

**Middle East policy of the
European Union in the
beginning of the XXI
century**

Syllabus:

- The European Union foreign policy in the end of the XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries
- Middle East Conflict at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries
- The European approach to the East Peace Process
- The European Union leading member countries and political situation in the Middle East region in the beginning of the XXI century

The main aim of the course is to create a comprehensive understanding of current situation in the Middle East and main directions of the policy of the EU leading member states towards that region.

The objects of the course are:

- to introduce the situation in the Middle East region in the end of the XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries
- to observe key aspects of Arab-Israeli conflict history
- to analyze strategic priorities and practice content of policy pursued by the EU towards Middle East countries under the region changing conditions
- to consider the influence of the EU on the Middle East situation in the terms of geopolitical processes

The European Union foreign policy in the end of the XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries

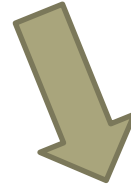
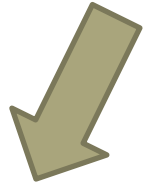
- Introduction
- Policy and actors
- Diplomatic representation
 - History
 - Locations
 - Member state missions
- Relations
 - Africa and Middle East
 - America
 - Asia-Pacific
 - Europe and Central Asia



Middle East problem origin (the end of XIX century – 1948)

- Historical background: the rise of Arab and Jewish nationalism
- The Jewish national movement - the development of the Zionist idea
- The development of Arab nationalism
- British Mandate of Palestine and its effects on Arab-Israeli question
- 1936-1939 Arab revolt in Palestine
- The establishment of the Israeli state

XIX century



**Jewish
nationalism**

**Arab
nationalism**

Rise of Jewish Nationalism (Zionism)

- **Zionism:** Jewish national movement that has had as its goal the creation and support of a Jewish national state in Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jews.
- For Zionists the Land of Israel is the homeland of the Jewish people
- It is rooted in the Bible and Jewish history

- **Theodor Herzl (1860 – 1904)**

an Austrian journalist is considered to be the founder of the Modern Zionist movement.



Der Judenstaat (*The Jews' State*)
1896



The First World Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland, 1897

“Basel program”: Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.

The **World Zionist Organization**, or **WZO**, was founded as the **Zionist Organization (ZO; 1897–1960)** at the initiative of Theodor Herzl at the First World Zionist Congress



The goals of the Zionist movement:

- (the promotion of the settlement of Jewish agriculturists [farmers], artisans, and tradesmen in Palestine;
- the federation [unified organisation] of all Jews into local or general groups, according to the laws of the various countries;
- the strengthening of the Jewish feeling and consciousness [national sentiment and national consciousness];
- preparatory steps for the attainment of those governmental grants which are necessary to the achievement of the Zionist purpose."

The development of Arab nationalism

Arab nationalism is a nationalist ideology that asserts the Arabs are a nation and promotes the unity of Arab people, celebrating the glories of Arab civilization, the language and literature of the Arabs, calling for rejuvenation and political union in the Arab world

- Its central premise is that the peoples of the Arab world, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, constitute one nation bound together by common ethnicity, language, culture, history, identity, geography and politics.
- One of the primary goals of Arab nationalism is the end of Western influence in the Arab world, seen as a "nemesis" of Arab strength, and the removal of those Arab governments considered to be dependent upon Western power.

Hussein ibn Ali al-Hashimi

(1853/1854 – 1931)

a Hashemite Arab leader who was the Sharif and Emir of Mecca from 1908 and, after proclaiming the Arab revolt (10 June 1916) against the Ottoman Empire, King of the Hejaz from 1916 to 1924.



Negotiations

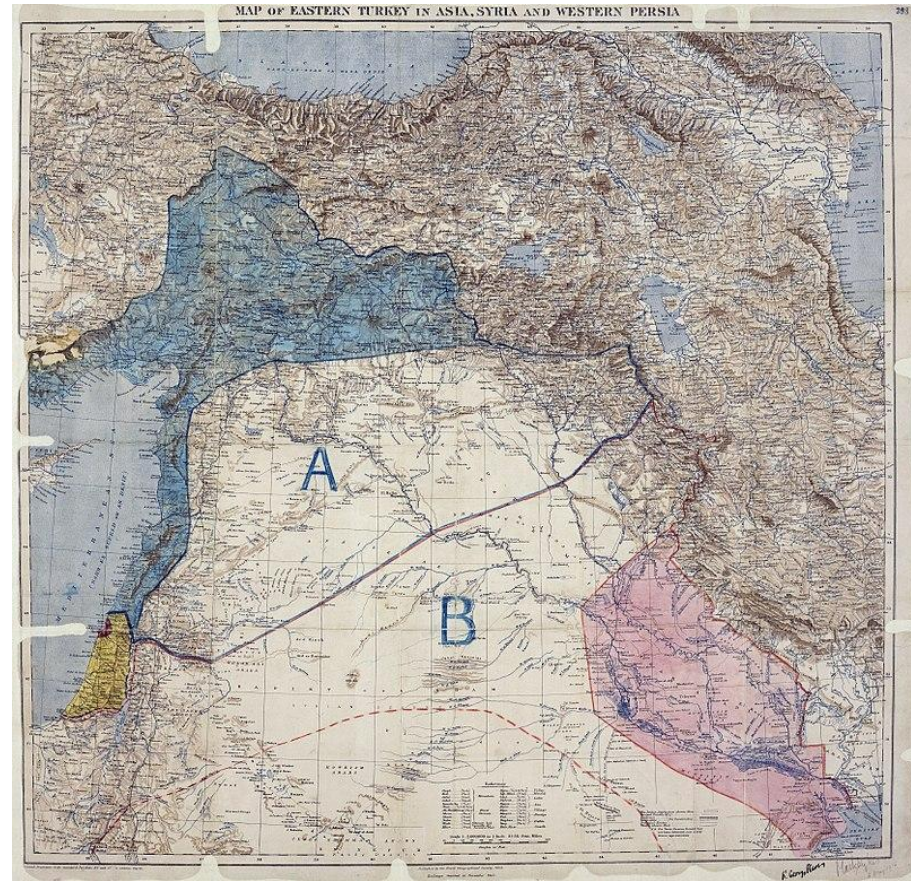
- The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence (July 1915 - March 1916)
- The Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)
- The Balfour Declaration (1917)

The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence

- The **McMahon Hussein Correspondence**, or the **Hussein–McMahon Correspondence**, was a series of ten letters exchanged from July 1915 to March 1916, during World War I, between Hussein ibn Ali, Sharif of Mecca and Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner to Egypt, concerning the political status of lands under the Ottoman Empire.
- In the letters Britain agreed to recognize Arab independence after World War I "in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sharif of Mecca", with the exception of "portions of Syria" lying to the west of "the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo", in exchange for launching the Arab Revolt against the Ottomans

The Sykes–Picot Agreement

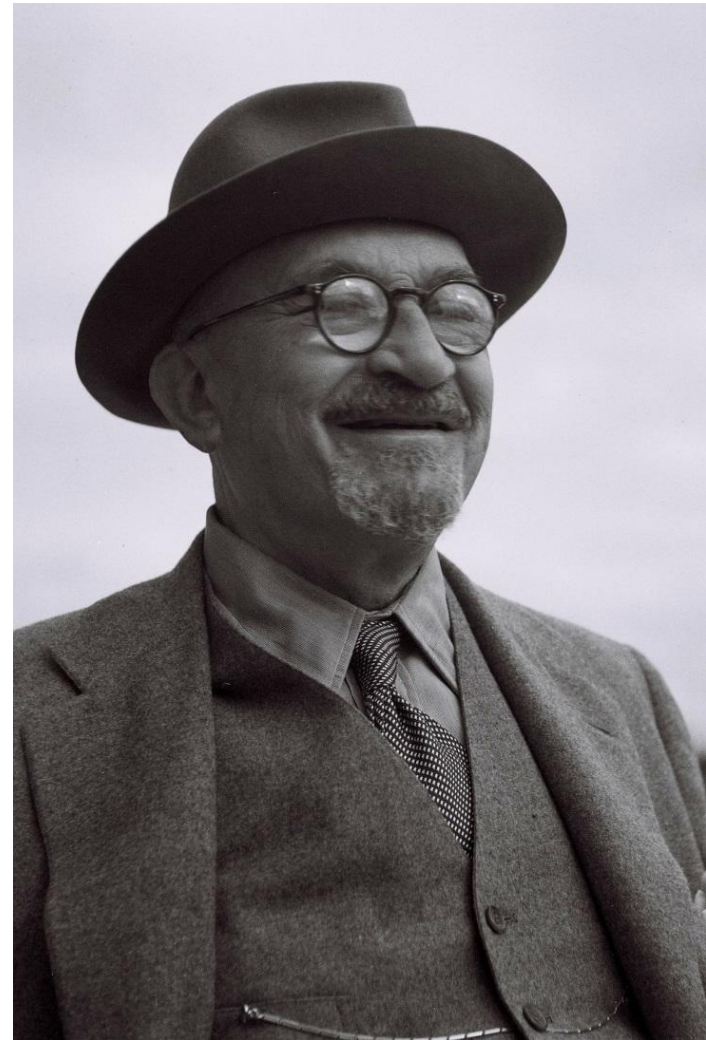
- The **Sykes–Picot Agreement**, officially known as the **Asia Minor Agreement**, was a secret 1916 agreement between the United Kingdom and France, to which the Russian Empire assented. The agreement defined their mutually agreed spheres of influence and control in Southwestern Asia.
- The negotiations leading to the agreement occurred between November 1915 and March 1916 and it was signed 16 May 1916.



Chaim Weizmann (1874 – 1952)

Zionist leader and Israeli statesman who served as President of the Zionist Organization and later as the first President of Israel .He was elected on 16 February 1949, and served until his death in 1952.

Weizmann convinced the United States government to recognize the newly formed state of Israel.

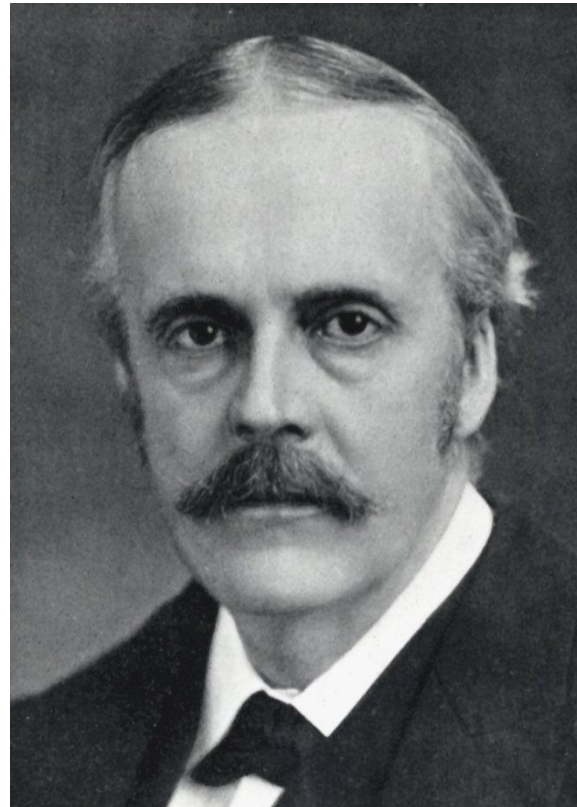


The Balfour Declaration

- The Balfour Declaration is a statement, issued by the British government on November 2, 1917, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jews but without prejudice to the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

Arthur James Balfour (1848 –1930)

British statesman of the Conservative Party who served as prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1902 to 1905. As Foreign Secretary from 1916 to 1919.



The British Mandate for Palestine

- The Peace Conference in 1919 in Paris

- **Faisal I (1885 – 1933)**

Arab statesman and king of Iraq (1921 -1933) who was a leader in advancing Arab nationalism during and after World War I.



The British Mandate for Palestine

- July 1922
- “The historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine”
- The **British Mandate for Palestine**, also known as the **Mandate for Palestine** or the **Palestine Mandate**, was a League of Nations mandate for the territory that had formerly constituted the Ottoman Empire sanjaks (administrative divisions of the Ottoman Empire: of Nablus, Acre, the Southern part of the Villayet of Syria, the Southern portion of the Beirut Vilayet, and the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem, prior to the Armistice of Mudros)
- The mandate said that the Arabs in Palestine would receive civil and religious rights, but not political rights of self-determination. The Arab people would receive their political rights in the rest of the Middle East under the mandates for Syria and Iraq.

- **San Remo conference (19 to 26 April 1920)**

- The San Remo Resolution adopted on 25 April 1920 incorporated the Balfour Declaration of 1917
- The British government had undertaken to favour the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine without prejudice to the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.
- Britain received the mandate for Palestine and Iraq;
- France gained control of Syria, including present-day Lebanon.
- Britain and France also signed the San Remo Oil Agreement.
- The draft peace agreement with Turkey signed at the conference became the basis for the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres.
- Germany was called upon to carry out its military and reparation obligations under the Versailles Treaty, and a resolution was adopted in favour of restoring trade with Russia.

- The British Mandate authorities granted the Jewish and Arab communities the right to run their internal affairs
- The *yishuv* (The Jewish Community in Mandatory Palestine) established the Elected Assembly and the National Council
- The economy expanded
- A Hebrew education network was organized
- Cultural life flourished

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

- The **1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine**, later came to be known as "**The Great Revolt**", was a nationalist uprising by Palestinian Arabs in mandatory Palestine against the British administration of the Palestine Mandate, demanding Arab independence and the end of the policy of open-ended Jewish immigration and land purchases with the stated goal of establishing a "Jewish National Home".

- **Mohammed Amin al-Husseini** (1897–1974) Palestinian Arab nationalist and Muslim leader in mandatory Palestine



The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

- The Arab High Command (led by the Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini; represented Arab interests in Palestine)
- general strike of Arab workers and a boycott of Jewish products ➡ terrorist attacks against the Jews and the British
- the first stage of the "Arab Revolt" lasted until November, 1936
- the second stage began in September 1937, shortly after the Peel Commission* recommended the partition of Palestine

* The **Peel Commission**, formally known as the **Palestine Royal Commission**, was a British Royal Commission of Inquiry, headed by Lord Peel, appointed in 1936 to investigate the causes of unrest in Mandatory Palestine, which was administered by Britain, following the six-month-long Arab general strike in Mandatory Palestine

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

- By 1936 the increase in Jewish immigration and land acquisition
- the growing power of Hajj Amin al Husseini
- general Arab frustration at the continuation of European rule
- April 1936 an Arab attack on a Jewish bus



major Palestinian rebellion

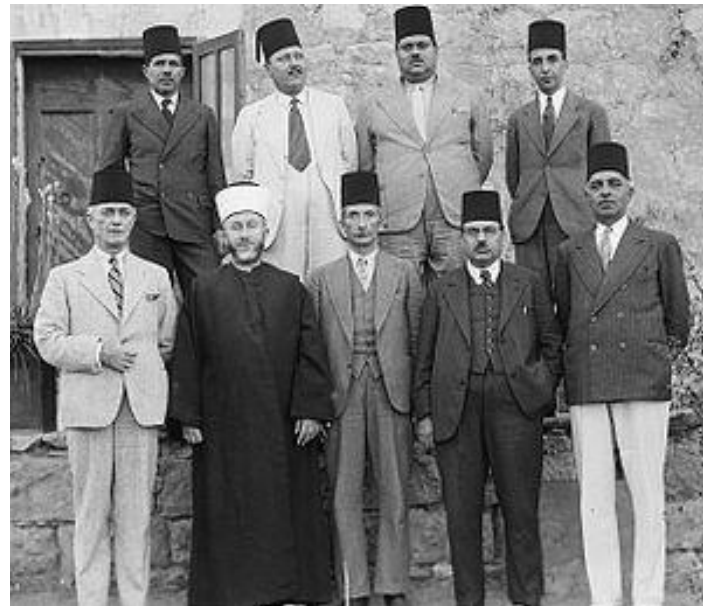
The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

The **Arab Higher Committee** or the **Higher National Committee** was the central political body of the Arab Palestinians in Mandatory Palestine.

It was established on 25 April 1936, on the initiative of **Haj Amin al-Husseini**, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, and comprised the leaders of Palestinian Arab clans and political parties under the mufti's chairmanship. The Committee was outlawed by the British Mandatory administration in September 1937 after the assassination of a British official.


Three basic demands:

- cessation of Jewish immigration
- end to all further land sales to the Jews
- establishment of an Arab national government



The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

Reorientation of British policy in Palestine:

- Britain's dependence on Middle Eastern oil, and therefore the need for Arab goodwill, loomed increasingly large in its strategic thinking
 - Jewish leverage in the Foreign Office had waned; the pro-Zionists (Balfour and Samuels) had left the Foreign Office
 - the new administration was not inclined toward the Zionist position
 - the Jews had little choice but to support Britain against Nazi Germany
- 

Britain's commitment to a Jewish homeland in Palestine dissipated and the Mandate authorities pursued a policy of appeasement with respect to the Arabs

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

Britain's policy change in Palestine was not easily implemented:

- Successive British governments had supported a Jewish national home in Palestine.
- The extent of the Jewish presence and the rapidly deteriorating fate of European Jewry
- The existing Palestinian leadership (dominated by Hajj Amin al Husayni) was unwilling to grant members of the Jewish community citizenship or to guarantee their safety if a new Arab entity were to emerge.

Thus, for the British the real options were to impose partition, to pull out and leave the Jews and Arabs to fight it out, or to stay and improvise.

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

In 1937 the British, working with their regional Arab allies, mediated an end to the revolt with the AHC.

A Royal Commission on Palestine (known as the Peel Commission) was immediately dispatched to Palestine

Its report, issued in July 1937, described the Arab and Zionist positions and the British obligation to each as irreconcilable and the existing Mandate as unworkable → partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, with a retained British Mandate over Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem and a corridor from Jerusalem to the coast.

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

- In 1937 the Twentieth Zionist Congress rejected the proposed boundaries but agreed in principle to partition.
- Palestinian Arab nationalists rejected any kind of partition.
- The British government approved the idea of partition

The **Woodhead Commission** (officially the **Palestine Partition Commission**) was a British technical commission established to propose "a detailed" partition scheme for Mandatory Palestine , including recommending the partition boundaries and examination of economic and financial aspects of the Peel Plan.

- The Palestinian Revolt broke out again in the autumn of 1937. The British put down the revolt using harsh measures, shutting down the AHC and deporting many Palestinian Arab leaders

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

- the Arabs were unable to match the Zionists' highly sophisticated organization
- the involvement of the Arab states as advocates of the Palestinian Arabs
- by 1939 pan-Arab pressure carried increasing weight in London
- the British sanctioned the arming of the **Haganah** (a Jewish paramilitary organization in the British Mandate of Palestine (1921 – 1948), which became the core of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF))
- the two groups cooperated until, in 1939, the disturbances came to an end

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

- publication of 1939 White paper:

Issued on May 17, 1939, it rejected the Peel Commission's partition plan on the grounds that it was not feasible. The document stated that Palestine would be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab one, but an independent state to be established within ten years.



- **Orde Charles Wingate (1903 – 1944)** - a senior British Army officer

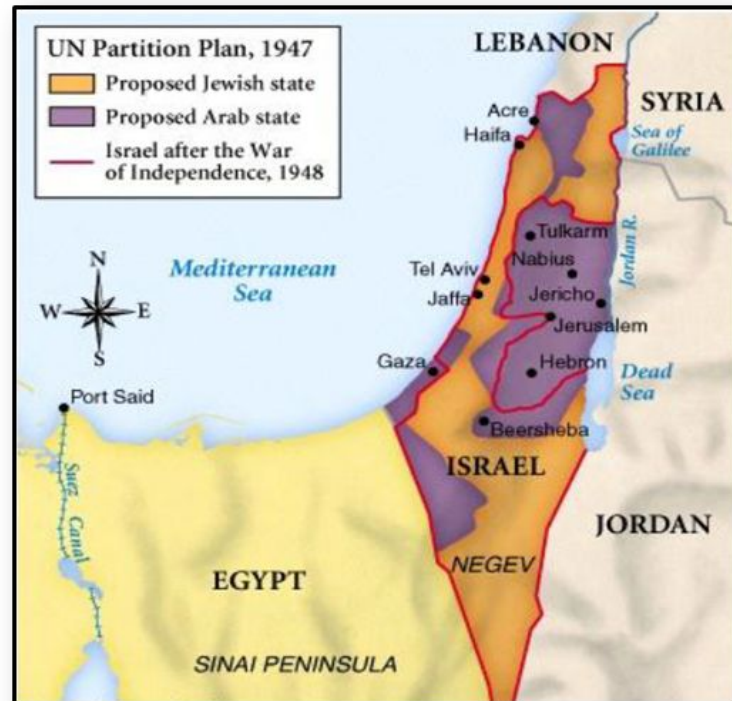
The 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine

- eighty Jews were murdered by terrorist acts during the labor strike
- total of 415 Jewish deaths were recorded during the whole 1936-1939 Arab Revolt period.
- the toll on the Arabs was estimated to be roughly 5,000 dead, 15,000 wounded, and 5,600 imprisoned.



United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine

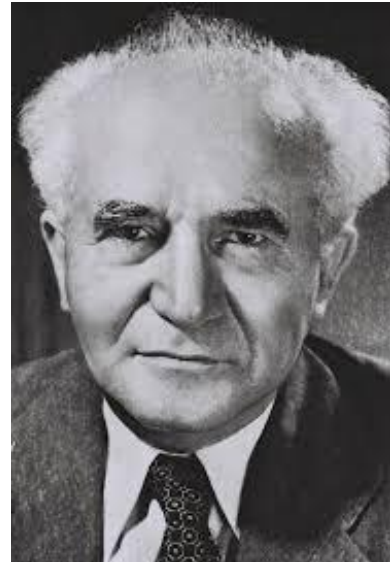
- In 1947, Great Britain asks the United Nations for help in dividing up the land that was promised to both the Jews and the Arabs.
- The United Nations felt it was right to create a Jewish state in Palestine due to their suffering in the Holocaust
- Jews agreed, but Arabs vowed to do anything needed to prevent the U.N. plan from being carried out
- The Jews were outnumbered in Palestine, but their armies were much more advanced because of involvement in World War II.
- The UN General Assembly adopted the resolution to partition Palestine on November 29, 1947



The resolution recommended the creation of independent Arab and Jewish States and a Special International Regime for the city of Jerusalem

The establishment of the Israel state

- The British mandate over Palestine officially terminated at midnight, May 14, 1948
- David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the creation of the State of Israel and became its first prime minister.
- Chaim Weizmann became Israel's first president
- On May 15, the United States recognized the State of Israel and the Soviet Union soon followed suit.



David Ben-Gurion
(1886 – 1973) - the primary national founder of the State of Israel and the first Prime Minister of Israel



Middle East Conflict (1948 - 1993):

- Arab-Israeli wars: 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973: results and consequences
- Arab and Jewish Refugees
- Palestine Liberation Organization creation
- Yasser Arafat, Palestinian leader.
- Diplomatic efforts to regulate the conflict.
- Camp David Accords
- Development of process of Arab-Israeli peaceful settlement.
- First intifada (1987-1993)
- Oslo Accord

Arab-Israeli wars

- The Arab-Israeli conflict is a modern phenomenon, which has its roots in the end of the 19th century. The conflict became a major international issue with the birth of Israel in 1948. The Arab–Israeli conflict has resulted in at least five major wars and a number of minor conflicts. It has also been the source of two major Palestinian uprisings (intifadas)
- **Arab-Israeli wars**, series of military conflicts between Israeli and various Arab forces, most notably in 1948–49, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982.

Background:

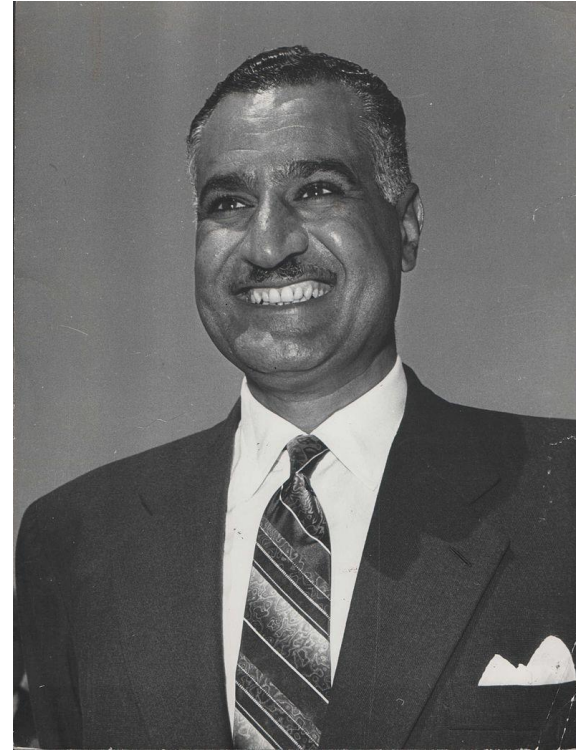
- The Holocaust and WWII severely diminished the Jewish population
- The movement to create a state or Jewish Homeland, gained support following the war
- The site for this Jewish Homeland was designated in the Middle East (Mostly Arab region)
- In the 19th-20th centuries, Jews started to move back to the region.
- Zionists: People who favored a Jewish homeland in Palestine.
- Following WWI, Britain oversaw Palestine until it was ready for independence
- Jews had become a growing presence in the region at this time

The 1948 Arab–Israeli War

- The **1948 Arab–Israeli War**, or the **First Arab–Israeli War**, was fought between the State of Israel and a military coalition of Arab states over the control of Palestine, forming the second stage of the 1948 Palestine war
- 1948 Britain withdraws, and the Jews establish the State of Israel
- Both the U.S. and the USSR recognize the newly created state
- The Arabs were determined to destroy the state of Israel
- 1948: The day after Israel proclaimed itself a nation Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria invaded Israel
- Israel is victorious

War of 1956

- The **Suez Crisis** or the **Second Arab–Israeli War** also named the **Tripartite Aggression** (in the Arab world) and **Operation Kadesh** or **Sinai War** (in Israel), was an invasion of Egypt in late 1956 by Israel, followed by the United Kingdom and France.
- The aims were to regain Western control of the Suez Canal and to remove Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had just nationalized the canal.



Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein (1918 –1970) was the second President of Egypt, serving from 1956 until his death in 1970

War of 1956

- 1956. The Suez Crisis. Nasser of Egypt nationalizes Suez Canal
- Britain and France assist Israel with an invasion
- Israel defeats Egyptians but U.S. and USSR force Israel to withdraw in march 1957
- Canal is left to Egypt



War of 1967

The **Six-Day War**, also known as the **June War**, **1967 Arab–Israeli War**, or **Third Arab–Israeli War**, was fought between June 5 and 10, 1967 by Israel and the neighboring states of Egypt (known at the time as the United Arab Republic), Jordan and Syria.

- The Israelis mount a pre-emptive strike against Egypt, Iran, Jordan, and Syria
- Israel takes control of the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights
- The **Arab League summit** (August 29 1967)
 - "The Three No's":
 - no peace with Israel,
 - no recognition of Israel,
 - no negotiations with Israel.



War of 1973 (Fourth Arab-Israeli War)

The **Yom Kippur War**, **Ramadan War**, or **October War**, also known as the **1973 Arab–Israeli War**, was a war fought by a coalition of Arab states led by Egypt and Syria against Israel from October 6 to 25, 1973.

- 1973. Egypt and Syria attack Israel on the Jewish holy day Yom Kippur
- Although Israel was taken off guard, they still manage to repulse the attack
- Israel and Egypt signed a cease-fire agreement in November and peace agreements on January 18, 1974.
- This agreement was supplemented by another, signed on September 4, 1975.
- On May 31, 1974, Israel and Syria signed a cease-fire agreement that also covered separation of their forces by a UN buffer zone and exchange of prisoners of war.

Camp David Accords

- On March 26, 1979, Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty formally ending the state of war that had existed between the two countries for 30 years.
- Israel returned the entire Sinai Peninsula to Egypt
- Egypt recognized Israel's right to exist
- The two countries subsequently established normal diplomatic relations

The **Camp David Accords** were signed by Egyptian president Anwar El Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin on 17 September 1978, following twelve days of secret negotiations at Camp David . The two framework agreements were signed at the White House, and were witnessed by United States President Jimmy Carter.



Palestine Liberation

Organization

- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is an organization founded in 1964 with the purpose of the "liberation of Palestine" through armed struggle, with much of its violence aimed at Israeli civilians
- Used terrorist tactics and fought a guerilla war against Israelis at home and abroad
- Led by **Yasser Arafat**

Yasser Arafat(1929 – 2004)

a Palestinian political leader,

Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from 1969 to 2004 and President of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) from 1994 to 2004



- On June 5, 1982, less than six weeks after Israel's complete withdrawal from the Sinai, increased tensions between Israelis and Palestinians resulted in the Israeli bombing of Beirut and southern Lebanon, where the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had a number of strongholds.
- Israel invaded Lebanon, and by June 14 its land forces reached as far as the outskirts of Beirut
- Israeli army had withdrawn entirely from Lebanon by June 1985

First intifada (1987-1993)

- The **First Intifada** or **First Palestinian Intifada** (also known simply as **the intifada** or **intifadah**) was a Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The uprising lasted from December 1987 until the Madrid Conference in 1991, though some date its conclusion to 1993, with the signing of the Oslo Accords



The Oslo Accords

The **Oslo Agreement**, also known as the **Oslo Accords**, is an agreement signed between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on September 13, 1993, meant to effectively bring the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to its end by means of territorial concessions and facilitating the creation of the Palestinian Authority.

The official signing ceremony was held in Washington with then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat representing both sides and US President Bill Clinton serving as their witness.



Middle East Conflict at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries:

- Creation of Palestine national administration
- The Fatah– Hamas conflict
- «Road map for peace» program and the EU
- The EU as the part of the Middle East Quartet (composed of the U.S., EU, Russian and UN representatives)
- European policies in the Palestinian Territories
- «Road map for peace» program failure

Creation of Palestine national administration

- **Palestinian Authority (PA)**, formally **Palestinian National Authority**, governing body of the emerging Palestinian autonomous regions of the West Bank and Gaza Strip established in 1994 as part of the peace agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).
- The historic Declaration of Principles (the Oslo Accords): mutual recognition and terms whereby governing functions in the West Bank and Gaza would be handed over to a Palestinian council
- Israel and the Palestinians were to negotiate a permanent peace treaty to settle on the final status of these territories

- The first Israeli withdrawals took place in 1994. That same year the PA assumed control of many civil functions
- Elections were held in PA-administered areas in 1996 for the presidency and the *Palestinian Legislative Council* (PLC).
-
- PLO chairman **Yasser Arafat** - president, **Fatah party** gained a majority of seats within the PLC.
- 2003 – Prime Minister - **Mahmoud Abbas**

Creation of Palestine national administration

- **Mahmoud Abbas** (born in 1935) is the President of the State of Palestine and Palestinian National Authority. He has been the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) since 11 November 2004, and Palestinian president since 15 January 2005 (Palestinian National Authority since 15 January 2005, and State of Palestine since 8 May 2005).



- Summit in 2005 - Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** agreed to suspend hostilities, ending **the Second intifada**, a Palestinian uprising (began in 2000)
- Elections for the PLC (2006) - **Ḥamas won a surprise victory over Fatah.**
- Ḥamas and Fatah formed a **coalition government**, but violence between their forces escalated in the Gaza Strip
- April 2011 that Ḥamas and Fatah had reached a reconciliation agreement in negotiations mediated by Egypt
- The plan, signed in **Cairo on May 4 2011**, called for the formation of an interim government ahead of presidential and legislative elections that were to be held in 2012.
- **Abbas** was selected for the post of interim president
- In September 2011 Abbas submitted a request to the UN Security Council asking for the admission of an independent Palestinian state to the UN
- Failure of the Palestinian bid for full membership in the UN

- A year after the failure of the Palestinian bid for full membership in the UN, Abbas announced that he would seek the UN General Assembly's implicit recognition of Palestinian statehood by submitting a draft resolution requesting that the status of the Palestinian mission to the UN be upgraded from "permanent observer" to "nonmember observer state."
- Formal recognition of **non-member observer state status** for Palestine at the General Assembly on **November 29, 2012**
 - 138 countries in favour,
 - 9 opposed,
 - 41 abstentions

The resolution also urged Israel and the Palestinians to resume stalled negotiations toward a two-state solution

What countries support Palestinian statehood?

- More than 120 countries diplomatically recognize Palestinian statehood
- Some European nations have come out strongly opposed to the campaign in 2012
- In the end, many EU countries broke with the White House and voted in favor of the motion



Hamas



Hamas is a Palestinian Sunni-Islamic fundamentalist organization (founded in 1987)

- Islamic extremists
- Supported by Iran and Syria
- No recognition of Israel
- Controls Gaza Strip

Fatah



Fatah is a Palestinian nationalist political party and the largest faction of the confederated multi-party Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), founded in 1959

- Secular moderates
- Supported by the U.S., EU and most Arab states
- Wants peace with Israel
- Controls West Bank

The Fatah– Hamas conflict

- The **Fatah– Hamas conflict** (the **Palestinian Civil War**), was a conflict between the two main Palestinian political parties, **Fatah** and **Hamas** , resulting in the split of the Palestinian Authority in 2007.
- The reconciliation process and unification of Hamas and Fatah administrations has not finalized
- 600 Palestinians were killed in the fighting from January 2006 to May 2007
- Tensions between Fatah and Hamas began to rise in 2005 after the death of Yasser Arafat
- After the Hamas' legislative victory in 2006, relations were marked by sporadic factional fighting
- June 2007 Hamas' takeover of Gaza
- The Palestinian Authority became split into two polities:
 - 1) the Fatah-ruled Palestinian National Authority
 - 2) the Hamas Government in Gaza

2010 to present: tensions and reconciliation attempts

- Following the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 and the deposal of Egyptian president Morsi in July 2013, tensions between Fatah and Hamas reached a new high.
- Egypt will keep the Rafah* border crossing closed, until forces loyal to Palestinian Authority President Abbas have regained control.
- A Hamas official accused the PA leadership of playing a major role in enforcing the blockade of the Gaza Strip
- In the midst of negotiations to resolve the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict, the Shin Bet (The Israel Security Agency) revealed an alleged plot by Hamas to depose Fatah rule in the West Bank
- This would be achieved by deploying Hamas cells around the West Bank to incite a third intifada and overwhelm Palestinian Authority forces.
- More than 90 people were arrested

* Rafah is a Palestinian city and refugee camp in the southern Gaza Strip

The Roadmap for peace

- First presented in 2002, September
- Outlines a three-stage program leading to an independent Palestinian state by 2005
- Players:
 - Palestinian Prime Minister **Mahmoud Abbas**
 - Israeli Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon**
 - United States President **George W. Bush**
- Called for:
 - End of terrorism by the Palestinians
 - Palestinians must make democratic reforms
 - Israel must accept Palestinian government
 - Israel must end settlement activity
- Derailed:
 - Both sides claim the other did not go through with their promises
 - The plan was never implemented



The **Roadmap for peace** was a plan to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict proposed by the Quartet on the Middle East:

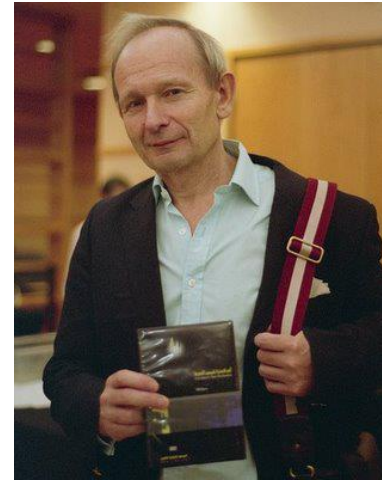
- the United States,
- the European Union
- Russia
- the United Nations

«Road map for peace» program failure

- In the **Sharm el-Sheikh Summit** on 8 February 2005, Israelis and Palestinians reconfirmed their commitment to the Roadmap.
- At the **Annapolis Conference** on 27 November 2007, both parties again expressed their commitment to the Roadmap.
- The parties did not reach an agreement. The negotiations ended in September 2008 without result.
- After the end of President Bush's term of office in January 2009, the Roadmap fell into the background.
- The main issues remained: the permanent status of the disputed territories in the West Bank, the ongoing expansion of the settlements, Palestinian terrorism, and the final borders of Israel.

British involvement

- Until 2003, British intelligence officer **Alastair Crooke** played an important role as mediator between Israel and the Palestinians
- British Prime Minister **Tony Blair** played an important role in the development of a 2003 **MI6 plan** for a wide-ranging crackdown on Hamas. It was a "***Palestinian Security Plan***", drawn up to implement Phase I of the Roadmap. The aim was to stop violent attacks by Hamas
- Tony Blair sent British Intelligence officers to the Gaza Strip (August 2005) to persuade Palestinian terrorists to call a halt to their suicide bomb attacks against Israel
- Israel sent a sharp protest to the UK, because it opposed dealing with Hamas



Alastair Crooke



Tony Blair

Palestine–European Union relations

- Relations between the European Union and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) were established in 1975 as part of the Euro-Arab Dialogue.
- The EU is a member of the Quartet and is the single largest donor of foreign aid to Palestinians.
- In 2015 9 out of 28 EU member states recognize Palestine.
- In 2014, Sweden became the first member to recognize Palestine.
- Malta and Cyprus had recognized Palestine prior to joining the EU, as did a number of Central European member states when they were allied with the Soviet Union.

Representation

- The EU maintains a representative office in Ramallah
- The PLO's general delegation in Brussels was first established as an information and liaison bureau in September 1976.
- The EU's special envoy to the Middle East Peace Process is Marc Otte .
- Spain was the first country granting diplomatic status to a PLO representative, followed later by Portugal, Austria, France, Italy and Greece.



Marc Otte

Position on Israeli issues

- The EU has insisted that it will not recognise any changes to the 1967 borders
- EU consider Israel's settlement program illegal under international law.
- In 2008, during the French presidency of the Council, the European Union strived to increase cooperation with the US on Middle-Eastern issues
- The EU has also been highly critical of Israeli military actions in the Palestinian territories and Lebanon
- During Operation Defensive Shield, the European Parliament passed a non-binding resolution calling for economic sanctions on Israel and an arms embargo on both parties.
- Following the Gaza War, the European Parliament endorsed the Goldstone Report.
- The EU has also been critical of Israel's Gaza blockade, referring to it as "collective punishment".

Position on statehood

- EU first endorsed the idea of Palestinian statehood in its 1999 Berlin Declaration.
- In July 2009, EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana called for the United Nations to recognise the Palestinian state
- In December, the Council of the European Union endorsed a set of conclusions on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict
- In 2010 eight of its 27 member states have recognised the State of Palestine.
- In 2011, the Palestinian government called on the EU to recognise the State of Palestine in a United Nations resolution.
- In 2014, the EU and the US officially criticised Israel's settlement policies in East Jerusalem
- In December 2014, the European Parliament voted in favour of a non-binding resolution calling for the recognition of Palestinian statehood as part of a two-state solution

Middle East Peace process: EU position

- The Resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is a fundamental interest of the EU. The EU's objective is a two-state solution with an independent, democratic, viable and contiguous Palestinian state living side-by-side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbors.
- The only way to resolve the conflict is through an agreement that ends the occupation which began in 1967, that ends all claims and that fulfils the aspirations of both parties
- A lasting solution must be achieved on the basis of the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions, the Madrid principles including land for peace, the Roadmap, agreements previously reached by the parties and of the Arab Peace Initiative

The EU is willing to work with its partners to re-launch peace negotiations, based on the following parameters:

- An agreement on the borders of the two states, based on the 4 June 1967 lines with equivalent land swaps as may be agreed between the parties. The EU will recognize changes to the pre-1967 borders, including with regard to Jerusalem, only when agreed by the parties.
- Security arrangements that, for Palestinians, respect their sovereignty and show that the occupation is over; and, for Israelis, protect their security, prevent the resurgence of terrorism and deal effectively with security threats, including with new and vital threats in the region.
- A just, fair, agreed and realistic solution to the refugee question.
- Fulfilment of the aspirations of both parties for Jerusalem. A way must be found through negotiations to resolve the status of Jerusalem as the future capital of both states.

- In 2013 and 2014, the EU strongly supported the diplomatic efforts by the US Secretary John Kerry to foster direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.
- In December 2013, the EU foreign ministers signaled their readiness to provide unprecedented political, economic and security support to both parties in the context of a final status agreement.
- The EU offer includes a Special Privileged Partnership to both Israelis and Palestinians that will build on the strong existing EU-Israel and EU-Palestinian cooperation and fully exploit the potential of trilateral cooperation to address concrete social-economic challenges and opportunities.
- The EU – with the UN, the US and the Russian Federation – is a member of the ‘Quartet’ which in 2002 launched a ‘road map for peace’ aimed at resolving the conflict.
- The EU has welcomed the Arab Peace Initiative as a significant contribution from the Arab countries.

- Regarding the Gaza Strip, the conflict in 2014 has demonstrated the unsustainable nature of the status quo and the need for a lifting of the Gaza closure regime in line with UNSC resolution 1860 (2009) and for an end to threats to Israel.
- The EU encourages the Palestinian Authority to progressively assume its government function in the Gaza Strip, including in the field of security, civil administration and through its presence at the Gaza crossing points.
- The EU stands ready to play a key role in international efforts to support a durable ceasefire, including through the rapid reactivation and possible extension in scope and mandate of its EUBAM Rafah and EUPOL COPPS missions.

EU positions on the Middle East peace process

- **The Israeli-Palestinian peace process:**

The EU's objective is a two-state solution with an independent, democratic, contiguous and viable Palestinian state living side-by-side with Israel and its other neighbours. The EU's long-term policy asserts that negotiations remain the best way forward.

- **EU positions on "final status issues":**

- Borders
- Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory
- Jerusalem
- Palestinian refugees
- Security

EU policymaking from the "Venice Declaration"

- The EU has set out its policy on the Middle East in a series of high level public statements. The **Venice Declaration of 1980**, the **Berlin Declaration of 1999**, the **Seville Declaration of June 2002**
- In June 2002, the EU co-sponsored the **Roadmap for Peace**, a three-stage process for achieving these objectives.
- From 2007 onwards, the EU actively supported the "**Annapolis process**".
- Since 2009, the EU has supported the US administration initiatives encouraging both Israel and the Palestinian Authority to resume **bilateral negotiations leading to a two-state solution**
- In December 2013, the EU foreign ministers showed their readiness to provide unprecedented European political, economic and security support to both parties in the context of a final status agreement.

EU political support for the Middle East peace process

- The EU has strong political and economic relations with partners in the region including Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan.
- The EU's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership / "Union for the Mediterranean" serves as a forum for regional dialogue and remains the only multilateral context outside the United Nations.
- Along with Russia, the UN and the US, the EU participates in the Middle East Quartet. **Federica Mogherini** (High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) represents the EU at Quartet meetings and conducts dialogue with third countries on the Middle East Peace Process.
- Alongside regular consultations with partners in the region, including the Arab League, the EU Foreign Ministers and the European Council issue regular policy statements as part of a coordinated EU policy.

EU practical & financial support for the Middle East peace process

- The EU is the largest donor to the Palestinians
- European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)
- The European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI)
- The Commission's Directorate-General for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations (NEAR)
- The Commission's Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ECHO)
- Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC)
- Customs and trade: The EU is active in this area

EU assistance is intended to foster the conditions for peace, stability and prosperity in the region, notably by advancing the Palestinian state-building process, promoting good governance and encouraging economic recovery with a view to enhancing the viability of the future Palestinian state

Examples include:

- **Humanitarian and emergency response**
- **"State-building" activities**
- **Palestinian economic activity**
- **Border assistance**
- **Civil society activities**

EU Joint Programming (EU JP) in Palestine

- The Office of the European Union Representative (EUREP) and Member States (EU MS) have worked towards an **EU Joint Programming (EU JP)** in Palestine since 2011
- EU JP has been understood by European development partners in Palestine in its two dimensions: aid effectiveness and political dimension
- Since the end of 2015, European development partners have been working on developing the first-ever European Joint Strategy which is closely aligned to the new **Palestinian National Policy Agenda (NPA) 2017-2022** and in line with the **Sustainable Development Goals**

EU's interventions focus on the following five Pillars

- Pillar 1: Governance reform, fiscal consolidation and policy (Pillar led by the EU, the United-Kingdom and Denmark)
- Pillar 2: Rule of law, citizen safety and human rights (Pillar led by the United-Kingdom and the Netherlands)
- Pillar 3: Sustainable service delivery (Pillar led by Finland/Belgium, Italy and the EU)
- Pillar 4: Access to self-sufficient water and energy services (Pillar led by Germany and France)
- Pillar 5: Sustainable economic development (Pillar led by Spain and the EU)

The EU's policy toward establishing a Palestinian state (Federica Mogherini's press conference)

- Federica Mogherini (High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy since November 2014.)
- Brussels wants to take a central role in forming an international framework to pave the way toward establishing a Palestinian state.
- Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas agrees that such a framework would include the United States.
- The EU is “looking into ways” to increase financial support to the Palestinian Authority
- EU members have discussed the idea of having an “association agreement” with the Palestinians and the issue will continue to be discussed.

