

“On the Edge of Wilderness:”

Unpacking the controversial establishment of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem)

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*Thirteen U.S. service members were killed at the Hamid Karzai International Airport
in Kabul, Afghanistan on August 26, 2021.¹ May your sacrifices not be forgotten.*

¹ Scott, Andrea. "Here are the names of the 13 U.S. service members killed in Afghanistan attack," Military Times. Aug. 28, 2021.
<https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2021/08/28/here-are-the-names-of-the-13-service-members-who-died-in-afghanistan-attack/>

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INTRODUCTION

Anne Pham was three years old when she was packed onto a transport barge and drifted out to the South China Sea.² The South Vietnamese refugees, including five siblings, mother, and father who was a former employee of the U.S. embassy in Saigon, clung tightly to their few belongings and watched their homeland fall to Communist rule.³ They were picked up the next day by a U.S. naval vessel and so began Pham's long journey in American life.⁴ **[Figure 1.]** As they peeled away from the Saigon river, Pham recalls her father holding one of her brothers and pointing to the shoreline: "[t]ake a good look at your country. It will be the last time you see it."⁵ **[Figure 2.]**

The Vietnam War's legacy is one of failure. Pham remembers as a young refugee in Amherst, Massachusetts the word 'Vietnam' would bring a "sense of shame" for Americans who were eager to put this blight behind them.⁶ Yet the photographs and footage of the violence throughout the Vietnam War made this nearly impossible. The most recognizable photograph of the fall of Saigon and American evacuation was taken on April 29, 1975; allegedly, this photograph shows a helicopter perched on the rooftop of the US embassy with a long chain of American personnel scrambling to safety.⁷ Contrary to popular belief, the content of this photograph is a lie and the building pictured is

² Pham, Anne D. "*Amidst the chaos of the last days in Saigon, U.S. government personnel risked their lives to save Vietnamese*," Finding My Heroes, Finding myself: from refugee child to State Department Official. American Foreign Service Association, Website. Accessed September 15, 2021.

<https://afsa.org/finding-my-heroes-finding-myself-refugee-child-state-department-official>

³ Ibid.

⁴ "The Fall of Saigon (1975): The Bravery of American Diplomats and Refugees," National Museum of Diplomacy, U.S. Department of State. Website.

<https://diplomacy.state.gov/u-s-diplomacy-stories/fall-of-saigon-1975-american-diplomats-refugees/>

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ "*Amidst the chaos of the last days in Saigon, U.S. government personnel risked their lives to save Vietnamese*,"

⁷ "The Fall of Saigon (1975): The Bravery of American Diplomats and Refugees,"

not the American embassy.⁸ The Lee Hotel, which sat a couple blocks down from the embassy complex, was used as another launching point for evacuations as the atmosphere around the embassy darkened.⁹ **[Figure 3.]** Helicopters were used to take high-profile Vietnamese officials to safety while desperate Vietnamese civilians begged Marines stationed outside the US embassy to take pity on them.¹⁰ There are several accounts of women handing over their babies or small children out of sheer desperation and fear of what was to come.¹¹

The Vietnam evacuation crisis is a case study in the pitfalls of the embassy structure: while Washington scrambled thousands of miles away, American service members were placed in the line of fire.¹² Vietnamese citizens who publicly aligned themselves with the American government, enamored with ideals of American democracy and republicanism, were soon to be targets of the encroaching North Vietnamese Army.¹³ **[Figure 4.]** While the State Department struggled with the correct course of action, they revealed the lie of the embassy: imagined as a celebratory structure of diplomacy and a physical embodiment of international cooperation, these romanticized ideas quickly unraveled as the United States abandoned its property. The Ambassador instructed foreign service officers based at the embassy to evacuate American personnel immediately, saying nothing of the Vietnamese employees.¹⁴ Allegedly, it was simply too large of a security risk to evacuate non-American citizens. (Figure 4.) In

⁸ "Evacuation in Kabul echoes US exit from Vietnam's Saigon in 1975," Daily Sabah, website. August 15 2021. <https://www.dailysabah.com/world/asia-pacific/evacuation-in-kabul-echoes-us-exit-from-vietnams-saigon-in-1975>

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ "The Fall of Saigon (1975): The Bravery of American Diplomats and Refugees,"

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "*Amidst the chaos of the last days in Saigon, U.S. government personnel risked their lives to save Vietnamese,*"

¹⁴ Ibid.

deliberate break from protocol, USAID officers Joseph Gettier and Mel Chatman commandeered the transport barges which brought young Anne Pham and those like her to safety.¹⁵

As the conditions in Saigon worsened and the embassy fell, it laid the foundation for the treatment of American embassies for the remainder of the 20th century. The Iran hostage crisis targeted the U.S. embassy as a symbol of American neo-colonialism alongside the “near simultaneous” bombing of the Kenyan and Tanzanian embassies, these events foreshadowed the tragic 9/11 attacks on American soil. At the time of writing this thesis, two American embassies were placed in jeopardy: currently, the embassy in Kyiv is poised to fall to Russian invasion.¹⁶ In the summer of 2021, the United States withdrew from Afghanistan to coincide with the 20th anniversary of 9/11 and the declaration of the War on Terror.¹⁷ As many critics pointed out at the time, this withdrawal closely mirrored the Saigon crisis¹⁸; the Washington Post observed, “[h]istory never seemed to rhyme so perfectly.”¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Sipher, John. “Evacuating U.S. embassies in a crisis just leaves us uninformed,” the Washington Post. Website. Feb 19 2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/02/19/ukraine-embassy-kyiv-us/>

¹⁷ “Evacuation in Kabul echoes US exit from Vietnam's Saigon in 1975,”

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Kennicott, Philip. “It’s too simple to compare the photos of Kabul to those from Saigon. The real connections are deeper,” the Washington Post. Website. August 16, 2021.

The Embassy as the Principal Architectural Declaration of Sovereignty

This thesis poses the embassy as the clearest architectural declaration of sovereignty. The delicate relationship between host and home country is regulated by a series of strict protocols reliant on mutual recognition of the other's autonomy.²⁰ When this relationship breaks down, as with the Iranian Hostage crisis (1979–81), the embassy becomes a prime target for attack and will be used as a tool for political expression by the host country.²¹ Once the embassy grounds are compromised, the political ties between two nations are effectively dissolved.²² In the United States, foreign missions are considered tantamount to American territory; once an attack is launched, this is grounds for the formal declaration of war.²³

The embassy is the nexus between military, political, and legal interests. Before the physical embodiment of these ideals emerged in the modern landscape, the embassy was originally envisioned as an intangible institution.²⁴ No physical structure was directly related to their presence; rather they existed through global economic trade routes and religious missions during the late medieval and early

²⁰ "What is a U.S. Embassy?" The National Museum of American Diplomacy, website.

<https://diplomacy.state.gov/diplomacy/what-is-a-u-s-embassy/>

²¹ "The Iranian Hostage Crisis," the Office of the Historian, United State Department of State. Website.

<https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/iraniancrises>

²² Pastor-Castro, R., & Thomas, M. (Eds.). (2020). *Embassies in Crisis: Studies of Diplomatic Missions in Testing Situations* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351123501>. Pp. 5.

²³ "What is a U.S. Embassy?"

²⁴ "Indeed, before the tighter codification of sovereign statehood through the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia at the close of the 30 Years' War, the role of embassies was widely understood in terms of a specific diplomatic mission, in other words, the advancement of a particular religious, familial or community claim, rather than in terms of a more permanent representation." *Embassies in Crisis: Studies of Diplomatic Missions in Testing Situations*. Pp. 2.

Renaissance period. Received at imperial courts across Christendom and the Silk Road, these relationships remained in this impermanent space roughly until the mid-19th century.²⁵

The embassy is still regarded as the defining feature of political autonomy despite its reliance on foreign recognition; the issue of a capital city however, can alter this condition.²⁶ Embassies are typically placed within the country's capital city however, abnormal and extreme circumstances can cause an embassy to be located in a city other than the capital. The Netherlands, for example, has a unique capital situation: Amsterdam is listed as the official capital city while the government resides in another city, the Hague. As such, the official United States embassy is located in the Hague while a consulate is placed in Amsterdam. In the disputed territory of Taiwan, the United States' has not established an official embassy in Taipei in favor of an "American Institute in Taiwan." This structure seeks to meet the logistical needs of an embassy without an admission of Taiwanese sovereignty, largely

²⁵ The governments of city-states and empires were connected by their representatives: the Vatican sent special envoys to the princes of Christendom, the economic strongholds of the Venetian city state and the Ottoman empire held a powerful trade network connecting the Western and Eastern worlds [Deborah HOWARD, "Cultural Transfer from Venice and the Ottomans in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth century", in Herman Roodenburg (ed.) *Forging European Identities, 1400-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007: 144-147], the spread of missionaries found themselves in the royal courts of far-eastern nations. Early diplomats and ambassadors were typically housed within the imperial palace as a guest of the ruler. In the Mughal Court of Fatehpur Sikri, Jesuit priest Antonio Monserrate recorded detailed accounts of his years-long stay at the imperial complex; a Western, Portuguese person intermingling with the Mid-Eastern Mughal empire. Ebba KOCH, "The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays*. New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. 2.

²⁶ Mattingly, Garrett. "The First Resident Embassies: Mediaeval Italian Origins of Modern Diplomacy." *Speculum* 12, no. 4 (1937): 423–39. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2849298>. Pp. 423. "The maintenance of resident ambassadors at foreign capitals has long been regarded as a principal symbol of the absolute sovereignty of the modern state. Perhaps the extension of the system of resident ambassadors is as good a test as any for 'modernity,' with the moment of its adoption by any Western power marking the emergence of that power from what we call the 'Middle Ages' into the modern state system. It is clear that by 1648 the system was virtually complete. After the peace of Westphalia, all independent European states maintained permanent diplomatic representatives with all other powers in the sphere of their interests, and the right to send and receive embassies began to be considered a test of sovereignty."

out of fear of angering the CCP which lays claim to Taiwan.²⁷ The failure to establish a formal embassy in Taiwan may predict the next global conflict.²⁸

The Establishment of the Modern State of Israel (*i.e. why is the embassy move so controversial?*)

The establishment of an embassy within a contested landscape is used to legitimize the host country's authority over the landscape. This thesis explores questions of authority, identity and legitimacy through the movement of an American embassy from one city to another: the controversial relocation of the US embassy to Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem announced by the Trump administration in 2017.²⁹ **[Figure 5.]** The placement of the US embassy in Jerusalem is used to legitimize the state of Israel by adhering to one of their most controversial claims: Jerusalem is unequivocally Israeli.³⁰ The most passionate Israeli figures claim Jerusalem as the eternal capital city of

²⁷ "Diplomatic representation in the Taiwanese case remains a live issue substantially because reunification of the 'two Chinas' remains an avowed policy objective of the People's Republic. Commensurate pressure from Beijing is applied to foreign governments, ostensibly compelling them to choose between recognition of the PRC or the ROC.¹⁵ In practice, though, function-ing embassies may operate even in such a difficult neighborhood. While fewer than 20 states currently formally recognise the ROC, a much larger number maintain de facto embassies in Taiwan under the guise of Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Offices. In the latest twist in this power play, some 500 US diplomats working under Kin Moy, an American ambassador in all but title, moved into a purpose-built 'American Institute in Taiwan' on 12 June 2018." *Embassies in Crisis: Studies of Diplomatic Missions in Testing Situations*. Pp. 6.

²⁸ Wong, Edward and Qin, Amy. "China's Push to Isolate Taiwan Demands U.S. Action, Reports Says," *New York Times*. Website. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/24/us/politics/china-taiwan-un.html>

²⁹ "Statement by Former President Trump on Jerusalem," US embassy to Israel, State Department. December 6, 2017. <https://il.usembassy.gov/statement-by-president-trump-on-jerusalem/>

³⁰ "Today we finally acknowledge the obvious: that Jerusalem is Israel's capital,' Mr. Trump said from the Diplomatic Reception Room of the White House. 'This is nothing more or less than a recognition of reality. It is also the right thing to do. It's something that has to be done.'" Landler, Mark. "Trump recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital and orders US embassy to move" *New York Times* website. December 6, 2017.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/world/middleeast/trump-jerusalem-israel-capital.html>

their country.³¹ As the first country to formally recognize this belief, the United States can be interpreted as encouraging overt Israeli authority over the city, despite Palestinian claims to the same spaces.³² The current tension between Israelis and Palestinians over Jerusalem and surrounding territory began with the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the dissolution of the British Mandate in the early 20th-century.

The Ottoman Empire's near four hundred year occupation of Jerusalem ended with the conclusion of World War I.³³ Under their leadership from the late middle-ages to the twentieth century, Jerusalem observed a drastic change to her urban fabric: the city transitioned from a traditional medieval Islamic structure to a multi-ethnoreligious city filled with Muslim, Jewish, and Christian citizens.³⁴ These groups spread throughout the city and congregated near their respective religious monuments and other landmarks.³⁵ This organic urban fabric didn't last however; by the twentieth century, the city was divided into rigid districts, or quarters, that corresponded to particular ethno-religious groups.³⁶ This segregation, of course, represents the bitter irony of Jerusalem: a multicultural, multireligious, and multiethnic city can seemingly only achieve coexistence through hard separation. **[Figure 6.]**

³¹ Dumper, Mick. "The U.S. Embassy Move to Jerusalem: Mixed Messages and Mixed Blessings for Israel?" *Review of Middle East Studies* 53, no. 1 (2019): 37. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26731399>.

³² Ibid. Pp. 38.

³³ Halabi, Awad. "The Transformation of the Prophet Moses Festival in Late Ottoman Jerusalem (1850-1917): From Traditional Pilgrimage to Civil Ritual." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 32, no. 2 (2018): Pp. 1

³⁴ Adar Arnon. "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period." *Middle Eastern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1992): 1–65. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4283477>. Pp. 3.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Roberts, Nicholas E. "Dividing Jerusalem: British Urban Planning in the Holy City." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42, no. 4 (2013).. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2013.42.4.7>. Pp. 11.

The political geography of the Arabian peninsula and historic Levant was entirely redrawn after WWI.³⁷ Internally, the Allied powers viewed their success as a reassurance of western imperialist prowess and extended their influence into reshaping the landscape.³⁸ Long-held historic claims to land dissipated in the face of modern industrial military forces and soon the map read more like a visualization of western Europe than of local governance. This influence was not confined to post-war negotiations; instead, the victors treated the landscape as a near-permanent fixture in their sphere of influence. Now, a large portion of the Middle East viewed western Europe as a colonial power and a drain on their resources, daily life, and agency.³⁹

In 1917, the British government declared a large portion of land, extending from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, as under British control.⁴⁰ This land encompassed contemporary Iraq, Yemen, UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Jordan, and Israel-Palestine.⁴¹ The British Mandate of Palestine was a direct result of several legal declarations from 1917 to the mid-1920's. The 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement was a pact formed by the U.K. and France who agreed to carve up the soon-fallen Ottoman Empire.⁴² Many view this policy as the cornerstone of local distrust of Europeans, and by extension Americans, in the Middle East today. This secret agreement built on years of French and British encroachment on Ottoman territory, and emboldened by this history, the two diplomats outlined five

³⁷ Tal, David and Ebook Central - Academic Complete. *War In Palestine, 1948: Strategy and Diplomacy*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003. Pp. 11.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid. Pp. 13

⁴⁰ Roberts, Nicholas E. "Dividing Jerusalem: British Urban Planning in the Holy City." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42, no. 4 (2013): 7–26. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2013.42.4.7>. Pp.9

⁴¹ *War In Palestine, 1948: Strategy and Diplomacy*. Pp. 8-13.

⁴² Levene, Mark. "The Balfour Declaration: A Case of Mistaken Identity." *The English Historical Review* 107, no. 422 (1992): 54–77. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/575676>. Pp.15.

parcels of land: British and French control, British and French influence, and one international zone containing Jerusalem.⁴³

In contrast to the clandestine Sykes-Picot Agreement, the 1917 Balfour Declaration is famously a public statement of support for the establishment of a home for the Jewish people in the Holy Land.⁴⁴ These sentiments were originally penned in correspondence between Arthur Balfour, Britain's Foreign Secretary, and Lord Rothschild who was one of the most prominent Jewish figures in British society.⁴⁵ Rothschild was a self-proclaimed Zionist and personal friend of Chaim Weizmann, who later became the first president of Israel (1948).⁴⁶ Their statements were released through the British press and were met with mixed signals: during their fight for independence, the Arab population in the Levant felt supported by the British.⁴⁷ After this announcement however, this population felt that this signaled changes within the British government and that Jewish needs would take precedence over their own.⁴⁸

The 1947 United Nations Partition plan (U.N. Resolution 147) was an unrealized proposal which, if enacted, would carve the former British Mandate of Palestine into various segments, including Palestine, Israel, and Jerusalem as a separate international zone.⁴⁹ **[Figure 7.]** The United Kingdom had previously announced their intention to withdraw from the region, and wished to dissolve their mandate, though by pressure from the U.S., U.S.S.R., Palestinians, and Jewish settlers

⁴³ Knell, Yolande. "Balfour Declaration: the divisive legacy of 67 words." BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-41765892>

⁴⁴ Levene, Mark. "The Balfour Declaration: A Case of Mistaken Identity." Pp.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Pp. 63.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Pp. 72

⁴⁷ "Balfour Declaration: the divisive legacy of 67 words."

⁴⁸ Roberts, "Dividing Jerusalem" Pp. 22.

⁴⁹ Ben-Dror, Elad. "The United Nations Plan to Establish an Armed Jewish Force to Implement the Partition Plan (United Nations Resolution 181)." *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 24, no. 4, 1 Dec. 2013, Pp. 560.

(future Israelis), the U.K. postponed their withdraw until an agreement could be made.⁵⁰ The U.K.'s diminished role in the region allowed the rise of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to have yet another battleground to enact their ideological vision and the two powers wrestled for dominance in the region. This internal conflict in the early days of the United Nations highlighted their inherent flaw - acting towards shared interests would be incompatible with countries of such contrasting ideologies - this event is referred to as the "the greatest test it had faced since its founding."⁵¹ While the partition was designed at 30,000 ft. by the *Great World Powers*, the landscape was engulfed in "guerrilla warfare and terrorist attacks" until the War of Independence officially began.⁵²

Israel declared independence on May 14, 1948 from the Tel Aviv Museum of Art.⁵³ British forces quickly withdrew from the region soon after, and the United States immediately threw their support behind the provisional Israeli government.⁵⁴ Palestinians, now backed by their Arab Gulf neighbors, fought until spring 1949. The landscape of historic Palestine was suddenly drastically different from the 1947 partition plan, namely due to the treatment of Jerusalem.⁵⁵ Israeli forces drove into Jerusalem but were stopped short of the Old City, the historic district in eastern Jerusalem which contains the majority of religious landmarks. The 1949 Armistice Line, also known as the Green Line, was intended as a symbolic demarcation between Israeli and Palestinian forces at the end of the First

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. Pp. 562.

⁵² Ibid. Pp. 563.

⁵³ "The Knesset, Declaration of Independence," Knesset, government. April 16 2022.

<https://main.knesset.gov.il/en/about/pages/declaration.aspx>

⁵⁴ *Embassies in Crisis: Studies of Diplomatic Missions in Testing Situations*. Pp. 146.

⁵⁵ "'The United Nations Plan to Establish an Armed Jewish Force to Implement the Partition Plan (United Nations Resolution 181)."

Arab-Israeli War.⁵⁶ This divide also extended through Jerusalem, prohibiting Israeli access to religious monuments such as the Western Wall/al-Aqsa.⁵⁷ The divide across the landscape lasted until the outbreak of the Six-Day of 1967. **[Figure 8.]**

Historic alterations to Jerusalem's landscape are often preceded by foreign interventions, such as the establishment/dissolution of the British Mandate of Palestine or the "expulsion of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) from the Sinai Peninsula and the concentration of Egyptian forces there" prior to the Six-Day War. As such, this thesis investigates the U.S. Embassy to Israel as the next potential instigator resulting in the next phase of Israeli authority over the region. The establishment of an embassy within a contested landscape can be used to minimize another's claim to land. The disproportionate relationship between the United States' handling of Israelis and Palestinians is seen through the presence of their diplomatic missions: while the United States has an official embassy to Israel, the Palestinians are forced to make do with only a consulate to their name.⁵⁸ While both an embassy and a consulate are official representations of the United States in their territory, the embassy is clearly the superior political structure with greater cultural and logistical significance.⁵⁹ The establishment of a US embassy in Jerusalem was interpreted by some in the global community as the

⁵⁶ Gieskes, Mette. "The Green Line: Potency, Absurdity, and Disruption of Dichotomy in Francis Alÿs's Intervention in Jerusalem." In *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, edited by Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers, 33–58. Brill, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w8h335.8>.

⁵⁷ Israelis/Jewish prayer was prohibited from Rachel's Tomb (on the road between Bethlehem and Ramat Rahel) and the Tomb of the Patriarchs/al-Haram al-Ibrahimi (Hebron).

⁵⁸ "About the Palestinian Affairs Unit" Palestinian Affairs Unit, US Embassy in Israel, State Department. Website. <https://il.usembassy.gov/palestinian-affairs-unit/> and Underwood, Alexia. "The controversial US Jerusalem embassy opening, explained" Vox. Website. Updated May 16, 2018.

<https://www.vox.com/2018/5/14/17340798/jerusalem-embassy-israel-palestinians-us-trump>

⁵⁹ "What is a U.S. Embassy?"

endorsement of the United States for some of Israel's other controversial activities, such as Israeli settlement activity in the West Bank, a de facto alteration to Jerusalem's territorial boundaries.⁶⁰

The embassy can be used to shape the political boundaries of the sovereign nation, especially within contested landscapes. After receiving support from one of the most powerful nations in the world, would Israel be so emboldened as to rapidly increase settlement activity, even though it is largely condemned by the global community? Following the 2017 announcement by the Trump administration, the world was shortly overwhelmed by protests.⁶¹ While the focus was on potential humanitarian consequences of such a decision, the implications of the particular site of the proposed new embassy has been overlooked. The controversy behind the US embassy in Jerusalem is not limited to its presence within her municipal boundaries; rather, the particular site and footprint of the present embassy location contains overt political, historic, and cultural implications. **[Figure 9.]**

The 2018 U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) encroaches on the eastern Israeli boundary of Jerusalem - looking toward the Old City. The Old City contains the majority of holiest religious monuments in Christianity, Judaism and Islam. The Old City sits within East Jerusalem, culturally determined as Palestinian land though conquered by Israeli forces during the Six-Day War.

Occupation of this region determines accessibility to religious monuments. During former US

⁶⁰ Underwood, Alexia. "The controversial US Jerusalem embassy opening, explained" Vox. Website. Updated May 16, 2018. <https://www.vox.com/2018/5/14/17340798/jerusalem-embassy-israel-palestinians-us-trump> "Ilan Goldenberg, a Middle East expert with the Center for New American Security . . . [stated] that Trump's decision significantly undercuts the US's credibility as a neutral party in the conflict. As the country that has led the Israeli-Palestinian peace process negotiations for the past 25 years, the US is 'supposed to be acting like the fireman,' he said. 'Instead, we're acting like the arsonist — we're making things worse,'."

⁶¹ Reilly, Steve. "Backlash, protests continue over Trump's Jerusalem decision," USA today. Website. December 10, 2017. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/12/10/trump-jerusalem-capital-protest-near-u-s-embassy-beirut-spark-s-clashes/938331001/>

President Trump's announcement concerning the US embassy in Jerusalem, he stated,

*"Jerusalem is not just the heart of three great religions, but it is now also the heart of one of the most successful democracies in the world. Over the past seven decades, the Israeli people have built a country where Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and people of all faiths are free to live and worship according to their conscience and according to their beliefs. Jerusalem is today, and must remain, a place where Jews pray at the Western Wall, where Christians walk the Stations of the Cross, and where Muslims worship at Al-Aqsa Mosque."*⁶²

The announcement underlines a commitment to coexistence and continued access of all faiths at religious sites despite their contested nature, namely the aforementioned al-Aqsa mosque surrounded by the Western Wall.⁶³ This structure is the defining visual feature of al-Haram al-Sharif (in English, Dome of the Rock), a UNESCO World Heritage Site and arguably the most contested religious space within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.⁶⁴ The mosque marks the last place the Prophet Mohammad touched before his ascension into heaven.⁶⁵ The larger complex is formed by the stone ruins of King Herod's architectural legacy - the construction and rebuilding of the Second Temple⁶⁶ - the first of which was destroyed by the Romans during their earlier occupation of Jerusalem.⁶⁷ The Temple was said to have marked the spot where Abraham nearly sacrificed his son Isaac at G-d's command.⁶⁸

Possession of this site was a central goal of the 1967 war, and after the IDF stormed the hill, it signaled

⁶² "Statement by Former President Trump on Jerusalem,"

⁶³ Ibid. "In making these announcements, I also want to make one point very clear: This decision is not intended, in any way, to reflect a departure from our strong commitment to facilitate a lasting peace agreement. We want an agreement that is a great deal for the Israelis and a great deal for the Palestinians. We are not taking a position of any final status issues, including the specific boundaries of the Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, or the resolution of contested borders. Those questions are up to the parties involved."

⁶⁴ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/6818/>

⁶⁵ Naim Sofer. "The Political Status of Jerusalem in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1948-1967." Pp. 73.

⁶⁶ Galor, Katharina. "Archaeological Ethics." In *Finding Jerusalem: Archaeology between Science and Ideology*. Pp. 103.

⁶⁷ Emmett, Chad F. "The Capital Cities of Jerusalem." *Geographical Review* 86, no. 2 (1996): 233-58.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/215958>. Pp. 242.

⁶⁸ In Statu Quo: Structures of Negotiation. Edited by Ifat Finkelman, Deborah Pinto Ffeda, Oren Sagiv, Tania Coen Uzzielli. Print. La Biennale di Venezia. 2018

the end was near.⁶⁹ Under Jordanian rule, Jews were banned from praying along the Wailing Wall, the last remnant of the Second Temple and the holiest site in Judaism.⁷⁰ Despite the IDF's 1967 victory, today, the Islamic Waqf controls the Dome of the Rock, again prohibiting Jews from entering the large complex.⁷¹ This site is often the playground for rising conflicts between the two warring parties, especially during holy high holidays.⁷² For all the promised conflict that would immediately follow the establishment of the US Embassy in Jerusalem, none came to the degree as predicted.⁷³ This same struggle for control of spaces and landscapes is transferred to the control of objects and antiquities, and just as the placement of the US embassy violates international law, so does Israel's handling of antiquities.

Israeli authority over the handling of tangible heritage is used to establish a formal relationship between their historic and contemporary claims over the landscape. These discussions of preservation, iconoclasm, and colonialism bring to mind several questions: should the British Museum return all artifacts taken under unsavory circumstances to their country of origin; should artifacts extracted from unstable political environments remain in a foreign nation's museum for the sake of preservation; do

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ FRIESEL, OFRA. "Israel's 1967 Governmental Debate about the Annexation of East Jerusalem: The Nascent Alliance with the United States, Overshadowed by 'United Jerusalem.'" *Law and History Review* 34, no. 2 (2016): 363–91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24771455>. "Following almost two decades of Jordanian rule over Jerusalem's 'Old City,' . . . during which Jordan refused Israeli access to places holy to Judaism, in violation of the 1949 Armistice Agreement, and the international community mostly ignored the matter . . . the Israeli government was adamant that the Old City stay under Israeli control," Pp. 365.

⁷¹ In Statu Quo: Structures of Negotiation.

⁷² Kingsley, Patrick. "After Years of Quiet, Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Exploded. Why now?" *New York Times*, May 15, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/15/world/middleeast/israel-palestinian-gaza-war.html>

⁷³ Halbfinger, David M., Kershner Isabel, and Walsh, Declan. "Israel Kills Dozen at Gaza Border as U.S. Embassy Opens in Jerusalem" *New York Times*. Website. May 14, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/14/world/middleeast/gaza-protests-palestinians-us-embassy.html>

artifacts extracted from their context lose their identity, as such, do they become a part of a global heritage? In order to establish a physical link between their historic and contemporary claim to the landscape, each side attempts to manage the built environment and cultivate an “Israeli” or “Palestinian” landscape. Israel’s activities remain unpopular in the global community; some nations still refuse to recognize this country as an official state. Former United Nation’s ambassador and Trump appointee Nikki Haley repeatedly condemned the UN security council for their “double-standard” in regard to condemning atrocities abroad; from Haley’s perspective, terrorist activities across the world are glazed over by security council and global community in favor of launching attacks at Israel who seek only to “feel safe in [his] own home.”⁷⁴ This growing resentment between the global community and Israel is seen in the handling of UNESCO and ICOMOS charters. A few weeks before the 2017 embassy announcement, the Trump administration declared their intention to withdraw from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) citing anti-Israel bias.⁷⁵ UNESCO director Irina Bokova responded mournfully to this decision stating, “[t]his is a loss for multilateralism.”⁷⁶ After the U.S. expressed this intention, former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu quickly followed.⁷⁷ This demonstrates the joint interest between the Israeli and American governments of 2017 and fits within the spirit of Trump’s election

⁷⁴ Jaffe-Hoffman, Maayan. “Nikki Haley: Israelis deserve to be safe in their homes,” the Jerusalem Post. Website. <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/former-us-ambassador-nikki-haley-heads-to-southern-israel-on-solidarity-mission-670865>

⁷⁵ “The Paris-based organization has been denounced by its critics as a crucible for anti-Israel bias: blasted for criticizing Israel’s occupation of East Jerusalem, naming ancient Jewish sites as Palestinian heritage sites and granting full membership to Palestine in 2011.” Adamson, Thomas. “U.S. and Israel officially withdraw from UNESCO,” PBS. Website. JAN 1 2019. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/u-s-and-israel-officially-withdraw-from-unesco>

⁷⁶ John, Tara. “Why the United States is Saying Goodbye to UNESCO,” TIME. Website. <https://time.com/4979481/unesco-us-leaving/>

⁷⁷ “U.S. and Israel officially withdraw from UNESCO,”

campaign, “America First.”⁷⁸ Prior to the establishment of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem), a number of large excavation sites surround the footprint of the future embassy compound. Following the inauguration of the American embassy, the findings accelerated in the area.

In dealing with high-profile military and government structures, sensitive information is hidden from view. In order to protect the embassy workers, traditional architectural methods of representation - plan, section, elevation - are kept within the confines of the State Department. The Bureau of Overseas Buildings Operations (OBO) employees are not permitted to speak publicly about the inner workings of the project and their names are not often associated with their own work. Even with the most publicized information, such as the former U.S. President Trump’s speech announcing the relocation of the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the language was carefully chosen to convey a tone of coexistence between all involved parties, despite historic evidence to the contrary. From the controversial announcement and legal circumstances surrounding this change in American practice, to the highly-charged political locale of the present site of the U.S. Embassy to Israel, and the change in possible illegal activities surrounding the embassy all hint at a division between professed intention behind the embassy move and private motivation of the United States. As such, this thesis utilizes non-traditional methods of analysis to argue potential motivation behind the establishment of the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem. **[Figure 10]**

One primary method used throughout this thesis is based on the research of Eyal Weizman and Forensic Architecture. Eyal Weizman is a professor of Spatial & Visual Cultures at Goldsmiths

⁷⁸ Rothman, Lily. “The Long History Behind Donald Trump’s ‘America First’ Foreign Policy,” Time. Website. <https://time.com/4273812/america-first-donald-trump-history>

College, University of London. This British-Israeli architect has positioned himself as the leading analyst studying the relationship between architecture and criminality. Originally invested in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Weizman has expanded his area of study to include any contested or suspicious act of state-sponsored violence such as forced land dispossession in Colombia⁷⁹, claims of environmental racism in Louisiana US⁸⁰, or refugees left stranded floating the Mediterranean Sea⁸¹. His research group, Forensic Architecture, relies on several key spatial tools to analyze landscapes. Forensic Architecture expanded on these techniques to include, but are not limited to, “3D Modeling, audio analysis, cartographic regression, data mining, fieldwork, fluid dynamics, geolocation, ground truth, image complex, software development, machine learning, osint, pattern analysis, photogrammetry, reenactment, remote sensing, shadow analysis, situated testimony, synchronization, virtual reality, and more.”⁸² According to Weizman, Forensic Architecture:

“is a kind of historical practice related to architecture that is conceptually completely outside of the epistemic frame of architectural history. Rather than to the human agent, forensic architecture needs to be tuned to the history of materials, surfaces, structures, and form, to their interaction and their failure. These hold clues as to the event that led to destruction — and this event might have a legal implication such as in questions regarding when a building was destroyed from the air or from the ground—but also for much more subtle events that could be registered in materials. Sometimes extremely subtle transformations, such as minute ones in the surface of buildings, are inadvertent traces. The skins of buildings are complex membranes registering minute transformation in environmental conditions as much as abrupt events.”⁸³

Weizman is particularly interested in the “slow violence” of architectural construction. Sparked by his sustained spatial analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Weizman has focused his research on the

⁷⁹ Forensic Architecture, Investigations,

<https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/land-dispossession-in-nueva-colonia>

⁸⁰ Ibid. <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/environmental-racism-in-death-alley-louisiana>.

⁸¹ Ibid. <https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/the-left-to-die-boat>.

⁸² Ibid. Methodology. <https://forensic-architecture.org/>

⁸³ Weizman, Eyal and Andrew Herscher. "Architecture, Conversation Violence, Evidence." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation History Theory & Criticism*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1 Jun. 2011, pp. 117.

close symbiotic relationship between architecture and warfare. While Forensic Architecture is a “move toward the evidentiary,” it is also evolving to meet a more investigative demand. This approach to architecture, as an elastic canvas recording the surrounding landscape, is adopted for this thesis’ central methodology. As outlined in the three case studies above, Forensic Architecture often utilizes a legal framework to begin an investigation. As such, this thesis adopts this same starting point. The next phase is an investigation of the potential motivations and benefits of the United States, Israel, and even the Palestinian Authority for the Jerusalem embassy. The US embassy is as much a political reinforcement of perceived Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem as it is a defiance against the UN. The Jerusalem embassy is a manifestation of American support for Israel’s “eternal capital.” After years of tensions and outright wars, a potential pathway to peace has been carved - one that was often avoided and vehemently protested: a pathway to peace centers Israel and ignores the Palestinian question. Weizman’s distrust of the state-held narrative will dominate the framework of this thesis, which will analyze the legal policies, public statements, and press releases with a particular critical eye.

“The landscape . . . is not innocent,” nor is it neutral.⁸⁴ The landscape is not a quiet figure poised to record history, rather it is an active agent mediating between extremes and shaping the culture.⁸⁵ Cultural landscape studies are at the intersection of human geography, architectural history, archaeology, and many more fields concerned with the built environment.⁸⁶ The cultural landscape approach explores terrain as an “object of study.” This thesis, for a majority of reasons, is less

⁸⁴ Schein, Richard H.. “12. Normative Dimensions of Landscape” In *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson* edited by Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, 199-218. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520935907-016>

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Schein, Richard. “Cultural Landscape Studies: Reception and the Social Mediation of Meaning.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 65, no. 1 (2006): 17–18. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25068232>.

concerned with the particulars of the embassy design or formal arrangement within the complex.⁸⁷

Rather, by placing architecture at the center of “social formations . . . [the] legible intertextualities” emerge, revealing the hidden motivation behind this establishment.⁸⁸ Denis Cosgrove’s “Introduction: Iconography and Landscape,” presents the landscape as an symbol of its surroundings with limited agency or response to its use. While this limited approach is rejected in this thesis, one element of Cosgrove’s article resonates with the design approach of this region: the relationship between worship and iconography within a contested landscape. Aniconism is the rejection of icon-based imagery.⁸⁹ This method “permits only non-optically naturalist images,” in place of the traditional (icon-based) veneration.⁹⁰ Judaism and Islam both subscribe to this method of representation, leaving a notable absence of imagery throughout their built environment.⁹¹ As a result, architecture and the landscape are elevated to fill this vacancy.

Mapping is a diplomatic tool. The act of mapping is as much a declaration of authority as it is a manipulation of reality “ . . . to engender the re-shaping of the worlds in which people live.”⁹² This thesis poses mapping as a “cultural project, creating and building the world as much as measuring and

⁸⁷ As previously discussed, this thesis is unable to access documents such as plan, section, elevation etc. due to privacy and security concerns. Even if these were to be discussed with an embassy official, it would not be published in this document. Also, the particular design of the U.S. Embassy is wholly disinteresting. Constructed in 2011, this structure alone does not have enough history or information to accurately analyze it. Rather, this thesis is concerned with the build-up to the establishment of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem), the messaging behind this relocation, and speculation of what this relocation means for future treatment of the contested landscape.

⁸⁸ “Cultural Landscape Studies: Reception and the Social Mediation of Meaning.” Pp. 18.

⁸⁹ Milette Gaifman (2017) Aniconism: definitions, examples and comparative perspectives, *Religion*, 47:3, 335-352, DOI: 10.1080/0048721X.2017.1342987

⁹⁰ Roxburgh, David J. "Two-Point Perspective." *Artforum International*, 04, 2012, 61-62,64,10, <http://proxy01.its.virginia.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fmagazines%2Ftwo-point-perspective%2Fdocview%2F1009030229%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D14678>.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Corner, J. (2011). The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention. In *The Map Reader* (eds M. Dodge, R. Kitchin and C. Perkins). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470979587>. Ch. 12, Pp. 231.

describing it.”⁹³ This is seen in the negotiations between the victor and the vanquished: a map sprawled out in a small crowded room filled with military officials and heads of state. The map is annotated with unrefined materials, such as chalk or crayon. This determines the boundaries for generations to come, essentially “remaking” territory.⁹⁴ The flick of a wrist can erase contested territory, claim authority, or negotiate for a peaceful solution. For the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, maps are impertive to understanding the sequence of events, spatial awareness, and the delination of territory. A sequence of historic maps, primarily focused on the treatment of Jerusalem in the 20th and 21st century, will illustrate her theme of occupation.

Mapping is the transition between intangible and tangible heritage practices. It is a diplomatic tool and as much a declaration of authority as it is a manipulation of reality “ . . . to engender the re-shaping of the worlds in which people live.”⁹⁵ This thesis poses mapping as a “cultural project, creating and building the world as much as measuring and describing it.”⁹⁶ This is seen in the negotiations between the victor and the vanquished: a map sprawled out in a small crowded room filled with military officials and heads of state. The map is annotated with unrefined materials, such as chalk or crayon. This determines the boundaries for generations to come, essentially “remaking” territory.⁹⁷ The flick of a wrist can erase contested territory, claim authority, or negotiate for a peaceful solution. For the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, maps are impertive to understanding the sequence of events, spatial awareness, and the delination of territory. A sequence of historic maps, primarily

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Corner, J. (2011). The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention. In *The Map Reader* (eds M. Dodge, R. Kitchin and C. Perkins). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470979587>. Ch. 12, Pp. 231.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

focused on the treatment of Jerusalem in the 20th and 21st century, will illustrate her theme of occupation.

The “ideological contest for heritage preservation” defines the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.⁹⁸ Heritage has become synonymous with nationalism and religious sites are no longer autonomous structures. Sole authority over heritage within contested territories is tantamount to sovereignty, as these holy “sites have become intrinsically tied to each groups’ sense of political, religious and national identity.”⁹⁹ The majority of existing scholarship within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is primarily concerned with tangible heritage, including the most prominent religious monuments: the Temple Mount (*Kotell/al-Haram al-Sharif*), Rachel’s Tomb (*Kever Rabel/Qabr Rāḥīl*), and the Tomb of the Patriarchs (*Ma’arat HaMachpelah/al-Haram al-Ibrahimi*). For thousands of years however, access to these sites has not been a guarantee and within the contemporary Israeli-Palestinian conflict, access to tangible heritage can be a distant and dangerous activity. As such, there has been a considerable rise in intangible heritage within this conflict. Whereas tangible heritage can only exist within a particular context, intangible heritage is much more accessible. Intangible heritage is defined by UNESCO as something that is “constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ DUMPER, MICHAEL, and CRAIG LARKIN. “The Politics of Heritage and the Limitations of International Agency in Contested Cities: A Study of the Role of UNESCO in Jerusalem’s Old City.” *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 1 (2012): 25–52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41485489>.

⁹⁹ Ibid. Pp.

¹⁰⁰ “Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO. Website. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention#art2>

Intangible cultural heritage is a relatively new area of scholarship; unlike tangible heritage, UNESCO struggles to protect this form of heritage due to its impalpable nature. Within the two thousand years the Jewish laity was denied access to the Temple Mount and other holy sites, intangible heritage practices rose. The phrase, “Masada shall not fall!” was popularized during the War of Independence as a battlecry. In contrast, the Palestinians coined the mournful term, *Nakba*, to refer to the catastrophe of the First Arab-Israeli War.

This thesis is not concerned with solely exploring tangible heritage or intangible heritage. Rather, this thesis is primarily interested in the cyclical relationship between these two forms of heritage preservation as a tool for legitimization. To arrive at this point, a series of questions were asked: is the embassy a product of heritage preservation? What factors most shaped the immediate built environment? How does the embassy impact the accessibility of religious monuments? The comparison of the Tel Aviv to the Jerusalem location revealed the pattern within contested landscapes: first, access to tangible heritage is denied; second, intangible cultural heritage rises; third, intangible cultural heritage is used as the basis for authority over contested tangible heritage; finally, access to tangible heritage is granted based on intangible cultural heritage methods. The cycle repeats itself.

This thesis explores the transition between intangible and tangible heritage practices within a contested landscape, “equal to what is and to what is not yet.”¹⁰¹ The embassy is the most recent challenge to the *status quo* in the region and is an active agent in reshaping the landscape. This thesis examines the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) through three different scales: the global, the regional, and the object. The first chapter, Embassies and the Role of the Witness, will challenge the professed

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

role of the American embassy. This chapter considers legislation as a form of intangible heritage. Policies regarding the status of Jerusalem or the implementation of the embassy are key factors in understanding the built environment. The adoption, or rejection of, legislation in Jerusalem is a declaration authority in contested space. The second chapter will compare the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv v. Jerusalem) in regards to their cultural landscapes. This thesis views the embassy as a form of new-age orientalism, which seeks to establish a sphere of influence in a foreign region to resist competitors. Just as the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv was established to resist Soviet influence over Palestinians, the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem was established to resist Iranian influence and their outgrowths in Hamas, Fatah, and Hezbollah. The third chapter will explore the practice of Israeli archaeology which goes beyond the standard (Western) archaeological practices. Rather, Israeli biblical archaeology is invested in the search for tangible evidence of intangible heritage. This chapter will explore Israeli archaeology as a tool for nation-building and how nearby excavation sites arguably contributed to the site selection of the new embassy compound.

“EDGE OF WILDERNESS”

“At the end of the cul-de-sac which was also the end of Talpilot [neighborhood of the present site of the U.S. Embassy to Israel], the end of Jerusalem, and the end of the settled land: beyond stretched the grim, barren hills of the Judean desert. The Dead Sea sparkled in the distance like a platter of molten steel . . . I can see them standing there, at the end of the world, on the edge of wilderness.”¹⁰²

The present site of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) is situated on the highest point between Ramat Rachel and the Old City, looking down onto the valley once cared for by Palestinians for generations. This unique location, romanticized due to its visual command of the landscape, supports the orientalist, expansionist interpretation of the 2018 embassy location.

¹⁰² Farrell, Stephen and Lubell, Maayan. “U.S. Jerusalem embassy lies ‘at the end of the world,’” REUTERS. Website. July 17 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-usa-embassy-land/u-s-jerusalem-embassy-lies-at-the-end-of-the-world-idUSKCN1IF1RE>. This quote is taken from prominent Israeli author Amos Oz’s 2002 autobiography, “A Tale of Love in Darkness.”

CHAPTER ONE | Embassies and the Role of the Witness

“In late June 2014, a Sudanese woman, Meriam Ibrahim, sought refuge at the US embassy in Sudan. Ibrahim had been convicted of apostasy and sentenced to death but her death sentence was overturned. The day after her sentence was overturned, she tried to leave Sudan for the US with her family but was detained on charges of forging travel documents. It was after being released from detention that she sought refuge at the US embassy.”¹⁰³

Meriam Ibrahim faced brutal treatment in her Sudanese prison. As was the “customary practice for all prisoners awaiting executions, Ibrahim remained chained at all times.”¹⁰⁴ After undergoing sentencing while pregnant, Ibrahim was forced to deliver her child while in prison.¹⁰⁵ Her defense lawyers allege Ibrahim “gave birth in chains and could not open her legs.”¹⁰⁶ In addition to her death sentence, Ibrahim was also sentenced to 100 lashes, akin to torture in the global community.¹⁰⁷ Her crime to warrant this treatment? Ibrahim married a Christian man and within strict Sharia law, “marriage between a Muslim woman and a non-Muslim man is illegal, and constitutes adultery.”¹⁰⁸ Even though Ibrahim professed to share the same religion as her husband, this was not initially recognized by the Sudanese government. Pressure from international authorities fell on Sudan and the charges were ultimately dropped. Another crucial element of this case is the nationality of Meriam’s

¹⁰³ Ogg, Kate. “PROTECTION CLOSER TO HOME? A LEGAL CASE FOR CLAIMING ASYLUM AT EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES.” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2014): 81. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45054724>.

¹⁰⁴ “Meriam Ibrahim freed from death row in Sudan,” Amnesty International UK. Website. Jan 12 2018. <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/meriam-ibrahim-freed-death-row-sudan-apostasy-pregnant-mother#:~:text=Six%20weeks%20after%20she%20was,>

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Sherwood, Harriet. “Meriam Ibrahim on giving birth in jail: ‘Something has happened to the baby,’” the Guardian. Website. Jul 1 2014.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/01/meriam-ibrahim-child-disabled-born-shackled-floor>

¹⁰⁷ “Meriam Ibrahim freed from death row in Sudan,”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

husband: Daniel Wani is an American citizen. Due to U.S. immigration law, their two children are also considered American citizens.¹⁰⁹ With reports of Meriam's labor conditions and possible harm to the child, the Sudanese government is effectively involved in the harm of an American citizen. Despite Meriam's Sudanese identity, she and her family were provided refuge within the US embassy in Khartoum as a gesture of goodwill by the United States.¹¹⁰ Meriam charges are yet another case study which highlights the radical difference in belief systems across nations despite their shared diplomatic presence. Meriam's case is proof that diplomatic missions are not always an insurance of shared interests or mutual world views with which to base negotiations. What are the roles and responsibilities of an American presence abroad, especially when confronted with allegations of human rights abuses? Does the United States have a responsibility to step in, and if so, what does this entail? Would this action violate the sovereignty of another country, even if they participated in criminal behavior? **[Figure 11.]**

A special session of the congressional Committee of Foreign Affairs was called to discuss the proper American response to Meriam's situation. Labeled as the "Troubling Case of Meriam Ibrahim", this event takes place after Ibrahim's release from prison before she is granted travel to the

¹⁰⁹ "THE TROUBLING CASE OF MERIAM IBRAHIM" House Hearing, 113 Congress, U.S. Government Publishing Office. Committee on Foreign Affairs. July 23, 2014. Washington D.C.

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-113hhrg88830/html/CHRG-113hhrg88830.htm>

"Now, United States citizenship law with respect to children born overseas to a United States citizen is fairly straightforward. Section 301 of the Immigration and Nationality Act provides in pertinent part that when a child is born outside the United States and its possessions to parents one of whom is a United States citizen and the other of whom is a foreign national, the child is a citizen at birth, provided that the U.S. citizen parent has lived in the United States for at least 5 years before the birth and that 2 of those years were after the parent had reached the age of 14. Looking at the facts of the case, which have been set forth by other witnesses, and lining them up against the law, it seems pretty clear that these two children are United States citizens and should be certified as such.

¹¹⁰ "PROTECTION CLOSER TO HOME? A LEGAL CASE FOR CLAIMING ASYLUM AT EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES."

United States. Ibrahim's tragic circumstances force U.S. civil service members to speak plainly on the roles and responsibilities of American presence abroad. While there is a distinction between the executive administration, the State Department, and the congressional committee members, these resources provide a crucial insight into the contemporary thinking of American embassies by those in positions of power. During the debate over the proper handling of Meriam's status as a Sudanese citizen, a particular American policy was raised, known as the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998. This act is a misnomer and should not be misinterpreted as a broad, international commitment to the protection of religious freedom. Rather, it was an American policy aimed at other sovereign nations stating "[i]t shall be the policy of the United States to condemn violations of religious freedom and to promote and to assist other governments in the promotion of the fundamental right to freedom of religion." The limits to this policy however, are unclear. Does this policy legally grant the United States to intervene in the dealings of another sovereign nation when the U.S. suspects a violation of religious freedom? This policy has not been sanctioned or adopted by the international community either - without this action, does this criminalize any American intervention based on this law?

The United States Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) was established in violation of international law, which declares Jerusalem as an international zone. The partnership between the United States and Israel demonstrates their solidarity and commitment to political and legal autonomy within their own alleged territory. This is representative of the broader trend of Western powers receding from exercises in international cooperation, such as U.K.'s Brexit scandal in 2020 or intended withdraw of the U.S. from UNESCO as discussed in the third chapter. This chapter examines the supposed violation by the establishment of the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem to further explore the role of the embassy as the clearest

architectural declaration of sovereignty. By positioning their embassy in Jerusalem, this is a clear demonstration of American and Israeli autonomy; despite the protests which shortly overwhelmed the world upon the 2017 announcement, the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) reveals the outrage by the United Nations to be an empty threat and emphasizes domestic policy as the most powerful legal agent.

This chapter considers legislation as a form of intangible heritage. This should not be misinterpreted however, as an endorsement of all textual evidence as heritage. For example, the (re)discovered Dead Sea scrolls or the U.S. Constitution would certainly qualify as forms of tangible heritage. Simply because legislation is made public in either print or digital form should not determine its status either. Rather, this chapter explores the legislation, actualized or not, as the origin point for the transformation of the built environment. Given that Jerusalem is considered an international city, and the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in violation of international law, some enemies to the state of Israel cite this violation as justification for violence and bloodshed. This chapter explores in detail the policies responsible for the spark of conflict and the establishment of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem).

The Professed Role of American Embassies

According to the National Museum of American Diplomacy website, embassies are given “special status” at home and abroad; in the United States, the embassy is considered tantamount to American soil.¹¹¹ This classification dispels a common misconception about the status of embassies:

¹¹¹ “What is a U.S. Embassy?” The National Museum of American Diplomacy, website.
<https://diplomacy.state.gov/diplomacy/what-is-a-u-s-embassy/>

the embassy should not be considered merely as a symbol or representation of the country of origin rather the embassy should be seen as an extension of the home country. According to the guidelines of the US State Department, “[r]epresentatives of the host country cannot enter an embassy without permission - even to put out a fire - an an attack on an embassy is considered an attack on the country it represents.”¹¹²

The establishment and existence of an embassy is based on the host country’s acceptance of this bizarre legal status. The political context of the embassy shifts the intention of the structure: depending on the relationship between host country and country of origin, the embassy may be viewed in a number of ways by the local population and the international community. This thesis will initially define the embassy by way of the United States Department of State, the guiding government body for the creation, administration and governance of American embassies and other structures representing the U.S. government abroad. The State Department frames their role as “[leading] America’s foreign policy through diplomacy, advocacy, and assistance by advancing the interests of the American people, their safety and economic prosperity.”¹¹³ The State Department defines an embassy simply as the “headquarters for U.S. government representatives serving in a foreign country” which hosts diplomats, houses ambassadors, and, in most circumstances, is located in the host country’s capital city.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ “About the U.S. Department of State,” State Department website. <https://www.state.gov/about/>

¹¹⁴ “What is a U.S. Embassy?” The National Museum of American Diplomacy, website. <https://diplomacy.state.gov/diplomacy/what-is-a-u-s-embassy/>

Jane C. Loeffler is an architectural historian identified as a pioneer in embassy scholarship and aided in the promotion of the embassy as a legitimate form of architecture.¹¹⁵ Her hallmark book, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*, tackles the key struggle of embassy design: are these structures intended to respond to the host country's landscape? Or rather, are they constructed to promote "american-ness" abroad?¹¹⁶ **[Figure 12.]** Loeffler limits her scope of investigation to the Cold War period. As a result, she highlights the rise of modernism in design¹¹⁷ emphasizes American desire to combat the spread of Soviet influence by rapid construction of American embassies, and narrows the conversation of security, diplomacy, and architecture to a pre-9/11 era.¹¹⁸ Dr. Loeffler also guides the reader through the gradual transformation of the State Department's approach to design.

Embassies, according to the primary sources and interviews present in her work, were originally constructed as cultural institutions; they consisted of soaring steel and glass structures, plainly expressing their intention for transparency within the host country. As tensions rose and embassies became a target of violence, the State Department pivoted.¹¹⁹ They largely abandoned the idea of an embassy as a public facing structure, a place to collect and display various art and artifacts. By the late 20th century, the State Department had transitioned to constructing structures with the impression of being an impenetrable fortress.¹²⁰ The shifting intentions of a US embassy were discussed in Loeffler's

¹¹⁵ Loeffler, Jane C. and Ebook Central - Academic Complete. *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998. Pp. vi.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Curiously, the construction of embassies mirrored traditional architecture competitions with such celebrated figures and firms as Walter Gropius, Eero Saarinen, and Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, and more designing American embassies.

¹¹⁸ Loeffler argues this period of embassy design is "viewed as an effort to showcase democracy at the height of the Cold War." *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*. Pp. 69.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. Pp. 244.

¹²⁰ Ibid. Pp. 242.

2016 article, “The State Department and the Politics of Preservation: Why Few U.S. Embassies Are Landmarks,” which ponders the department’s hesitancy to embrace preservation as a guiding principle.¹²¹ When first arriving at the Clinton-era State Department, preservation was tied to the outdated practices of building cultural institutions.¹²² What role, or right, they asked did the United States play in preserving foreign landscapes?

Within the span of the twentieth-century, the U.S. State Department went through several internal shifts in direction and intention of their missions abroad: what factors contributed to the most recent shift in policies which supported the role of the embassy as a structure of cultural heritage preservation?¹²³ Loeffler attributes this slow evolution within the department to hiring of former members of various government institutions, including the National Register of Historic Places and National Park Service. **[Figure 13.]**

¹²¹ “It was Under Secretary Cohen who led the drive that first made “preservation” a respectable word at the State Department, if not a totally workable or trusted policy priority, and it was she who facilitated the creation of the *Secretary’s Register of Culturally Significant Property*, an ambitious effort launched in 2000 to publicize diplomatic holdings of exceptional importance and spotlight the Department’s rich and largely unrecognized architectural and cultural history.” Jane C. Loeffler. “The State Department and the Politics of Preservation: Why Few U.S. Embassies Are Landmarks.” *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 13, no. 1 (2016): Pp. 102.

¹²² “Among Cohen’s early moves as under secretary was her implementation of a new policy aimed at bringing foreign buildings into alignment with President Bill Clinton’s 1996 Executive Order on Federal Buildings in the United States, an order that directed the government to locate domestic federal facilities in older buildings in downtown areas to stimulate growth in those areas and save historic structures.” Ibid. Pp. 102.

¹²³ “After all, many at FBO erroneously equated preservation with protection and/or permanence, neither of which were deemed well suited to diplomatic facilities that needed to respond to changes in foreign policy and be able to adapt to a rapidly changing political landscape,” Pp. 103.

“In her memorandum, Cohen explained that the Register was meant to be analogous to the National Register of Historic Places maintained by the Secretary of the Interior, and she also explicitly stated that Registry status would in no way interfere with the Department’s ability to alter or sell property. Moreover, she said, Registry status had the potential to boost property value. She cited the Office of Foreign Buildings Operations as the entity charged with implementing policies connected to the Register and its Cultural Resources Committee as the planning group that would determine inclusion based on these criteria: 1. Designation or acknowledgment by a government as a significant property 2. Part of the United States’ overseas heritage 3. Association with a significant historical event of person 4. Important architecture and/or by an important architect 5. Distinctive theme or assembly 6. Unique object or visual feature 7. Archeological site.”¹²⁴

These principles transform the State Department’s approach to design as merely defense to a return to the old ideas of celebrating culture, art, and artifacts. The evaluation of these principles in regards to the specific presence of the new embassy in Jerusalem will emerge again later in this thesis. While these guidelines have served the department well in other areas, such as the U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation (AFCP), how are these principles applied to contested sites? Is the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) a violation of international law, by extension, is the establishment of this form of architecture paramount to criminal activity?

“The Defendant, the Evidence, and the Crime”

“AH: In that case: is the wall more accurately posed as the defendant of the crime, or the evidence of the crime?”

EW: Perhaps one can say that the wall was the defendant, the evidence, and the crime.”¹²⁵

¹²⁴ “The State Department and the Politics of Preservation: Why Few U.S. Embassies Are Landmarks.” Pp. 106-7.

¹²⁵ Weizman, Eyal and Andrew Herscher. "Architecture, Conversation Violence, Evidence." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation History Theory & Criticism*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1 Jun. 2011, Pp. 8-9.

“On Forensic Architecture” is a transcribed conversation between several leading scholars within the arts and culture.¹²⁶ This conversation not only unpacks Weizman’s methodology of Forensic Architecture but also places architecture as an active agent of political discourse. As such, this methodology will be used in reference to the legal framework the U.S. embassy network operates within. Weizman imagined Forensic Architecture as a rethinking of the archive.¹²⁷ The transformation of the archive into “another form of arrangement - a more dynamic relation between images - that we refer to as the architectural-image complex” is a spatial reading of the landscape, prioritizing the built environment as the source and evidence.¹²⁸ This mode of analysis approaches architecture as an outgrowth of the built environment and its political context.¹²⁹ **[Figure 14.]** This is also a non-traditional approach to the practice of architectural history and theory, which emphasizes the agency of architecture within a particular cultural context. In Weizman’s transcribed discussion with Andrew Herscher, “Architecture, Conversation Violence, Evidence,” the two scholars discuss the role

¹²⁶ Yve Alain Bois is a professor of art history at Princeton University who works with 20th century Western Art with a particular focus on postmodern theory (“Yve-Alain Bois,” Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, 2022. <https://artandarchaeology.princeton.edu/people/yve-alain-bois>); Hal Foster is another scholar of 20th century modern art out of Princeton’s Art and Archaeology department (“Hal Foster,” Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, 2022. <https://artandarchaeology.princeton.edu/people/hal-foster>); Michel Feher was a visiting professor at Goldsmiths College from 2013-2015 where his research focused on the transfer of financial and human capital across financial networks (“Michel Feher books” Authors, Princeton University Press. Website. <https://press.princeton.edu/our-authors/feher-michel>, and “Michel Feher, Visiting Professor” Architecture projects, Goldsmiths University of London. Website. <https://www.gold.ac.uk/architecture/projects/michel-feher/>) Eyal Weizman is a professor of Spatial & Visual Cultures at Goldsmiths College, University of London.

¹²⁷ By posing the embassy as a political sensor, a forensic architectural analysis responds to the, say, lack of archival evidence (i.e. privatized architectural drawings due to security concerns).

¹²⁸ “On Forensic Architecture: A Conversation with Eyal Weizman.” October, no. 156, 1 Apr. 2016, Pp. 125.

¹²⁹ “In *Hollow Land* [Weizman described] architecture as a ‘political plastic’ - the product of force-form relations - seeing buildings as the medium through which political and physical forces are slowed into form. This is perhaps analogous to Joseph Beuys’s concept of art as a social plastic or social sculpture - hence my term. Forensics poses a fundamental challenge to architecture in demanding its attention to its outer limits,” Ibid. Pp. 128.

of architecture as a receptor and agent in war-torn landscapes. They pose architecture in a legal framework as a tool to challenge state-held narratives and reveal the true intentions behind an action.

Nuremberg Laws (1935, Nazi-occupied Germany)

German Jews were “stripped of their right to citizenship” under the 1935 Nuremberg Laws.¹³⁰ Essentially, an entire demographic was rendered stateless with the stroke of a pen: by threat of imprisonment, Jewish society was overhauled by these draconian measures which prevented them from acquiring a passport or visa to leave a country obviously hostile towards them.¹³¹ This policy undoubtedly trapped millions of people and condemned them to horror of the Holocaust a few years later. Following this trauma, a movement began to ensure Jews would never face this level of discrimination again; the result was the mass influx of Jews to Holy Land ramping up the Zionist movement.

UN Security Council Resolution(s) (1968-1980)

Resolution 181, as discussed in the introduction, was the U.N. commitment to the “two-state solution” resulting in Israel, Palestine, and an international Jerusalem. The legacy of occupation continued to sow strife in post-war negotiations. The looming presence of Great Britain, the United States, and the newly formed United Nations leveraged considerable influence over the question of Israeli occupation. This tension only increased following the Six-Day War, 1967, when Israel expanded

¹³⁰ “The Nuremberg Laws, Holocaust and Human Behavior,” Facing History & Ourselves. Website. <https://www.facinghistory.org/holocaust-and-human-behavior/chapter-6/nuremberg-laws>

¹³¹ Morris, Douglas G. “The Lawyer Who Mocked Hitler, and Other Jewish Commentaries on the Nuremberg Laws.” *Central European History* 49, no. 3/4 (2016). Pp. 387-8.

their borders considerably, adding the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and Jerusalem to their conquered territories.¹³² International panic over the accessibility of religious monuments, potential humanitarian crisis, and contested borders led to a number of UN Security Council Resolutions. The following are particularly relevant to the question of a future embassy to Jerusalem, which could dictate the capital city of either Israel or Palestine. The first policy, Resolution 252 passed on May 21 1968, addresses consequences of the Kingdom of Jordan's withdrawal from East Jerusalem. Following their loss after the Six-Day War and the transfer of land from Jordan/Palestine to Israel, the UN rejected the idea that this land could be called definitively Israel, particularly because it threatened the political status of Jerusalem.¹³³ The UN called on Israel to halt their aggression.¹³⁴ Resolution 267, passed on July 3 1969, was adopted a year later, reaffirming the prior resolution and broadening the conversation to address the potential change in political status of Jerusalem as a result of the massive territorial gains.¹³⁵ It emphasizes Israel's failure to comply with international pressure to halt expansion. Several veiled threats are used (i.e. strong language) but the only action indicated was "[r]equests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the

¹³² Gat, Moshe. "On the Use of Air Power and Its Effect on the Outbreak of the Six Day War." *The Journal of Military History* 68, no. 4 (2004): 1187–1215. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3396967>. Pp.1189.

¹³³ United Nations Security Council Resolution 252. May 21 1968. "*Reaffirming* that acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible . . . *Considers* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status."

¹³⁴ Ibid. "Urgently calls upon Israel to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem."

¹³⁵ United Nations Security Council Resolution 267. July 3 1969. "*Censures* in the strongest terms all measures taken to change the status of the City of Jerusalem . . . [*confirms* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel which purport to alter the status of Jerusalem, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, are invalid and cannot change that status . . . [*urgently calls* once more upon Israel to rescind forthwith all measures taken by it which may tend to change the status of the City of Jerusalem, and in future to refrain from all actions likely to have such an effect."

present resolution.”¹³⁶ Only a few months later, Resolution 271 was brought forth following the devastating attack on al-Aqsa mosque, the center of Israeli-Palestinian religious conflict.¹³⁷ In addition to the violent outbreak in August of 1969, the resolution mourns the “extensive damage caused by arson . . . under the military occupation of Israel” resulting in a significant loss of human [global] culture.¹³⁸ The language discusses a military occupation of Israel, diminishing Israel’s claim as a sovereign nation.¹³⁹ Resolution 298 shows a shift in language, referring to Jerusalem as an occupied city, not a military occupation, implying a cultural shift.¹⁴⁰ Resolution 465 sees a second time the United Nations referred to the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and Jerusalem as occupied territories¹⁴¹, but this time, the UN directly involved other nations involving the permanent representative of Jordan and the Permanent Representative of Morocco. The final resolution, Resolution 476, writes “[the United Nations Security Council is g]reatly concerned about the legislative steps initiated in the Israeli Knesset

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ United Nations Security Council Resolution 271. September 15 1969. “*Recognizes* that any act of destruction or profanation of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Jerusalem or any encouragement of, or connivance at, any such act may seriously endanger international peace and security . . . [d]etermines that the execrable act of desecration and profanation of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque emphasizes the immediate necessity of Israel’s desisting from acting in violation of the aforesaid resolutions and rescinding forthwith all measures and actions taken by it designed to alter the status of Jerusalem . . . [c]alls upon Israel scrupulously to observe the provisions of the Geneva Conventions 1/ and international law governing military occupation and to refrain from causing any hindrance to the discharge of the established functions of the Supreme Moslem Council of Jerusalem, including any co-operation that Council may desire from countries with predominantly Moslem population and from Moslem communities in relation to its plans for the maintenance and repair of the Islamic Holy Places in Jerusalem.”

¹³⁸ Ibid. “Grieved at the extensive damage caused by arson to the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem on 21 August 1969 under the military occupation of Israel . . . [m]indful of the consequent loss to human culture.”

¹³⁹ Ibid. “Recognizes that any act of obstruction of profanation of the holy places, religious buildings and sites in Jerusalem or any encouragement of or convenience at any such as may severely endanger the international peace and security.”

¹⁴⁰ United Nations Security Council Resolution 298. September 25 1971. “Reaffirms the principle that acquisition of territory military conquest is inadmissible.”

¹⁴¹ United Nations Security Council Resolution 465. March 1 1980. “Determines that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof have no legal validity and that Israel’s policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.”

with the aim of changing the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem.”¹⁴² The resolution “[r]eiterates that all such measures which have altered the geographic, demographic and historical character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void and must be rescinded in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.”¹⁴³

Oslo Accords (1993)

The Oslo Accords (1993) were held in secret between representatives from the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel to begin peace negotiations with limited international pressure.¹⁴⁴ The first stage was arguably more successful than previous peace attempts, allowing each side to provide considerable concessions in a “series of step-by-step measures to build trust and partnership” relying on Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories.¹⁴⁵ The Palestinian Authority, formed by an elected body, would slowly enter these sectors beginning a period of self-governance for the Palestinian people. This transition of authority paved the way for sovereignty, potentially strengthening a future two-state solution. However, the reality of the situation was much darker.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² United Nations Security Council Resolution 476.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ RYNHOLD, JONATHAN. “Cultural Shift and Foreign Policy Change: Israel and the Making of the Oslo Accords.” *Cooperation and Conflict* 42, no. 4 (2007): 419–40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45084499>. Pp. 423.

¹⁴⁵ Phinney, Todd R. “Appendix: The Oslo Negotiations.” *Airpower versus Terrorism: Three Case Studies*. Air University Press, 2007. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep13776.12>. Pp. 71. “Oslo sketched out a peace process with a two-phase timetable. During a five-year interim period, Oslo envisioned a series of step-by-step measures to build trust and partnership. Palestinians would police the territories they controlled, cooperate with Israel in the fight against terrorism, and amend those sections of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) charter that called for Israel’s destruction. Israel would withdraw almost entirely from Gaza, and in stages from parts of the West Bank. An elected Palestinian Authority would take over governance of the territories from which Israel withdrew.”

¹⁴⁶ “Cultural Shift and Foreign Policy Change: Israel and the Making of the Oslo Accords.” Pp. 164-165. “In response, Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the PLO, basking in the glory of “recognition,”¹⁷ declared “Our two peoples are awaiting today this historic hope, and they want to give peace a real chance.”¹⁸ Tragically for Palestinians, two decades after this historic moment, the Interim Agreement has remained and so far failed to institute a “permanent settlement.” In essence, this means that over the years, Rabin’s “peace by installments”¹⁹ has proven ineffectual in ensuring the sovereignty of the

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Negotiator

Mahmoud Abbas cemented the agreement in a public ceremony at the White House in Washington

D.C. on September 13, 1993.¹⁴⁷ In September of 1999 however, the peace process came to a halt:

“[v]iolence erupts along Israel’s northern border. Hezbollah, the radical Shiite movement based in Lebanon that shares Hamas’ disdain for the peace process, fires missiles into Israeli villages and towns, prompting Israel to launch a massive bombardment of Hezbollah bases in southern Lebanon. A week later, in a case of mistaken targeting, Israeli artillery hit a UN compound near the village of Kana, where civilians have sought shelter from the attacks. More than 100 were killed. Israeli Arabs, fervent supporters of Peres and his Labor Party, are now outraged and turn against him calling for a boycott of the upcoming election,” and since this tragedy, peace relations have seemingly not recovered.¹⁴⁸

New Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu opened a tunnel along the Western Wall to Jerusalem resulting in violent protests across Israeli and Palestinian territories.¹⁴⁹ From this point onwards, violence and terrorist acts escalate throughout the region often targeting religious sites.

Palestinian administrative authority, limiting the spread of Israeli settlements, allowing Palestinians access to natural resources and arresting the rapid economic downturn experienced in the Palestinian Territories. Then, with all these facets being foundational to the Palestinian aspiration for a state, the Interim Agreement’s most ostensible failure has been its inability to provide for a viable and territorially inviolable Palestinian state. That said, these failures have persisted alongside the continued prominence of Oslo-mandate institutions (specifically the PA), despite their lack of sovereignty and the recognition of the PLO (by Oslo signatories) as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian populace,²⁰ despite its inability to dismantle the Israeli military infrastructure in the Palestinian territories.”

¹⁴⁷ “The Oslo Accords and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process” The Office of the Historian. The United States Department of State. Website. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/oslo>. “The Clinton administration did not initially make Israeli-Palestinian peace a priority. Clinton and his advisors believed that a diplomatic breakthrough on the Israeli-Syrian track would be more likely, and that Israel’s leaders would find it politically easier to pull back from the Golan Heights than to withdraw from the West Bank. An Israeli-Syrian agreement, they reasoned, would also lead to an Israeli-Lebanese agreement, and help isolate Iraq and Iran, the principal regional opponents of the peace process. U.S. officials were briefed on secret negotiations that the Israelis and Palestinians had begun in Oslo in December 1992, but made little effort to get involved in them.”

¹⁴⁸ “Appendix: The Oslo Negotiations.” Pp. 72.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Pp. 73.

Once-promising concessions turned sour throughout the next several years. Construction, and Israeli architecture, was viewed as a challenge to border conditions leading to targeted violence. The Oslo Accords records the legal intertwining of violence and architecture - Israeli and Palestinian representatives hold architecture and violence as holding the same legal weight.

Announcement

The United States of America presents false neutrality towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Throughout decades of shifting cultural tides and rotating administrations, the US has been embroiled in both sides of the conflict threatening their perceived impartial stance.¹⁵⁰ As discussed throughout this chapter, the US plays a critical role in legitimizing the Israeli and Palestinian governments through military and humanitarian aid, as well as frequent diplomatic exercises. This neutral facade fell in 2017 however when former US President Donald Trump announced the relocation of the US embassy to Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.¹⁵¹

Tel Aviv is a metropolitan coastal Israeli city¹⁵²; it overlooks the Mediterranean Sea and is geographically removed from the border conflicts surrounding Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. Jerusalem however, is arguably the most contested city in the world. Israelis and Palestinians

¹⁵⁰ Underwood, Alexia. "The controversial US Jerusalem embassy opening, explained" Vox. Website. Updated May 16, 2018. <https://www.vox.com/2018/5/14/17340798/jerusalem-embassy-israel-palestinians-us-trump> "Ilan Goldenberg, a Middle East expert with the Center for New American Security . . . [stated] that Trump's decision significantly undercuts the US's credibility as a neutral party in the conflict. As the country that has led the Israeli-Palestinian peace process negotiations for the past 25 years, the US is 'supposed to be acting like the fireman,' he said. 'Instead, we're acting like the arsonist — we're making things worse,'."

¹⁵¹ "Statement by Former President Trump on Jerusalem," US embassy to Israel, State Department. December 6, 2017. <https://il.usembassy.gov/statement-by-president-trump-on-jerusalem/>

¹⁵² Weizman, Eyal. *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London. Verso, 2007.

both lay claim to Jerusalem as their capital city¹⁵³ which has led to countless wars and *intifadas*¹⁵⁴ over the past century. For fear of sparking yet another conflict in the region, the United States' embassy to Israel had remained in Tel Aviv for decades.¹⁵⁵ As such, Trump's announcement signals a "break in decades of failed US policy"¹⁵⁶ clearly aligning the United States with the Israeli government by granting formal recognition of Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel.

In his announcement from the Diplomatic Reception Room at the White House, Trump attempted to soothe fears of the international community. The presence of an American political mission within a contested religious zone should not impact the accessibility of the religious monuments in the region¹⁵⁷, instead Trump called for a continued path forward for multi-faith worship at these historic, religious sites. In short, the embassy would be used as an instrument of peace; this movement however, continues to push at the contested, ever-changing municipal boundaries¹⁵⁸ surrounding Jerusalem.¹⁵⁹ Within this same speech, Trump adamantly outlines the

¹⁵³ Dumper, Mick. "The U.S. Embassy Move to Jerusalem: Mixed Messages and Mixed Blessings for Israel?" *Review of Middle East Studies* 53, no. 1 (2019): 34–45. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26731399>. Pp. 35.

¹⁵⁴ *Uprising* in English, typically armed. Wietschorke, Janina, and Stefan Lukas. "A Failed Peace Process?: The Rapprochement between Hamas and Fatah and the Consequences of the Announced Relocation of the US Embassy." Federal Academy for Security Policy, 2018. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22164>.

¹⁵⁵ "The U.S. Embassy Move to Jerusalem: Mixed Messages and Mixed Blessings for Israel?" Pp. 34.

¹⁵⁶ Landler, Mark. "Trump recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital and orders US embassy to move" New York Times website. December 6, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/world/middleeast/trump-jerusalem-israel-capital.html>

¹⁵⁷ "Statement by Former President Trump on Jerusalem," "Jerusalem is not just the heart of three great religions, but it is now also the heart of one of the most successful democracies in the world. Over the past seven decades, the Israeli people have built a country where Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and people of all faiths are free to live and worship according to their conscience and according to their beliefs. Jerusalem is today, and must remain, a place where Jews pray at the Western Wall, where Christians walk the Stations of the Cross, and where Muslims worship at Al-Aqsa Mosque."

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. "In making these announcements, I also want to make one point very clear: This decision is not intended, in any way, to reflect a departure from our strong commitment to facilitate a lasting peace agreement. We want an agreement that is a great deal for the Israelis and a great deal for the Palestinians. We are not taking a position of any final status issues, including the specific boundaries of the Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, or the resolution of contested borders. Those questions are up to the parties involved."

¹⁵⁹ "The U.S. Embassy Move to Jerusalem: Mixed Messages and Mixed Blessings for Israel?" Pp. 34

commitment of the United States to facilitate peace through diplomatic means without resorting to bloodshed.¹⁶⁰

The relocation would take place in a year's time, and coincidentally, on the 70th anniversary of Israel's independence.¹⁶¹ This nationalistic celebration was a clear blow to Palestinians - who view Jerusalem as the capital of their hopeful future state, of which Trump made no mention.¹⁶² Around the time of this announcement, fears of broken diplomatic relations were played out: the Palestinian Authority provided statements indicating a weakened peace process - if a future Palestinian state was eliminated from the American negotiations. Protests erupted across the region, including early calls for the next *intifada*; the calls were largely unanswered.¹⁶³ When the embassy finally opened in 2018, violence broke out in large measure in the Gaza Strip, not Jerusalem.¹⁶⁴ Over 60 Palestinian protesters were killed in the confrontation.¹⁶⁵ The opening was attended by a number of US government officials, including Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner, the principal architect of the Abraham Accords.¹⁶⁶ Back in the United States, not all government officials were celebrating the move: many

¹⁶⁰ "Statement by Former President Trump on Jerusalem," "It is time for the many who desire peace to expel the extremists from their midst. It is time for all civilized nations, and people, to respond to disagreement with reasoned debate -- not violence. And it is time for young and moderate voices all across the Middle East to claim for themselves a bright and beautiful future. So today, let us rededicate ourselves to a path of mutual understanding and respect. Let us rethink old assumptions and open our hearts and minds to possible and possibilities. And finally, I ask the leaders of the region -- political and religious; Israeli and Palestinian; Jewish and Christian and Muslim -- to join us in the noble quest for lasting peace."

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Rapoport, Meron. "Between Jerusalem and Gaza: Why Unilateralism Will Not Work." *Review of Middle East Studies* 53, no. 1 (2019): 54–58. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26731401>.

¹⁶³ Halbfinger, David M., Kershner Isabel, and Walsh, Declan. "Israel Kills Dozen at Gaza Border as U.S. Embassy Opens in Jerusalem" New York Times. Website. May 14, 2018.

¹⁶⁴ "Between Jerusalem and Gaza: Why Unilateralism Will Not Work." Pp. 56.

¹⁶⁵ Bloch, Hannah and Werbeck, Nicole. "PHOTOS: U.S. Embassy Opens In Jerusalem As Tens Of Thousands Protest In Gaza," NPR. Website. <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2018/05/14/610959853/photos-u-s-embassy-opens-in-jerusalem-as-tens-of-thousands-protest-in-gaza>

¹⁶⁶ "Between Jerusalem and Gaza: Why Unilateralism Will Not Work."

feared this “unprecedented” break was simply another consequence of Trump’s style of governance, building off of far-reaching promises from the campaign trail.¹⁶⁷ As detailed below, the embassy move was not simply a result of thoughtless foreign policy; rather, the relocation of the US embassy to Israel has been in slow motion since Israel first declared its independence, as detailed in the next section.¹⁶⁸

Jerusalem Embassy Act (1995)

Many attribute the controversial relocation of the US Embassy to Israel as a product of former US President Trump’s signature brash behavior, something of “systematic barbarism.”¹⁶⁹ Where others had failed before him, Trump proudly proclaimed in his 2017 announcement he had “deliver[ed] on his promise” to the American people.¹⁷⁰ The historic decision was largely diminished as an alleged display of vanity; former CIA director and Obama appointee John O. Brennan claimed this performance was that of a “narcissistic, vengeful autocrat” while opposition political commentators characterized the decision as that of a “child-like bully”, on the world stage.¹⁷¹ Critics of this

¹⁶⁷ Underwood, Alexia. “The controversial US Jerusalem embassy opening, explained” Vox. Website. Updated May 16, 2018. <https://www.vox.com/2018/5/14/17340798/jerusalem-embassy-israel-palestinians-us-trump> and “Trump recognizes Jerusalem as Israel’s capital and orders US embassy to move”.

¹⁶⁸ Khalidi, Walid. “The Ownership of the U.S. Embassy Site in Jerusalem.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29, no. 4 (2000): 80–101. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2676563>. Embassy Relocation Act (PL 104-45) on 23 October 1995. “Public Law 104-45 recognized Jerusalem as the ‘undivided,’ ‘united,’ and ‘reunited’ capital of Israel and ordained the opening of the embassy no later than 31 May 1999. According to the law, as of FY 1999, the State Department’s (DOS) maintenance building budget worldwide would be cut by half until the embassy had opened; \$100 million were allotted for the building of the embassy. The president was granted a waiver authority to suspend the punishment of the State Department for periods of six months each if he found it in the “national security interests of the United States” to do so. At the time of its passage, Secretary of State Warren Christopher declared the act ‘unconstitutional’ because of its invasion of presidential prerogative. Indeed, the Clinton administration has exercised its waiver authority on the grounds that the immediate relocation of the embassy would prejudice the outcome of negotiations ongoing between the Palestinians and the Israelis.”

¹⁶⁹ “World leaders react to US embassy relocation to Jerusalem” alJazeera. Website. May 14 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/5/14/world-leaders-react-to-us-embassy-relocation-to-jerusalem>

¹⁷⁰ “Statement by Former President Trump on Jerusalem,”

¹⁷¹ Rozsa, Matthew. “Former CIA Director slams Trump’s UN Israel vote vengeance” Salon. Website. December 22, 2017. <https://www.salon.com/2017/12/22/former-cia-director-slams-trumps-un-israel-vote-vengeance/>

controversial administration often overlook the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995, which was passed by a Republican Congress and Democratic administration.¹⁷² In short, this policy was an affirmation of American sovereignty in regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict stating that “each sovereign nation, under international law and custom, may designate its own capital.”¹⁷³ Originally slated for “no later than 1999,” an important caveat has significantly delayed the move.¹⁷⁴ Since October 1998, each administration has been given the opportunity to pass the decision onto the next, arguably to avoid a politically damaging stance.¹⁷⁵ One of the greatest potential threats addressed by the Jerusalem Embassy Act is a challenge to the current border conditions.¹⁷⁶ Congress seems to have included this statement to avoid the perception that the United States was endorsing Israeli expansion.¹⁷⁷ Despite the obvious potential ramifications of this move, the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 ensured that no action by the US would alter the current political boundaries between the two nations.

¹⁷² “104th Congress (1995–1997), Congress Profiles” <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/104th/>.

¹⁷³ JERUSALEM EMBASSY ACT OF 1995, PUBLIC LAW 104–45—NOV. 8, 1995. [SEC. 2.1]

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. [SEC. 2.14] “In June of 1993, 257 members of the United States House of Representatives signed a letter to the Secretary of State Warren Christopher stating that the relocation of the United States Embassy to Jerusalem “should take place no later than . . . 1999”.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. [SEC. 7.a.] WAIVER AUTHORITY.—(1) Beginning on October 1, 1998, the President may suspend the limitation set forth in section 3(b) for a period of six months if he determines and reports to Congress in advance that such suspension is necessary to protect the national security interests of the United States.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. [SEC. 2.10] “In 1992, the United States Senate and House of Representatives unanimously adopted Senate Concurrent Resolution 113 of the One Hundred Second Congress to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem, and reaffirming congressional sentiment that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city.”

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. [SEC. 2.5] SEC. 2.5., From 1948–1967, Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths as well as Jewish citizens of all states were denied access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan.

In conclusion, the embassy is the catalyst for the next phase of policy decisions regarding the political dealings of the entire gulf region as shown through the Abraham Accords (2020). These policies were orchestrated by the son-in-law and former senior advisor to Donald Trump, Jared Kushner along with various U.S. departments. These accords echoed sentiments of “mutual understanding and coexistence” resulting in a coalition made of Israel and Gulf Arab states united against a common enemy: Iran. These members, including Morocco¹⁷⁸, Bahrain¹⁷⁹, and UAE¹⁸⁰ - later Sudan and even Saudi Arabia (currently in limited capacity) joined the agreement. Jeffrey Goldberg, now editor-in-chief of the Atlantic, believes this shift signals the collective fear within the gulf region against Iran and “its various terrorist appendages as threats to their stability and terrorized integrity even to

¹⁷⁸ The Abraham Accords, ISRAEL-MOROCCO AGREEMENT. 15 September 2020. The US State Department, website. <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Joint-Declaration-US-Morocco-Israel.pdf>. This agreement led to a number of unprecedented changes including, but not limited to: “Grant authorizations for direct flights between Morocco and Israel, including by Israeli and Moroccan airline companies, as well as grant rights of overflight; [i]mmediately resume full official contacts between Israeli and Moroccan counterparts and establish full diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations; [p]romote a dynamic and innovative economic bilateral cooperation; [p]ursue cooperation on trade; finance and investment; innovation and technology; civil aviation; visas and consular services; tourism; water, agriculture, and food security; development; energy and telecommunications; and other sectors as may be agreed; [r]eopen the liaison offices in Rabat and Tel Aviv.” It also indirectly address the issue of the US embassy to Jerusalem through the following quote, “[e]ast region in which His Majesty the King reiterated the coherent, constant and unchanged position of the Kingdom of Morocco on the Palestinian question, as well as the position expressed on the importance of preserving the special status of the sacred city of Jerusalem for the three monotheistic religions in His Majesty the King’s capacity as Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee” explaining support for the Palestinian community, but cemented an agreement to not allow this issue prevent peace process with the West and Israel.

¹⁷⁹ The Abraham Accords, ISRAEL-BAHRAIN AGREEMENT. 15 September 2020. The US State Department, website. “The Kingdom of Bahrain and the State of Israel have agreed to seek agreements in the coming weeks regarding investment, tourism, direct flights, security, telecommunications, technology, energy, healthcare, culture, the environment, and other areas of mutual benefit, as well as reaching agreement on the reciprocal opening of embassies.”

¹⁸⁰ The Abraham Accords, ISRAEL-UAE. The US State Department, website. <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/UAE-Israel-treaty-signed-FINAL-15-Sept-2020-508.pdf> “Establishment of Embassies: The Parties shall exchange resident ambassadors as soon as practicable after the signing of this Treaty, and shall conduct diplomatic and consular relations in accordance with the applicable rules of international law.”

their existence.”¹⁸¹ These accords notably fail to directly address the Palestinian people and their plight for statehood. The Palestinian community was rightfully shocked by this agreement, perhaps expecting continued solidarity from their Arab neighbors.¹⁸²

Given the recent establishment of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem), compounded by the COVID-19 pandemic, it is difficult to definitively chart all direct consequences of the embassy at this time. The Abraham Accords however, would not exist without the relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem, fundamentally changing the status quo in the greater Middle East. These accords set in motion the next wave of tangible heritage transformation based on intangible policies.

¹⁸¹ Goldberg, Jeffrey. “Iran and the Palestinians Lose Out in the Abraham Accords” the Atlantic. Website. 16 September 2020. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/09/winners-losers/616364/> Pp. 4. “The crushing sense of isolation that Israel’s fuel in their own neighborhood may be partially lifted by this agreement . . . [t]he reality of Palestinians politics is that the overall stalemate, the threat of annexation.”

¹⁸² Ibid. “Two years ago, bin Salman [told the author of the article] in an interview: ‘I believe that each people, anywhere, has a right to live in their peaceful nation. I believe the Palestinians and Israelis have the right to have their own land.’ This statement was seen, correctly, as an invitation to Arab states to deepen their ties to Israel.”

CHAPTER TWO | “A Boundary in Flux”

“Not Without My Daughter”

“By chance, one evening in the midst of my second week of captivity I was standing next to the telephone when it rang. Instinctively I picked up the receiver and was startled to hear the voice of my mother, calling from America. She said she had tried to get through to me many times before, but she wasted no more time in idle conversation. Quickly she blurted out the telephone number and address of the U.S. Interest Section of the Swiss Embassy in Tehran. My heart racing, I committed the numbers to memory. Within seconds Moody angrily grabbed the phone out of my hand and cut the conversation short.

“You are not allowed to talk to them unless I am with you,” he decreed.

That night in my bedroom I worked out a simple code to disguise the embassy’s telephone number and address, and copied the information into my address book, stashing it under the mattress with my money. As a further precaution I repeated the numbers over and over in my mind all night long. Finally I had been directed to a source of help. I was an American citizen. Surely the embassy would be able to get Mahtob and me out of here - if only I could find some way to contact a sympathetic official.”¹⁸³

The fragility of the American embassy is revealed by lack of U.S. government action during suspected violations of human rights. The fear of sparking a conflict with unseen consequences leaves American-affiliated citizens alone at the mercy of their host country. In the case of Meriam Ibrahim, the United States intervened only after she had been released from a Sudanese prison.¹⁸⁴ While many international figures negotiated her release on her behalf, it did little to prevent the torture the young mother faced alone in her cell.¹⁸⁵ Western nations have displayed a growing hesitation to ignite conflict with unforeseen consequences over a single figure or family, as seen in the American craze over Betty

¹⁸³ Mahmoody, Betty, and William Hoffer. 1988. *Not without my daughter*. New York: St. Martin's Paperbacks. Pp. 61.

¹⁸⁴ “Meriam Ibrahim freed from death row in Sudan,”

¹⁸⁵ “Meriam Ibrahim on giving birth in jail: ‘Something has happened to the baby’,”

Mahoody's escape from post-Revolution Iran.¹⁸⁶ What began as a short visit to her in-laws with her husband and daughter, Mahoody's life was transformed when her Iranian husband refused to return to America.¹⁸⁷ According to the new Iranian law which heavily restricted female movement, Betty was stripped of her American citizenship despite it being the country of her birth and her home until roughly two weeks prior.¹⁸⁸ In her book, "Not Without My Daughter," Betty repeatedly expressed her frustration with the State Department and the feeling of overwhelming dread at the thought of living in a radicalized society for the remainder of her life.¹⁸⁹ The nation's rededication to Islam and strict adherence to Shiite Islamic practices is most plainly seen through the presentation of Iranian women, such as the unmistakable black garb popular in the early phases of the Islamic Republic of Iran, *chador*, which prohibited western fashion and was used to exemplify the differences between the two societies.¹⁹⁰

The Iranian Revolution was based, in part, on the expulsion and eradication of American and Western influence in modern Iranian society. The distrust which swept the nation culminated in the storming of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979.¹⁹¹ The pro-American Shah fled the

¹⁸⁶ Mahmoody, Betty, and William Hoffer. 1988. *Not without my daughter*. New York: St. Martin's Paperbacks. Pp. 72

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Pp. 42.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. Pp. 72.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. Pp. 62.

¹⁹⁰ Chan-Malik, Sylvia. "Chadors, Feminists, Terror: The Racial Politics of U.S. Media Representations of the 1979 Iranian Women's Movement." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 637, 1 Jan. 2011, Pp. 115.

"The American media coverage of the Iranian women's movement recast the longstanding orientalist narrative of the Poor Muslim Woman on distinctly American intersections of discourses of nationalism, civil rights, and second-wave feminism taking place at the time. Thus, while the context of a global orientalist narrative as tied to the trajectory of Euro-American imperialism was, and is, certainly a crucial framework in understanding how those such as Mahmoody have constructed their images of a free United States versus a barbarous Islam, it is also important to understand that current conceptions of Islam and the Middle East emanating from the United States must be seen through a decidedly racialized orientalist lens," Pp. 116.

¹⁹¹ *Embassies in Crisis: Studies of Diplomatic Missions in Testing Situations* (1st ed.). Pp. 200.

country and took up residence in a wealthy neighborhood outside of Washington D.C.¹⁹² The hostage crisis persisted for 444 days until the new Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America negotiated their release.¹⁹³ Since then, the shell of the former embassy has been reconstructed as a testament to American malfeasance known as the “Den of Spies.”¹⁹⁴ The exterior features depictions of the U.S. Marines charged with guarding the embassy compound posed with their hands behind their head, demonstrative of surrender.¹⁹⁵ **[Figure 15.] [Figure. 16.]**

A hollowed-out Statue of Liberty with iron bars over her would-be stomach imprison metal doves.¹⁹⁶ The interior features slogans such as “Down with the USA” and murals accusing the U.S. and Israel as the architects of 9/11.¹⁹⁷ A hybrid U.S.A. and Israeli flag is painted on the road outside of the museum intentionally designed for passersby to trample it, even going so far as to paint a footprint atop the image. **[Figure 17.]** The icons constructed throughout the Den of Spies demonstrate the Iranian regime’s conflation of the United States and Israel and intention to attack once presented with the opportunity. The international community feared this event may come to pass when Iran began publicly developing nuclear energy sources. Many countries feared this was not for sustainability concerns, but rather towards the development of a nuclear weapon.

The 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), commonly known as the Iran Deal, was the first significant agreement between the United States of America and the Islamic Republic of

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ “The Iranian Hostage Crisis,” the Office of the Historian, United State Department of State. Website. <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/iraniancrises>

¹⁹⁴ Henry, Terrence. “Into the Den,” the Atlantic. Website. December 2004. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2004/12/into-the-den-of-spies/303639/>

¹⁹⁵ Brangham, William. “Photos: Eerie remnants of the former U.S. embassy, 35 years after Iran hostage crisis,” PBS. Website. March 2 2015. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/what-became-of-the-former-u-s-embassy-in-tehran>

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Iran since the Iranian Revolution.¹⁹⁸ The U.S. lifted economic sanctions against Iran, cautiously welcoming them into the international community, despite growing hesitancy around Iranian nuclear activities.¹⁹⁹ In exchange for the economic boost, Iran would allegedly welcome “regular inspections from the International Atomic Energy Agency, a global nuclear watchdog.”²⁰⁰ The embrace of Western/American presence in Iranian activities however, is in direct contrast to the spirit of the Iranian Revolution, as embodied by the “Den of Spies.” Other than possible financial motivation, what caused this shift in action? What potential factors shaped this new relationship? Jeffrey Goldberg’s 2015 Associated Press editorial, which responds to the arrival of the Iran Deal and then-Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s accusation of a new-Holocaust perpetrated by the Iranian regime, plainly outlines the recent threats of high-powered Iranian officials who “[seek] the annihilation of the Jewish state,” presumably through the use of nuclear weapons.²⁰¹ The shocking promises include statements such as:

“[i]t is the mission of . . . Iran to erase Israel from the map of the region . . . [t]he elimination of Israel is not only a Palestinian interest. It is the interest of the entire Muslim world and the entire Arab world . . . [w]e will chase you [Israelis] house to house and will take revenge for every drop of blood of our martyrs in Palestine, and this is the beginning point of Islamic nations awakening for your defeat . . . [t]he Revolutionary Guards will fight to the end of the Zionist regime . . . [w]e will not rest easy until this epitome of vice is totally deleted from the region’s geopolitics.”²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Sachs, Natan. “Iran’s revolution, 40 years on: Israel’s reverse periphery doctrine. (Order From Chaos.)” Brookings Institute. Website. January 24 2019
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/01/24/irans-revolution-40-years-on-israels-reverse-periphery-doctrine/>

¹⁹⁹ Finnegan, Conor. “Blinken meets Israel, Arab partners as looming renewed Iran deal rattles ties.” ABC News, Website. March 27 2022.

<https://abcnews.go.com/International/blinken-meets-israel-arab-partners-looming-renewed-iran/story?id=83692136>

²⁰⁰ “Iran nuclear deal: What it all means,” BBC News Website. November 23 2021.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-33521655>

²⁰¹ Goldberg, Jeffrey. “The Iranian Regime on Israel’s Right to Exist,” The Atlantic. March 9 2015.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/03/Iranian-View-of-Israel/387085/>

²⁰² Ibid.

The Iranian presence is woven into the terror outlets of Fatah, which makes up the largest portion of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) based in the West Bank, and Hamas, a fundamentalist group based in Gaza Strip most easily identified by its military division.

When the U.S.-Israel embassy relocation was announced in 2017, national security experts feared a new wave of uprisings. As outlined by Janina Wietschorke and Stefan Lukas for the Federal Academy for Security Policy, the opening of an American embassy in Jerusalem brings together the two waning groups.²⁰³ The pair drafted two potential outcomes following the opening of the US embassy in Jerusalem: “potentially militant coalition between both organizations” or “the status quo will ultimately be maintained although the potential for conflict will increase considerably.”²⁰⁴ The first scenario predicts a coalition between the two groups leaving Hamas considerably strengthened as a result, rallying the more radical members of society against a common enemy.²⁰⁵ The second scenario, predicted as the more likely outcome, is driven by two other dominant factors: the demilitarization of Hamas and declaration of war against Israel would result in the end of humanitarian funds from the United States.²⁰⁶ This prediction is somewhat stunted by Biden-appointed Secretary of State Antony Blinken’s reported promise²⁰⁷ to the Palestinian Authority of continued financial support.²⁰⁸ In an earlier meeting between Blinken and Abbas, the latter praised the former for their commitment to “to

²⁰³ Fatah, unlike Hamas, recognized the state of Israel in 1993 during the Oslo Accords. Ibid. Pp. 2.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. Pp. 3.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. Pp. 3.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. Pp. 3.

²⁰⁷ “Blinken promised to ‘rally international support’ to help Gaza in the wake of the war. He later announced nearly \$40m in aid to the Palestinians, including \$5.5m in emergency assistance for Gaza. That brings total US assistance to the Palestinians under the Biden administration to over \$360m after the Trump administration had cut off nearly all assistance to them.” ‘Blinken announces US plans to reopen Jerusalem consulate’ Al Jazeera, Website. May 25 2021. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/25/blinken-announces-us-plans-to-reopen-jerusalem-consulate>

²⁰⁸ Recognized by the UN as “Palestine” during proceedings. United Nations Security Council Resolution 181. November 29, 1947.

the two-state solution [and maintaining] the status quo on the Haram al-Sharif,” the status of which has been threatened since the beginning of this process.²⁰⁹

Less than a week before the opening ceremony of the United States Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem), then-U.S. President Trump shocked the international community once more, announcing his intention to remove the U.S. from the Iran Deal.²¹⁰ This withdraw continues his pattern of breaking with decades of U.S. policy, and “further isolates the U.S. from Western Allies” as well as Middle Eastern partners.²¹¹ During Trump’s latest announcement, he recounted several instances of American embassies targeted by Iranian-backed forces, citing the dead and wounded of Kenya, Tanzania, and Lebanon:

Given the regime’s murderous past and present, we should not take lightly its sinister vision for the future. The regime’s two favorite chants are “Death to America” and “Death to Israel.”

Both the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America view the Israeli landscape as a determinate for their authority in the region. The Trump administration purposefully “[unraveled] the signature foreign policy achievement of his predecessor Barack Obama,” and selected Israel as the primary U.S. partner in the Middle East, a clear condemnation of the Iranian regime’s activities. The most recent conquest of Jerusalem is no longer solely an Israeli or Palestinian issue. Rather, the landscape provides an exercise in political authority, whether it be the Islamic Republic of Iran or the United States of America.

²⁰⁹ ‘Blinken announces US plans to reopen Jerusalem consulate.’

²¹⁰ “Transcript: Trump’s Remarks on Iran Nuclear Deal,” NPR. October 13 2017.

<https://www.npr.org/2017/10/13/557622096/transcript-trump-s-remarks-on-iran-nuclear-deal>

²¹¹ Landler, Mark. “Trump Abandons Iran Nuclear Deal He Long Scorned,” New York Times, Website.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/world/middleeast/trump-iran-nuclear-deal.html>

The footprint of the United States Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) is a challenge to the geo-political status quo. Regardless of claims by the Trump administration that the embassy placement was not intended to reshape the boundaries of Jerusalem, the architectural evidence says otherwise. In addition to the United States Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv), the U.S. had several government buildings across Jerusalem.

Given the schedule from *12.06.17 - 05.14.18*, this is simply not enough time to design or construct an official U.S. embassy, especially considering security concerns. As a result, U.S. officials decided to renovate an existing U.S. structure to meet the requirements necessary for embassies. The Consulate General, at the Gershon Agron Street location, is one of the oldest and beloved American structures in Jerusalem and an obvious first choice for the future embassy. The charming structure was built by a German missionary in 1868 with the appearance of a quaint Roman villa built of “Jerusalem” stone.²¹²

This structure held the U.S. Palestinian Affairs Unit it was merged in 2019 with the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem). The grounds of this structure however, are simply too small and would not meet the necessary requirements for embassy construction as outlined by the U.S. State Department. Other locations, like the American Center for Education which are steps away from the Knesset and Prime Minister’s home, would surely be an advantageous site for a future U.S. Embassy. If the professed motivation behind the embassy relocation to Jerusalem is to be believed, in reference to Trump’s claim that the embassy should be near the Israeli government i.e. move from Tel Aviv to

²¹² “HISTORY OF THE U.S. DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN JERUSALEM & OF OUR AGRON ROAD LOCATION,”

Jerusalem, then the U.S. would have selected this property as the future embassy complex. Instead, the United States selected the most controversial and overt site for the embassy compound. **[Figure 18.]**

The U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) must be analyzed through the lens of the two most momentous events in modern-Israeli history. Just as the U.S. was the first country to formally recognize the state of Israel in 1948, the United States of America was the first country to explicitly recognize Israeli sovereignty through the formal acknowledgment of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Given that the inauguration ceremony of the embassy was held on May 14, 2018, the 70th anniversary of Israeli independence, this is a clear indication of the next phase in the joint U.S.-Israeli relationship. The mere presence of an American embassy in Jerusalem is a violation of international law, which posits Jerusalem as an international city, clinging to the distant hope of a future two-state solution.

The U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) was established as part of the American belief that Israel has sole authority - legal, cultural, and otherwise - over Jerusalem. Since 1857, the American diplomatic presence in Jerusalem has “remained . . . unbroken.”²¹³ Following a failed attempt in 1844, the United States of America established their first U.S. consulate in Jerusalem to the Ottoman Empire.²¹⁴ **[Figure 19.]** The American interest in this region was spurred by “Holy Land Mania,” during which the Christian evangelist movements that swept through the nation viewed this landscape as integral for religious experience and understanding.²¹⁵ The original presence of the first U.S. mission

²¹³ “HISTORY OF THE U.S. DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN JERUSALEM & OF OUR AGRON ROAD LOCATION,” U.S. Embassy in Israel, U.S. Department of State government website. <https://il.usembassy.gov/palestinian-affairs-unit/pau-history/>

²¹⁴ Ibid. There remains some debate over the official, formal start of American diplomatic presence in Jerusalem. The formal start as represented through a physical structure appears in 1857, while 1844 is representative of the first ambassador/diplomatic/personnel to Jerusalem, Warden Cresson.

²¹⁵ Jacobson, Abigail. “American ‘Welfare Politics’: American Involvement in Jerusalem During World War I.” *Israel Studies* 18, no. 1 (2013): 58. <https://doi.org/10.2979/israelstudies.18.1.56>. “American presence and interest in Palestine should be examined in light of and in the context of the overall American involvement in other regions of the Levant, and especially in

to Jerusalem was located within the Old City, in East Jerusalem “just inside the Jaffa Gate.”²¹⁶ The consulate remained in the Old City until 1912, when the U.S. relocated their consulate to outside of the Old City (West Jerusalem), less than a mile to the center of the Haram al-Sharif.²¹⁷ The Palestinian Affairs Unit was held in this structure until 2019, when it officially merged within the confines of the U.S. embassy compound a few miles south.

The American Colony, an evangelical Christian community (or *kibbutz*) established in the late nineteenth century, was instrumental in charitable services for the residents of Jerusalem, especially during the blockades throughout World War One.²¹⁸ Humanitarian funds were reportedly funneled to the Colony through the State Department, emphasizing the agency of the colony over the consulate within Jerusalem, though still officially recognized by the governing agency of diplomatic missions.²¹⁹ Dr. Otis Glazebrook, who orchestrated the delivery of supplies during the blockade in concert with the American colony, was the American consul in Jerusalem from 1914-1917 until the establishment of the British Mandate of Palestine.²²⁰ German and Swedish colonies were also established during this time, motivated by a particular brand of Christian evangelical protestantism with a heavy emphasis on

the Ottoman-ruled areas of Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt. The work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which started sending missionaries to Syria in 1819– 1820, is important in this respect. The work of American protestant missionaries was aimed mainly toward educational endeavors, in the context of evangelical work, with one of their most important projects being the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College in 1866 (later the American University of Beirut, 1920). Many of the early consulates to *Holy Land* had religious motivations and investments in the landscape and for years, the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem dealt mostly with religious pilgrims.

²¹⁶ “HISTORY OF THE U.S. DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN JERUSALEM & OF OUR AGRON ROAD LOCATION,”

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid. Pp. 60.

²¹⁹ Ibid. Pp. 67.

²²⁰ Ibid. Pp. 61.

dispensationalism.²²¹ This belief relies on the presence of God's chosen people i.e. Jewish in the Holy Land during the second coming of Christ. Jerusalem underwent a massive urban renewal project during the British Mandate period, motivated by their perception of the Holy City "built from . . . travel accounts, historical and fictional texts, Orientalist paintings, and scriptural readings."²²² British understanding of the Holy City was based on its historic religious monuments but soon discovered "that those monuments had been covered up by the modern construction of the late-Ottoman Period."²²³ The restoration of Jerusalem began with the Old City. Dense urban spaces surrounding religious monuments were leveled, affording Judeo-Christian landmarks a greater presence on the landscape.²²⁴ The Old City, and eastern Jerusalem, was viewed as a precious landscape and should be unmarked by the common, daily life of future Jerusalemites. Western Jerusalem was envisioned as the typical metropolitan cityscape, already planting the notion of a split city prior to the 1949 Armistice Line.²²⁵ British urban planners apparently saw this urban renewal project as a zero-sum game "between tradition and modernity." This top-down approach to urban planning heavily favored the Jewish population, as supported by the public Balfour declaration while ignoring the plight of local Arabs, Palestinians, and Muslims. The United Kingdom's commitment to the Jewish population in Palestine produced a series of settlement projects, supported by such organizations as the Jewish National

²²¹ Ariel, Yaakov, and Ruth Kark. "Messianism, Holiness, Charisma, and Community: The American-Swedish Colony in Jerusalem, 1881-1933." *Church History* 65, no. 4 (1996). Pp. 645. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3170391>.

²²² Roberts, Nicholas E. "Dividing Jerusalem: British Urban Planning in the Holy City." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42, no. 4 (2013): 9. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2013.42.4.7>.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid. Pp. 11.

²²⁵ Golan, Arnon. "The 1948 Wartime Resettlement of Former Arab Areas In West Jerusalem." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 51, no. 5, 1 Sep. 2015, Pp. 805.

Fund.²²⁶ This non-profit organization, founded in 1901, “acquired land as the inalienable property of the whole Jewish people.”²²⁷ The Holy Land was now framed as public and collective property - but only for the Jewish population, excluding local Palestinians and Arabs.²²⁸ Richard Kauffmann, a German-Jewish architect, worked extensively on pre-Israeli settlement projects, in conjunction with his mentor, sociologist Patrick Geddes.²²⁹ Kauffmann viewed Palestine as “virgin soil await[ing] cultivation,” unlike the seemingly corrupted landscape familiar to European planners. “*This land shall not be sold in perpetuity,*” (*Leviticus 25, 23.*)²³⁰ The present site of the U.S. Embassy to Israel sits in a former garden suburb along the southernmost boundary of Jerusalem. Talpiot, formerly referred to as Talpioth-Arnona, is situated within a dramatic topographic setting which afforded its rich agricultural culture.²³¹ The sitelines of this neighborhood provide a “magnificent view over the mountains in the west, over the Jordan Valley, and the Dead Sea in the east, and steep Transjordanian range of Moab and Ammon in the background.”²³² The landscape of this settlement informs its architectural arrangement. According to Kauffmann, accredited with this development, “at this culminating point, is to be the practical and ideal union of all that is lofty and necessary in a human settlement.”²³³

²²⁶ Kats, Yosef and Ebook Central - Academic Complete. *The Land Shall Not Be Sold In Perpetuity: The Jewish National Fund and the History of State Ownership of Land In Israel*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Kauffmann, Richard. “Planning of Jewish Settlements In Palestine: A Brief Survey of Facts and Conditions.” *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1 Nov. 1926.

²²⁹ Wharton, Annabel Jane. “Building the Cold War. Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture.” University of Chicago Press, print. 2001.

²³⁰ *The Land Shall Not Be Sold In Perpetuity: The Jewish National Fund and the History of State Ownership of Land In Israel*.

²³¹ Pike, Jordan. “Jerusalem’s legendary neighborhood for authors celebrates centennial,” Jerusalem Post. Website. July 29 2021. <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/jeruselems-legendary-neighborhood-for-authors-celebrates-centennial-675330>

²³² “Planning of Jewish Settlements In Palestine: A Brief Survey of Facts and Conditions.” Pp. 97.

²³³ Ibid.

U.S. Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv)

In many ways, Tel Aviv is Jerusalem's foil. Whereas Jerusalem is an amalgamation of thousands of years of history, culture, and religious struggle for domination, modern-day Tel-Aviv seemingly sprung from the landscape in mid-twentieth century.²³⁴ The mass exodus of the Jewish population from Europe, combined with the embrace of a future Jewish state from Western powers, forced a dramatic demographic shift in Palestine. The new built environment of Tel Aviv no longer reflected the city's Arab roots.²³⁵ Instead, the vernacular architecture gave way to Western, modernist architecture, evidence of the strong influence of imperial powers on Palestine.²³⁶

The United States was the first country to recognize the state of Israel as a sovereign nation in 1947, a mere eleven minutes after their public declaration of independence from Tel Aviv.²³⁷ This rapid show of support from the Truman administration was in direct conflict with many in the State Department and other US government officials.²³⁸ The State Department was particularly concerned with the humanitarian issue of mass immigration, in addition to the financial cost burdened by the U.S. which only grew when "British authorities made clear that they would not be willing to deal with

²³⁴ "In the course of 15 years it has grown up from a small garden suburb into a township numbering to-day more than 40,000 inhabitants." "Planning of Jewish Settlements In Palestine: A Brief Survey of Facts and Conditions. Pp. 101.

²³⁵ "In spring 1998, Israeli friends could not name a restaurant in the vicinity of Tel Aviv serving Palestinian cuisine. The stone shops and houses of Old Jaffa have been converted into studios for Israeli artists and craftsmen and boutiques for the sale of their productions. The fishing quays are tourist restaurants. Old Jaffa is erased; it is now the historical theme park of new Tel Aviv." "Building the Cold War. Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture." Pp. 112.

²³⁶ "Tel Aviv's rapid expansion in the 1920s and 1930s as well as its lack of an acceptably non-Arab architectural vernacular provided the necessary space for the full realization of the Modern. Indeed, Tel Aviv came as close as anywhere else in the world to materializing the White City - the truly modern city - envisioned by architects like Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius." Ibid.

²³⁷ Embassies in Crisis: Studies of Diplomatic Missions in Testing Situations. Pp. 146.

²³⁸ Ibid. Pp. 148.

the Palestine question for much longer.”²³⁹ Following the withdraw of authorities from the British Mandate of Palestine, the United States stepped in to fill the imperialist role paving the way for anti-American sentiment.²⁴⁰ With the First Arab-Israeli War underway, government officials feared the establishment of an embassy would drag the United States into another conflict, given the official status of American embassies as akin to American soil. The United States went forward with their establishment of the first embassy to Israel, though notably, in Tel Aviv not Jerusalem.²⁴¹ In contrast to its garden-city construction, mid-twentieth century Tel Aviv was a turbulent city. The First Arab-Israeli War (1948-1949) was sparked by Israel’s declaration of independence from the Tel Aviv Museum of Art.²⁴²

The U.S. embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv) was established, in part, as a deterrence against the spread of communism. Counselor of the US Mission to Israel, Charles F. Knox first arrived in Tel Aviv to a

²³⁹ Ibid. Pp. 145. Though, “December 1945 and May 1946 opinion polls showed that between 78 to 80 percent of Americans who followed the issue favored Jewish immigration to Palestine.” Pp. 33. Hahn, Peter L.. *Caught in the Middle East : U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Accessed March 8, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. Pp. 146. “As a result, the passing of Resolution 181, which called for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state with Jerusalem under international controls, was accompanied in many Arab countries by anger and frustration directed against the United States. Throughout 1947, in Jerusalem, these violent anti-American feelings were expressed in a variety of ways, the most unequivocal of which was the bombing of the US Consulate on 13 October, which left everyone unscathed though rather shocked.” and “Anti-U.S. protests erupted in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Palestine. Mobs torched the U.S. Information Center in Beirut and marched on the British embassy in Baghdad.” Pp. 34. From *Caught in the Middle East : U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961*.

²⁴¹ Pastor-Castro, R., & Thomas, M. *Embassies in Crisis*. Pp. 144. “The director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs (NEA), Loy W. Henderson, for example, found the president’s position on the matter ‘deeply concerning’. He warned that: In case the Government of the United States should continue to press for the mass immigration of Jews into Palestine at this time, on humanitarian or other grounds, much of the work done in the Near East in recent years in building up respect for, and confidence in, the United States and in increasing American prestige, will be undone.”

²⁴² A portion of the museum has been renamed Independence Hall in honor of this event.

broken U.N. truce and the sounds of explosions “1½ blocks away.”²⁴³ Knox established a mission in Israel at the Gat Rimon hotel and “began working on citizenship requests and other consular matters” out of this unassuming location.²⁴⁴ **[Figure 20.]** This quickly became a new diplomatic battleground however, as the Soviet representatives established their new temporary mission on the floor above Knox. Lorena De Vita’s analysis of the first U.S. Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv) posits the embassy as “an urban stage for the Cold War rivalry.”²⁴⁵ While the whole of Europe was being redrawn by the effect of the Cold War, in Tel Aviv, the diplomatic missions of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. lived as neighbors. Even the flags of each nation were displayed in front of the hotel, side by side.²⁴⁶ The internal messaging with the U.S. State Department was concerned about the rise of socialist and left-wing messaging of some members of the Zionist movement and provisional Israeli government; as insurance against the further spread of communism, the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv) was established to cement an American presence in the Middle East.²⁴⁷ The strengthening of American-Israeli relations was an attempt to oust Soviet influence; much like the current U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) is a political

²⁴³ Embassies in Crisis: Studies of Diplomatic Missions in Testing Situations. Pp. 151. “...disturbed because I can’t get on with the business of setting up the mission. More than half the day I am sitting in air raid shelters, or waiting for the all-clear so that I can get a taxi, or running for cover [...] there is nothing to do but grin and bear it and hope that it will soon be over.” - Charles Knox.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. Pp. 152. “Much of their rivalry on the ground played out at a symbolic level. At the national opera, for instance, competition over which national anthem should be played first – American or Soviet – became a delicate matter with serious political implications; so, too, the choice of which color necktie – black or white – to wear at parties, especially if these commemorated important political events such as the 1917 Bolshevik revolution.”

²⁴⁶ Melman, Yossi. “What did America’s first envoy think of the Jewish state?” Jerusalem Post. Website. April 21 2017. <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/diary-of-first-us-envoy-to-israel-revealed-488465>

²⁴⁷ According to Loren De Vita, the establishment of the first US Embassy in Israel “represents a key turn-ing point in the consolidation of the special relationship, marking a new stage in the development of the relations between our two countries.” Established along a beach front property in Tel Aviv, less than 350 feet from the water, the former U.S. Embassy to Israel was transformed into a branch office in 2018.

and military counter to the Iranian regime, it was built in part of the tradition of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv).

The Consulate Presence of Jerusalem

A consulate often performs many of the same procedures as an embassy: issue and manage visas for their country of origin, issue passports, and other legal documents.²⁴⁸ These missions are typically constructed in larger countries to accommodate citizens in a more immediate sense.²⁴⁹ In the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the implementation of several consulates were used to circumvent controversy and maintain the status quo. When the United States established an embassy to Israel in Tel Aviv, the Agron location became a de facto mission to the Palestinians even though the U.S. has not officially recognized Palestine as an official state. This was maintained until 2019, when former U.S. President Trump dissolved this location after offices were consolidated in the southern Jerusalem based embassy complex.²⁵⁰ Upon Biden's election to the presidency, he pledged to reopen the consulate; as of early 2022, he has failed to deliver on his promise.²⁵¹ Failing to reopen the consulate and maintaining the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem appears to represent a breakdown in traditional handling of Israeli

²⁴⁸ "What is a Mission?" State Department Website, <https://diplomacy.state.gov/diplomacy/what-is-a-mission/>

²⁴⁹ "In Diplomatic Terms, "mission" has multiple meanings. All embassies, consulates, and other diplomatic posts in foreign countries are known collectively as missions and they all share the common mission of carrying out the foreign policy of the United States Government." Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ "As President, Biden will take immediate steps to restore economic and humanitarian assistance to the Palestinian people, consistent with US law, including assistance to refugees, work to address the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza, reopen the US consulate in East Jerusalem, and work to reopen the PLO mission in Washington,' the Biden campaign's platform for Arab-American communities reads." Harb, Ali. "Why Biden's Jerusalem consulate promise remains unfulfilled," Al Jazeera, website.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/20/why-biden-jerusalem-consulate-promise-remains-unfulfilled>

politics.²⁵² While Biden swiftly reversed the majority of Trump-era policies, the current handling of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by an opposing political party suggests the Trump administration's successful establishment of a new status quo. It appears for now, the US Embassy to Israel will remain in Jerusalem for years to come without significant Palestinian-American relations.

U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem)

Representatives of the international community descended on a former US consulate building in southern Jerusalem which was retrofitted to accommodate a fully functioning embassy complex.²⁵³ The rapid transformation of the existing structure serves several purposes: the alignment of the opening ceremony with a national holiday which perpetuates the embassy as a tool for legitimization of a nation-state; insurance against logistical concerns. Given the polarizing political environment throughout Trump's presidency, there was no guarantee of either re-election or that new construction would be completed during his first term. The embassy complex opened in Arnona, Jerusalem with conversations indicating this may not be its permanent location.²⁵⁴ In hindsight, this was the correct calculation. Former President Trump failed his reelection campaign, bringing in current President

²⁵² Not all members follow party lines of course. "Not a single elected Democrat attended the celebration in Israel. Most were silent Monday as the ceremony unfolded on television. A few, including Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, issued written statements of support. "Every nation should have the right to choose its capital. I sponsored legislation to do this two decades ago, and I applaud President Trump for doing it," the top Senate Democrat said in a rare moment of agreement with the Republican president." Heller, Aron and Peoples, Steve. "Republicans celebrate opening of US embassy in Jerusalem," Associated Press, website. May 14 2018.

<https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-ap-top-news-jared-kushner-tel-aviv-north-america-31664c18cace44db8909e01a605a00fd>

²⁵³ Ahren, Raphael. "Ambassadors from Albania to Zambia to fete US embassy move," The Times of Israel. Website. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/ambassadors-from-all-over-the-world-to-fete-us-embassy-move/>

²⁵⁴ Staff, Toi. "Jerusalem authorities advance planning for new US embassy," The Times of Israel. Website. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/jerusalem-authorities-advance-planning-for-new-us-embassy/>

Biden - identified as no friend to Israel; while he quickly reversed the majority of Trump's policies, he did not close the embassy.²⁵⁵ Had this purely existed in policy, as did the Jerusalem Embassy Act, there is little chance of a current Jerusalem US-Israeli embassy. Additionally, the large-scale closing of the world due to the coronavirus also halted conversations of moving to a new location. These factors transformed an impermanent structure into a fixture of the Jerusalem landscape. The retrofitting of an existing consular mission to align the opening ceremony with Israel's independence day strengthens the argument of the embassy as a tool for legitimization and constructs a mirror image of the first U.S. Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv).

The interim location of the Arnona-based embassy has evolved to be a permanent fixture of the Jerusalem landscape.²⁵⁶ The embassy complex remains largely underground, likely based out of security concerns²⁵⁷: as outlined by former senior officer with the Central Intelligence Agency William Young, there are significant architectural and technological factors to deter a potential attack on an embassy.²⁵⁸ The hidden features of the main body of the embassy compound, all the while surely containing high-profile technological scanners to monitor outside movements; this surveillance of the surrounding landscape creates a formidable presence.²⁵⁹

The present site of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) is bisected by the Green Line, the precursor to the 1949 Armistice Agreement. The First Arab-Israeli War ended with massive territorial gains by the IDF; Israel occupied the western half of Jerusalem, falling just short of the Old City.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ "New US Embassy May Be in Jerusalem, but Not in Israel,"

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Young, William. "Embassy Security: From the Outside In." RAND Corporation, 2013.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02412>. Pp. 2

²⁵⁹ Ibid. Pp. 3

Negotiations between the Gulf Nations resulted in the symbolic demarcation that “has been viewed both as an undesirable, arbitrary source of conflict and division and – contrarily – as a relatively flexible and unimposing, yet, according to some, much needed boundary between Palestinians and Israelis; one that is much preferable to the relentless, mammoth separation walls built under the aegis of Ariel Sharon some 55 years later; one that may contain the only promise of future peace.”²⁶⁰ The Green Line was formed by Israeli Lt Colonel Moshe Dayan who “[drew] with green wax pencil on a map by the scale of 1:25,000 on the 30th of November, 1948, the year of the end of the British/United Nations Mandate of Palestine and the proclamation of the State of Israel.”²⁶¹ **[Figure 21.]** The 1949 Armistice Agreement built upon the Green Line, allowing for slight variations in the regards to the no-man's-land, the international buffer zone in between West and East Jerusalem.²⁶² While the agreements were originally intended to create a political demarcation of governance without any permanent alteration to the borders, the divide between Jordanian-controlled Palestine and Israel quickly became the *de facto* borders until 1967. The Green Line however, did not disappear following Israel's success in the Six-Day War and the reunification of Jerusalem. Rather, the demarcation evolved from the footprint of the Israeli separation barrier or Apartheid Wall. **[Figure 22.]** The divide of

²⁶⁰ Gieskes, Mette. “The Green Line: Potency, Absurdity, and Disruption of Dichotomy in Francis Alÿs's Intervention in Jerusalem.” In *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, edited by Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers, 33–58. Brill, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w8h335.8>.

²⁶¹ Ibid. Pp. 38.

²⁶² “These vast buffer zones quickly became empty “no man's lands” prohibited to both sides, scarring the heart of Jerusalem’.15 Newman has also remarked that the area along the boundary line, which was situated in the city core, remained undeveloped, especially the no man's land that between 1948 and 1967 was the only border crossing along the 310-kilometer Green Line, with a width that at places reached hundreds of meters. After 1980, when Israel officially declared Jerusalem as physically united, parks and residential areas were established in previous frontier zones, but much land is still undeveloped. 17 Alÿs's video documents this uncultivated land: a viewer unaware of the location of the artist's walk may well suspect at times that Alÿs was walking through the countryside rather than through a legendary city.” Ibid. Pp. 40.

Jerusalem was not only conceived of in plan, but in section: the dramatic topography of Jerusalem creates natural paths of resistance, which largely impacted the development of early Israeli settlements. U.S. State Department spokeswoman Heather Nauert acknowledged this site's controversial location but said little else. Reportedly, an unnamed senior ranking United Nations official said such,

"there is some uncertainty about exactly where the line runs through the property, but I don't think there is any uncertainty about the fact that the line runs through it . . . [u]nder international law it is still occupied territory, because neither party had any right to occupy the area between the lines."

The intentional intersection of the Green Line is evidence of American support of Israeli expansion into East Jerusalem and further control over religious holy sites and the rejection of the "two-state solution."

The U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) symbolizes the rejection of the two-state solution. The current location of the embassy is a direct challenge to the current border conditions of this region and serves as a space to grow American influence, furthering the stake of the U.S. within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Due to the unique legal circumstances surrounding U.S. embassies, could this location be used as justification for American 'boots-on-the-ground' if the embassy compound was attacked?

CHAPTER THREE | Merging Myth and Reality

“It is a historic day for Israel and the United States and we wanted to thank you, Ambassador Haley, for your strong support of this great move. The people of Israel are grateful for your leadership, President Trump’s leadership, and we want to give you a small present . . . an ancient coin from the Old City of Jerusalem [East Jerusalem], from the City of David, and it says on it “Freedom of Zion” and we are grateful for everything you are doing for the people of Israel.”

*-Danny Danon, Israel’s Ambassador to the United Nations, May 15, 2018, Jerusalem.*²⁶³

The inauguration of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) caught the attention of the entire global community. **[Figure 23.]** The world watched with bated breath as glamorous government officials arrived at the embassy grounds, which quickly turned to horror as violence erupted, not in Jerusalem, but far off in the Gaza Strip. **[Figure 24.]** The opening ceremony featured a surprising collection of foreign representatives. The Israeli Foreign Ministry reportedly invited 86 foreign envoys to this event, yet only “[t]hirty-three ambassadors and chargés d’affaires confirmed their participation.”²⁶⁴ Several Latin²⁶⁵, African²⁶⁶, and eastern european nations²⁶⁷ attended the ceremony but several nations who often sport friendly ties with Israel were notably absent in a clear demonstration of disdain for the event.²⁶⁸ During the embassy ceremony, protesters outside the embassy complex carried signs calling for justice; unlike the “massacre” at the Gaza Strip, this protest remained largely

²⁶³ Mandell, Ariane. “WATCH: Nikki Haley honored with rare artifact for aiding US embassy move,” Jerusalem Post. Website.

<https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/politics-and-diplomacy/watch-nikki-haley-honored-with-rare-artifact-for-aiding-us-embassy-move-556444>

²⁶⁴ Ahren, Raphael. “Ambassadors from Albania to Zambia to fete US embassy move,” The Times of Israel. Website. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/ambassadors-from-all-over-the-world-to-fete-us-embassy-move/>

²⁶⁵ Ibid. The Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru.

²⁶⁶ Angola, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Sudan, Zambia and Tanzania. Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Albania, Georgia, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Serbia. Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Argentina, Australia, Canada, China, India, Germany, Russia. Ibid.

peaceful.²⁶⁹ Inside the embassy complex, then-Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu spoke passionately about the present site of the US embassy: "[t]his was near the border [pointing at ground] It was exposed to sniper fire. That was then,' he said. 'This is now. Today, the embassy of the most powerful nation on earth, our greatest ally, the United States of America, today its embassy opened here.'"²⁷⁰ Jared Kushner, former senior advisor and son-in-law to former President Trump, also gave opening remarks at the ceremony echoing continued protection of the status quo of the land's religious monuments.²⁷¹ This ceremony was also attended by high profile American politicians and donors including, "Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin" "Ivanka Trump" and several top Trump party officials.²⁷² **[Figure 25.]** As such, this high-profile ceremony received the most attention. The next day however a curious event happened, which may parallel the groundbreaking embassy ceremony.

Nikki Haley served as the US Ambassador to the United Nations between 2016-2018.²⁷³ Haley served as the primary defender of the embassy decision on the world stage, consistently underlining America's commitment to its greatest ally in the Middle East.²⁷⁴ Haley and her Israeli counterpart, Danny Danon, held a small photo-op on May 15 2018 to celebrate the historic day.²⁷⁵ They each exchanged praise for the other's dedication to the nation of Israel and shared a toast which

²⁶⁹ "Under banner of peace, U.S. opens embassy in Jerusalem. Sixty miles away, dozens of Palestinians are killed."

²⁷⁰ "U.S. Dedicates New Embassy in Jerusalem,"

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Heller, Aron and Peoples, Steve. "Republicans celebrate opening of US embassy in Jerusalem," Associated Press, website. May 14 2018.
<https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-ap-top-news-jared-kushner-tel-aviv-north-america-31664c18cace44db8909e01a605a00fd>

²⁷³ Wamsley, Laurel. "Nikki Haley Resigns as U.N. Ambassador," NPR. Website. October 9 2018.
<https://www.npr.org/2018/10/09/655794985/nikki-haley-resigns-as-u-n-ambassador>

²⁷⁴ Charbonneau, Louis. "US Ambassador Nikki Haley's Disappointing UN Rights Legacy," Human Rights Watch, Website. October 10 2018.

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/10/10/us-ambassador-nikki-haleys-disappointing-un-rights-legacy#>

²⁷⁵ "WATCH: Nikki Haley honored with rare artifact for aiding US embassy move,"

could be heard echoed around the room.²⁷⁶ This interaction could easily be overlooked, as the Jerusalem Post a pro-Israeli online news source, was the only prominent source to run the story. Haley was presented with an artifact from antiquity: a coin allegedly inscribed with the phrases “Freedom of Zion” and “Year Two of the Revolt,” as a framed photograph of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. looks on.²⁷⁷ **[Figure 26.]** The coin is nearly two thousand years old claimed during an archaeological dig in the Old City of Jerusalem, the claimed capital of a future Palestinian state.²⁷⁸ “This coin,” Danon said, “proves that Jerusalem has always been the capital of the Jewish people.”²⁷⁹ Around the time of the embassy’s inaugural ceremony, massive archaeological excavations began throughout the Arnona. **[Figure 27.]** The presence of the U.S. Embassy appears to have changed the intimate dynamics of this quiet neighborhood given the influx of new visitors and residents. Development increased in the area, and as required by Israeli law, an “archaeological survey [was performed] ahead of any construction projects.”²⁸⁰ While excavating, “archaeologists from the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) came across one of the most significant discoveries made in the city in recent years: a major administrative center believed to date to the days when Hezekiah and Manasseh reigned over the Kingdom of Judah.”²⁸¹

The administrative center is currently believed to be a tax center for the benefit of the biblical king - ironically, “Arnona” is the Hebrew word referring to property tax - with possible links to Ramat

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Tercatin, Rossella. “Key site from biblical kings’ time unveiled near U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem,” The Jerusalem Post. Website. JULY 22 2020.

<https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/key-site-from-biblical-kings-time-unveiled-near-us-embassy-in-jerusalem-635924>

²⁸¹ Ibid.

Rahel, the kibbutz named for the biblical mother of Israel and site of a majority Israeli victory in the Six-Day War. The site currently is a large attraction for the excavations, often overshadowing its neighbor in Arnona. At the turn of the century, Arnona had an influx of *dati leumi*, religious nationalist residents.²⁸² By 2013, two years after the purchase of the U.S. consulate, 25% of the residents of Arnona spoke English.²⁸³

A few months after the aerial footage was published in Arnona, a new story broke claiming that IAA archaeologists discovered a new palace from biblical Jerusalem.²⁸⁴ The headline read “[m]ystery of ‘magnificent palace’ found in Jerusalem,” boasting of fantastic, mystical artifacts unearthed not 2 miles from the Old City.²⁸⁵ Several column capitals were discovered, “neatly buried, one on top of the other” as if to intentionally disguise the precious materials. The capitals’ construction is consistent with the First Temple period [10th-6th Century BC, which aligns with Iron Age II], the time of Israelite tribes throughout Judea and Samaria. This is reinforced by the treatment of the capital’s scrolls which were “a known visual symbol of the period of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and appear as one of the motifs on the five shekel coin of the modern State of Israel.”²⁸⁶ **[Figure 28.]** One detail however, was ignored in the description of these findings: while IAA archaeologists claim these artifacts are from biblical Jerusalem, the current location of these discoveries is East Talpiot, the district which comprises the majority of no-man’s-land and half of the compound of the present

²⁸² Borvik, Gedaliah. “Arnona: An Established Yet “Up and Coming” Neighborhood,” The Times of Israel. Jan 2 2013. <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/arnona-an-established-yet-up-and-coming-neighborhood/>

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ “Mystery of ‘magnificent palace’ found in Jerusalem,” BBC. Website. September 3 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-54006773>

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

site of the U.S. Embassy. Given the laws surrounding Israeli archaeological practices, this action is further proof of Israel proclaiming the former no-man's-land as their territory and, by extension, Israel further encroaching upon East Jerusalem.

David Friedman, then U.S. Ambassador to Israel, and Paul Packer, Chairman of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad dedicated a plaque on the grounds of the US Embassy in Jerusalem on January 18, 2021.²⁸⁷ **[Figure 29.]** This public gesture was not only an affirmation of the diplomatic relationship between the United States of America and Israel, but also a display of the joint-heritage shared in the forming of the two nations. The plaque, as detailed below, emphasizes Jerusalem as the “very place where the kings and prophets of the Bible walked.”²⁸⁸ During an earlier official visit to Israel, Friedman traveled to several religious sites across the historic terrain mirroring ancient pilgrimage paths from over two thousand years prior.²⁸⁹ Friedman is not only in this attempt to retrace the footsteps of biblical figures, neither is he the first sanctioned by the U.S. government. The history of religious-based settlement communities as funded by the U.S. were

²⁸⁷ “Recognizing the City of David as a Testament to America’s Judeo-Christian Heritage and Founding Principles,” US Embassy in Israel, State Department. Website. <https://il.usembassy.gov/recognizing-the-city-of-david-as-a-testament-to-americas-judeo-christian-heritage-and-founding-principles/> “The United States Embassy in Jerusalem, together with the United States Commission for the Preservation of America’s Heritage Abroad, have recognized the City of David as a testament to America’s Judeo-Christian heritage and founding principles. The archeological discoveries at the City of David bring Biblical Jerusalem back to life and reaffirm the prophetic messages of freedom, justice and peace that inspired America’s founders.”

²⁸⁸ Ibid. “The City of David brings Biblical Jerusalem to life at the very place where the kings and prophets of the Bible walked. It is the site where internationally acclaimed archeological discoveries have been unearthed, including the Pool of Siloam, the Pilgrimage Road, the Gihon Spring and Hezekiah’s Tunnel. As the prophet Isaiah said, ‘Out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.’ The spiritual bedrock of our values as a nation comes from Jerusalem. It is upon these ideals that the American Republic was founded, and the unbreakable bond between the United States and Israel was formed. The City of David serves as a proud reminder of the glorious heritage of the United States of America . . . ‘I rejoiced with those who said to me, ‘Let us go to the house of the Lord.’ Our feet are standing in your gates, Jerusalem.” -Psalm 122:1-2

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

discussed in the previous chapter.²⁹⁰ The search for religious artifacts and undiscovered sites, however, were performed in tandem with the establishment of the settlement communities as hordes of American Christian missionaries flocked to the Holy Land, to trace the flight of the Israelite tribes from Egypt.²⁹¹ This history of biblical tourism, attracting members from across the world, has elevated the role of archaeology within Israeli society. For contemporary secular Western audiences, the idea of archaeological findings discussed amongst the lay population would be unthinkable.²⁹² In issues of contested heritage however, the physical link to historic occupation is used to further legitimize one's present claim to the landscape.

²⁹⁰ In 1848 . . . a forty-six-year-old navy lieutenant from Virginia named William Francis Lynch mounted an expedition to the Dead Sea. The expedition was sponsored by the U.S. Department of War . . . left the Dead Sea with an American flag moored in its center and made their way overland to Jerusalem." Pp. 32. Magness, Jodi. *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² On the website of the Jerusalem Post, a nearly-90 year old newspaper/publication based in Jerusalem, the header outlines several popular categories updated on a daily or hourly basis such as "Coronavirus . . . Middle East . . . Archaeology."

“Masada shall not fall again!”

*“Two thousand years ago, 967 Jewish men, women, and children - the last holdouts of the revolt against Rome following the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Second Temple - reportedly took their own lives rather than surrender to the Roman army.”*²⁹³

The phrase, “Masada shall not fall again!” originated from Yitzhak Lamdan’s 1927 poem, “Masada: A Historic Epic.”²⁹⁴ The phrase became a “modern, nationalist rallying cry,” cited throughout the Warsaw Ghetto uprisings.²⁹⁵ The invocation of the Masada became synonymous with Jewish resistance, and was later used during the War of Independence (1948).²⁹⁶ The myth of the Masada is arguably Zionism’s greatest oral history yet its authenticity remains in question. The popular Holocaust remembrance phrase, “Never Again,” originates from Lamdan’s poem as well. The collective Jewish memory of the event stems from only one source, Jewish Historian Josephus Flavius, the commander of Galilee throughout the First Jewish Revolt.²⁹⁷ The reimagining of the reported mass suicide, through such works as Lamdan’s epic poem, begins to challenge the historic narrative.

The search for Masada lasted for nearly two thousand years. A series of American and European explorers contributed to the slow reveal of the suspected mass graveyard, following the trend of Western missionaries seeking to trace the steps of biblical figures. **[Figure 30.]** Masada was finally, as archaeologist Jodi Magness who has researched and worked extensively at the eventual site, was

²⁹³ *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth*. Pp. 3.

²⁹⁴ “The Reception of Josephus in Jerusalem: Yitzhak Lamdan’s poem Masada (1927).” University of Oxford, Website. 02.15.2016. <https://josephus.orinst.ox.ac.uk/archives/923>

²⁹⁵ Zerubavel, Yael. “The Death of Memory and the Memory of Death: Masada and the Holocaust as Historical Metaphors.” *Representations*, no. 45 (1994): 88. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928603>.

²⁹⁶ *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth*. Pp. 198.

²⁹⁷ “The Reception of Josephus in Jerusalem: Yitzhak Lamdan’s poem Masada (1927).

“(re)discovered” in the 1950s.²⁹⁸ The excavation of the suspected site of the Masada was given to Yigael Talin, trained archaeologist and former Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces and Deputy Prime Minister. Excavations occurred in two phases through 1963-1965, though logistical concerns proved to be of some difficulty: the Masada is a massive stone mesa located in southern Israel. The mountaintop rises over 1400 ft. above sea level, providing sweeping views of the Judean desert and neighboring Dead Sea. Carved into the mountain are the remains of an imperial palace/fortress constructed as part of the Judean king, Herod the Great, architectural works.²⁹⁹ **[Figure 31.]**

Israeli biblical archaeologists are tasked with establishing a link between the modern state of Israel and the historic landscape. For thousands of years, Masada was little more than legend. Yet the frenzied search for the structure, spurred on by the collective Jewish memory, is a case study in Israeli archaeological practices. The dominant Israeli archaeological practices begin before site work; instead, Israeli archaeologists rely on folklore and religion to determine the location of future site work. The quest for Masada can also be attributed to the collective obsession with the break from an “exilic tradition of submissiveness.”³⁰⁰ Masada was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2001, the first of its kind in Israel. The U.N. cultural heritage organization praised the authenticity of the site; the lack of disturbance for years coupled with its high altitude buried under sand, preserved the ancient site as an object of study. Both UNESCO and ICOMOS celebrate Masada as a “a symbol of Jewish cultural identity and, more universally, of the continuing human struggle between oppression

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Herod’s other projects, such as the port city of Caesarea and the Second Temple, of which the Wailing Wall are the only remaining fragments, are venerated sites of historic and religious significance.

³⁰⁰ *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth*. Pp. 88.

and liberty.” This claim is a deliberate attempt to separate contemporary Jewish society from this ancient, biblical site in favor of universal, international heritage. **[Figures 32.-35.]**

The attempt to neutralize Jerusalem as an international city is tantamount to the destruction of its heritage. This framework is an intentional misread of the holy city and naively believes that if a metropolitan, international organization such as the U.N. intervenes as the “guardian of heritage,” that bloodshed would stop. This simply is not the case as this is obviously rejected by both Israelis and Palestinians alike. U.N. policies have done little to prevent the destruction of tangible heritage throughout the city, such as the destruction of the Mughrabi Quarter, despite resolutions claiming the entirety of the Old City of Jerusalem as a UNESCO World Heritage site. In reaction to these practices, Israeli archeology is deeply concerned with forging nationalist ties. Nadia Abu al-Haj, proud supporter of Palestinian refugees and of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, refers to Israeli excavations as “mythical digs” which do little but prompt the “cultural significance of archaeology in Israel’s . . . colonial-nationalist culture.” Given the repeated condemnation of Israeli settlement activity and the failure to prevent destruction to Palestinian neighborhoods, the Israeli-Palestinian society has lost faith in UNESCO as a neutral force and “guardian of heritage.”

With little regard given to the U.N.’s condemnation of the establishment of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem), what are potential reactions of this organization? Would UNESCO extend their designation to match Jerusalem’s existing municipal boundaries as an attempt to control Israeli, and by extension, American heritage practices? Would this put an end to excavations surrounding the embassy complex? German-Israeli archaeologist and professor Katharina Galor emphasizes the geographic and spatial understanding of East Jerusalem as a cultural and national “no-man’s land”

where absolute sovereignty over excavations is questionable at best, and theft at its worst.³⁰¹ Galor is particularly concerned with one Israeli archaeology practice: in contrast to the Western, stratigraphic approach to excavation, Israeli archaeology is instructed to discard context not relating to the biblical area.³⁰² This practice overtly disregards any non-Israeli ownership of the holy lands, even if they are hundreds if not thousands of years old.³⁰³ These practices are inscribed in Israeli law by the Israel Antiquities Authority, the government body responsible for the reinforcement of the 1978 Law of Antiquities. The 1978 law overrides the Ottoman and British Mandate-era policies responsible for outlining proper archaeological practices. A joint-report made by prominent Israeli archaeologists affiliated with the IAA raises disturbing questions regarding government sanctioned practices. According to Morag Kersel and Raz Kletter, the Israeli government has begun selling artifacts for private consumption.³⁰⁴ These sales are limited to fragments, sherds, and other small artifacts.

However, this is in direct contrast to the collectivist narrative of Israeli culture. Kersel's report lays the

³⁰¹ Ibid. Pp. 105.

³⁰² Ibid. Pp. 103. "Despite of these high professional standards, however, one obvious shortcoming of Israeli archaeology, also discussed in other parts of this study, is the preferential treatment of remains from the First and Second Temple periods, highlighting finds of relevance to the city's Jewish narrative, to the neglect of other cultures and periods. This clear deviation from ethical standards has been the subject of much criticism, and it is seen in most public displays of excavations conducted since 1967. One thing that has changed since the mid-1990s is that medieval and Islamic layers are no longer bulldozed. Instead, most IAA excavations now meticulously record and dutifully document the remains that span the entire spectrum of pre-1700 periods, as stipulated by the AL. Some select projects even document and record more recent layers, including the late Ottoman period, the time of the British Mandate, and, in some cases, the destruction layers associated with the 1948 and 1967 wars. At least in that respect, they are following the standard protocol of salvage excavations. Today, it is only the public presentation and dissemination of information that continues to focus on the Jewish narrative. Thus, professional archaeological practices—increasingly conscientious in other ways—do not really stand in the way of the continued commitment to the Zionist ideology, which emphasizes the continuity of a Jewish presence since antiquity and the entitlement of return to the Jewish homeland."

³⁰³ "Archaeological Ethics." Pp. 107. "The scientific and ethical concerns regarding the marketing of unprovenanced artifacts stem from the belief that removing an archaeological object from its spot without professional supervision results in the irretrievable loss of context documentation and knowledge - and thus the displacement and destruction of local cultural heritage."

³⁰⁴ Morag M. Kersel is a historic archaeologist, preservationist, and academic focused on the use of cultural heritage within political negotiations. Raz Kletter, archaeologist and theorist, is writing on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority for submission to the *Journal of Field Archaeology*, a collection of peer reviewed works within the profession.

foundation for a much-needed debate: should a government encourage and orchestrate the sale of archaeological discoveries?³⁰⁵ This journal entry expresses its concern over commercializing heritage and capitalizing off of a finite resource, which in turn, could devalue museum grade artifacts and encourage further desecration and looting of cultural heritage sites. Kersel follows the history of laws regarding antiquities in this region and the response of archaeologists to these laws that govern practice and morality.³⁰⁶

In addition, Kletter uncovers the legacy and mysticism surrounding Moshe Dayan, former commander of the Jerusalem front during the War of Independence and Former Defense Minister of Israel passion for “hobby archaeology.” Dayan “used his political influence to garner support for the legal market provision during debates in Parliament over the pending legislation . . . [s]imultaneously, wealthy Israelis, Palestinian antiquities dealers, and foreign scholars intent on building study collections for their institutions, all voiced their support for the licensed trade in Israel.”³⁰⁷

Archaeology is a collective Israeli activity - in the case of the Masada, the search for ‘truth’ lasted thousands of years.

³⁰⁵ Ibid Pp. 319.

³⁰⁶ “[A]n antiquities law for the Ottoman Empire was passed in 1874 in order to regulate the movement of antiquities from archaeological excavations. This law instituted a system of portage, whereby archaeological material was divided equally between the excavator, the state, and the landowner, allowing some material to leave the region . . . In 1884 the Ottoman government made further attempts to regulate the handling of antiquities by issuing a law prohibiting the sport of antiquities (Ottoman Antiquities Law [OL 1884], Chapter 1, Article 8) which severely curtailed the practice of portage. Licensed individuals and organizations were permitted to excavate, but all the antiquities belong to the Empire and as such were to be housed in the Imperial Museum in Constantinople . . .”

³⁰⁷ Ibid. Pp. 320.

CONCLUSION

The United States of America felt like it was on the verge of chaos in October, 2016. The two presidential candidates were embroiled in their respective scandals and the old adage, “never discuss politics or religion in polite company,” disappeared. Nearly every aspect of society came under consideration - even truth. Issues of intangible and tangible heritage preservation, as seen in the controversies around Confederate monuments and the “Star-Spangled Banner,” were key issues on the ballot. 2016 Republican presidential nominee, Donald J. Trump renewed his promises of “America First,” from the campaign trail. To a seemingly contradictory effect, Trump also promised the official recognition of the professed capital city of Israel if elected to the presidency in the coming weeks. As if in response to his claims, the U.N. passed the next installment in a series of controversial resolutions regarding the Holy Land’s religious monuments. The U.N.’s cultural agency, UNESCO, condemned Israel for their activities surrounding al-Aqsa mosque.³⁰⁸ Israel, for its part, ignored the criticism of their handling of the mosque’s surroundings.³⁰⁹ Instead, Israel condemned the particular word choice used throughout the resolution which referred to the Wailing Wall and the Temple Mount only by its Arabic name.³¹⁰ By using the words *al-Aqsa* and *al-Haram al-Sharif*, Jewish Israelis, Muslim Palestinians, and the majority of the international community interpreted this as, one headline

³⁰⁸ Ravid, Barak and Khoury, Jack. “UNESCO Backs Motion Nullifying Jewish Ties to Temple Mount” Haaretz. Website. April 10 2016.

<https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/unesco-backs-motion-nullifying-jewish-ties-to-temple-mountain-1.5449172>

³⁰⁹ The latest resolution reaffirms the importance of this territory to the three main Abrahmic religions, but included a caveat in regards to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, despite the prohibition of Jewish prayer by the Islamic Waqf, who walk freely throughout the Dome of the Rock.

³¹⁰ “UNESCO Backs Motion Nullifying Jewish Ties to Temple Mount”

claimed, “nullfying Jewish ties to [the] Temple Mount.”³¹¹ This public resolution does not only impact Jerusalemites, but Jews, Muslims, and Christians throughout the world. The 2016 Democratic presidential nominee, Hillary Clinton, stated her disapproval of the UN Resolution saying, “disappointing and wrong” for the U.N. to ignore “the deep and historic ties of the Jewish people to Jerusalem and its holy sites.”³¹² Then-Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu condemned the decision: “[t]o say that Israel has no connection to the Temple Mount and the Western Wall is like saying that China has no connection to the Great Wall of China and that Egypt has no connection to the Pyramids.”³¹³ Immediately after the vote, Israel’s ambassador to the U.N. Carmel Shama-Hacohen, criticized the committee’s stance, saying: “[y]ou have just adopted a [resolution] *against historical truth* and one that stands in complete and utter contradiction to all values.” The ambassador claims that because of this decision, UNESCO lost the little legitimization it had left. **[Figure 36.]** What right does an international organization, with its headquarters based in Paris, France, have to determine the treatment of the most holy religious sites in Jerusalem? This question has not been resolved for American audiences, nor the American government which over the years has continuously dissolved, and reinstated, its membership with the organization.³¹⁴ The United States seems to change its position regarding the U.N., and by extension UNESCO, based on the organization’s response in regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The U.S. entered this organization to, in part, “advocate for free speech in an era of communist propaganda.” The Red Scare phenomenon of mid-20th century

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Beaumont, Peter. “UNESCO adopts controversial resolution on Jerusalem holy sites,” the Guardian. October 26 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/26/unesco-adopts-controversial-resolution-on-jerusalem-holy-sites-israel>

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Waxman, Olivia. “The U.S. Has Left UNESCO Before. Here’s Why,” TIME, website. October 12, 2017. <https://time.com/4980034/unesco-trump-us-leaving-history/>

America, much like the establishment of the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Tel Aviv), was the motivation behind this membership. Tensions grew as more Soviet-affiliated countries joined the organization however it was condemnation of Israel which caused the U.S. to withdraw from the organization for the first time in 1974.³¹⁵ This decision, in response to immoral archaeological practices within Jerusalem's Old City, remained in place until 1977. Before former President Trump's withdraw from UNESCO citing "anti-Israel bias," his predecessor Barack Obama withdrew in 2011 upon UNESCO admittance of Palestine as a full member of the organization.³¹⁶ This move however, is not simply a political demonstration as the United States was scheduled to pay \$60 million in dues towards the organization.³¹⁷ Should UNESCO tailor its policies when dealing with contested heritage sites? As such, this organization should consider this cyclical relationship between intangible and tangible cultural heritage in such circumstances.

³¹⁵ "The United States joined UNESCO at its founding but later withdrew in 1984 because of a growing disparity between U.S. foreign policy and UNESCO goals. After an almost twenty-year absence from the organization, the United States rejoined the organization in October 2003. In announcing that the U.S. would rejoin UNESCO, President George W. Bush stated, "As a symbol of our commitment to human dignity, the United States will return to UNESCO. This organization has been reformed and America will participate fully in its mission to advance human rights and tolerance and learning." "About the U.S. and UNESCO" U.S. Department of State. (Diplomacy in Action, archived material). Last updated 9/29/11.

<https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/io/unesco/usunesco/index.htm#:~:text=The%20United%20States%20joined%20UNESCO,the%20organization%20in%20October%202003.>

³¹⁶ Lobe, Jim. "US halts UNESCO funding," Al Jazeera. Website. November 1 2011.

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³¹⁷ Ibid.

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[Figure 2.] Ibid. While this image does not depict the young Anne Pham herself, this image taken during the evacuation shows several Vietnamese refugees loaded onto U.S. affiliated transport barges in the South China Sea.



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[Figure 4.] Ibid. Vietnamese citizens scale the U.S. embassy wall hoping to be evacuated prior to communist takeover.



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Joint U.S.-Israel flags displayed in preparation for the U.S. Embassy to Israel (Jerusalem) inauguration ceremony.

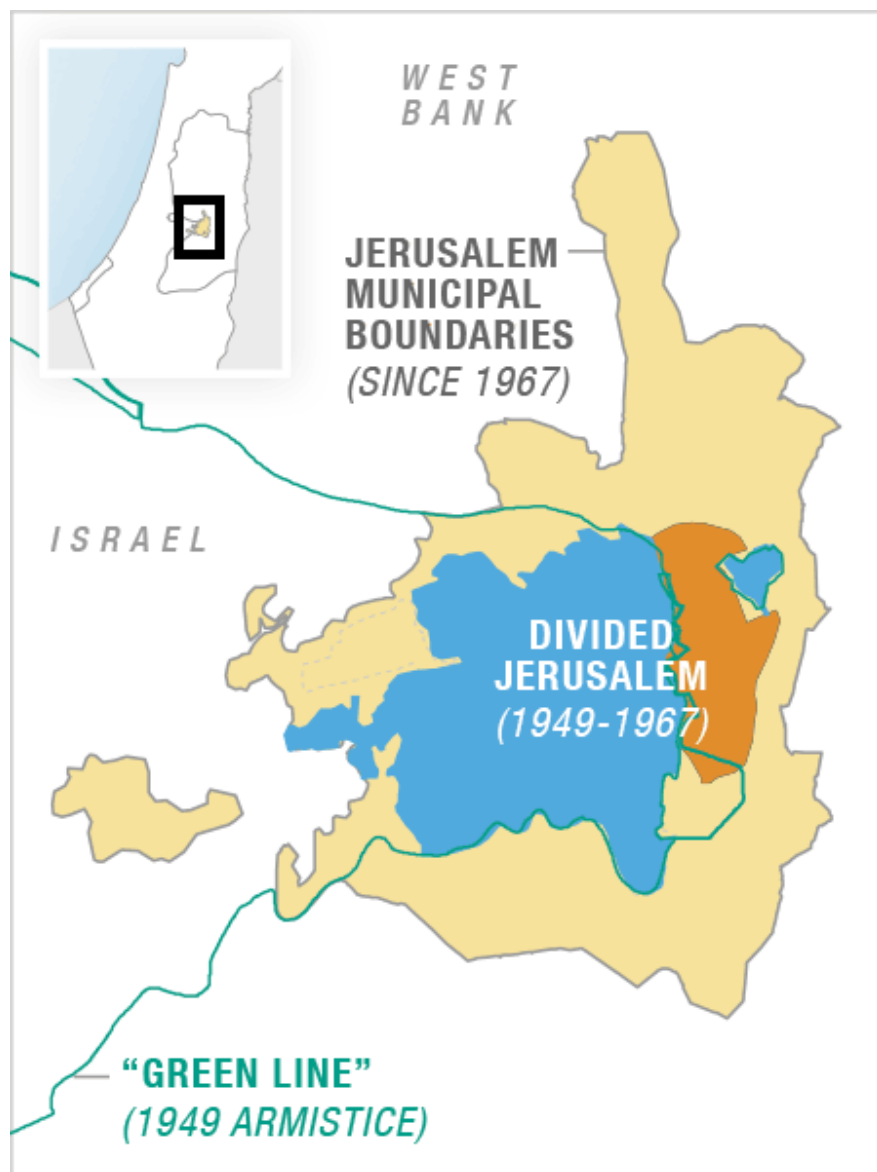


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The five regions, composed of British and French regions of occupation, designated northern modern-day Israel as an international zone (yellow).

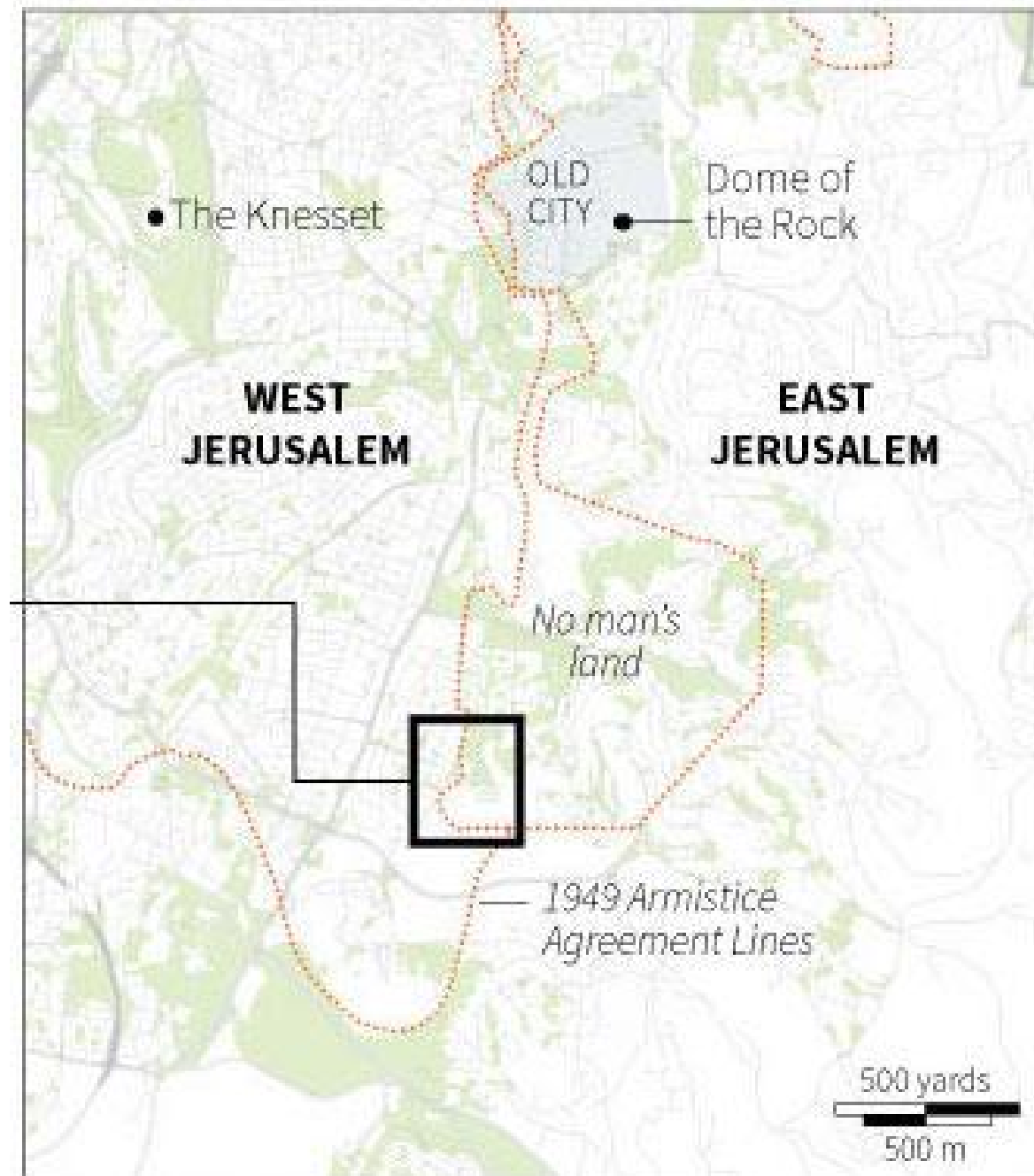


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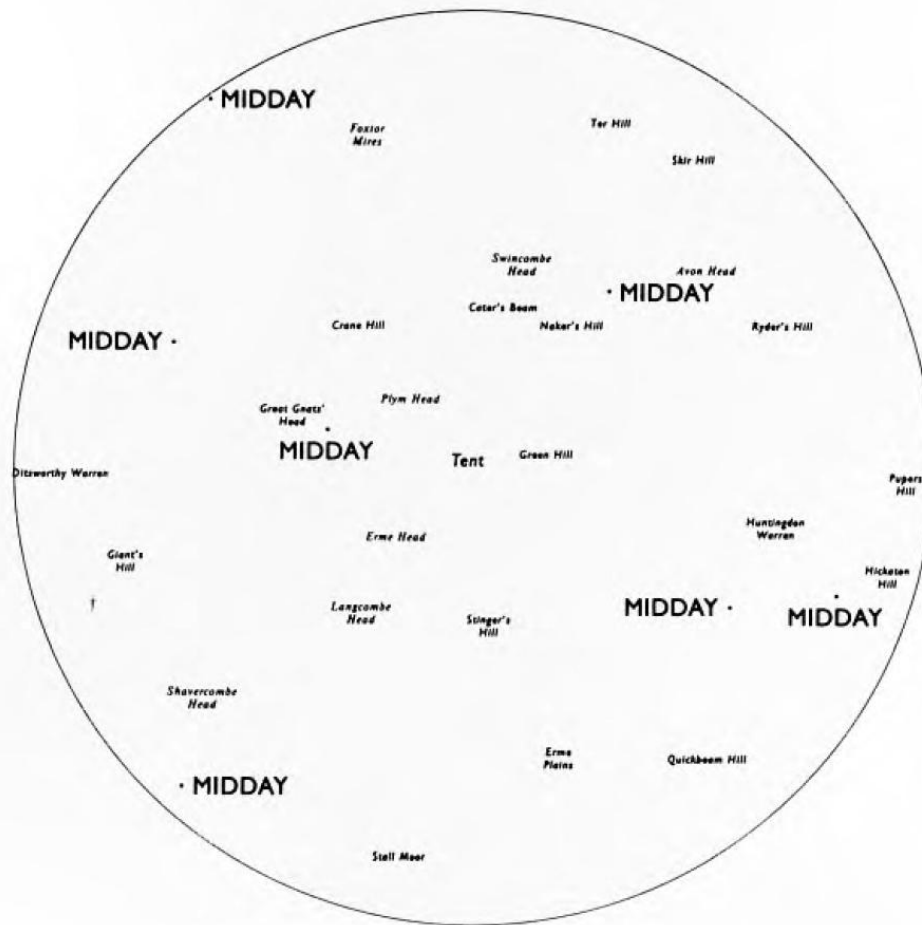


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A SEVEN DAY CIRCLE OF GROUND

SEVEN DAYS WALKING WITHIN AN IMAGINARY CIRCLE 5½ MILES WIDE

DARTMOOR ENGLAND 1984

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CHAPTER TWO



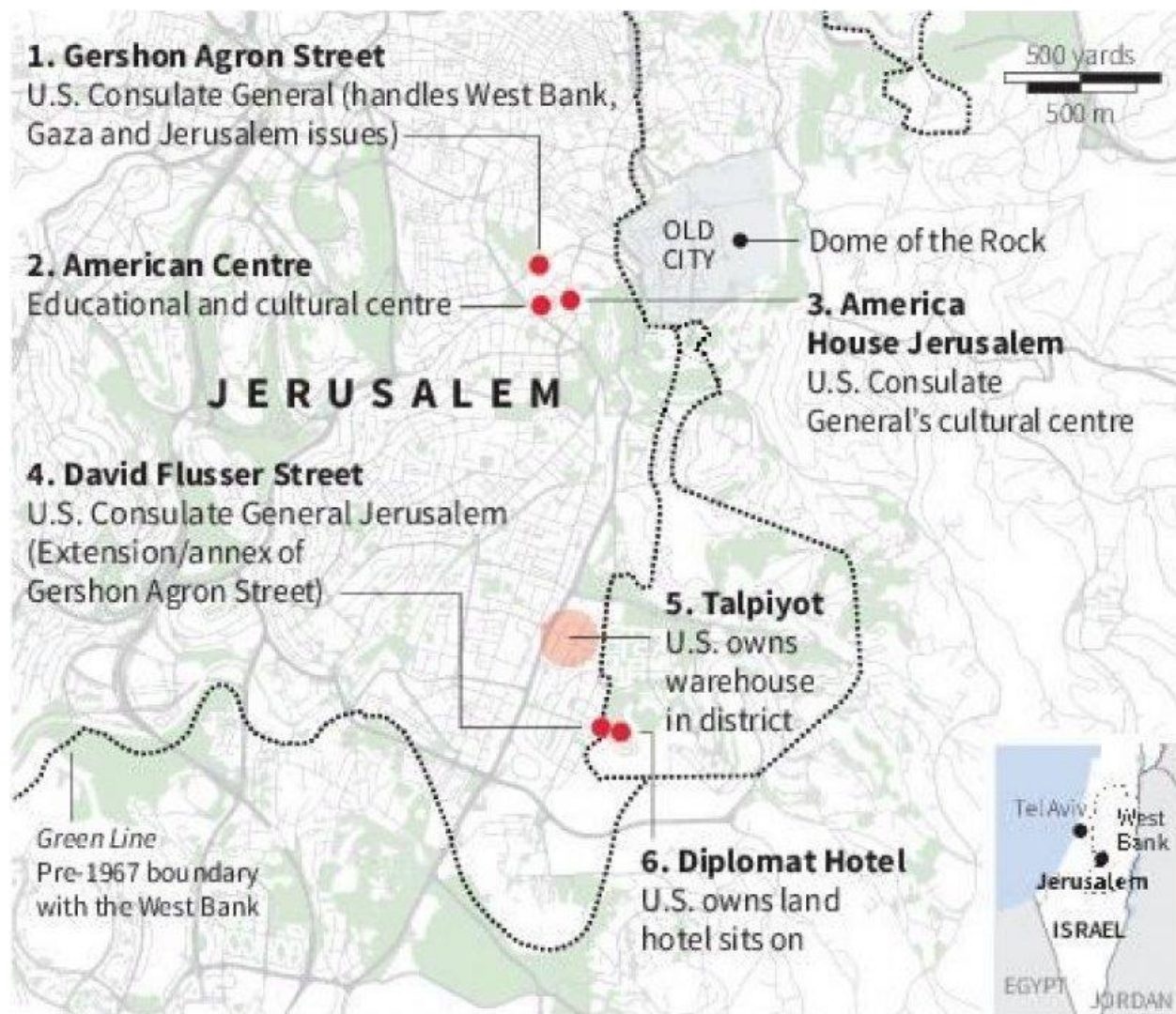
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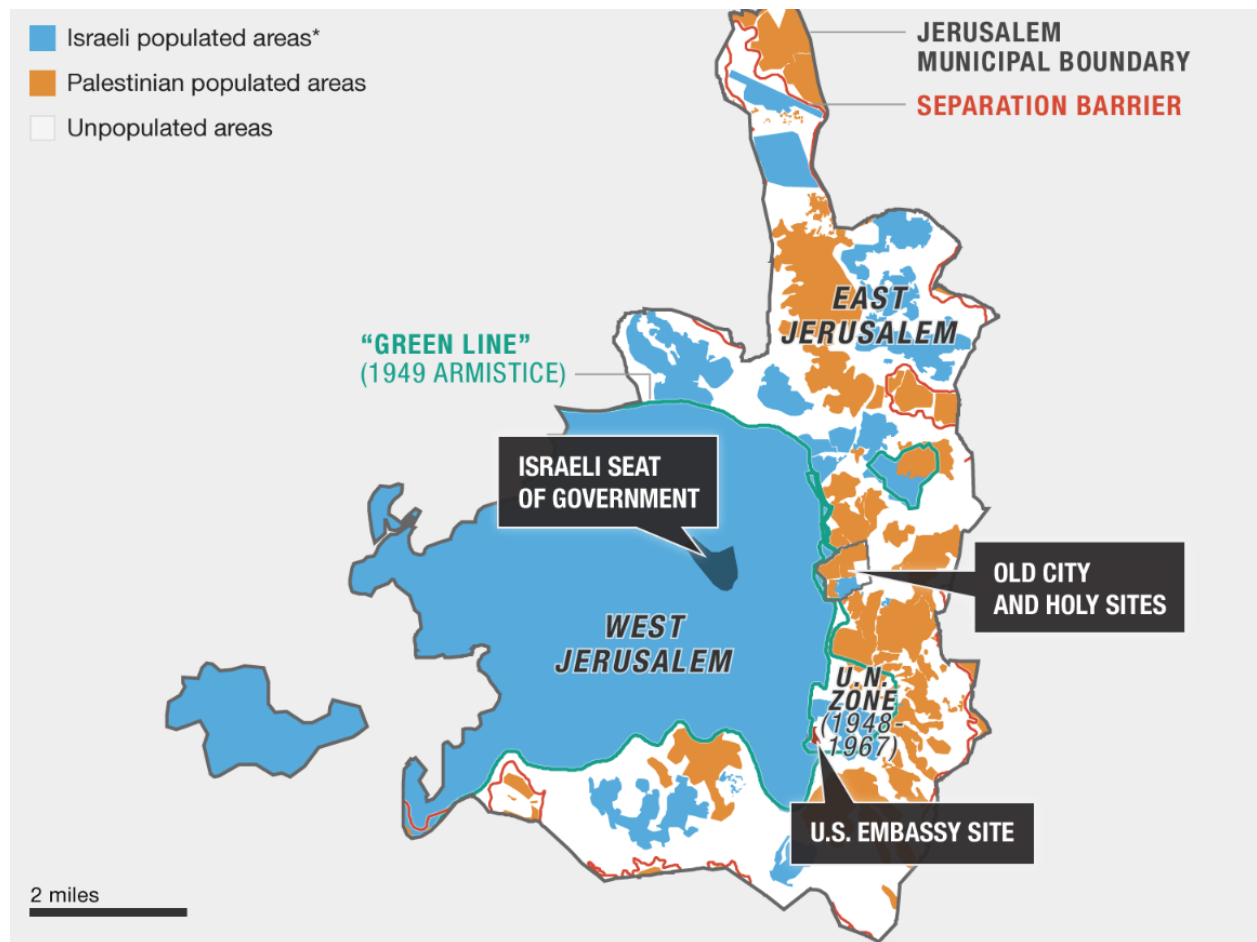
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