

巴以冲突的政策困境以及中国的应对
The policy dilemma for the Palestinian-Israeli
reconciliation and the proposals offered by China^①

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ABSTRACT: During the games of politicizing the city of Jerusalem that are played by various international and regional powers, the Jerusalem issue becomes the most crucial one of all the causes that lead to the policy dilemma for the Palestine-Israel reconciliation. As a matter of fact, this issue contains a series of conflicts and confrontations, such as: 1) the conflict between the two exclusive discourse systems for explaining the meanings of Jerusalem; 2) the confrontation between the two different identities of Jerusalem for the Arabs and Israeli, both of whom regard themselves as the descendents of this holy city of Jerusalem; 3) the efforts of both Palestinians and Israelis to frame the other side into the hostile image systems that evolve from “infidel” to “enemy”; 4) the game played by U.S. and EU over the policies related to the Jerusalem issue. In order to deal with the complexity of this issue and to resolve the policy dilemma of the Palestine-Israel reconciliation, a series of responsive measures and policies shall be formulated and adopted, such as a further effort to construct the discourses for the “Jerusalem Consensus”, a strengthening of the Palestine-Israel reconciliation mechanism based on the “four-party mechanism of the Middle East”, and an endeavor to come up with a “China Style” governance model founded on the principle of “mediating peace and encouraging negotiations”.

KEYWORDS: Middle East peace; Jerusalem; Palestine; Israel; foreign policy; global governance

For the past two years, tremendous changes and turbulences have taken place in the Middle East region, which may bring some impacts on the Palestine issue and may marginalize this issue to some extent. In the meantime, the Palestine-Israel peace talks are also in a state of stagnancy. However, "despite of all these situational changes, the Palestine issue is still a core issue that influences the overall strategic pattern of the whole Middle East region. The unsettled Palestine issue will create very negative effects over the other issues of the Middle East."^① The external strengths of the international community may be important to a timely resolution to the issues related to the Middle East peace. Nevertheless, the inherent factors of Palestine and Israel shall be attached with much more importance. Particularly, enough attention shall be focused on the fact that the effort for the Palestine-Israel reconciliation has fallen into a policy dilemma. This dilemma is shaped by a complex of diverse causes, but it cannot be denied that the Jerusalem issue becomes the key point for tackling this dilemma in the game to politicize the holy city of Jerusalem by the various international and regional forces. In this sense, it is again certified that the Jerusalem issue has an outstanding influence over the overall situation of the Middle East peace process.

The Policy for Palestine-Israel Reconciliation Falling into Dilemma: The Unsettled Status of the Holy City of Jerusalem

"Policy is a set of principles and rules for actions to deal with the existing, emerging, and looming problems and events, and a set of explanations over the conditions after the actions". Therefore, policy usually includes such elements as objectives, purposes, actions, and rules. Generally speaking, by means of the reconciliation policy, the Palestinian side wants to realize their objective of state-building, while the Israeli side wants to achieve their objective of security. However, they have both fallen into dilemma due to a series of entangling factors during their policy processes of drafting, implementation, and assessment.

The Palestinian policy of reconciliation mainly consists of two aspects: the Fatah's policy towards Israel and the Hamas' policy towards Israel. 1) Originally the Fatah had advocated an overthrow of Israeli Zionism through armed struggles, and they had hoped to liberate all the territory of Palestine and build a democratic state with Jerusalem as its capital. Since 1980s, the Fatah has become more and more pragmatic and mild, accepting the principle of "land for peace" and got engaged in diplomatic and political efforts for state-building. They

^① WANG Wei, *China Actively Promotes Palestine-Israel Peace Talks: an Interview with WU Sike, the China's Special Envoy to Middle East*, Xinhua Net, May 3rd, 2013.

take an effort to implement the reconciliation policy through a series of measures, such as admission of the Israel state, active participations in the Middle East peace process, and taking advantage of the opportunity of entering the UN to promote the process of Palestinian state-building. 2) The Hamas advocates that all the land of Palestine shall be liberated, and denies the rights of survival of the Israel state. The Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin declared a policy of “three no” (no disarmament, no consent of ceasefire, and no participation in the new Palestinian government). The extremist ways of struggles adopted by Hamas under the guidance of such policy, such as suicide bombing, has seriously disrupted the proceeding of the implementation of the peace agreement between Israel and Palestine. After the assassination of Yassin, Hamas had to adjust its strategies so as to cope with a crisis of survival, so they took part in the general election for Palestinian legislators in January 2006 and signed the “in-prison agreement”, in which they began to adopt an attitude of obscurity over the issue of whether to admit the Israel state.

Currently, the Hamas is seeking a possibility of sharing political power with the Fatah for a joint ruling, and also softening its stands towards the issues of Israel. However, despite of all these trends, there are still some outstanding disagreements between Hamas and Fatah, which mainly include: 1. The Fatah maintains that the capital of the Palestinian state in future shall be eastern Jerusalem, while the Hamas insists that the whole Jerusalem shall be the capital of future’s Palestinian state. 2. Each side wants a different way of reconciliation. The Fatah identifies with the way of peaceful negotiations, while the Hamas adheres to armed confrontations as a way to push reconciliation. 3. They have never reached a consensus on the issue of the possibility of “coexistence of the two states”. Therefore, there are many uncertainties and too much unpredictability over the prospects of a real unification of these two factions, the degree of substantial implementation of the reconciliation policy, and the possibility of long term continuation of such policy. An internal reconciliation is always a solid basis for an external reconciliation, but these two Palestinian factions are entangled in unsettled internal strife and disputes and the Palestinian policy for a reconciliation with Israel becomes inevitably entrapped in a dilemma.

The reconciliation policy on the Israel side includes those policies of the hawk faction, the dove faction, and the religious parties. 1) The hawk faction, represented by leaders of the Likud Party, insists on the principle of “land for peace” over the issues related to the Palestine-Israel relations. They demand an annexing of all the territory of Palestine, including the Jerusalem, and oppose an independent Palestinian state. Nevertheless, the Ariel Sharon’s government has gradually softened its attitude due to the situational changes of the Palestine-Israel relations and the pressure from the international community.

Particularly, in August 2005, the Sharon's government enforced a unilateral action of retreat in the Gaza strip. A Chinese expert on Middle East issues made a fairly positive comment on this action: "Now the nature of the Palestine-Israel conflicts is changed along the path of their efforts for achieving peace. In the past, this relationship is a zero-sum game, because Israel wants to destroy Palestine and Palestine wants to drive Israel away. Now both Palestine and Israel accept the idea of 'coexistence' and manage to maximize their own interests on the preliminary condition of coexistence." However, since Sharon's retreat from politics in December 2005 due to his health problems, Benjamin Netanyahu has emerged as another representative of the hawk faction, and proposed a tough rule of "security for peace" as a principle for reconciliation.^⑨ He takes an effort to push a tough policy of non-compromise over the issue of Jewish settlements. 2) The leaders of Israeli Labor Party and Progressive Part, such as Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, Ehud Barak, and Ehud Olmert become the representatives of the dove faction. They adopt a relatively mild and pragmatic attitude over the issues related to Israel-Palestine relations, and advocate the principle of "land for peace". And they do not oppose the building of an independent Palestinian state. Furthermore, the Ehud Olmert administration even made the Jerusalem issue incorporated into the agendas for Palestine-Israel reconciliation, suggesting that Israel was prepared to make some concessions over the Jerusalem issue. Tzipi Livni, the Israeli high representative for the peace talks between Israel and Palestine, even argues that the only way to ensure the survival of Israel as an independent state is to abandon some part of the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel during the 1967 Middle East war. 3) Three religious parties are very active in Israel's politics: the Sephardim Shomrei Torah party, the Bible United Front, and the National Religious Party. The deep-rooted faiths of "promised land" held by these religious parties can be taken as evidences to legitimize the permanency of Israeli occupation of territories, and can meet the demands of the extremist rightist forces. Therefore, most members of these religious parties inevitably become political guards of the hawk faction and indispensable strengths to consolidate the rightist bloc. Although they did not gain any seat in Netanyahu's new government, their political, religious, and social influences are undoubtable, and their attitudes limit the possibility of a reconciliation between the hawk and dove factions in Israeli politics.

Currently, the dilemma of Israel's reconciliation policy includes: 1. Israel denies the identity of Hamas as a "peace partner" and refuses to make negotiations with it. 2. Israel refuses to stop its construction of Jewish settlements, and takes an uncompromising stand

^⑨ LI Nian, "From 'Zero-Sum Game' to 'Coexistence': Experts' Comments on the Significance of the Retreat from the Gaza Strip", *Wenhui Newspaper*, August 23rd 2005.

on the issues related to the expansion of settlements in eastern Jerusalem. 3. Both Israel and Palestine adhere to their bottom lines uncompromisingly over the issues connected to the status of Jerusalem, so it is very difficult for them to return to the negotiating table. On the Palestine side, Palestinians do not intend to soften their attitudes even after U.S. offered an aid of 4 billion dollars to it. On the Israel side, although Netanyahu always declares that he is willing to return to the negotiating table and even asks Mahmoud Abbas to “give an opportunity to peace”, his good will remains on rhetoric and no substantial measures have ever been taken.

Reasons for the Failure of Israeli-Palestinian Reconciliation Policy

Jerusalem problem which has been politicalized by regional and international powers is the key part among the reasons for the failure of Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation policy and mainly reflected as the following characteristics:

1. The Conflict between Two Kinds of “Jerusalem Discourse”

Religious texts "provide a common conceptual framework beyond its peculiar metaphysical contexts. Based on this framework, extensive intellectual, emotional and moral experience can be obtained." ①The Holy Bible and the Holy Koran not only become a guide to three major monotheistic religions, but also lead to the different religious discourse system according to different interpretations.

As to Jews, (1) the sense of "Sacred Covenant", "God's chosen people" and "Promised Land" deeply rooted in the hearts of the Jewish people and built the spiritual connection between Jewish people and " Promised Land "; (2) Galuth which means the punishment to the Jewish people and can get salvation via religious ceremony and observance of law began to be widely accepted after "Babylonian captivity"; (3) Zion, a mountain in Jerusalem, used to be the ancient political and religious center, and was mentioned as the only remaining place of the Jewish State after foreign invasion according to the "Old Testament". The prophet Isaiah prophesied: " Zion will be redeemed", and those who wants to build the Jewish State again call themselves Zionists. Thus, Jerusalem discourse system of Judaism which includes a series of basic concepts , such as "God's chosen people", "Promised Land", "Galuth", become the core idea of Zionism movement.

Zionists regard Jewish people around the world as a unified nation, as "special people" selected by God and has the historical right to stay in the ancestral lands also build a purely

① Clifford Geertz, *the Explanations on Cultures*, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1999, P. 141.

Jewish state. According to Israeli scholars, "Zionism movement makes ancient and tradition desire of Jewish people become reality. This kind of desire in the 19th century which has modern political forms in society is undoubtedly different from messianism. Although Zionism is a modern movement, it still contains a lot of wishes brought by messianism."^①Zionism movement produced a profound impact among Jewish people even Christian in the world, moreover, it becomes Israel's official ideology and turns into the implementation of the construction of the separation wall, the expansion of Jewish settlements way which cast shadow on the policy of Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation.

Islam also put forward a complete set of religious and cultural words and concepts about Jerusalem^② which has a long-lasting impact in the Arab-Islamic world: (1) Al-Aqsa Mosque is clearly documented in the Holy Koran (17:1) which offers the original spiritual resources to make it become the third holiest site in Islam, the Prophet's Isra and Mi'raj attract the world's Muslim to pilgrimage; (2) At first, Muslim worship towards Al-Aqsa Mosque and then turned to Al-Haram Mosque after the Prophet had migrated to Medina for seventeen months, but it doesn't mean the declination of Al-Aqsa Mosque's position among Muslims;(3)The word "Jihad" appears in the Holy Koran for many times through heart, mouth, hands and swords, but "sword" is the most widely used way which is contrary to the peaceful essence of Islam.^③Thus, a series of concepts have built the Islamic Jerusalem discourse system and become the main ideological weapon of the Islamic Jihad movement. "The rise of various trends and movements from the beginning of 18th century used Islamic values represented by this word and tried to remedy the collapse of traditional society, and to respond the external shocks and challenges. It indicates that the set of religious words is suitable for different political environments until today. Its symbolic meanings can not only accommodate to the requirements of individuals and society, but also can be used for the conservative or revolutionary explanations."^④Therefore, when struggling against Zionism movement, there appears some organizations advocate the peaceful means and eventually to the "two-state" solution like Fatah, and also some other organizations advocate the use of force and eventually regain the occupied territory by Israel like Hamas. If we say that the Zionist movement was on the basis of "covenant" between Jewish ancestors and God, then Jihad is the ideological weapon used by Palestinians to resist the Israeli invasion as well as to regain the Holy City of Jerusalem.

^① R. J. Welbroky, *the Religious Groups in Israel, and the Judaism*, quoted in *Inside and Outside Israel*, edited by the Editorial Board of *the Reference News*, No.12, 1986, P.43.

^② WU Yungui, *Modern Islamic Thoughts and Movements*, Beijing: the Social Sciences Press, 2003, P.38.

^③ WU Bingbing, *the Concepts of Jihad and Contemporary Islamic Terrorism*, the Arab World, No. 1, 2006. P. 39.

^④ WU Yungui, *Modern Islamic Thoughts and Movements*, Beijing: the Social Sciences Press, P.38.

Discourse, as a tool to construct a shared meaning, especially the Jerusalem religious discourse, it "deeply embedded in the personality structure of the believers, who have no compromise with his exclusive grid, they found only those who standing within their own faith is 'authentic', and regard other religions as unorthodox, which led to the tendency to replace pagans, and eventually inspired the hatred between states, nations and even between different civilizations or even led to war."^① Therefore, the two kinds of different Jerusalem discourse system lead to the armed conflict between Zionism and Islamic Jihadism finally has become one of the reasons why Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation policy is always in trouble.

2. The Identity Conflict between Two Kinds of "Son of the Holy City"

All of the legend such as "the holy temple built by Solomon", "the resurrection of Jesus" and "the Isra and Mi'raj of Muhammed" together with those important shrines like the Wailing Wall, Via Dolorosa and the Al-Aqsa Mosque in the city made Jerusalem as the Holy Land of three major monotheistic religions, won the supreme holy dignities, and shaped its basic pattern of which the Muslims live in the eastern part, Christians in northwestern and Jewish people in southern and rest of Jerusalem. But, "because of those obvious and profound differences in beliefs, rituals, religious rules, language, value of different religions, it may build strong barriers between each other and form a mutual exclusion."^② The differences caused by religious conflict are extremely complex and long-lasting which can be proved by the struggle between Jewish people and Muslims for the holy city as well as the struggle between Israel and Palestine for the capital of state. (see Table 1)

Table 1: Main Events about Jerusalem[®]

Time	Authority		Existence	Form
3000 B.C.	the Jebusites tribes		Build	
1517-WWI	Ottoman Empire		Rule	
1922	United Kingdom		Mandate	
1947	UN		Entrusted Management	UN General Assembly Resolution 181
1948	Israel	West	Domination	The First Middle East War
	Jordan	East	Domination	
1950	Israel		Capital	Self-Declared

^① XU Yihua, *Religions and Contemporary International Relations*, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, July 2012, P.131.

^② XU Yihua, *A Preliminary Exploration over the Paths and Paradigms of Religious Influences on China's National Security*, *Academic Journal of Fudan University*, No. 4, 2009.

[®] This table is made by author according to historic events.

1967	Israel	Occupied East Part	The Third Middle East War
1980	Israel	Permanent Capital	Announced
1988	Palestine	Capital	Announced
1993	Israel and Palestine	Left for the Last Stage of Negotiation	
1999	Israel and Palestine	"Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum": to reach a framework agreement till 2000	

As the birthplace of three major monotheistic religions, Jerusalem has thousands of synagogues, hundreds of churches and dozens of mosques, and also holds great symbolic holy things. To some extent, Jerusalem has become the space system consisting of symbols. All the Jewish people, Christians and Muslims can construct worldview and self-identity through this tangible but infinite space. To those Jewish, despite destruction of the temple, the "Wailing Wall" remains as both spiritual and inspirational home. The reason why the implementation of the "Judaization of Al-Quds", the expansion of Jewish settlements and other domestic policies can get public support is not only political, but also religious and ethnical. To the Arabs, the Al-Aqsa Mosque stands proudly. "Because Jerusalem is 'holy Land' of Islam, it affects the sensitive nerves of Muslims all over the world and has formed a worldwide Muslim joint to support the Palestinians."^①

Except for pilgrimage of Muslims to their third Holy Land, they also have the guilty feeling of failing to hold the Holy Land, also suffering from the pain and humiliation. Judaism, Christian and Islam together shaped a specific pilgrimage culture of monotheism of Abraham in Jerusalem, which not only attract followers from around the world to the holy city, but also make Jerusalem suffered from occupation and domination. Especially after the "crusade", it is more difficult for Jerusalem to get rid of international and regional political forces. Constructivism theory argues that: "idea is not only a roadmap to guide action, but also has constructive functions which can construct the identity of actor in order to determine the behavior of its interests."^② Although both Palestinians and Israelis regard themselves as "the son of Jerusalem", but the content is different, which not only affects the believer's individual identity, but also influenced national role, thereby affect national interests and the policy of reconciliation. In other words, the struggle of capital is actually the struggle of the national identity of Israel and Palestine. The definition of "Who are we?"

^① XIN Jianqiang, "Tearful Farewell to the Holy City", Muslims in Shanghai, No.2, 2001, P.38.

^② QIN Yaqin, *Constructivism: Ideological Origins, Theoretic Factions, and Academic Ideas*, *Studies of International Politics*, No.3, 2006, P.19.

by people will affect "what should we do?"^① Identity of actors contains interests, and it's also the prerequisite of interests, "So if there is no interest, identity will lose its motivation; if there is no identity, interest will lose direction."^② According to constructivism theory, national interests are mainly constructed by concept structure which includes physical structure and directly shaping identity and jointly decided the foreign policy.^③ Similarly, the reason why Israelis and Palestinians will never compromise on the status of Jerusalem is that it is not only about national identity, but also related to establishment of the Palestinian State and the security demands of Israel. The intense conflict behind the conflict is also an important factor which leads to inefficient or ineffective policy of the reconciliation.

3. The image construction from "Pagans" to "Enemies"

To some extent, the building of separation wall and Jewish settlement is a manifestation of the absence of security in Jewish community's sub-consciousness. This could be confirmed from the Jews' Passover Haggadah: "There is not only one an enemy wants to destroy us, and they want to eliminate us from generation to generation." The motet has undoubtedly deepened the restlessness and fear in Jews' hearts, which built an invisible "separation wall" Jews and non-Jews so that Jews are isolated from other ethnic groups and live in closed spiritual insularity. Even the contemporary American Jews who are influential to US and even the world's finance, economy, media and other areas, also regard themselves as "loose, isolated, vulnerable ethics groups with same origins", let alone the Jews who lived in the surrounding with the Arabs. Therefore, successive Israeli governments have put Israeli security in top priority moment by moment because it is a question about live or die, different to any other question about sovereignty and borders. "It is a question about the survival of Israelis and the Jewish of the whole world." Under this governing philosophy, Israel has formed the phenomenon that "once there is an election, there is a war" and its unique domestic political ecology and diplomatic policy. The core of Israeli foreign policy is to maintain the security and development of the Jewish state and seek international recognition and support from the Jewish community across the world. Since its establishment from 1948, Israel has fought several Middle East wars to transform from safeguarding national survival to maintaining security and development. However, the Israelis have passed their pains of Holocausts and genocide on to its Arab neighbors. Israeli President Shimon Peres wrote that "It is doubted that we could obtain adequate security

^① V. M. Hudson, "Cultural Expectations of One's Own and Other Nations' Foreign Policy Action Templates," *Political Psychology*, Vol 20, 1999, pp.767-802.

^② Alexander Wendt, *The Social Theories of the International Politics*, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2000, P.290

^③ WANG Mingming, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Theories and Methods*, Beijing: the Press of China's Social Sciences, 2008, P.243.

unless we give full equality to our partner in this land. To restrain the freedom of one nation means to restrict our own security. Our reason of escaping from 'home of the enslaved' is not to build another 'home of the governed'. Focusing on morality and tolerance on diversity is a basic condition for the future survival of Jewish nation." He anticipated the inner-connection between Israeli-Palestinian relation and Israeli security, which is that both sides have constructed mutual images from religious "pagans" to secular "enemies". Along with the stimulation of hostile relation across the century, both sides have formed the order of strategic deadlock.

Richard Cottam has put forward four imageries in international relations, namely enemy, alliance, empire and colony, in which the image of enemy refers to those rivals who could bring threaten to one state with cultural disparity. This would have great influence to the state's foreign policy. There are three features of "imagery" in foreign decision-making process. First, the imagery is the reflection of domestic cognitive subject to other countries or regions rather than the objective facts presented by those countries or regions; second, the imagery formed from the cognitive subjects is relatively consistent and stable; third, the imagery is affected by cognitive subjects' own values, knowledge, belief systems and historical experience, etc. Due to the lasting impact of hostile imagery, Israel and Palestine are more difficulty to reach a consensus on a policy of reconciliation, and the bilateral relation has manifested a situation of "negotiating while conflicting".

Scott M. Thomas found that there are eight connections between religions and international conflicts: (1) When religion plays a role as an ideology, it has a tendency of conflict in international relations and makes current conflict harder to digestion; (2) Religions as personal and social identities are more primary than the identities of race, class and gender. (3) Religion as transnational ideology could form a international religious system or transnational religious sub-cultural group sharing same destinies in the context of globalization. (4) Religion as soft power in international relations would play a role of transnational ideology and express its "power of ideas". (5) When religions play as principles of international NGOs and other international actors, they would affect the international relations both directly and indirectly. (6) Religions as cultures or cultural regions are overlapping with the world main ancient civilizations core areas. (7) Religions as transnational community of identity, it attracts the members fight even sacrifice for community interests. (8) When one religion is conducting dialogue with its disciples and the society, it has played an elucidatory community.

Concerning to the Jewish religion and Islamic religion, the above eight points are all manifested in different degree. (1) Both sides are hard to make compromises to the other due

to the ultimate and absolute religion-based policy choice. (2) The disparity in religious identity is a trigger of bilateral conflict compared to identity of nation or state. (3) Although the situation of “Palestinian-Israeli conflict → Arabic-Jewish conflict → Conflict between Islamic world and US. & Israel” was caused by complicated factors, there are certain relations with the spiritual and material supports from transnational religious sub-cultural groups of thousands of Jews and billions of Muslims. (4) Palestinian-Israeli conflict has become a touchstone for politicians, regional powers and western powers to fulfill themselves, enhance cohesion, and promote international influence. The holy city – Jerusalem – has evolved into religious diplomatic resources for both Palestine and Israel. (5) The coexistence of two discourses of Jerusalem embodies that the two religious groups could safeguard even sacrifice for their common interests of the community, which martyrdom could also explain the historical discords.

4. The game between American and European Jerusalem policy

American Christians are educated with Old Testament in which legends and creeds have influenced entire western culture, so their attitudes are not as repellent as the European Christians hold to Judaism. American Christians agree with Judaism in the following aspects in terms of Old Testament: (1) Modern Jewish people are descendants of 12 tribes of ancient Israelites. The Jewish people are the chosen ones by God and Canaan was God’s Promised Land. The Diaspora, mortification, and misery that Jewish people suffered were atonements for breaking God’s covenants. Experienced Diaspora for over 1,800 years, the Jews believe and wait for the arrival of "Messiah" to bring them a new world, which obtains deep sympathy from the Americans and Zionism were rooted in the Americans religious and political ideas. (2) American Protestants especially the Calvinists advocate interpret prophecies in Old Testament literally. According to the literal interpretation, the prophecies would come true only when the Jewish nation were revived. The Calvinists believe that Judaism and Christianity are two opposite decrees by God. The former is Earth objective between Earth and People, the latter is Heaven objective between Heaven and People. The fulfillment of Earth objective is prerequisite to realize the building of Paradise on earth governed by Jesus Christ, which needs to build a everlasting Jewish nation state in Palestine. The American Protestants regard it as a grand and sacred religious task to help the Jews to build a prosperous and secure homeland in Palestine and have a strong responsibility on it. Most American civilians also think supporting secular Israel is a God-given responsibility. This social religious sentiment to insight US-Israel relation with a sacred religious morality has played an important role in US’s Middle East policies, which also made religious policy-making tendency more staunch and constant. This is the exact religious reason to explain

why US has always held a firm stance to support Israeli part during Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In addition, the Americans shared a common ethnic background with the Jewish people. Many Americans acknowledged the formation of American nation was somehow similar to the Jewish Diaspora. When the early Pilgrims escaped from the European persecution to the new land, they regarded themselves as Jewish exiles in Old Testament and the American land was their "new Canaan". So in the point of national sentiment, the Americans have more affection to Israel and Jewish people than the Arab World and the Arabian people. Another factor is the deep-rooted estrangement and contradiction between Christian civilization and Islamic civilization also affect the Americans emotional closeness towards the Arabs. Besides, "Christian Zionists" in the US also serve as supporters for Israel in American successive administrations on American-Israeli relations. The frequent surveys have shown remarkable and stable support for Israel in American public opinion. According to Eytan Gilboa's figure of "Favorability of Israel 1996-2007", it has shown that approximate 2/3 of American civilians are favorable to Israel, though specific figures are fluctuating during the survey years. The results demonstrate Israel's unique place in American public opinion.^①

The conflict between Judaism and Christianity has following reasons: (1) The Jewish look forward to the coming of Messiah, and they think the real Messiah has not yet to befall so they should continue to wait. But Christianity believes that the Messiah has come. He is Nazarene, the Jesus. A Jew is who does not admit Jesus as the Messiah, while a Christian is who that admit Jesus as the Messiah. (2) The Jews think they are "chosen people by God" who have a contractual relationship with God. Although Christianity grew out of Judaism, It has evolved into a new universal religion which believes everyone can be the one who is "chosen by God". Christians undertake the mission of save humanity and the whole world. (3) Rumor has it that Jews persecuted Jesus Christ and Jews are the descendants of Judas who betrayed Jesus, whether the religious legendary is true or not, with the continuous preaches of Christian, it deepen the Christian prejudice against Jews to some extent, and led to a strong religious feelings of revenge. (4)After the 4th century AD, although Christianity became the state religion of Rome and achieved dominant Status in Europe gradually, its religious legitimacy has been queried by the Jewish all the time. Particularly the deny for the "New Testament" and Jesus Christ of Judaism, actually it is a query of Christian legitimacy, and even a challenge of the gods' legality to non-Jews. The European society in which Christianity has a dominant Status could not tolerate. Because of this, Crusaders proposed a

^① Eytan Gilboa, "The Public Dimension of US-Israel Relations: A Comparative Analysis," in Eytan Gilboa and Efraim Inbar Eds., *US-Israeli Relations in a New Era: Issues and Challenges after 9/11*, London & New York: Routledge, 2009, pp.56-58.

slogan in their conquests written "Kill a Jew to save your soul". Christianity finds many ways including violent methods to force the Jews change their beliefs and even to eliminate them. Hitler's anti-Semitism and Nazi Holocaust also have these religious reasons. Collisions are not only between Hitler "Germanic racial superiority" and the Jewish concept of "chosen people by God", but also represented as a product of European social thought "anti-Semitism". Moreover Nazism regarded eradication of Jewish people as an ultimate political goal, and regarded the Jews as enemies of the state. German Holocaust is obvious evidence. Actually, European anti-Semitism is beyond the religious and ethnic conflict areas, which has a profound impact on the relationship between Europe and Israel. For instance, The Vatican's standpoint on Jerusalem and the EU's Middle East policy could be the proof.

Jerusalem is also regarded as a holy city of Christianity, because Jesus transformed into the Son of God here. The Via Dolorosa that Jesus passed, the place where Jesus tortured, the Last Supper room, the Jesus Cemetery and church of the Holy Sepulchre, are shrines that attract Christians around the world to pilgrimage here. Even though the number of Christians in Jerusalem is the smallest, as "son of the holy city", Christians also have an inalienable say on the issue of Jerusalem. The Christian community put forward a proposal about making Jerusalem an international city, and this proposal is also supported by the Pope. In February 2000, the Palestinians and Vatican reached a "basic agreement between the Holy See and the Palestine Liberation Organization" written that "Any unilateral decisions and actions to change the status of Jerusalem and its unique characteristics, it is unacceptable from morality and law". It appealed to a special regulation which has a wide international consensus about the status of Jerusalem. The agreement met with a strong protest from Israel immediately, and Israeli accused the Vatican that it hindered the Middle East peace talks.^① In October 2010, Catholic bishops from the Middle East countries were invited to a seminar held at the Vatican. They issued a communiqué emphasized that any Israeli unilateral policies would generate dangerous consequences of imbalance of faith people proportion". Compared to the US, the EU has been more critical of Israel and more supportive of the Palestinians. The general position of the EU is that a Palestinian state should be based on the 1967 borders with land swaps, Jerusalem should be divided and become the capital of both states, and a negotiated settlement be found for the Palestinian refugee issue, although member states have sometimes been divided on these issues. However, all EU states universally consider Israeli settlements illegal under international law. The EU and the rest international community regard East Jerusalem as occupied

^① MA Shuqiang, "Palestine Reaches an Agreement with Vantigan over the Issue of Jerusalem", *Guangming Daily*, February 17th, 2000.

territory which has been a de facto part of Israel's unilateral annexation. The EU has frequently criticized Jewish construction in East Jerusalem.

In fact, the successive American administrations' foreign policies on Jerusalem issue are not continuous, even swinging or contradictory, which is a stark contrast with the EU's explicit Jerusalem policy. Although both the US and EU are members of the Middle East "Quartet Mechanism", it is inevitable to have the differences in their positions of the Middle East issue. EU became a supporting role under the guidance of US unilateralism by granting assistance and other ways to support Palestine, however, rivalry and defeating also caused inefficient of the Middle East "Quartet Mechanism".

In summary, the above reasons explained the politicized process of Jerusalem issue. Politicalization trapped the Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation into trouble and derived two incompatible reconciliation patterns, which hinder the Middle East peace process.

Chinese Solution of the Palestine and Israel Reconciliation

The theory of global governance emphasizes on value, regulation, subject, object and other core elements like results as well, and aims to answer a series of significant questions like "why to govern, how to govern, who governs, to govern what and the result of governance". Because of the complexions and difficulties of the Jerusalem issue, it now has become an international crisis but not only a religious problem or an international hot issue. Therefore, looking for the key to solve the Palestine and Israel dilemma in the view of the global governance could be more explainable and convincible.

1. We should enhance the construction of discourses of the "Jerusalem consensus".

The value of the global governance is the common value of all human beings over all the states, races, religions, ideologies and economical development as well. Ever since the assignment of the "Oslo Accords", both Palestine and Israel have been dedicating themselves to the negotiation for peace; however, the results are not satisfying. How to construct the discourses of Jerusalem governance under the guidance of Monotheism is of the most urgency of all: (1) To deeply explore the original sense of the three biggest religions from the Monotheism Abraham and to construct the sharing-Jerusalem idea in the hajj frame of "the holy temple—pilgrim road—the mosque". (2) To enlarge the meaning of "the son of the holy city"; to enrich more inclusive explanations into a series of core concepts such as "Shemite descendants", "Monotheism followers", "sharing the holy city"; to plentify the self identity connotation of the Jerusalem people, therefore to consolidate the public foundation of re-negotiation on the basis of defusing enmity and intensify the neighborhood sense. (3) To

contribute Jerusalem governance discourses. The “Jerusalem consensus”, which is over nationalities, religions, ideologies and states should be built under the guidance of the Monotheism value system so that to offer the communicating foundation of understand, comprehension, respect and equal for the restart of the Palestine- Israel negotiation.

2. The advancement of Palestine-Israel reconciliation should be reinforced on the basis of Quartet Mechanism in Middle East.

In July 2012, a quadrilateral talk was held in New York, of which the participants were America, EU, Russia and UN, initiators of the so-known Quartet/Quadrilateral Mechanism. In October of the same year, a Roadmap Peace Plan was reached by those four parties during negotiation, a draft dedicated to promoting peace among Middle-Eastern countries. Afterwards, through the mediation of the four initiators, the Roadmap Peace Plan was finally accepted by both sides, Palestine and Israel, which marked the coming into effect of the plan and shed positive light upon the future of Palestine-Israel peace talk. However, added up to the difficulty of the peace talk were America’s attempt of unilateralist intervention in the quadrilateral mechanism, passivity shown by Israel, frustration experienced in attempts of a direct Palestine-Israel dialogue, social transformation seen in Arabic countries and above all, America’s failed role as a impartial mediator conflicted issue, all of which made the Middle East peace process impossible to be propelled on the basis of a Roadmap Peace Plan. The Quartet Mechanism has seen little function during the first presidency of Barack Obama, and will see even less during his second presidency as an adjustment of Middle East policy is under way, with Obama’s priority being to ‘consolidate American-Israel alliance’. During the international peace talk on the UN supported international peace conference for Palestine-Israeli issue, representative of Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas and Bassam Al-Salhi - chairman of the Palestinian People’s Party - both expressed in front of media wishing Beijing’s participation in the quadrilateral mechanism in order to propel the peace process in Middle East. In response, Chinese Special Envoy Wu Sike expressed China’s willingness to interact with all four sides related to the quadrilateral mechanism, and the decision of not participating in it. As a matter of fact, China has its own approach to exerting influence on the Middle East issue. Apart from canalling its influence trough UN, China has established in 2002 a diplomatic mechanism characterized by ambassador-at-target, through which, china guarantees itself a regular, flexible and effective interaction with all sides in the Middle East. At the present stage, there has been no sign of China being incorporated into the quadrilateral mechanism, nor has China shown interests in doing so. However, it doesn’t necessarily mean that China undervalues the role played by the mechanism. On the contrary, the seeming lack of interest is the way that China exerts its own influence on the

advancement of Middle East peace process. In order to help solving the Palestine-Israel issue, China has established not only the mechanism of ambassador-at-target, but also a mechanism where Beijing exchanges views with Washington on the Middle East issue under the framework of strategic and economic dialogue. Thus, the international community should focus on coordinating with both governmental and non-governmental levels so as to pave way for a final Palestine-Israel reconciliation on the premise of the Quartet Mechanism.

3. We should establish a Chinese governance model based on "Make Peace and Promote Talks"

Generally speaking, the most fundamental governance model mainly includes: (1) State-centered governance model. It treats sovereign state as the most principal governance part. In the aspects that all the sovereign states focus, they collaborate with each other, solve problems together in a view of common interests via negotiation and formulate a series of international agreements or regulations. (2) Limited inter-governmental organization-centered governance model. In order to realize collaboration and common interests between relevant member states, international organization would offer activities in the fields such as economic and environment. (3) Networked NGO-centered governance model. Initiate cooperative management in the existing network of trans-organizational relationships and coordinating objectives with preferences of each actor's different strategies on the basis of mutual trust and benefit. On May 6th, 2013, President Xi Jinping put forward a "four-point" proposal to solve the Palestinian issue during talks with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. First, China insists on the establishment of an independent state of Palestine and also the right direction of the Palestinian-Israeli peaceful coexistence. Second, the only way to achieve peace should be negotiations between Palestine and Israel. Third, "land for peace" principle should be insisted faithfully. Fourth, the international community should provide a safe background to propel the peace process.

The new Chinese government's basic policy on the Middle East issues declared her responsibility as a great country and the diplomatic confidence in the aspects of direction, approaches, principles and international responsibilities. China calls on all the members of the international community concerned to strengthen the sense of responsibility and urgency, to uphold an objective and impartial stance, and to promote peace talk actively. As a matter of fact, China has a unique advantage in promoting the Palestine-Israel peace process: Since the 1950s, China won the respect in the entire Arab-Islamic world because of her continuous support in the establishment of Palestine. China maintained mutual political trust, trade cooperation, as well as cultural exchanges with both Palestine and Israel. China's adherence to "the five principles of peaceful coexistence" provides a good reference for the

Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation process. Over 50 years' diplomatic practice of "Make Peace and Promote Talks" in the Middle East, China has accumulated rich "China Experiences" which has turned into moral resources of China's diplomacy. "Holding the Palestinian banner" is our diplomatic and political advantage. Therefore, at the 20th anniversary of the assignment of "Oslo Accords", both Palestinian and Israeli leader's official visits to China not only reflect the strong desire of China wishing to resolve the Jerusalem issue with the international community, but also show the courage of the Chinese new generation leaders to face the international and regional hot issues directly. It also highlights China's great efforts in constructing the Chinese governance model based on "Make Peace and Promote Talks" solutions.