct or eradicate Muslim and Christian monuments in the city:

But not all Jewish sources promote an exclusivist claim over the Old City. In Isaiah, for example, we learn that people of many different nations will come to Jerusalem and put their faith in God and walk in His ways. One of the consequences of this is that Jerusalem will become associated with the end of war, and with peace and reconciliation between nations (Isaiah, 2:3-5). This is why, when Jesus rebuked the religious leaders for exploiting the foreigners' visit to the temple, he quoted Isaiah: *"For my house will be called a prayer for all nations"*, (Isaiah, 56:7 cf. Mathew 21:13) (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:38).

3.9 JERUSALEM IDENTITY FOR CHRISTIANS

Early period Christians regarded Jerusalem as holy because they believed that Jesus of Nazareth ascended to heaven and would return to the earth very soon. However, when this resurrection didn't happen the Mt Moriah was regarded as a rubbish heap by leading Church priests. Still, it shouldn't be understood that Christians degraded Jerusalem because over the centuries many of them went to Jerusalem and established states against Muslims. For Christians, Jerusalem is very special especially for three days including the time span with the arrival of Jesus to Jerusalem till he was captured by Roman soldiers. This time span is named as Passover. For Christians the holy places in Jerusalem are Sorrowful Road, Doomsday Church where the Virgin died and buried and the room that Jesus ate the last dinner and the place where he was crucified. Jerusalem is regarded as the place where Jesus will come back and fight against antichrist and build found his Justice Table on the Rock. Over the centuries, especially during the time of Ottomans, Christians, even if still visited the city, started to create another theology including that Jerusalem as being an idea rather than a piece of land is much more important than the geographical land that is founded on (Uğurluel, 2017:78).

In 1096, Christians and Catholic Church sent warriors to capture Jerusalem, which are known as Crusaders. Christians acquired the city of God, and gained a very important victory against Islam, which is regarded as evil by many Christians and Jews, in the past and in the present as well. It is important to note that in both Christianity and Judaism there are two images of Islam; one in the heaven and on physical city. Nevertheless, Jerusalem is still very important to Christians and they

regard that Jesus will come back and start his war in Jerusalem where he will be the winner as well. For Christians, the establishment of Israel is a very complex issue. Some regard it as an ordinary result of WWII while the others think that it was a direct intervention of the God. Even some Jews and Christians gather that Israel has the geopolitical position where the Kingdom of God would be founded.

In Christianity, Jerusalem is regarded as the most important city because of Jesus' life and his Apostles in the city besides the city's importance in the Old Testament:

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you who kill the prophets and stone those sent to you, how often I have longed to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you were not willing. Look, your house is left to you desolate. I tell you, you will not see me again until you say, 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.' (Luke 13:34-35)

Christians also traveled from all over the world to carry out their religious pilgrimage in Jerusalem. The main motivation was that they wanted to be closer to the places where Jesus once lived. Their love of Jesus directed them to Holy Sepulcher and Golgotha. Even after Persian occupation of Jerusalem in 614, Emperor Heraclius got it back and secured the Christian identity in the city. After that the city was under the Muslim control for nearly 1300 years but Christians accomplished to secure their Holy sites in the city. It should be noted that the Christian love of Jesus made Christians direct their love and faith to Jesus presence in the city rather than the Temple after the 6th century.

There is an important Christian community which still live in Jerusalem. This Evangelical group, which is Christian Zionists, support the state of Israel because it is a fulfilment of Biblical prophecy. Haynes regard them as: "a group of people known as 'Christian Zionists' in the United States who are said to be collectively significant in influencing US foreign policy towards Israel in a pro-Israel direction." (Haynes, 2014:370). They also believe that by supporting the nascent Jewish state, they will expedite the second arrival of Jesus Christ and the Apocalypse. However, this view explicitly contradicts the peacemaking message of the Bible. Moreover, it is important to note that neither Christianity nor the Bible supports the idea of violence or supports the idea of hastening to Apocalypse. Rather, the peace is central

in the Christianity: “Woe to the world because of offences! For offences must come but woe to that man by whom offence comes.” (Matthew, 18:7)

There is a final moral claim that some say justifies the close embrace between the United States and Israel. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, some evangelical Christians—especially so-called Christian Zionists—view the establishment of the Jewish state as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Genesis says that God gave Abraham and his descendants the land of Israel; by colonizing the West Bank, Jews are merely taking back what God gave them. Some Christians also see the creation of a greater Israel as a key event leading to the end-time "final battle" depicted in the New Testament's Book of Revelation. Both perspectives imply that Israel deserves U.S. support not because it is a democracy, an underdog, or a morally superior society, but because backing Israel is God's will (Mearsheimer, 2007:107-108).

On the other hand, Mearsheimer states that supporting Israel is not only supporting a democratic state rather it is God's will. Upon supporting Israel, the peace that the world is waiting will become closer and the world will welcome the Christ which is a biblical prophecy and upon the arrival of Christ the world will experience a more peaceful life for all the humanity.

3.10 JERUSALEM IDENTITY FOR MUSLIMS

Jerusalem is regarded as the third most important city after Mecca and Medina by Muslims. However, it shouldn't be understood that Muslims pay less attention to Jerusalem than Jews or Christians. The name Jerusalem is not included in Koran, but David, Solomon and Christ names are included in Koran and this means that the geopolitics place where the events believed to happened hints Jerusalem geopolitics. Nevertheless, in Koran Al-Aqsa is included while telling the Miraj event

Glorified be He who carried His servant by night from the Inviolable Place of Worship to the Far Distant Place of Worship (Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa) the neighborhood whereof We have blessed, that We might show him of Our tokens! Lo! He, only He, is the Hearer, the Seer. (Al-Isra', 17:1)

Jerusalem is regarded as holy by Muslims because of four reasons: First, it is the city of old prophets, second; the second mosque on the earth is founded in Jerusalem after Mecca, third; Jerusalem is the first kiblah of Islam and the last reason is that it is believed by Muslims that Prophet Mohammed ascended to Miraj from Jerusalem. Moreover, because Idris, İsa and Mohammed prophets ascended to sky

from Jerusalem, the city is special to Muslims. Also, many Muslims believe that if they pray in Jerusalem, it is much better compared to praying in another city. Jerusalem's key importance to Muslims is first it is the first Qibla of Muslim's where they direct to for their daily prayers. Second, Prophet Mohammed executed his miraculous transportation from Mecca to Jerusalem. Here, he received the daily prayers, which are for five times a day and which all Muslims still and forever will need to carry out, and also led all God's prophets during the prayer. Muslims also regard Jerusalem important because they believe that it is the land of many other prophets whom are mentioned in Quran like Abraham, David and Solomon and many others. Thus, they respect the city and all the Islamic monuments and traditions in the city as well. For example, Islam's fourth caliphate Ali says: "Jerusalem is the center of the Universe and the closest point on earth to Heaven" (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:44). Al-Haram Al-Sharif has a different significance in Islam because while all the city is blessed, Haran Al-Sharif owns the footprint of Prophet Mohammed when he ascends to Heaven. It is of great importance to note that Muslims respected other holy sites and communities in Jerusalem, unlike the Crusaders, and let them to continue their daily and religious lives during their reign of Jerusalem nearly for about 1300 years. In 1187 when Jerusalem was captured by Muslims from Christians, it was a great relief on Muslims and made them feel safer and comfortable because like Christians many Muslims regarded Christians as their natural enemies (Huntington, 1996:110). Here, it is a necessity to see Saladin Ayyub's words to his brother with a letter after the victory of Jerusalem: "This conquest is the one which many sultans spent their lives to save the city from the Crusaders, this conquest is Jerusalem's conquest. With the conquest of Al- Aqsa, Islam regained its holiness" (Şeşen, 2000:76). The same religious inspiration is clear when Israel captured Jerusalem in 1967. Muslim countries after the loss of Jerusalem as noted before protested this event very strongly. Also, it is important to note that both Israel and Palestine societies regard Jerusalem indispensable and do not accept any solutions without the control of Jerusalem. This situation and conflict including Jerusalem and Palestinian-Israeli conflict will be shown as an example of religious geopolitics in the latter chapter.

As stated by Moshe Cohen, in terms of Jerusalem identity with a religious perspective rather than political or strategical, Muslims are much more sensitive.

Cohen states that the term *jihad* in Islam means the war against all other non-Muslims and also explains some examples about this case. For example, he stresses on Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's several speeches about Islamic *jihad* and Hajj Amin Husseini, the Jerusalem Mufti in the 1920s and 1930s, declaring *jihad* against British and Jews. According to the writer, these are examples that show the brutality of Islam against other people who are indeed regarded as Other by Muslims. He concludes his ideas by referring to Hani al-Hassan, a former Fatah member:

“The error of [Ehud] Barak, the former Israeli prime minister, was to focus on the question of Jerusalem as a religious issue. Fatah's roots are in the Muslim Brotherhood and from the very beginning it was uncertain as to whether to establish the struggle as a religious duty or one of national liberation. We choose to operate as a national liberation movement because this allows room for compromise. The moment that the issue of Jerusalem became a religious issue we could not compromise on al-Aqsa” (Cohen, 2013:685).

Jerusalem's religious identity, on the other hand, is very crucial in terms of Palestinian-Israeli conflict because it is regarded as a problem which cannot be solved. If the Muslims and Jews keep on regarding Jerusalem as a very significant religious area with different and important historical and religious sites it is not possible to reach a solution in the region.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT and RELIGIOUS GEOPOLITICS

The current Arab-Israel conflict and its future prospects in the Middle East by stating crucial role of Jerusalem can be regarded as a good example of religious geopolitics. There have been many problems in Middle East for many years but no other conflict in the area received so much international and domestic attention in terms of Arab-Israel conflict because of the region's not only strategical or economical positions but also because of its religious background. For many observers the problem is very crucial and complex and also involves many actors. Indeed, the main struggle is about two communities demanding one land. Arabs and Jews claim their sovereignty on the land depending on their own 'rightful' claims. Jews claim that they have right to rule the land because of existence of a Jewish state in the area approximately two thousand years ago. Jews also emphasize that the return to their homeland is not only a salvation of Jews, but it is also a salvation of the all people in the world.

This return to Zion would result in the salvation of the whole world, because the *goyim* would be forced to worship the one God. From the very beginning there had been a universal message in Judaism. God had promised Abraham that "all the tribes of the earth shall bless themselves in you" (Genesis 12:3). Fantasies of this final redemption have inspired Jews through the centuries and they are still inextricably linked to a return to the land of Israel (Armstrong, 2001:16).

Palestinians, on the other hand, intensify their claims on the existence of Arab presence on the land for centuries and also on the occupation of the land long time ago. Additionally, they rely on the fact that they didn't play any role in case of Holocaust which led Jews to immigrate to the land from all over the world. Both communities demanded this land which seems very small on a map. However, this particular land was very special for Christians because they believe it is the land of Messiah, for Islam because it is the symbol of their victories and now the symbol of their failures and West imperialism, for Jews it is the particular land which simply

and basically means the survival of Israel state. One Islamic resource towards the Arab-Israel conflict states that Palestine and Jerusalem case is the key for all the Muslims because they will not give up the holy places in Jerusalem and will fight for their cause:

As we have seen Jerusalem is associated with the Muslim Daily Prayer; the *Hajj*; the Day of Judgment; the *Isra wal-Mi'raj*; the most sacred events and the most blessed and venerated personages of Islam. All this explains why Muslims are bound to protect Jerusalem by virtue of their religious beliefs. Today, the Old City of Jerusalem, with its Holy Sites, remains under foreign military occupation. Therefore, the world's 1.5 billion Muslims — between one fifth and one quarter of the world's population — have a grievance based on faith, against Israel. That is why the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is qualitatively different from any other conflict in which Muslims are involved. That is also why every Muslim — and not just radical Muslim groups — name Jerusalem as their 'number one' grievance in the world. For example, the Iranian Revolutionary Guards force is called the '*Al-Quds*' (Jerusalem) Brigade. (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:46)

On the other hand, G. Falah in his article about Palestine – Israeli conflict analysis the situation of Jerusalem and its geopolitics. He claims that for Palestinians, the city is future capital of Palestine which makes it non-negotiable and states the city as a zero-sum game. Falah also claims that there is and will be no Palestinian leader to convince the people of Palestine to negotiate upon another capital city rather than Jerusalem because it was governed by Muslims since the time Caliph Omar until 1948 with the exception of Crusaders which were able to hold the control of the city for a short time. Additionally, another important part of his essay is upon the geography of Jerusalem which exhibits that East Jerusalem and Arab Jerusalem are different from each other. East Jerusalem is defined as the part of city after 1949 armistice line while Arab Jerusalem, which holds a larger area with Arab property and lands, is regarded in West Jerusalem (Falah, 1995).

There are two general aspects of the conflict which was and is argued particularly and intensely in the region. The first one is the religious inspiration of holy places and second one is the superpower rivalry in Middle East between the US and the USSR. For example, President Jimmy Carter evaluated the problem as of a religious one in his book '*The Blood of Abraham*.' To understand the roots of the hatred and bloodshed that still shape the relationships among the people of the region, it is useful to go back to the holy scriptures of ancient times. To a remarkable

degree, the will of God is the basis for both esoteric debates and the most vicious terrorist attacks among Jews, Muslims and Christians” (Carter, 1985:22).

Another important example of religious inspiration in the area is in Bible: “And the Lord said unto Moses in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, “Say to the people of Israel, when you pass over the Jordan into the land of Canaan, then you shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land before you, and destroy all their figured Stones, and destroy all their molten images, and demolish all their high places, and you shall take possession of the land and settle in it, for I have given the land to you to possess it” (Numbers 33:50-55).”And I will give to you and to your descendants after you, the land of your sojourning’s, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession” (Genesis 17:8). This perspective, however, is not enough to identify the problem and also it is not a mistake that this is an invalid perspective because the term Arab came long after which explicitly reveals that it is impossible to talk about an Arab- Israel conflict. It is also important to note that Jews live under Muslim rule for many years and it is very absurd to condemn them for any problems which is directly connected to religion. Actually, the problem aroused when the Ottoman Empire collapsed following WWI and this conflict is a direct result of the modern state system in the region. The other famous perspective is that of Ronald Reagan administration. During this period, the US authorities generally accepted the idea of a superpower rivalry in the area and tried to take their position in accordance with this reality. However, this perspective too seems invalid because despite the Soviet Union’s noticeable dominance in the region, the US was in charge of the area especially after WWII. Therefore, it would be a mistake to regard Arab-Israel conflict just in terms of superpower rivalry because it is not enough to identify the problem in the area. One more perspective is both parts’ great effort to characterize their opponents as their great real enemies. For example, Jews characterize Arabs like Hitler and claim that a total and final end to the conflict is annihilation. On the other hand, Arabs characterize the Jews as the modern imperialist and Israel as the modern Crusaders. Armstrong explains this war as very similar to Crusades of West and makes the situation more clear:

Throughout our story we have seen wars and battles being fought for feelings that are so deeply entwined with our sense of self that logic and reason cease to function. The wars in the Middle East today are becoming more like the Crusades in this respect, especially in the

religious escalation on both sides of the conflict. They are "holy" wars because they are fought on issues that are felt to be sacred by all three participants and they could be seen as the last round in a long and bitter process which began when the European Crusaders attacked Muslims and Jews at the period when the West was finding its soul. The issues are complicated for Arabs and Jews, but we must not forget that they are frequently tortuous and difficult for "us" in the West in both Europe and the United States. If there is to be a peaceful solution, it is not only Arabs and Jews who must sort out their feelings and demythologize the struggle. We in the West must come to terms with our own inner demons of prejudice, chauvinism and anxiety, and strive for a greater objectivity (Armstrong,2001:530)

Religion is always underestimated by Western scholars. As being a Western oriented discipline, international relations is probably the most underestimated area in terms of religion and its effects on this discipline. Even Huntington, refrains from using the term religion in his Clash of Civilizations despite the fact that his approach to term civilization is absolutely religion oriented (Fox and Sandler, 2004). Moreover, Fox and Sandler also claim that religions, despite modernization and secularization, resurged in international life. They also argue that it is because of modernization and secularization that religion gained such importance in terms of international relations. One more important thing is their analysis about interaction of religion and international relations on Jerusalem and Palestinian-Israeli conflict:

“Perhaps the most classic example of this phenomenon is the city of Jerusalem, which contains sites holy to three major religions which, combined, have billions of members. At different points in history Jews, Muslims, and Christians have conquered the city in what they considered to be a holy war and the dispute between these three religions, and often denominations within these religions, over control of holy sites there continues until today.” (Fox and Sandler, 2004:77).

To make the situation more comprehensible in the region, it will be of great assistance to observe the history of the area. With a detailed and brief observation of the historical background of the region regarding the problem, it will become easier to understand not only the source of the problem but also the religious geopolitics of the area as well.

4.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of the conflict begins in the 19th century and becomes visible and crucial for world politics after WWI. It is a must, however, to state that Jews have

regarded this particular land as their inherited and promised land for centuries. According to many Jews, Palestine land was a part of Jewish kingdom which was established during ancient times and they would sooner or later, relied on also religious inspirations, take over the land which was promised to them. However, Muslims and in particular Palestinians based on long time sovereignty upon the land denied Jewish claim on the land:

We can see the centrality of both religion and territorial control in the long-running dispute between Israel and the Palestinians. Nearly all Palestinians are Muslims, and most Israelis are Jews. Increasingly, religion has come to define their key differences, centering on the issue of who controls Jerusalem – a holy city to Jews, Muslims *and* Christians. This is a – perhaps *the* – basic element not only upon which Jewish attachment to the territory of Israel is based but also which provides a key source of the political involvement of Palestinian Islamists. Like religious Jews, Palestinian Islamists also draw on core religious sources to justify, explain and underline attachment to the same piece of land (Haynes, 2014:244).

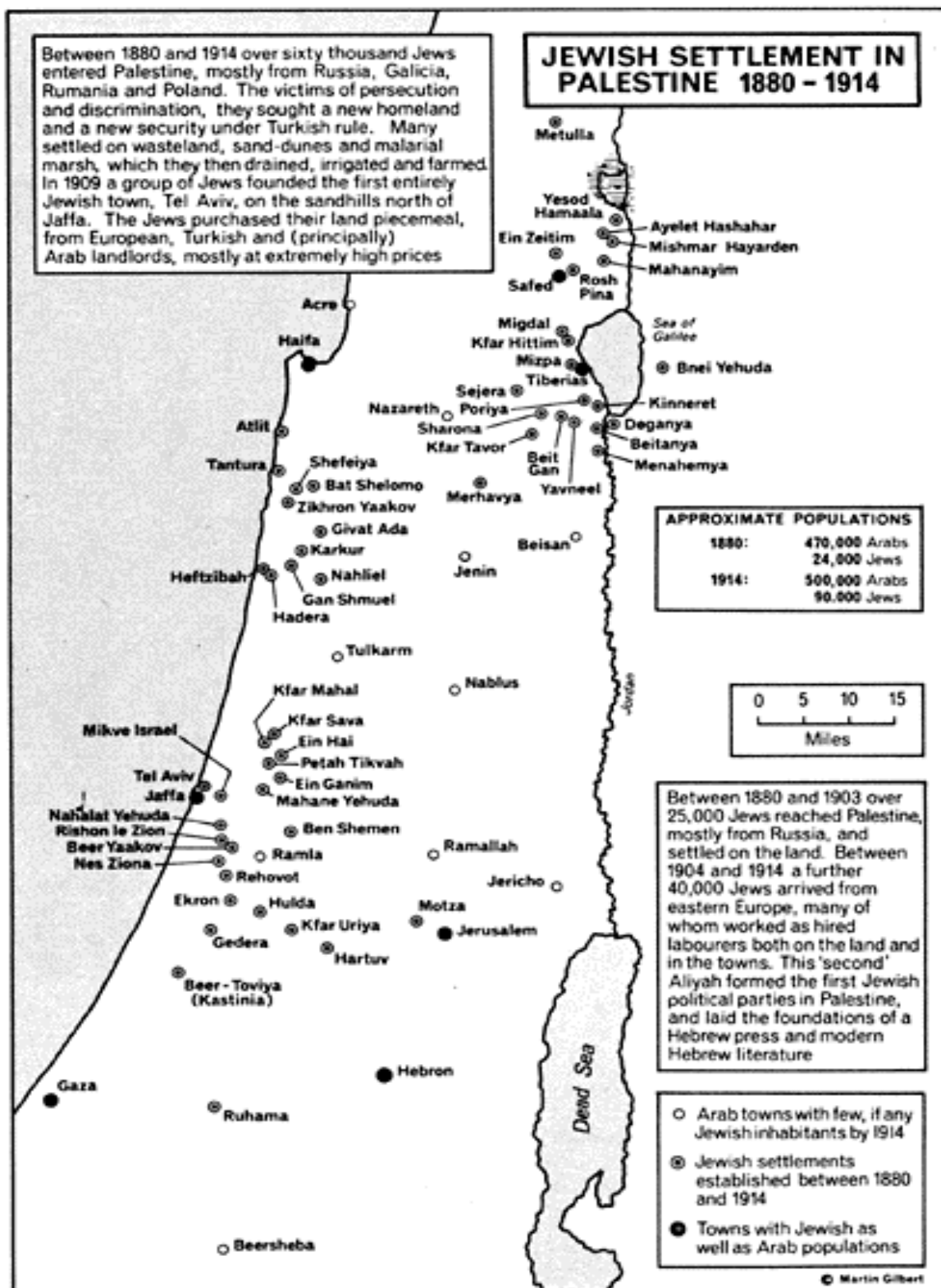
In 1897, with great efforts of Theodor Herzl, the first Zionist congress was held. The main reason of this Zionist movement was because of the harsh and strict conditions Jews confronted in Eastern European countries. Herzl stressed that Jews need a home in which they could live free without any hardships or insults they faced in Europe and in many other places. He also emphasized that in this new home the religious people could practice their religious duties like the other people in many other parts of the world who could practice easily and independently. During the congress, there were some suggestions to immigrate and live in Argentina and Uganda, but the final decision was the promised land of the Middle East. This congress was also important because it led to establishment of World Zionist Organization, which purposed to create a Jewish state in Palestine. Moreover, Zionism is described as Jewish nationalism by Herzl and he also uphold the idea of a Jewish state on purpose of totally freedom in Palestine. He claimed that Jews could perpetuate a life as Europeans and practice their religion and tradition.

Zionism is generally defined as the movement dedicated to restoring the land of Israel, the land of the Jewish people. Since the destruction of Jerusalem's second Temple, the desire of the Jewish people to return has been preserved in folklore and in religious liturgy. The modern Zionist movement was organized in 1897 at the First Zionist World Congress, held under the leadership of Theodor Herzl, with the stated aim of "establishing a home for the Jewish people in Palestine". (Leppakari, 2006:120).

With the emergence of Zionism and Jewish nationalism on the other hand, there was a great problem. Jewish nationalism had to face with Arab nationalism in Middle East because these two practices and religions; Judaism and Islam were to cause a clash in the area. Zionism based on the ancient history whereas Arab nationalism relied on sovereignty of the land for nearly 1500 years. The complexity of the problem is explicit when the monuments and structures like the Temple of David or al-Aqsa mosque are regarded in terms of history and religion.



Illustration 4: Jewish Settlement in Palestine between 1880-1914 (Gilbert, 2005:3).



Moreover, an important intellectual, Edward W. Said explains Jerusalem very briefly but very explicitly. He states that Jerusalem basically consists the crucial part of the current conflict in the Middle East. He also claims that Jerusalem should be the initial part that Palestinians should begin to set their self-determination. Upon

regarding Israel's plan on specifically on Jerusalem he says that "Israel's plan which, in effect, is an assault not only on the geography of the city but also on its culture, history and of course religions". This analysis done by Said is very significant because he was well-aware of Jerusalem identity with regard to the city's culture, history and religion. He also in the same study emphasizes that no one can deny the fact Jews lived in the region for many years until Christian sovereignty, but the reign of Christians and Muslims is much more profound. He also states that it is possibly true that Jerusalem may be much more important to Jews and their religion but still this situation does not justify their occupation on the land. Moreover, his analysis upon Jerusalem is very crucial and useful to understand its identity. He states: "historical Jerusalem and indeed Palestine is a seamless amalgam of cultures and religions engaged, like members of the same family, on the same plot of land in which all has become entwined with all" (Said, 1995:22).

On the other hand, Bard Malend's *The Plural Significance of Jerusalem* (2007) states the status and sovereignty of Jerusalem as one of the most difficult not to say the most difficult issue to be resolved before a lasting peace can arise in the Middle East region. In his article, he states that any solution to Jerusalem issue, which in general refers to Middle East, should be strongly accompanied by a shared vision among Jews, Christians and Muslims. He also emphasizes that the importance and interest to the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif have increased after Six Day War in 1967. In this article, the importance of Jerusalem during the peace negotiations is stated very clearly. Malend states that during the Oslo Accords, the settlement of Jerusalem issue was scheduled for a late stage because both parties were very sensitive about the land and they did not want to make concessions about it. One more important sentence in the article is that: "Moreover, it also belongs to the nature of this central issue of the conflict that it is to a very large extent of a religious and spiritual nature and needs to be dealt with accordingly" (Malend, 2007).

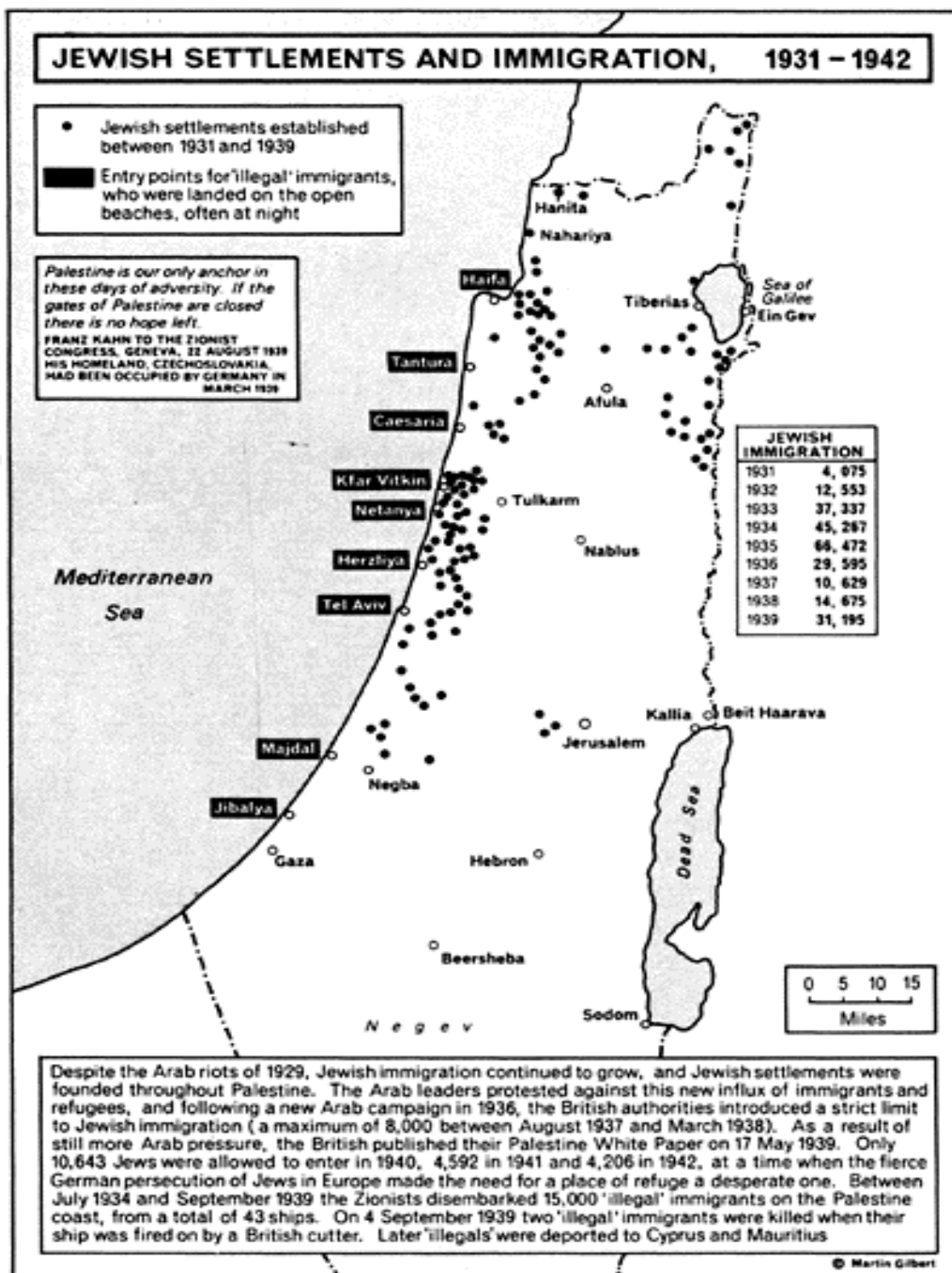
4.2 WARS, AFTERMATHS AND PEACE PROCESSES

Ottomans during the 19th century was cautious about the immigration of Jews but when it came to WWI the situation was much more different and hard. Zionist Organization sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly sought the establishment of

a Jewish state during the late 19th and early 20th century. This organization was in search of Western support to establish this state. In fact, during WWI, British authorities were hesitant about a Jewish state which could damage their relations with Arabs. British authorities were well aware of the fact that the establishment of such a Jewish state could lead Arabs not to support Britain during the war. Towards the end of the war, however, Lord Balfour declared Britain's support for the cause: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object." (quoted in Fraser, 2014:8). After this declaration and after the defeat of Ottomans in WWI, upon the rise of Hitler and his treats, the Zionists hastened the immigration to the area in the first part of 20th century.



Illustration 5: Jewish Population and the Rate of Immigration between 1931-1942(Gilbert, 2005: 29).



The population of Jews increased in great numbers because of the immigrations especially before WWII. In the process of time Palestinians strongly felt the dominance of Jews in both economic and political terms. Many Jews began to have land which Arab lord sold who were living in Beirut and other Arab countries. As a direct consequence the number of displaced Palestinians increased

accordingly. In 1936, as Palestinians feared that they would become minority in the land, they rebelled against the British rule. "The mufti declared this a sacred struggle and called his forces the Holy War Army as volunteers started to arrive to fight the British and Jews from Syria, Iraq and Transjordan "(Montefiore, 2011:639). The respond was very harsh by the British authorities; however, this revolt went on for three years until British completely controlled the land again. Moreover, there is an important point here which should be emphasized. Indeed, British authorities was pretty sure that any mistake done in the area could culminate in many unintended reactions in the whole Arab world because of the rise of Arab nationalism. In fact, many Arab countries and also African Muslim communities were angered because of British injustice towards Palestinians. Another important reality is that British army and industrial establishments were dependent on the Middle East oil. Being well-aware of this fact, Britain began to re-think its approach to the problem. Therefore, indeed reluctantly, in 1939 British rulers decided to decrease the number of immigrants sharply which was to be limited to '75.000 for the next five years' and they also restricted the sale of Arab land which was '95 percent of the territory of Palestine'. Additionally, they promised to create an independent Arab state in the area (Bard, 2006:16). This was explicitly displeased the Zionist because they thought that it was a fatal mistake for Britain to carry out these promises because of a total extermination objective of Jews in Europe which was being conducted by Hitler. In return, this time it was Jews, literally Zionists, who revolted against British rule and the revolt continued till 1947 upon the withdrawal of Britain from the land.

Chamberlain hoped to persuade the Zionists to agree to a cessation in immigration, but to no avail. On 15 March, the hollowness of his appeasement of Hitler was exposed when the Führer invaded the rump of Czechoslovakia. Two days later, Malcolm MacDonald, the colonial secretary, issued a White Paper that proposed limiting Jewish land purchases and restricting immigration to 15,000 people annually for five years (after which Arabs would have a veto), Palestinian independence within ten years and no Jewish state. This was the best offer the Palestinians were to receive from the British or anyone else during the entire twentieth century, but the mufti, displaying spectacular political incompetence and megalomaniacal intransigence, rejected it from his Lebanese exile (Montefiore, 2011:646).

United Nations was in charge now and decided to partition of Palestine in two sides. Subsequently and clearly, it was possible for both Jews and Arabs to create an

independent state on the land. Actually, this was a decision which made the war inevitable on the land because the peace between Zionists and Arabs was beyond a simple decision made by others. Soon, in 1948 when David Ben-Gurion declared the rebirth of Israel, the war broke out and Arabs defeated in 1948 war. It was such a tragic situation for Arabs that they even today refer to this defeat as ‘nakba’ or catastrophe. It is also important to note that United States, as expected, advertently and immediately accepted the new Jewish state. After a short time, Soviet Union recognized the new state as well. (Bard, 2006:92). One more important thing about the catastrophe that Arab states faced was because they weren’t actually united in purpose and weren’t prepared for the war.

After the war, there were many great problems in Israel the most important of which was security, Jewishness, land, peace and nation building. As it is explicit, Israel was surrounded with many hostile Arab countries and had to defend itself. This situation was a great burden to Israel because it cost so much to defend the borders and also be ready for a war or attack at any time.

The cost to Israel, however, was enormous. “Many of its most productive fields lay gutted and mined. Its citrus groves, for decades the basis of the Yishuv’s [Jewish community] economy, were largely destroyed.” Military expenditures totaled approximately \$500 million. Worse yet, 6,373 Israelis were killed, nearly one percent of the Jewish population of 650,000. (Bard, 2006:38).

Here it is also important to remember Benny Morris’ analysis about Israel state’s great concerns on security:

“So far the Zionists have been the winners in this conflict . . . the success of the Zionist enterprise has been nothing short of miraculous. ... But, from a perspective of mid-1999, this victory seems far from final. Islamic or pan-Arab currents may yet undermine those moderate Arab regimes that have already made peace. Moreover, two of the original “confrontation states,” Syria and Lebanon, remain outside the process of peacemaking. And beyond the immediate circle of Israel’s neighbors lie a cluster of countries—Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan—driven by radical philosophies that include among their foreign policy priorities the destruction of the Jewish state (Morris,1999:72).

Moreover, the health care of Israeli citizens was also another great problem for the new state. Israel was evidently under the threat of an Arab occupation and it was impossible to constitute a peace among these states. Even if it was possible, what could Israel give to other states? Their main demand was the land which they

thought that Israel had occupied whereas Israel claimed the historical heritage of the land. Moreover, Israel had to welcome many other Jews from all around the world because of Knesset's Law of Return. On the other hand, there was a rise of Arab nationalism especially with Nasser and Free Officers in the Middle East. This was also stemming from Israel which was regarded as an imperialist 'west' state in the very core of Islam. All in all, in 1950s there was an increasing tension between Israel and Arab states. For example, in 1953, as a result of iron-fist policy, Israel attacked a Jordanian village and killed nearly fifty villagers. This crisis also went on in 1955 when Israel attacked Egyptian troops and killed forty of them. As a reaction Nasser, demanded more weapons from the US which was rejected until Egypt took part in Baghdad Pact. Nasser was more infuriated and decided to acquire the weapons from the Soviet Union and implicitly reacted against West imperialism in Middle East which actually made him more popular in Arab world (Bard, 2006:301). However, the US responded by cutting the aids of Aswan Dam and military necessities. Now, Nasser's last and dangerous move was to nationalize the Suez Canal. As a result of all these reactions; Britain, France and Israel decided to seize the canal and make it secure for international shipping. This plan was at first sight seemed perfect but there was a great problem that the US was excluded from the plan. Here the foreign policy is very remarkable to mention about in terms of Middle East. The US identified itself as a state which became independent as a result of a bloody independence war. Therefore, the US could not act on behalf of neither Britain and France nor Israel which could result in a Soviet dominance in the area. That is why the US remained at least neutral during this crisis. Finally, Israel and its allies withdrew from the Egyptian territories and Nasser was the victor of the conflict for the moment:

Concern over European involvement in the region persisted. The U.S. strongly opposed the attempt by Britain and France to reassert their influence in the area with the 1956 Suez invasion (in conjunction with Israel); the U.S. was instrumental in expelling all three powers from Egyptian territory, though Soviet threats may also have played their part (Chomsky, 1999:63).

In 1967, upon thinking that the great Powers would be unable to intervene in the conflict, the Straits of Tiran to Israel was closed by Nasser. The war started and ended in six days with a great failure of Arab states. This war was called as 'naksa' or setback while 1948 war was nakba or catastrophe. This war was also important

because Nasser and his Arab nationalism with his Arab leadership was terminated. Many Arab societies and also authorities were in disillusionment and clearly in a reluctant mood began to accept the rebirth of Israel.

1967 War between Arab countries and Israel has an important effect especially with regard to Jerusalem because it was right after this war, only one week after that Israel captured the area known as East Jerusalem or Arab Jerusalem. After capturing the city, Teddy Kollek, the mayor of a united Jerusalem from 1967 to 1993, claimed that the only way of a real united city is re-make Jerusalem as a multi-cultural and multi-religious city. Klein, in his article, argues this very crucial part of Jerusalem case in terms of religion and culture with the term urbanization. He states that Kollek was unable to reach his goal which was indeed unreachable because unlike other international cities like Paris and New York or London which holds many immigrants from other countries speaking different language and believing in different religions, the case of Jerusalem, as being a frontier city is much more different. He emphasizes that “In a frontier city two ethnic-national communities are in conflict”. He goes on his analysis: “Unlike in a multicultural city, in which minorities feel deprived because of their linguistic and cultural distinction, in a frontier city the minority group does not view itself as being of inferior status, it sees itself as part of the same system to which the majority belongs to”. His further analysis upon the identity of Jerusalem and its geographical position is really outstanding. He emphasizes that in a frontier city there is a conflict between the demographic minority and majority which can be regarded as local. Rather this conflict shows a national conflict between the parties. He also regards the city borders or municipality as the symbols of identity in a frontier city (Klein, 2008).

After 1967 war and defeat of Arabs, Nasser died as a result of heart attack in 1970 during the negotiations between King Hussein and Arafat in Cairo. Sadat was in power after Nasser’s death whose main ambition was to capture the lost Suez Canal from Israel. Indeed, Sadat regarded himself as ‘the faithful heir of Nasser: Sadat was at first loyal to the “pan-Arab cause,” and in the service of this “ideological commitment,” he went to war in 1973, establishing himself as “the faithful heir of Nasser’s pan-Arabism.” (Chomsky, 1999:590). He began to negotiate with Assad to launch a surprise attack on Israel. Indeed, the international atmosphere was appropriate to take such a risk because the US was busy with results of the

elections in 1972 and with the crisis of Watergate. Moreover, because Israeli authorities didn't expect such a surprise attack, it was a perfect time to attack and capture the occupied land. In fact, Israel had a right to regard the situation in that way because it was only five years after 1967 war and humiliation of Arabs was still in minds. They also didn't expect Arab armies to be ready and modernized in such a limited time span. However, Soviets made nearly all the necessary aids to the Arab states. Sadat, on the other hand, was clever enough to send Soviet advisors not only to plan his surprise attack but also to gain his dignity in terms of American politics. Upon all these situations, Egypt and Syria launched the attack on October 6, 1973 during Jews most important holiday Yom Kippur. Israel army was unprepared and also immobilized because they didn't expect such a surprise attack. During the war, at first Arab armies gained the superiority but later Israel army regrouped and acquired the superiority again and even they managed to occupy more land compared to 1967 war. As a result, with great efforts of Kissinger, the US secretary of state, there was a cease-fire between the parties. It is important to note that Arab oil embargo was very crucial in terms of this cease-fire because neither Americans nor Europeans were longing for such a cut since their economy and industry were profoundly depended on Arab oil. For example, such a threat of Arab oil embargo is stated in Stein's book:

Feisal had sent several messages to Washington expressing his profound dissatisfaction with Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands, causing trepidation in Washington that an Arab oil embargo might be used as political leverage against the United States if the status quo remained stagnant (Stein, 1999:67).

After Yom Kippur war the situation in the Middle East started to change. First of all, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was more active and eager in terms of international recognitions which indeed was a must for Palestinians. Yasir Arafat, in this context, was very crucial and successful as well. It was because of his pervasive efforts, in 1974, Arab League recognized PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian cause:

On 28 October 1974 the Arab summit at Rabat in Morocco affirmed:
the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent national authority, under the leadership of the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine people, over all liberated territory (quoted in Fraser, 2004:109).

It was also accepted observer status in the UN, a full membership of Arab League in 1976 and short after recognized nearly by a hundred countries as well. On the other hand, there was an important change in terms of Israeli domestic politics. Begin, the leader of the Likud, was in power in 1977. Begin was an ultranationalist and claimed that Israel wouldn't withdraw from any of the occupied lands. However, he also negotiated with Sadat upon Sinai Peninsula because he regarded Sinai Peninsula was excluded from the ancient Israel. Pragmatically, he figured out that if he could make peace with Egypt, then it would be easier for Israel to deal with the Arabs. Consequently, Camp David was signed between the parties in 1979. One important thing to emphasize that the US was in an active participation during Camp David between Egypt and Israel. This peace agreement was very complicated, though. First of all, Egypt was the only Arab country who signed it and also Begin never accepted autonomy of Palestine which was decided under Camp David. In fact, Camp David agreement is a significant one because it was regarded as a diplomatic relation with Israel and Egypt which was the most powerful military state during that time and additionally this caused a mistrust among the other Arab states collaborating with Sadat:

Though in the end their discussions about Palestinian autonomy failed, the March 1979 Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty created a new reality; the most populous and militarily powerful Arab state established diplomatic relations with Israel. By moving heavy historical blocks, Sadat shocked colleagues and enemies alike, all of whom fretted "Can he be trusted?" or "Where is he going next?" (Stein, 1999:11).

Indeed, "the 'Spirit of Camp David', applauded as a breakthrough for peace in the region, was soured almost from the start (Fraser, 2004). Moreover, in 1980 Israel accepted Jerusalem as the capital city with unifying the city which was a direct violation of UN Resolution 242. The US and other dominant powers didn't recognize this change about Jerusalem at that time. After the victory in 1981, Begin started an attack on Beirut to destroy PLO. Despite the US and other dominant powers, Begin once again refused to obey them and the invasion went on. Oslo accords, however, was much more important and effective indeed. Rabin and Arafat during the negotiations agreed on a transfer of authority upon Gaza, Jericho and some other minor places to Palestinians. Additionally, the violence degree was decreasing in the area at the same time. Unfortunately, Rabin was assassinated by a Jewish extremist before the elections in 1996 and Netanyahu was in power after the elections, the

peace negotiations were in a very different position because Netanyahu promised for a return to the policies of Begin and Shamir.

Benjamin Netanyahu came to office in mid-1996 intending to freeze the Oslo process. He harbored an enduring and unshakeable hostility toward Arabs, especially the PLO. Believing that Israel's military superiority gave him a free hand, he arrogantly, foolishly and wrongly believed that he could force the PLO to give up the goal of a Palestinian state. During the 1996 Israel election campaign Netanyahu had rejected the idea of Palestinian statehood, accused Arafat of aiding and abetting terrorism, insisted that Jerusalem would remain the undivided capital of Israel, and asserted that all the Golan Heights was essential for Israel's security and would not be returned to Syria (Bickerton, 2009:179).

Not surprisingly, it is also important to note that before 1996 elections, there was a terrorist attack by Arabs to Israel which caused Israelis to vote for Netanyahu. Since then, there have been many peace negotiations, but a successful and accurate solution couldn't have been managed and unfortunately it seems nearly impossible to create peace upon the region. There are many reasons that why there can't be peace in the regions but the most important is that until unless Israel state withdraw the occupied territories, primarily Jerusalem, the Arab communities will never approve a substantial and valid peace agreement:

The emancipation of the Holy Places from Foreign Occupation and Alien Domination is an Islamic religious and theological categorical imperative, which can be delayed, but never forgotten. This demand is not limited to Islamic fundamentalist or militant groups; every Muslim in the world shares in this belief, no matter how 'moderate'. (Keys to Jerusalem, 2010:46)

Moreover, it should be noted that in his book, Wendt states the situation of identity very elaborately. In the case of Arab-Israel conflict we realize that both the two parties are striving to defend their identities while they regard each other as the Other. This situation of collective identity is revealed in his book as: "From a constructivist perspective the mark of a fully internalized culture is that actors identify with it, have made it, the generalized Other, part of their understanding of Self. This identification, this sense of being part of a group or "we," is a social or collective identity that gives actors an interest in the preservation of their culture. (Wendt, 1999). He also states that after stating their identity the people of the culture are ready to preserve their culture, in this sense their state and identity as well. Another important part in his study, which is crucial to this study, is including

the national interests. Wendt, by referring to George and Keohane, explain this term as life, liberty, prosperity and collective self-esteem.

4.3 THE FUTURE PROSPECTS

Arieh J. Kochavi in *Jerusalem in Anglo-American policy in the immediate wake of the June 1967 war* (2013) makes a great analysis of the conflict in the Middle East especially dealing with Jerusalem. He claims that a long-lasting peace agreement is nearly impossible without solving the problem of Jerusalem among the states. By referring to Lord Caradon, the British ambassador to the UN during the Six Day War he states in his article that “No problem amongst the many disputes of the Middle East raises more difficulties, excites more deep emotions, or commands more intense loyalties than the question of the future of Jerusalem, and no other danger is treated with such an ominous silence. Without a settlement in Jerusalem, all other arguments would be in vain.” He also argues in the article that Jerusalem which was occupied by Israel after Six Day War regarded by British and American states “as one aspect of the broader problem of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and not one that should be dealt with separately and urgently.” Upon regarding this situation, it is not a mistake to gather that both Americans and British accepted the sovereignty of Israel all over the city and its holy places (Kochavi, 2013).

United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, Robert Serry stated that: “We have reached a dramatic moment in the quest for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. It is for Palestinians and Israelis and their leaderships to take the courageous steps, now more necessary than ever, to salvage a peaceful and secure future for their people.” (Serry, 2014). An immediate and pervasive peace agreement between Arab and Israel communities is of great importance for the welfare and future of all the Middle East. There stands the reality that the security and welfare of Israel is depended on Palestinians and other Arab people while the same is true for Palestinians as well. Therefore, it is very crucial to make peace between the parties and again it is significant to satisfy both parties. There are two basic conditions to of Israel Arab conflict. The first one is to determine the borders of the land between Israel and Palestine. Indeed, Israel needs to decide whether it will accept a withdrawal or not. As many scholars state: “Land for peace

is the only formula for a peaceful solution to the crisis (Bill and Springborg, 2004:42).

Table 1: Population of Israel, State of Palestine and British Palestine by Religious Group: 1922-2035, in millions (Chamie, 2014).

Year	Israel (%Jews)	State of Palestine	British Palestine	Muslims	Jews	Christians
1922	...	...	0.75	78%	11%	10%
1931	...	...	1.04	74%	17%	9%
1945	...	...	1.76	60%	31%	8%
1950	1.23 (87%)	0.93	2.16	47%	50%	3%
2000	6.29 (78%)	3.20	9.49	45%	53%	2%
2014*	8.21 (75%)	4.44	12.65	47%	50%	2%
2025	9.84 (74%)	5.77	15.61	50%	48%	2%
2035	11.40 (73%)	7.05	18.45	52%	46%	2%

* If Palestine refugees in camps included, the distribution would be: 53% Muslim, 45% Jews and 2% Christian.

As it is emphasized, it is nearly impossible to make a peace agreement without a solution to the borders. Indeed, there is a big problem about this solution because it is impossible to give land to Palestine because of new immigrants and also it is impossible to accept many Palestinians who dispersed all around the Arab states. Moreover, it is also important to emphasize that Israel state is based on ancient Jewish Kingdom and never accepts to withdraw from these lands. Israel, as a new born state, have many problems to deal with its own citizens and cannot afford many new Palestinians. The second condition to set the peace all around the area is the participation of the world communities, in particular the US. Without participation of the US and other countries related to the case, it is nearly impossible to sustain an everlasting peace in the region. All in all, upon all the discussion it is very clear that the past will determine the present and the future in the Middle East.

Consequently, this study tries to state the history of this ‘international’ conflict with a detailed historical background in context of religious geopolitics and also, tries to show possible situations about the solution of the problem regarding also the future. Here, it will be a much more brilliant idea to pay attention to the possible and future solutions of the scholars:

“The election of May 1999 was a major landmark in the history of the Jewish state. Its most far-reaching implication was for the relations between Israel and the Palestinians. Israelis had actually touched it. Yitzhak Rabin laid the foundations for this peace with the Oslo accord of 1993 and the Oslo II agreement of 1995. His successor lost the election of 1996 not because the peace project had lost its appeal but largely due to the intervention of the Hamas suicide bombers. As prime minister Netanyahu employed all his destructive powers to freeze and undermine the Oslo agreements, only to discover how irreversible the Oslo process had become. In 1999 the Israeli electorate passed a severe judgment on Netanyahu and gave a clear mandate to Barak to follow in the footsteps of his slain mentor [Yitzhak Rabin] down the pot-holed path to peace. Barak won by a landslide. His victory entailed the biggest political change since the upheaval of 1977, when the Likud swept to power under the leadership of Menachem Begin. Not surprisingly, the result of the 1999 election was compared to a political earthquake. But it was more than an earthquake. It was the sunrise after the three dark and terrible years during which Israel had been led by the unreconstructed proponents of the iron wall” (Shlaim, 2000:93).

On the other hand, Yusuf el-Karadavi a well-known Egyptian scholar in Muslim society and the chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars stated that Israel just negotiates with and longs for a peace with Palestine for three reasons which are also vital to Israel state’s survival:

1. Israel wanted to broke the opposition or any kind of Islamic awakening in Palestine and even in Arab and Muslim countries. Israeli authorities clarified this intention by admitting that there were worried about Islamic fundamentalism to reach dangerous amounts. For example, Perez during his Indian visit stated that We want to collaborate with you against excessive Islamic fundamentalism in Cashmere and Camu.
2. Israel with its all resources is striving to invade Arab and Islamic countries... and as Perez said Israel is in search of fortune and power.
3. Israel hopes that after the peace agreement Palestinians will be divided into two groups who are in support of peace and who are against the peace and they will begin to communicate with the guns instead of ‘pens’. Eventually, Palestinians will start to kill each other, and Israel will enjoy it very much (Karadavi, 2014).

Karadavi has some points in his arguments because the most available idea to defeat Arabs or Muslims is to defeat them by their own. Israel and the U.S, which is explained before as a democratic power gained its independence by fighting against

imperial powers, do not want to provoke the Muslims, at least they are attempting not to, to avoid a world-wide Islamic fundamentalism. Such a fundamentalism will absolutely bother Europeans and Americans influentially.

“If the peoples of the Middle East continue on their present path, the suicide bomber may become a metaphor for the whole region, and there will be no escape from a downward spiral of hate and spite, rage and self-pity, poverty and oppression, culminating sooner or later in yet another alien domination— perhaps from a new Europe reverting to old ways, perhaps from a resurgent Russia, perhaps from some expanding super- power in the East. But if they can abandon grievance and victimhood, settle their differences, and join their talents, energies, and resources in a common creative endeavor, they can once again make the Middle East, in modern times as it was in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, a major center of civilization. For the time being, the choice is theirs. “(Lewis, 2002)

Among the important historians of our age, Bernard Lewis argues that Middle Eastern people will have their own decision. He states that they can decide to be regarded with rage or poverty or on the other hand, they can convert the land into a major center of civilization. He concludes that the Middle East and in particular Jerusalem and neighborhood area can be regarded as the holy city and city of peace as in the ancient times.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The Middle East is a unique area to study religious geopolitics because of its long history and geo-cultural traits. It hosts the important monuments of three Abrahamic religions and also the civilizations of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Moreover, Jerusalem which is in the Middle East is the sole city that attracts the importance of the Abrahamic religions and the city of peace has become the conflict area of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities who regard Jerusalem as sacred and very important. The problems that are religious geopolitics centered are generally regarded hard to find solutions because different societies make different arguments upon the geography. Furthermore, in retrospect and still today, religious geopolitics can have some positive and negative effects on governments. The self-identity process which is a basic instrument of constructivism is that natural outcome of these effects of religious geopolitics. The policy makers of a state can easily affect the communities with religious geopolitics by which they can constitute a religious and national identity as well.

To conclude, not only in the past even in the modern world, religion has a great effect on people and in this respect on international relations. It is a quite fact that religion and faiths that a society adheres to consists at least one part of the conflicts. However, it is not correct to culminate that only religion and faiths can cause wars or conflicts among the societies or states. Still, religion is used as legitimizing or stimulating the people for the wars. For many times, many leaders, secular or conservatives, take the advantage of religion for the wars and struggles of their own. They used religion to motivate huge masses and prepared the people even to death. Not only religion itself, but also holy places and monuments have always been used to stimulate the people to fight. The policy makers sometimes disposed religion to adopt a former plan or prepared a new one with help of religion and holy places which indeed means religious geopolitics.

Religious places and holy areas are stated as important factors for states' policies in the Middle East because they regard themselves related to the holy places and maintain that they have a right on holy places. In fact, this intervention of regional and global actors makes the situation in the Middle East much more inextricable. Religious geopolitics is more important in the Middle East because of the region's long history. Moreover, it holds Jerusalem which is accepted as holy by Jews, Christians and Muslims. Thus, the states which host inhabitants of one of these religions can regard themselves as the representatives or even successors of these holy areas. As a result, the mentioned holy places which are important in terms of religious geopolitics affect many states' politics on the region. The desire of sovereignty on the region naturally creates rivalry and consequently conflicts among the states which can be regarded beyond the energy resources and strategic location of the region. As it provides a great advantage for the states to control big masses of the people by managing these holy places, this makes the Middle East not only crucial for regional powers but also for global powers as well.

As it is stated in this study, the most important city in the Middle East is Jerusalem and Jerusalem has specific meanings for Jews, Christians and Muslims. Jews claim that the Temple of Solomon was first built in the city and has to be rebuilt for the arrival of Messiah. They state that with the reconstruction of the Temple, Jews will regain their former glory days during the reign of prophet Solomon. Christians regard Jerusalem holy because of Christ who spent many years there and also spent his last days in Jerusalem. They also began Crusades to secure the city from Muslims. On the other hand, Jerusalem is the third holiest city for Muslims and holds the area where holy Miraj happened. Moreover, for the USA and Evangelists who have a great influence on the USA politics, Jerusalem is the center of some apocalyptic events. They think that a Jewish state on the promised land, Jerusalem's being eternal capital of that Jewish state and the rebuilt of the Temple are the conditions for the arrival of Messiah on the earth.

After 1948 when a Jewish state was founded in the Middle East, it is not possible to rule out Israel which managed to create a state by using religion, geography and politics. As being the main determinant of Zionism, which is the constituent ideology of Israel, all the Jews mourn for a return to their historical homeland. Nearly all the Jews on the earth turn their faces to Jerusalem and they also

desire to spend their life-span on that geography as being independent of all other states and communities. This study finally concludes that the great wish of Jews includes three ambitions; an independent Jewish state in Palestine, Jerusalem as being the eternal capital city of Israel and reconstruction of the Temple. In fact, they managed the first two goals but the last one seems nearly impossible. To carry out the third ambition, Israel has to destroy Al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock which is the core reason of the conflict in the Middle East between Jews and Arabs. The organizations like PLO and Hamas state that they are fighting to free holy places from Israel and this makes this war inextricable.

On the other hand, to clarify the situation of Jerusalem in terms of Arab-Israeli conflict, it should be remembered that the current speech of the US president Donald Trump seems to make the problem deeper and harder to solve. Trump's announcement about carrying the US embassy triggered many protests all around the world and also caused many Muslim countries to gather in Istanbul after Turkish president Tayyip Erdoğan's call. Indeed, this unity of Muslims is not something the world witnesses very often which is the result of differences among the Muslim countries and which is because of close relations of some Muslim countries with the US. In fact, Extraordinary Session of the OIC Islamic Summit Conference which was held in Istanbul, 13 December 2017 should be regarded in terms of Muslim approaches to the problem of Jerusalem and Middle East and also the relations of some Muslim countries with the US. Only 28 countries joined the conference in terms of presidency representation and countries like Saudi Arabia and Egypt only sent some representatives to the conference because of their close relations with the West. As a result, it was concluded in the conference that Trump's statement upon Jerusalem cannot be accepted because it is against the all international decisions and norms, like the UN decision 478 (1980) and that of 2334 (2016). Maybe the most important part of the Summit is that Muslim countries accepted East Jerusalem as the capital city of Palestine and invited all the countries to declare East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine.

Another important thing about Extraordinary Session of the OIC Islamic Summit Conference is that after being established the fire in Al-Aqsa this organization directly dealt with Jerusalem cause and aimed to make Jerusalem free. With Turkey's great efforts to gather the Extraordinary Session of the OIC Islamic

Summit Conference, it really has a specific importance in world politics. The decisions determined in this conference did not only opposed and heavily criticized Trump's decision, they also defined Jerusalem as under the occupation which implies that the current situation of the holy state is unacceptable. Moreover, the decision that the East Jerusalem is the capital city of Palestine aimed to both Israel and the US in world politics. This conference is also important because it was a practice of Muslim countries that seemed very passive and they managed to unify around Jerusalem even if some Muslim leaders did not participate in rather sent some representatives. On the other hand, Trump's decision on Jerusalem can be described as a great failure for the US foreign affairs regarding the Middle East. With the decision of Jerusalem, Trump did not only make Iranian influence more widespread but also, he caused and probably will cause many Muslim countries to create stronger relations with Russia. Despite Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates who seem to be closer to American-Israeli block, Russia and Iran are canalizing their influence in the area. The United Nations General Assembly voted 128 to 9, with 35 abstentions, for a resolution demanding the United States to rescind its December 6 declaration of Jerusalem. This strong opposition to the US and Israel is great sign of changing world order as well. This can be regarded as the first time that the US, as being the superpower of the world, has been isolated so strictly in the world. The irony of the vote is that many people cannot find the countries like Micronesia or Palau, which stood with Israel and the US, in a world map. The explicit allies of the US like England, France and Germany with many other European countries refused to accept American hegemony in terms of Jerusalem. This vote result of the United Nations Assembly is also crucial for Muslim countries as well because it was a hope for them in such an era that Muslims are slaughtering each other with troubles of ISIS and many other ongoing conflicts between the state or other sects. This decision made Muslim countries to gather under the cause of Jerusalem and indeed no Muslim leader was able to support the decision of Trump because if they had done so they could have lost their leadership in their countries.

Furthermore, Trump's decision upon Jerusalem should also be regarded in terms of Evangelical terms in the United States. It's known that Trump and especially Pence were strongly supported by Jewish lobby in the US and thus it was promised to accept Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel and carry the US embassy

to Jerusalem where indeed hosted many government buildings of Israeli state like Knesset and Presidency of General Staff. Additionally, it is again explicit that Trump has had many problems in the US and must acquire the support of Jewish lobby and this decision of Jerusalem, at least, will present him some more time to secure his position. However, the crucial question here is why Trump waited to step into action until now. It is controversial to gather this reaction because it can be suggested that the centennial of 1917 Balfour Declaration or occupation of Jerusalem in 1967 can be regarded as good reasons of Jerusalem's recognition by the US as the capital city of Israel. It is also possible to link Trump's reaction to UNESCO's 18th October 2016 decision that 'Al-Aqsa Mosque does not cover anything common with Jews or Judaism.' It should be remembered at this point that Netanyahu and Israeli authorities are seriously considering leaving UNESCO because of this decision and even Netanyahu ordered the officials to inform UNESCO that Israel will leave the organization next year. One more important issue about the timing of the decision is that why Evangelic or Jewish lobby did not push former presidents to take this decision. For example, Bush was, who even mentioned about Crusaders of the modern time, was a better Evangelic but even he didn't take this decision.

Indeed, the current situation of the Middle East seems to be suitable for this decision because the countries who fought against Israel or strictly opposed a Jewish state in the area have many domestic problems and cannot state a strong opposition to the decision of Jerusalem. Upon regarding the current problems of Syria, Yemen or Egypt and Iraq, it is implicit that these states are far away from fighting with Israel or even stating a clear and strong opposition. In addition to the domestic problems of Muslim countries, the struggle among the Muslim countries stands as a great problem. Especially, the traditional conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran seems to be at its triumph and this situation probably culminated in the US decision of Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel. The other incentive behind this decision is that of Evangelic support to Israel. They believe that with Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, the Temple of Solomon will be rebuilt and return of Christ to the world will be hastened which will happen during Armageddon; the war that will end the all wars and will start a new millennium. Then, as a result Christ will order Jews to convert to Christianity.

To conclude, it is not wrong to state that despite many tensions in the world

like North Korea and the US struggle, the problems between Russia and the US or the situation of Iran with the West, Jerusalem and the Middle East still stands a crucial region in terms of religion and religious geopolitics. After Trump's explanation about Jerusalem, nearly all the news agencies turned their attention to the holy city and informed people about the past and current situation of the city which provoked a perception of Jerusalem all around the world one more time.



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