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List of abbreviations and acronyms

CFR	Council on Foreign Affairs
CFSP	Common Foreign Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
DCI	Development Cooperation Instrument
EEAS	European External Action Service
ENI	European Neighborhood Instrument
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
EUSRs	European Union Special Representatives
FAC	Foreign Affairs Council
FPI	Foreign Policy Instruments
ICI	Implementing co-operation with industrialized countries
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IcSP	Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace
IfS	Instrument for Stability
MEPP	Middle East Peace Process
MFF	Multiannual Financial Framework
MS	Member States
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPD	Non-Proliferation and Disarmament
NRCE	National Research Center for Europe
PA	Palestinian Authority
PLO	Palestine Liberal Organization
PPMI	Public Policy Management Institute
PSC	Political and Security Committee
QMV	Quality majority voting
RRM	Rapid Reaction Mechanism
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UN	United Nations
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Force
UNHCR	United Nations Refugee Agency

UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the near East
USA	United States of America
US	United States

Introduction

 "There is probably no foreign policy issue on the European agenda that has been debated as intensely for so long", as Patrick Müller, Research Fellow of the Institute of the European Integration Research at the Academy of Sciences at the University of Vienna, has stated. [1] As the conflicts in the Middle East (with the main focus on conflicts between Israel and Palestine[2]) have evolved over the decades the European Union has become a major international actor in the peace process in the region, together with other global actors. As the European Union developed and gained more and more capabilities throughout its existence, the now 28 Member States were able to take steps towards resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which has become a fundamental interest of the European Union.

This Master Thesis seeks to investigate and answer the following question:

> ➢ What are the foreign policy actions of the European Union and are they in line with its peace process objective of a two-state solution in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

To answer this question this paper begins with a focus of the European Union and its Foreign Policy System, providing an insight on the functioning of the European Union, its institutional framework, competences and legal aspects (see chapter 2). Then, chapter two provides an overview of the Peace Process in the Middle East and the European Union as an international actor. In detail, the author gives a broad overview of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and describes the Middle East Peace Process (MEPP) in its function (see chapters 3.1 - 3.2). Furthermore, this paper provides information on the European Union as a global conflict manager and its tools as well as methods of both peacekeeping and –making (see chapters 3.3 – 3.7). This also includes a description of the High Representative's role. The author concludes chapter 3 with a look at the Euro-

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[1] Cf. Müller (2014), p. 474.

[2] Author's note: „Israel" and „Palestine" are not meant as the author's personal political judgment of statehood. When the term „country" or „state" is used for either of these regions, the author intends to regionally define the area in the Middle East as either of these regions' official statehood has not been recognized by the international community.

pean Union's peace process involvement and a glance at the Union's future perspective in its role as an international actor in the Middle East crisis (see chapter 3.8).

Chapter 4 deals with the European Union as an international actor on the global stage. The author describes the role the EU plays in the MEPP with regard to its political and financial aid. Moreover, key documents and summits that are essential for the MEPP are discussed in this chapter. Chapter 4 also includes the current state of the EU's relationships with both Israel and Palestine. The final chapter, chapter 5, offers a conclusion as well as a reflection by the author regarding the future perspectives of the European Union as an international actor in the MEPP.

Regarding the research method and sources, this paper is based on literature of both primary and secondary sources that were used to answer research questions raised in this respective paper, using a descriptive approach. Literatures include books as well as journal and newspaper articles relevant to the topics of highly respected authors and sources. Moreover, official documents of the European Union's online database were used for answering the research questions and provided relevant information. Moreover, this MA-Thesis includes data up until August 2016.

1 The European Foreign Policy System

1.1. Introduction

The following chapters will provide an overview of the European Foreign Policy System in terms of their aims, instruments as well as achievements ever since its existence. In order to discuss the foreign policy approach of the European Union one must understand what a foreign, or common foreign policy is and why an apparatus such as the European Union is in need of such a policy. It is important to mention that the Lisbon Treaty (entered into force in 2009) had a substantial influence on the structure of the European Union in many aspects, including the foreign policy system.

The first part (1.2) of this chapter focuses on the current foreign policy system of the European Union in terms of its most important aims, instruments and achievements post Lisbon Treaty. In the second part (1.3), the author provides an overview of the institutional set-up of the European Union's Foreign Policy system. The European Parliament, European Council and the European Commission are included in this chapter.

1.2 Foreign Policy: Aims, instruments and achievements

1.2.1 Common Foreign Security Policy – Development through treaties

The Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) was established by the Treaty on European Union (TEU) in 1993. The Member States (MS) had the aim of preserving peace, as well as guaranteeing international security as one of their top priorities when signing and ratifying the TEU after a long period of war and conflicts. Moreover, they hoped to encourage international cooperation as well as to develop a functioning democracy that respected the rule of law and human rights in its MS. The treaty included a so-called 'three-pillar system'. The CFSP formed the second pillar, with the European Communities External Relations as the first pillar and Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters as the third pillar. The CFSP was mostly based on intergovernmental proce-

dures and consensus. In 1997 the Treaty of Amsterdam introduced a more advanced and efficient decision-making process, including constructive abstention and quality majority voting (QMV). The High Representative for the CFSP and the Secretary-General of the European Council were then established in 1999, adding a function that proved itself to be very important in the Foreign Policy System that we know today. The Treaty of Nice from 2003 made further changes to streamline the decision-making process and brought to life a Political and Security Committee (PSC). The Treaty of Lisbon was signed in Lisbon in 2007 and fully ratified by all MS in 2009, after the failed Constitution Treaty in 2005. The Treaty of Lisbon, as the most current Treaty, provided the European Union with a legal personality, eliminated the 'three-pillar system' and created a number of CFSP actors, including strengthening the powers of the High Representative of the CFSP. Moreover, the Treaty allowed for the President of the European Council to be permanent. In addition to that, the European External Action Service (EEAS) was created and upgraded the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). Last but not least, the Treaty of Lisbon also includes a revision of the legal basis for the CFSP that was laid out in the TEU. [3]

1.3 The institutional set-up of the European Union foreign policy system

1.3.1 The European Parliament

"Parliament reiterates its strong support for the two-state solution on the basis of the 1967 borders, with Jerusalem as the capital of both states, with the secure State of Israel and an independent, democratic, contiguous and viable Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security on the basis of the right of self-determination and full respect of international law". [4]

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[3] European Union. Fact Sheets on the European Union.
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_6.1.1.pdf, p. 1.
[4] Cf. European Parliament (2014). http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2014-0103+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN.

The Lisbon Treaty established a number of important powers for the European Parliament in terms of the CFSP. Generally speaking, the European Parliament (EP) has a rather symbolic role in the decision-making process in Foreign Policy matters. However, the EP practices an 'informal' cooperation with the EEAS as well as the EU Presidency (Council of the European Union), the European Council Secretariat, the national Parliaments of the MS and the European Commission when it comes to the European Union's foreign affairs. [5]

Article 36 of the TEU regulates the relationship between the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and the EP as follows:

> "The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy shall regularly consult the European Parliament on the main aspects and the basic choices of the common foreign and security policy and the common security and defence policy and inform it of how those policies evolve. He shall ensure that the views of the European Parliament are duly taken into consideration. Special representatives may be involved in briefing the European Parliament. The European Parliament may address questions or make recommendations to the Council or the High Representative. Twice a year it shall hold a debate on progress in implementing the common foreign and security policy, including the common security and defence policy." [6]

In short, Article 36 of the TEU states that the High Representative shall consult with the EP on a regular basis when it comes to CFSP matters and holds a debate on CFSP topics. Moreover, the High Representative has further strengthened the cooperation with the EP in CFSP matters in 2010 with a declaration *inter alia* with contents such as holding exchanges with the EP, answering questions, affirming the EP the right to have access to confidential information relating the CFSP in a 'special committee' function etc. Therefore, the EP has gained a number of political dialogue rights over the years. In addition to these rights, the EP may also have a say in the budgetary procedure of CFSP matters in terms of giving the final approval. The European Parliament has been actively included by the current High Representative for Foreign Affairs, Federica Mog-

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[5] Cf. European Union. Fact Sheets on the European Union.
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_6.1.1.pdf, p. 2.
[6] Eur-lex. Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:2bf140bf-a3f8-4ab2-b506-fd71826e6da6.0023.02/DOC_1&format=PDF, p. 35.

herini and is an active contributor to the global strategy on foreign and security policy measures of the European Union. The EP has achieved to create a global platform for communication, served as a bridge between the EU and its citizens in CFSP matters and raised awareness for the EU's foreign policies beyond the European Union. [7]

1.3.2 The European Council – Foreign Affairs Council

The European Foreign Affairs Council (FAC), in brief, is responsible for the EU's external action. This includes foreign policy, trade, development cooperation, humanitarian aid as well as defense and security measures. The Foreign Affairs Council of the European Council consists of foreign ministers from all the MS. Moreover, the European Council may also bring together defense, development as well as trade ministers. The Foreign Affairs Council regularly meets (once a month) and is chaired by the current High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, with the assistance of the European External Action Service (EEAS). Together with the High Representative as well as the European Commission, the main function of the FAC is to ensure that the EU's external action is unified, consistent and as effective as possible. Moreover, the FAC both defines and implements the foreign and security policy of the European Union with the help of guidelines that are set by the European Council. For instance, when it comes to crisis management actions (civil and military) to reintroduce peace in a conflict region. Another important function of the European Council in CFSP matter is the fact that the FAC mandates the European Commission to engage in negotiations in peace matters. [8]

1.3.2.1 The current European Council Presidency's CFSP agenda

The European Council rotates its Presidency every six months (at the beginning and in the middle of a calendar year). The current Presidency is held by the MS Slovakia. Just like any other Presidency, Slovakia has a number of points on their agenda that they

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[7] Cf. European Union. Fact Sheets on the European Union.
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_6.1.1.pdf, p. 1.
[8] Cf. Consilium. Europa. Foreign Affairs Council (2016).
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/fac/

would like to achieve. During its presidency, Slovakia chairs every meeting of the European Council. Moreover, they work closely together with the Presidency before them and the one that will follow theirs. The current trio is made up by the Netherlands, Slovakia and Malta. [9]

When it comes to CFSP matters, Slovakia has a number of important points on their agenda. These include the review of the ongoing global issues with a special focus on conflicts in Syria, the Ukraine, Libya and the Middle East Peace Process. Moreover, the ministers are urged to work closely together on the EU global strategy on foreign and security policy as well as on migration challenges. Moreover, the Presidency included bilateral trade agreements (such as negations with the United States of America, Canada and Japan) as well as a jointly act against unfair commercial practices on their agenda. [10]

1.3.3 The European Commission

The European Commission plays one of the largest roles in the Foreign Policy System of the European Union. It works closely together with other EU institutions as well as international organizations.

1.3.3.1 High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

The High Representative's main role is to coordinate the EU's Foreign as well as Security Policy. The role was created under the Lisbon Treaty. The High Representative is part of the European Commission College and also serves as Vice-President of the Commission. The current High Representative is the Italian Federica Mogherini (appointed in 2014 until 2019). [11] She chose, as her first non-EU visit, Israel and Palestine

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[9] Cf. Consilium. Europa. The Presidency of the Council of the EU.
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/presidency-council-eu/
[10] Cf. Consilium. Europa. Foreign Affairs Council (2016).
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/fac/
[11] Cf. EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/background/high-representative/index_en.htm

for her diplomatic visit, indicating the EU was committed to its objectives for the MEPP. [12]

The High Representative's main functions are:

> "Steering foreign policy on behalf of the EU;
> Coordinating the EU's foreign policy tools – development assistance, trade, humanitarian aid and crisis response - as the Vice-President of the European Commission;
> Building consensus between the 28 EU countries and their respective priorities – including through monthly meetings between EU foreign ministers, which she chairs;
> Attending regular meetings between leaders of EU countries in the European Council;
> Representing the EU at international fora, such as the United Nations;
> Heading the European Defense Agency and the EU Institute for Security Studies". [13]

1.3.3.2 European External Action Service (EEAS)

The European External Action Service is a diplomatic service of the European Council. Its aim is supporting the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in his/her work and carry out the Union's Common Foreign Policy as well as Security Policy. The EEAS was formally created in 2011 by the Treaty of Lisbon. The function of the EEAS are therefore contained in the Treaty text itself and goes as follows:

> "The Union's action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law." [14]

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[12] Cf. Martins (2015), p. 286.
[13] EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/background/high-representative/index_en.htm
[14] EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/background/about/index_en.htm.

Moreover:

> "This service shall work in cooperation with the diplomatic services of the Member States and shall comprise officials from relevant departments of the General Secretariat of the Council and of the Commission as well as staff seconded from national diplomatic services of the Member States." [15]

Therefore, the EEAS is an important aspect of the Union's Foreign Policy, especially considering its role as a global actor in conflict regions.

1.3.3.3 Foreign Policy Instruments (FPI)

Together with the EEAS, the new Commission service for Foreign Policy Instruments (FPI) was set up to work for operational expenditure. The High Representative for Foreign Affairs works very closely with the EEAS and EU delegations as well as FPI. The FPI has the following tasks (instruments): [16]

> ➢ "Implementing the CFSP budget;
> ➢ Implementing crisis response and prevention measures financed under the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP);
> ➢ Implementing the Partnership Instrument, designed to promote the Union's strategic interest worldwide;
> ➢ Implementing cooperation with industrialized countries (ICI);
> ➢ Implementing electoral observation missions under the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights;
> ➢ Preparing and implementing sanction proposals;
> ➢ Implementing at EU level the Kimberley Process certification scheme; and
> ➢ Working to prevent the trade in goods that could be used for capital punishment for torture." [17]

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[15] EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/background/about/index_en.htm.
[16] Cf. European Commission. FPI. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/index_en.htm.
[17] European Commission. FPI. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/index_en.htm.

These tasks are important pieces of a large framework to secure and strengthen international security and to preserve peace. For this paper, the author decided to focus on one instrument respectively, namely the IcSP, and an important aspect in the European Union's role as a global actor in the Middle East Peace Process.

When it comes to CFSP specifically, the FPI plays three key roles:

1. Firstly, the FPI makes sure that the funds for CFSP operations are funded accordingly. [18]
2. Secondly, the FPI provides guidance as well as advice to use these funds correctly when bodies, such as for EU Special representatives (EUSRs) missions. [19]
3. Thirdly, the FPI also manages grants in the area of Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (NPD). [20]

The FPI does not only play a large role in the financial aspects of the CFSP framework, but also issues Annual Activity Reports reflecting on their work and progress, with an overview of the CFSP missions and operations. Moreover, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs publishes a report to the European Parliament on the main aspects and basic choices of the CFSP. [21]

The Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace

The IcSP was adopted through a Regulation [22] as its legal basis by the European Union, which succeeds the Instrument for Stability (IfS). The main political aims of the IcSP are crisis response, crisis preparedness as well as conflict prevention. The IcSP is an important instrument in the Middle East Peace Process in terms of its commitment to

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[18] Cf. European Commission. FPI. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/what-we-do/common_foreign_and_security_policy_en.htm
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Cf. Regulation (EU) No 230/2014 of the European Parliament and oft he Council of 11 March 2014 establishing an instrument contributing to stability and peace

pursue conflict prevention and building peace. [23] The IcSP works closely together with the EEAS. Together with other services of the European Commission they prepare for urgent short-term actions in crisis regions that include humanitarian assistance as well as long-term responses to peace building. [24] From 2007 to 2014 the IcSP had a budget of € 2.3 billion. During this time the peace-building partnership funding went to around 140 projects (19% to MS bodies, 28% to International and Regional organizations and 53% to Civil Society actors). [25]

1.3.3.4 Special Representative to the MEPP

The EU has nine Special Representatives (EUSRs) that operate in different countries and regions around the world. These nine representatives promote EU policies and interests depending on their region and play an active role in consolidating peace, stability as well as rule of law. The Special Representative for the MEPP is Fernando Gentilini. He was appointed on 15 April 2015 and works with the aim of achieving a peaceful two-state solution for the conflict area. [26]

1.4 Foreign Policy budget

The budget for Foreign Policy of the European Union falls under the category 'Global Europe' and can be found in the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF).

Figure 1 (see page 12) illustrates the total number in € millions of EU budget commitments according to 2014 prices. Therefore, for the year 2016 € 150.217 million are estimated to be spent for various projects etc. of the European Union, including Global Europe.

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[23] Cf. European Commission. FPI.
http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/announcements/news/20140403_en.htm
[24] Cf. European Commission. FPI. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/what-we-do/instrument_contributing_to_stability_and_peace_en.htm.
[25] Cf. European Commission (2014). http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/documents/euinaction-buildingpeace-infographic-p-17sept14_en.pdf.
[26] Cf. EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/background/eu-special-representatives/index_en.htm.
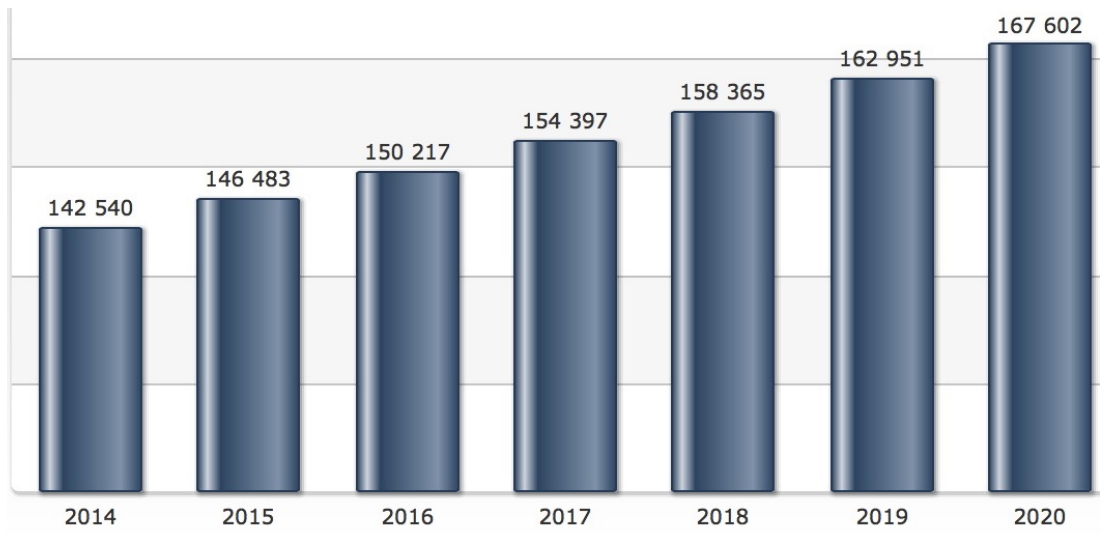
Figure 1: Financial Framework 2014-2020. Commitments in EUR million [27]

The following graph (see Figure 2) demonstrates the MFF budget for the current period (2014-2020):
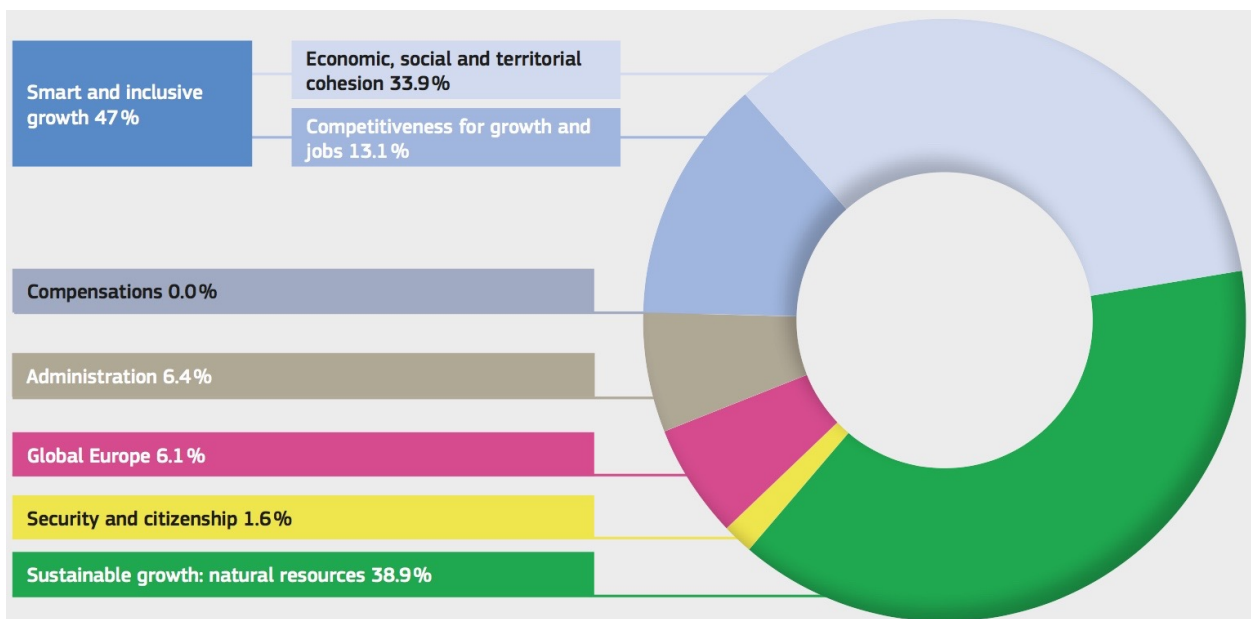
Figure 2: Overview of MFF budget for 2014-2020. [28]

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[27] European Commission (2014). http://ec.europa.eu/budget/mff/index_en.cfm.

[28] European Commission (2013). http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/multiannual-financial-framework-2014-2020-and-eu-budget-2014-pbKV0413055/downloads/KV-04-13-055-EN-C/KV0413055ENC_002.pdf;pgid=Iq1Ekni0.1lSR0OOK4MycO9B0000jwi8mSoH;sid=_J28ud6Sx AG8vIlSyxsiHry3-066atlB-k4=?FileName=KV0413055ENC_002.pdf&SKU=KV0413055ENC_PDF&CatalogueNumber=KV -04-13-055-EN-C, p. 9.

The budget for "Global Europe" amounts to 6.1% of the total budget. Considering "Global Europe" holds many important priorities, 6.1% of the total budget is a rather small amount. [29] These priorities include, for instance, the MEPP, as well as many other aspects of the EU's Foreign Policy system (such as humanitarian aid, migration etc.). [30]

The graph below (see Figure 3) demonstrates the budget distribution for "Global Europe".
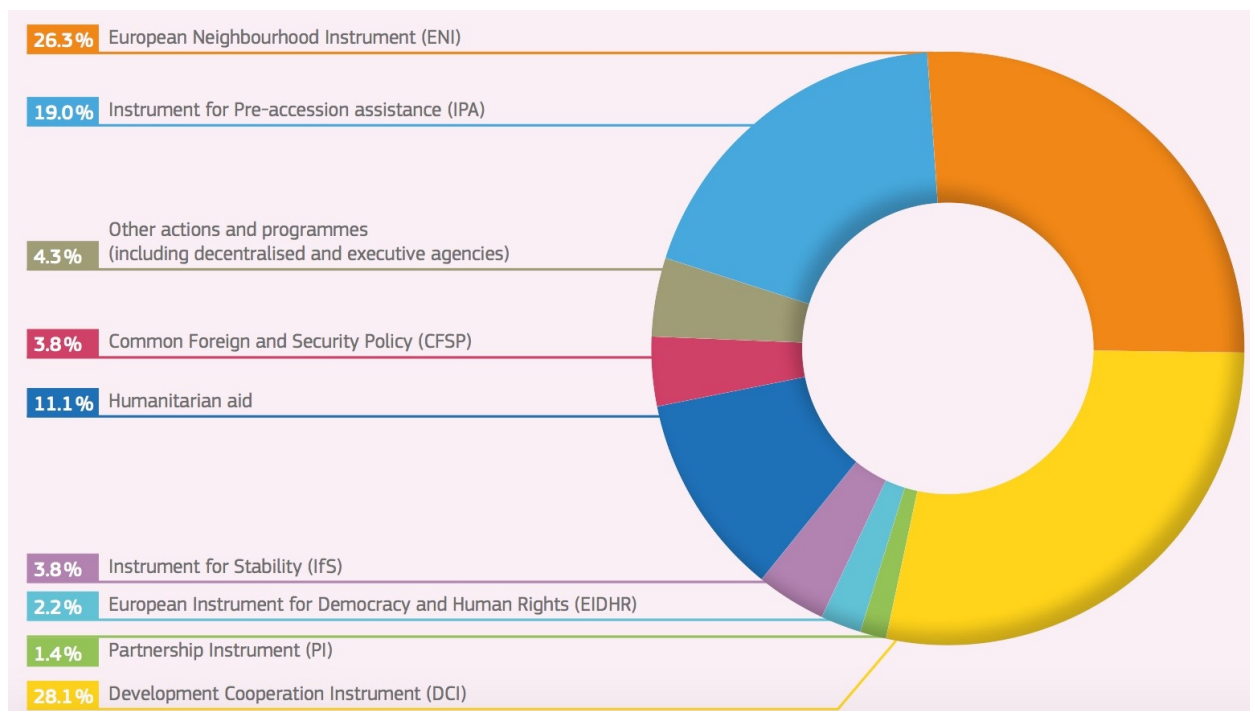
Figure 3: Overview of budget for Global Europe for 2014. [31]

[29] Cf. European Commission (2013) http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/multiannual-financial-framework-2014-2020-and-eu-budget-2014-pbKV0413055/downloads/KV-04-13-055-EN-C/KV0413055ENC_002.pdf;pgid=Iq1Ekni0.1lSR0OOK4MycO9B0000jwi8mSoH;sid=_J28ud6SxAG8vIlSyxsiHry3-066atlB-k4=?FileName=KV0413055ENC_002.pdf&SKU=KV0413055ENC_PDF&CatalogueNumber=KV-04-13-055-EN-C, p. 9.

[30] Cf. European Commission (2016). https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/node/330.

[31] European Commission (2013) http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/multiannual-financial-framework-2014-2020-and-eu-budget-2014-pbKV0413055/downloads/KV-04-13-055-EN-C/KV0413055ENC_002.pdf;pgid=Iq1Ekni0.1lSR0OOK4MycO9B0000jwi8mSoH;sid=_J28ud6SxAG8vIlSyxsiHry3-066atlB-k4=?FileName=KV0413055ENC_002.pdf&SKU=KV0413055ENC_PDF&CatalogueNumber=KV-04-13-055-EN-C, p. 21.

In 2014 the total budget amounted to € 8.325,4 million that were distributed among instruments of external action including the IfS (3.8%), ENI (26.3%), Human Aid (11.1%) etc. The largest amounts are spent on the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI; 28.1%) and the ENI. [32]

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[32] Cf European Commission (2013) http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/multiannual-financial-framework-2014-2020-and-eu-budget-2014-pbKV0413055/downloads/KV-04-13-055-EN-C/KV0413055ENC_002.pdf;pgid=Iq1Ekni0.1ISR0OOK4MycO9B0000jwi8mSoH;sid=_J28ud6Sx AG8vIlSyxsiHry3-066atlB-k4=?FileName=KV0413055ENC_002.pdf&SKU=KV0413055ENC_PDF&CatalogueNumber=KV-04-13-055-EN-C, p. 21.

2 Arab-Israeli conflict – historical overview

2.1 Introduction

The Middle East crisis is a complex part of our history. As this paper is primarily on the European Union's foreign policy measures as part of peace making efforts, the author does not go into extensive detail in the description of the Middle East crisis in terms of the political component (for instance, elections in the area etc.) or other international actors than the European Union. However, the author provides a brief history of the main events of the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts that are important for this paper. Moreover, a number of illustrations are used in order to visualize the crisis. Before starting to even begin to understand the Middle East conflicts, one must ask an essential question and take a step back. Namely, why has it even come to something we are now calling the Middle East conflicts and why is it even necessary for the European Union to be an international actor in the Middle East Peace Process? In order to answer this question, this chapter is divided in three parts, providing a historical overview of the Middle East conflicts, namely from the 1800s to World War II, post World War II to 2000 and 2000 to the present.

2.2 The Middle East Crisis – An overview

2.2.1 The 19th century to World War II

At the end of the 19th century the Jewish people were the victims of anti-Semitism in Europe and they began to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine as described in the Holy Bible of Christian faith, in the Middle East. From the years of 1920 to 1947, this respective region was under British mandate (see Figure 1) and Palestine included all of what is now known as Israel as well as today's occupied territories of Gaza, West Bank etc. With an increasing number of Jewish people fleeing to Palestine to seek protection

from anti-Semitism, tensions increased in the region between the new settlers and people that already lived in the area. [33]

Figure 4: British mandate in Palestine from 1920 to 1948. [34]

2.2.2 Post World War II to the year 2000

The Second World War left the world shattered and the conflict in the Middle East increasing. The then newly formed United Nations (UN) recommended the partition of Palestine (also see chapter 3.5.1) into two states and the internationalization of Jerusalem with the minority Jewish people receiving the majority of the land (see Figure 2, left hand side). On May 14 1948, three years after World War II ended, Israel claimed statehood and the British withdrew from the region. However, Arab states rejected Israel's new independence and did not accept the existence of a state called Israel. After eight months of war, an Armistice line was created, establishing West Bank and the Gaza Strip as geographical units (see Figure 2, right hand side). [35] As a result of that, a number of Arab states, including Syria and Iraq attacked Israel but were defeated. Israelis slowly began to establish themselves in their new homeland. However, there was

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[33] Cf. Global Issues (2006). The Middle East conflict.
http://www.globalissues.org/article/119/the-middle-east-conflict-a-brief-background.
[34] BBC News (unknown).
[35] Ibid.

no Palestine and no internationalization of Jerusalem, like the UN had urged for. In the same year Israel claimed statehood, Palestinians were forced out of the new Israel, leaving around 750.000 people to flee to refugee camps to Arab countries such as Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt. Vice versa, many Jews were forced to leave Arab countries. Since Britain (together with other states) still had a large interest in the region for different reasons, they invaded, together with Israel and France, the peninsula Sinai. Before that, Egypt had nationalized the Suez Canal in order to keep the trading route entry point for the West to the rest of the Middle East region. However, Egypt was defeated and forced to leave the area around the Suez Canal. [36]

Figure 5: UN partition plan for Palestine and 1949 establishment of Armistice line. [37]

With Egypt defeated, Israel attacked the country in 1967 as well as Syria and Jordan. They succeeded and were able to gain new key pieces of land, such as from the West Bank to the Gaza Strip. With this strike they were able to more than double their size in six days (hence, the name 'Six Day War').

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[36] Cf. Global Issues (2006). The Middle East conflict.
http://www.globalissues.org/article/119/the-middle-east-conflict-a-brief-background.
[37] BBC News (unknown).
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_israel_palestinians/maps/html/british_control.stm
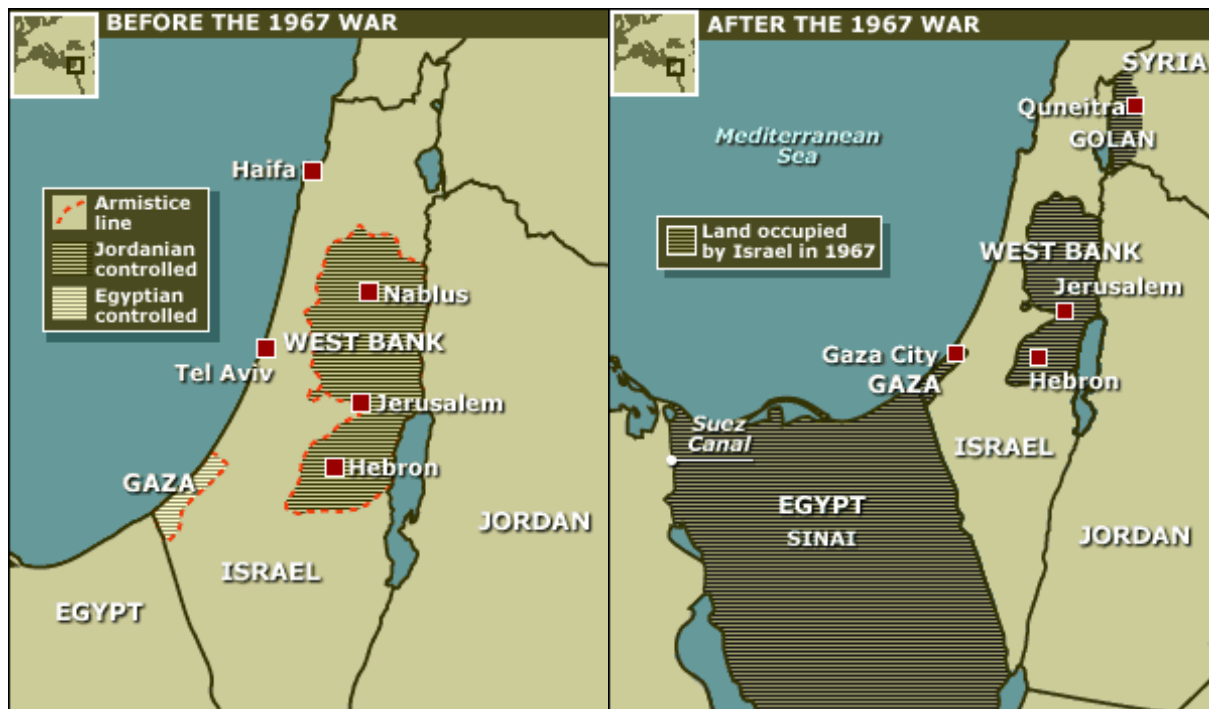
Figure 6: Before and after the 'Six Day War' in 1967 [38]

Ever since, negotiations have been focused on the Israelis returning land to the respective countries (returning to the pre-1967 state), as required by both international law and UN resolutions. As a result of the conflicts, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel in 1973 to regain lost land. However, they failed. Five years after that, in 1978, the Camp David accords were signed between Israel, Egypt and the United States to bring back peace to the region. As a result of these accords, Israel returned Sinai back to Egypt. However, the peace did not last long. Due to the fact that South Lebanon continuously attacked, Israel invaded Lebanon and reached Beirut in 1982, leaving behind a bloody trail. They would occupy the region for 22 years before they withdrew in May 2000. [39]

The 1980s were a violent decade Resulting in many conflicts over land, the 80s became a violent decade with the Palestinian uprising (First Intifada [40]). Many people were killed among Israelis and Palestinians due to military violence, terrorist attacks etc. with the events being widely covered by the media. In 1993, Israel recognized the Palestine Lib-

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[38] BBC News (unknown).
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_israel_palestinians/maps/html/british_control.stm
[39] Ibid.
[40] Intifada means ,shaking off' in Arabic.

eral Organization (PLO) [41] with the Oslo Peace Accords [42]. As a result of these accords, Palestinians were allowed to reenter the Israeli region in peace but offered them limited autonomy in exchange as well as an end to Palestinian claims to Israeli territory. In 1994, Israelis withdrew from the Gaza Strip, ending 27 years of occupation. The end of the 90s was dominated by Israeli forces bombing and attacking its opponents, leaving many civilians killed. [43]

The following map (see Figure 7) shows the enormous loss of Palestinian land from 1946 to 2000.
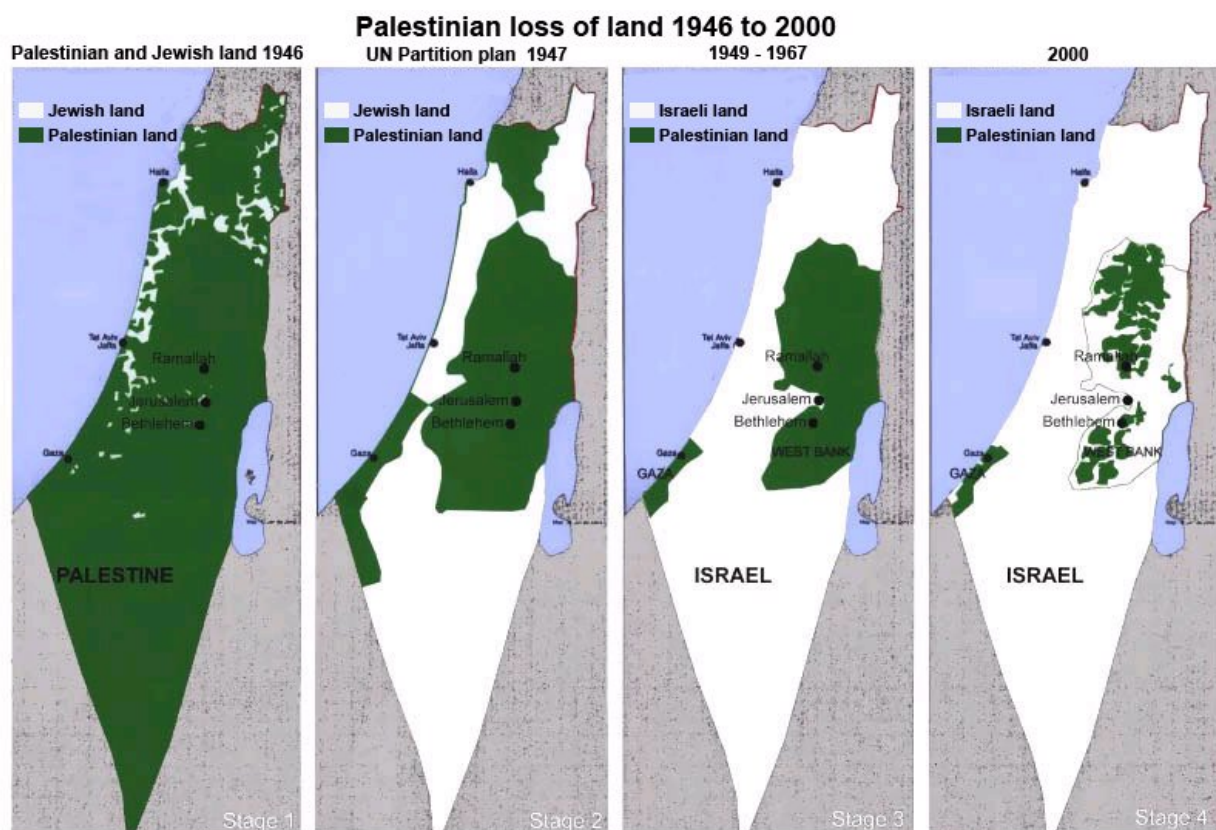
Figure 7: Palestinian loss of land 1946 to 2000. [44]

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[41] PLO is a national liberalization movement that was established in 1964 and tries to reach the independece of the State of Palestine with East Jerusalem as ist capital. (Source: Palestine UN (2016). http://palestineun.org/about-palestine/palestine-liberation-organization/.

[42] Peace agreement between Israel and the PLO

[43] Cf. BBC News (unknown).
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_israel_palestinians/maps/html/british_control.stm

[44] The Hyper Texts. (unknown)
http://www.thehypertexts.com/Nakba%20Holocaust%20Palestinians%20Parables%20of%20Zion.htm

2.2.3 The year 2000 to present

In the beginning of 2000 further peace attempts were made with the continuation of the Wye River accord, but failed to Palestinian protests against new Israeli settlement. Moreover, the Camp David summit failed to come up with solutions in 2000. At the end of the year 2000, a Second Intifada arose, with series of protests and violent outbursts. [45] Israel characterized the protests as an act of aggression towards themselves and attacked Palestinians in the Gaza region and surroundings. There were over 150 attacks, including suicide attacks from 2000 through 2005. In January 2001 the two opponents picked up negotiations but failed to reach a final agreement. Palestinians came to reject the limitations of the Oslo Peace Accords and its nearly two decades of failing to create peace for Palestinians. [46]

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[45] Cf. BBC News (unknown).
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_israel_palestinians/maps/html/british_control.stm
[46] Cf. Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar (2014).
http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine Israel(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf, p. 11.
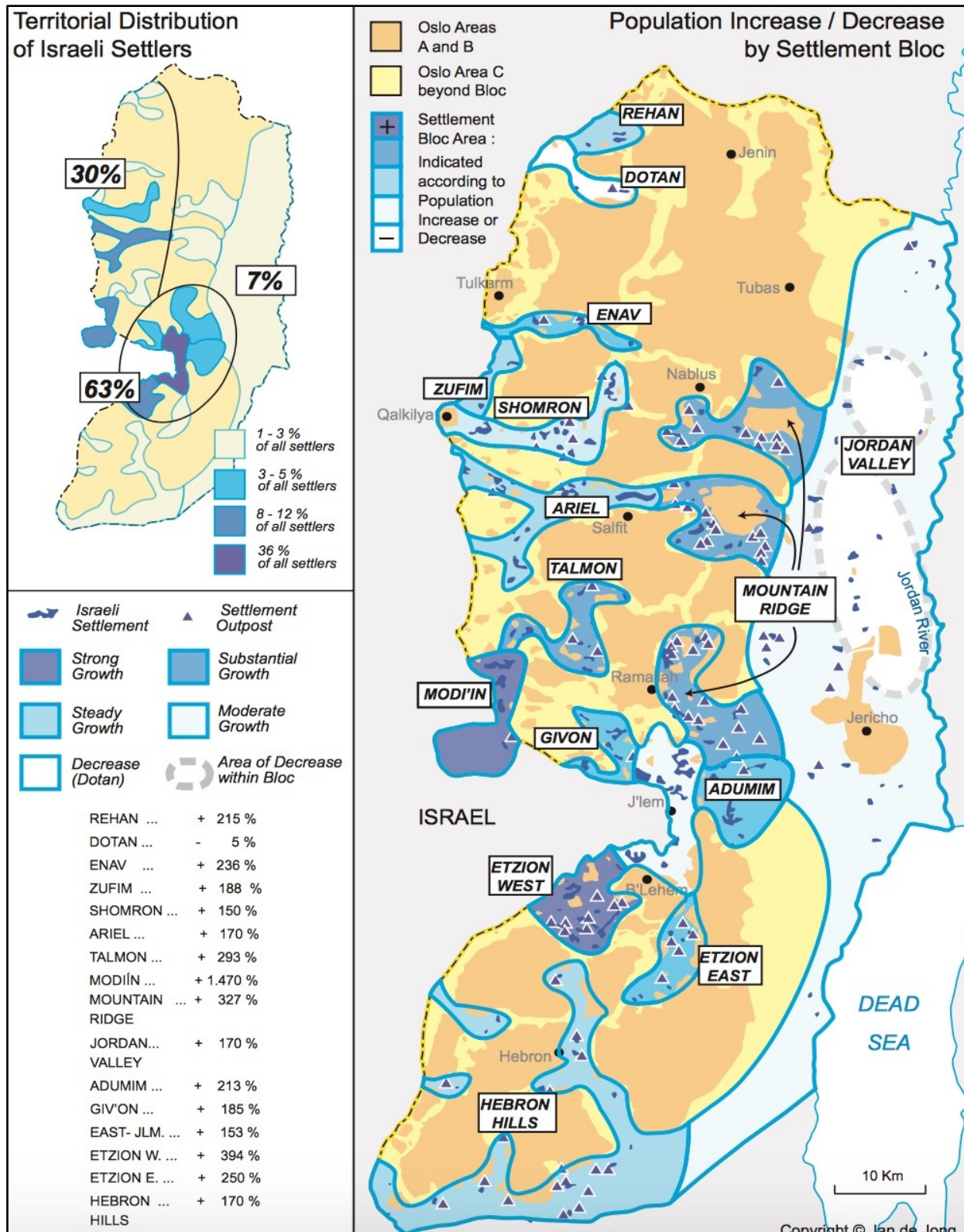
Figure 8: Israeli settlements: Population growth and concentration 1995 – 2011 [47]

[47] Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar (2014).
http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine Isra-el(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf, p. 12.

Figure 8 shows the Israeli settlement from the year 1995 until 2011. It shows that many of the Israeli settled in the regions of Modi'in (+ 1.470%), Etzion West (+ 394%), Mountain Ridge (+ 327%) and Talmon (+ 293%). Only in the region of Dotan was there a decline by 5% of Israeli settlers.

In 2002 the Arab Peace Plan, in general, offered an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the 2002 at the Beirut summit where all Arab states, apart from Libya, endorsed a peace initiative (Arab Peace Initiative) proposed by Saudi-Arabia. The peace plan includes the recognition of Israel as well as peace agreements in exchange for a full Israeli withdrawal from all territories that Israeli forces had occupied since 1967. Moreover, it includes a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem as well as the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the area of West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The capital would be East Jerusalem. In the same year, the Israeli government began constructing a barrier (also called the "green line" or "apartheid wall") separating Israel and the West Bank region. Generally speaking, it cuts the communities in two and partly blocks travel routes. The wall consists of electronic fences, observation towers as well as patrol roads. In some parts, it is 300 meters wide and 8 meters high. Israelis insist that the wall is necessary to protect themselves. However, it was taken in front of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which ruled (in advisory capacity) that the wall is 'disproportionate' in terms of its location and size and is therefore a violation of international law. Many Palestinians have protested against the barrier ever since its existence, have chained themselves to trees, tried to stop bulldozers from digging or painted graffiti on the walls. Consequently, the media began to pick up the political protesting and produced documentary films with the result that some villages regained some of the lands that they had lost during the construction of the separation barrier. Moreover, in 2003, former United States (US) President George W. Bush held a speech that should become the first time that the US government publicly endorsed a two-state solution for the Middle East conflict. As a result of this, the Bush administration pushed for a Road Map (see chapter 2.3.3) to end the violence and offer a political reform as well as the withdrawal from Palestinian cities and a settlement stop by Israel. [48]

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[48] Cf. Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar (2014).
http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine Israel(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf, p. 14.
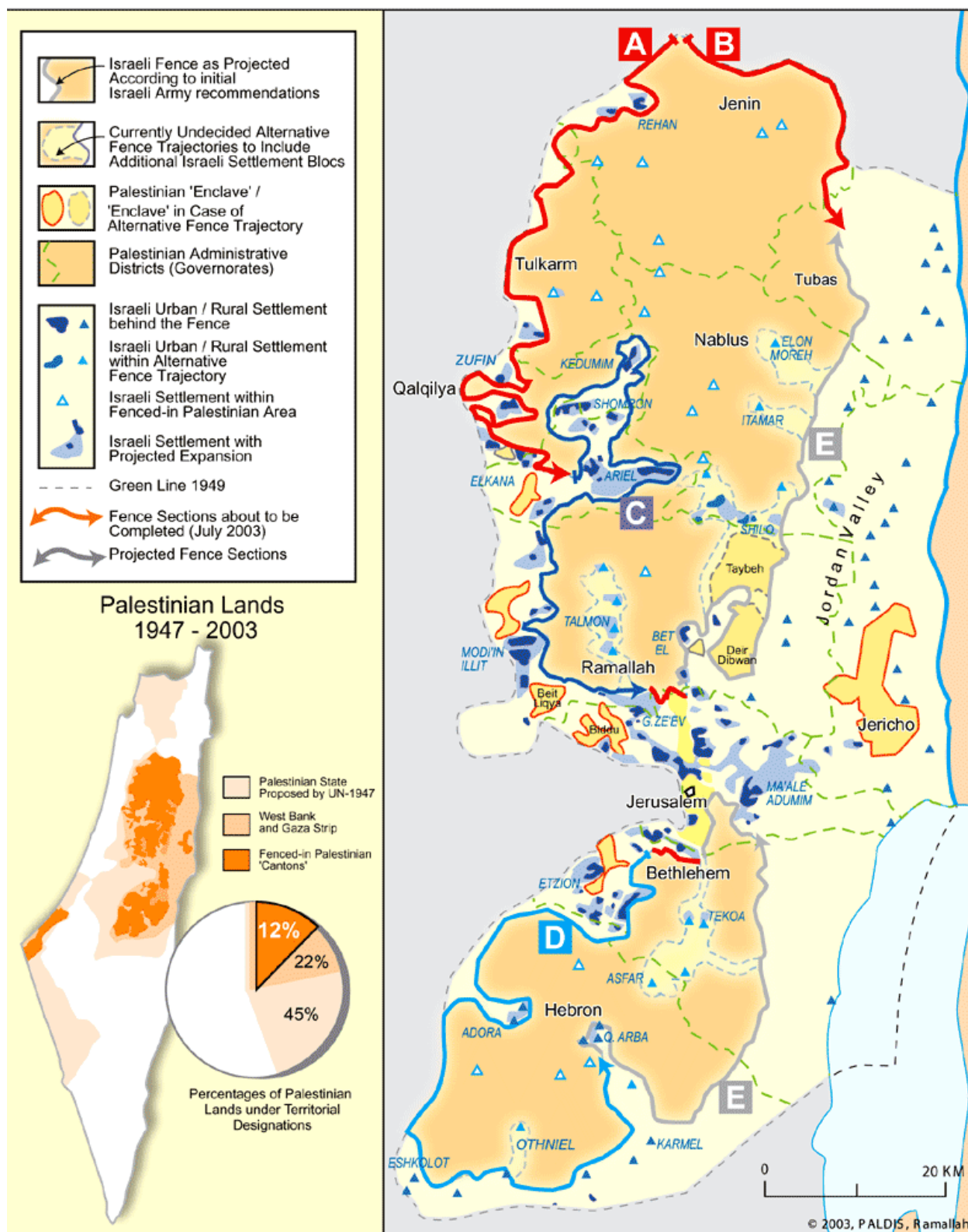
Figure 9: Israel's separation fence in 2003; already completed and planned projects [49]

[49] Angelfire (unknown). http://www.angelfire.com/pro/canthos/

In 2003, the UN Security Council voted on the legality of the 'Green Line' and declared the barrier illegal where it deviates from the 'green line' (with the United States of America (USA) using their veto right).[50]

In 2004, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1544 to urge Israel to "respect its obligations under international humanitarian law, particularly the obligation not to undertake home demolitions contrary to that law" [51] Moreover, the Security Council is:

> "Reiterating the obligation of Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949; Calling on Israel to address its security needs within the boundaries of international law; Expressing its grave concern at the continued deterioration of the situation on the ground in the territory occupied by Israel since 1967, Condemning the killing of Palestine civilian that took place in the Rafah [52] area; Gravely concerned by the recent demolition of homes committed by Israel, the occupying power in the Rafah refugee camp; Recalling the obligations of the Palestinian Authority and the Government of Israel under the Road Map; Condemning all acts of violence, terror and destruction; and Reaffirming its support for the Road Map, endorsed in its resolution 115 (2003)." [53]

Furthermore, Resolution 1544 lists the following five points:

> "1. Calls on Israel to respect its obligations under international humanitarian law, and insists, in particular, on its obligation not to undertake demolition of homes contrary to that law;

> 2. Expresses grave concern regarding the humanitarian situation of Palestinians made homeless in the Rafah area and calls for the provision of emergency assistance to them;

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[50] Cf. Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar (2014). http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine Israel(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf, p. 13.
[51] United Nations. Resolution 1544. http://www.un.org/press/en/2004/sc8098.doc.htm
[52] Rafah is an area at the boarder between the Gaza strip and Egypt with frequent violent conflict outbursts and human rights violations
[53] United Nations. Resolution 1544. http://www.un.org/press/en/2004/sc8098.doc.htm

3. Calls for the cessation of violence and for respect of and adherence to legal obligations, including those under international humanitarian law;

4. Calls on both parties to immediately implement their obligations under the Road Map;

5. Decides to remain seized of the matter." [54]

In 2005, due to political changes in Israel concerning the future of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank area, all Jewish settlements in Gaza were evacuated and the Strip was sealed by the wall. The only entry as well as exit for Palestinian people was through heavily controlled checkpoints along the wall. The negotiations over Israel's continuous control of the Gaza Strip was present throughout the year 2006. In 2007 they declared the area as 'hostile territory', with support of Egypt. From 2008 until 2009 as well as 2012, Israel made many assaults on the Gaza Strip and maintained a tight grip around the area. Israel would be shared and 10.000 Palestinian refugees should be able to reenter Israel with compensation and resettlement. However, this agreement did not come without difficulties. The key issue was the Israeli annexations in the West Bank. At the same time, Palestine applied for membership of the UN, but failed to receive the necessary nine votes. In 2012, the PA applied for non-member an observer state at the UN, which was approved. Consequently, they were from then on able to approach the ICJ to pursue Israeli officials for crimes that they committed during the time of the occupation. [55] Müller stated that a "competition about influence and visibility in Europe's Middle East policy continued." [56] In 2013 the EU adopted a EU Palestine Action Plan including a 'Special Privileged Relationship'. [57]

However, in 2014 conflicts intensified in the Gaza Strip, when Israel launched their Operation Protective Edge offensive. Between 8 July and 27 August, more than 2,100 Pal-

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[54] United Nations. Resolution 1544. http://www.un.org/press/en/2004/sc8098.doc.htm
[55] Ibid.
[56] Cf. Müller (2012), p. 148.
[57] Cf. EU Neighborhood Info Center (2014).
http://www.euneighbours.eu/medportal/news/latest/36682/EU-Palestinian-relations:-new-ENP-Action-Plan-in-force-but-most-previous-recommendations-still-to-be-addressed

estinians were killed, along with 66 Israeli soldiers and seven civilians in Israel, according to BBC news. On 28 August, Israel and Palestinian factions agreed to an open-ended ceasefire to avoid further casualties. [58]

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[58] Cf. BBC News (2014). http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28439404.

3 The Middle East Peace Process

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the Middle East Process in great detail. The author provides a theoretical background on how a peace process can be defined by introducing the work of renowned theorists in their fields. Moreover, this chapter includes a description of the main obstacles as to why the MEPP has yet to come to a great breakthrough. These obstacles include the question of Jerusalem, borders and settlements, water and refugees. The latter is also discussed in terms of refugees being a global crisis. In order to go into greater depth, the author chose to discuss the latest UN report on refugees as well as information by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees.

3.2 Peace process – Definitions

In order to discuss the European Union's involvement in the Middle East peace process one needs to understand what is meant by "peace process", especially in terms of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Heidi Burgess, Founder and Co-Director of the University of Colorado Conflict Information Consortium cited Herald Saunders who defines a peace process as "a political process in which conflicts are resolved by peaceful means. […] They are a mixture of politics, diplomacy, changing relationships, negotiation, mediation, and dialogue in both official and unofficial arenas.[59] Saunders provides a broad definition of peace process as a concept, taking into consideration many factors and using arenas in order to explain his train of thought. Moreover, Burgess provides another definition by scholar Tim Sisk who defines "peace processes" as:

> "[…] step-by-step reciprocal moves to build confidence, resolve gnarly issues such as disarmament and carefully define the future through the design of new political institutions. In other terms, a peace process is an intricate dance of

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[59] Cf. Burgess (2004). http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peace-processes.

steps, choreographed by third-party mediators, among parties in conflict that help to gradually exchange war for peace." [60]

While Saunders remains rather general with his description, Sisk chooses a more abstract approach to his definition using words such as 'dance' and 'choreograph'. This may suggest that the process of keeping or reestablishing peace is a difficult undertaking that requires many different steps and skills of people working together.

3.2.1 Harold Saunders' work on the MEPP

By taking a closer look at Saunders definition, one can discover many layers to his approach, especially when looking at what he calls 'arenas'. He distinguishes four different arenas in the peace making process, namely:

3.2.1.1 Saunders' four arenas and analytical framework

1. The Official Arena

   The 'Official Arena' is the arena of official diplomats. These diplomats establish personal relationships with their opponents in order to achieve agreements and common grounds between their governments. [61]

2. The Quasi-Official Arena

   Players in this arena are people that are not government officials but have close ties to the government. For instance, the Oslo Agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians was forged through, by Saunders' definition, quasi-officials with the help of a Norwegian mediator. [62]

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[60] Burgess (2004). http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peace-processes.
[61] Cf. Burgess (2004). http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peace-processes.
[62] Ibid.

3. <u>Public Peace Process</u>

This arena describes a discussion board between non-officials who have the human aspects, such as perceptions, stereotypes etc. of any conflict as core element of their dialogue. Such dialogues have been taking place between Israelis and Palestinians for years and have also occurred during the Cold War and many other conflicts. [63]

4. <u>Civil Society</u>

As the name suggests, this is the arena run by civilians, metaphorically speaking. These include networks, disputing groups etc. and often need to be rebuilt in the peace process. [64]

Saunders argues that each of the four arenas are interconnected and none of these arenas should be considered as primary. He claims that in order to achieve peace, the relationships of all groups have to be made, established and reestablished if necessary as well as having the social coherence constantly restored. [65] Moreover, Saunders provides an analytical approach to the peace process in one of his books entitled "The other walls: The Israeli-Palestinian peace process in a global perspective." He begins by explaining a first step of peace negotiations, namely, **defining the problem**. Participants should voice their objectives, aspirations and feelings in relation to a situation and to a larger worldview. He claims that in policy-making, how one defines problems often begins by determining what one decides to do about it. Therefore, the negotiation process begins with a definition of the problem in order to know what one is facing. In his work he claims that, in terms of the Middle East Crisis, many states are deeply divided internally in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He goes on explaining that these divisions often lead to heated national debates, simply because there is no consensus of the definition of how the problem should be defined. [66] Where parties differ it is important to try and find consensus or at least try to see issues as complementary rather than conflicting. In terms of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he states that both sides often signal

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[63] Cf. Burgess (2004). http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peace-processes.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Cf. Burgess (2004). http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peace-processes.
[66] Cf. Saunders (1991), p. 23.

stress when a problem is defined without acknowledging the existence of the other side. Therefore, he suggests that each party always tries to consider other parties and show acknowledgement for each side. Breaking down these barriers might be difficult and a time consuming task but it is an important step in moving towards a common or complementary definition that shall be the basis for negotiations for a successful peace process. [67]

Moreover, participants should **develop a commitment to negotiate.** Saunders sees this as the most critical time in a peace process. Leaders come together and decide whether they are willing to commit to a negotiated settlement. Saunders describes both unilateral and bilateral agreements as a result of these negotiations, depending on which turn negotiations take in the process. Many years of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were spent in this pre-commitment phase. Hence, real negotiations were not possible. [68]

As negotiations affect national policy, he states, interests must be understood on two levels:

➢ First, interests should be defined analytically as an objective to a nation's security and economic well-being. [69]

➢ Second, political leaders shall shape their own understanding of their individual nation's interest in the political arena. [70]

Saunders states that the term 'interest' is a very difficult one to use as it has many layers and can differ greatly with negotiation partners. For example, when the Palestinian problem peaked in the 1940s two possible geographical and political solutions were on the table, namely a single state or partition. Therefore, in preparing for negotiation it is fundamental to find a solution for different political identities. Leaders on each side

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[67] Cf. Saunders (1991), pp. 22-23.
[68] Cf. Saunders (1991), pp. 23-24.
[69] Cf. Saunders (1991), p. 25.
[70] Ibid.

should believe that, by committing to negotiations, they are achieving essential objectives in line with their policies. [71]

Arranging a negotiation is Saunders' third part of a peace process. This part describes the process of making arrangement once the parties have defined the problem and have decided to negotiate. At some point leaders will begin to take certain measures into considerations and think of how a negotiation could be arranged. Saunders describes four issues that the negotiating parties will have to deal with: First, what the overall strategy and character of the negotiations will be. Second, what the mechanics of the negotiations will be. Third, how the parties will be represented; and fourth, what will be the starting point for the negotiation. In terms of the peace process in the Middle East one of the persistent difficulties in arranging a negotiation has been and still is the difficult communication process between the two sides and the negative elements in the other side's position. [72]

Saunders' next step is **trying to reach an agreement.** During the negotiations, in terms of the larger political process, the talks visibly shift gears and parties, in a best-case scenario, reach agreement. Last but not least, Saunders describes the **implementation and the peace process.** Arrangements that have been made are implemented. Sometimes, the implementation of such an agreement may be the starting point for the next negotiation and even a signed and ratified treaty begins with a new stage in a relationship, according to Saunders. [73]

Even though Saunders' work dates back to the 1990s, and he was not able to include events occurring afterwards, it is still important work essential for this respective paper in terms of understanding the theory behind a peace processes.

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[71] Cf. Saunders (1991), p. 27.
[72] Cf. Saunders (1991), p. 35.
[73] Cf. Saunders (1991), p. 37.

3.3. Obstacles for the MEPP

Despite countless efforts made by numerous international actors, permanent peace is still yet to be established in the Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. There are many obstacles along the way and this chapter provides an overview of the main reasons as to why the MEPP is still such a current issue today.

3.3.1 Palestinian refugees

During the creation of the state Israel, many Palestinians were displaced and exiled from their homeland. Today, millions of Palestinians live in refugee camps in Arab states and are not allowed to return home. Over the course of time, there has been a massive displacement and the UN reported 4 million registered Palestinian refugees that have been exiled due to the 1948 conflicts. These are only the refugees that were registered by the UN and whose displacement was due to the 1948 happenings. In reality, there are many, many more. Unfortunately, many negotiations were blocked due to Israel's unwillingness to let Palestinian refugees return permanently. [74]

The author also gives a general overview of the refugee situation in a global aspect. Even though Palestinian refugees and asylum seekers do not amount to the largest number of displaced people, they are still part of a large picture that is painted by war and conflicts in a number of areas around the world.

3.3.1.1 United Nations Refugee Agency Report 2015

The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) issued a large report on displaced people all over the world in 2015. This report reviews global trends and is a reminder of the consequences that arise in conflict areas. According to the UNHCR the year 2015 has reached a global peek and a record in its refugee numbers. In total, over 65.3 million

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[74] Cf. BBC News (2010). http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-11104284.

people are displaced worldwide due to conflict and war, meaning that in 2015 one in every 113 people was either an asylum-seeker, internally displaced or a refugee. UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi stated that, "At sea, a frightening number of refugees and migrants are dying each year; on land, people fleeing war are finding their way blocked by closed borders." Human suffering has been great. Most refugees are hosted in the global South (mostly Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon); half of them are children. Moreover, half of them come from three areas: Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia. [75]

According to the UNHCR Report, 21.3 million persons (out of the 65.3 million forcibly displaced people in total) were refugees. Out of these 21.3 million, 16.1 million were under the UNHCR's mandate and 5.2 million were Palestinian refugees by United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the near East (UNRWA). 40.8 million of the total number were internally displaced persons and 3.2 million asylum-seekers.

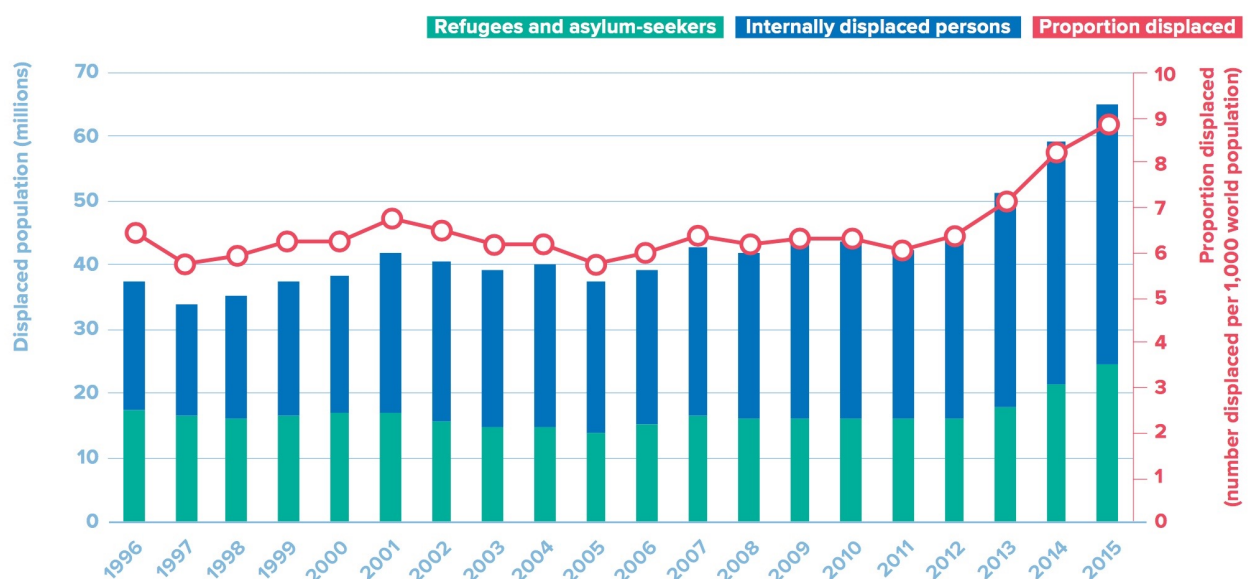
Figure 10: Trend of global displacement and proportion displayed (1996 – end of 2015) [76]

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[75] Cf. UNHCR (2015). http://www.unhcr.org/global-trends-2015.html, p. 2.
[76] UNHCR (2015). http://www.unhcr.org/global-trends-2015.html, p. 6.

3.3.1.2 UNRWA

According to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), nearly one third of the registered Palestine refugees live in 58 recognized refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, West Bank as well as the Syrian Arab Republic. 5 million refugees are under UNRWA services. This means that they have access to schools, health centers etc. However, not all refugee camps are official facilities and socioeconomic conditions in these camps are generally very poor, with high population and bad infrastructure. [77]

Pierre Krähenühl, UNRWA Commissioner-General stated in an interview with the European Parliament that 95% of all Palestine refugees in Syria are dependent on humanitarian aid. In addition to that, 65% of young Gazans are unemployed. He states that many refugees have been traumatized and is yet another generation that is facing more traumas due to lost homes and family members. 50 years of occupation and 10 years of blockade by Israel have created no real prospect of employment, freedom of movement, a high rate of suicide and constant fear among the displaced people, he reports. He also explains that over 50% of UNRWA's core budget is coming from the EU MS themselves and emphasizes the importance of the financial as well as diplomatic support for Palestinian refugees. [78]

3.3.2 Border and settlements

Another obstacle for a very difficult MEPP is the struggle to negotiate borders and settlements. Around 60 years after Israel claimed statehood it still has no clear border. Neighboring countries Jordan and Egypt have signed treaties that have turned some ceasefire lines into borders, however, final settlements could never be reached among the parties (including Syria and Lebanon). Many of Israel's boundaries remain unstable to this day. The hotspots for conflicts are West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip. In total, Israel claimed 78% of former Palestine (rather than the 55% that was allocated

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[77] Cf. UNRWA (unknown). http://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees.
[78] Cf. European Parliament (2016). http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20160613STO32024/palestine-refugees-another-generation-faces-trauma-of-lost-homes .

under the UN partition plan (see chapter 3.5.1.1.)). Israel's settlements are mostly illegal under international law. [79]

3.3.3 Water

A natural recourse that has been crucial ever since the conflicts arose between the Arabs and Israeli is water. The 'Six-Day War's' outcome in 1967 left Israel occupying areas that holds about 60% of its fresh water. Moreover, Israeli settlements take about 80% of the mountain aquifer's flow. In the peacemaking negotiations in the 1990s, water rights were one of the main discussion points and were set aside to be dealt with in the final stages of the talks. However, the final stages were never reached. Water has been a highly discussed topic in many peace talks between the opponents and has made some small progresses along the way (for instance, an agreement on wells in the 1994 Jordan-Israel treaty) but is yet to come to reach long-term solutions for both sides. [80]

3.3.4 Jerusalem

Last but not least, the ancient city Jerusalem has been topic of many negotiations over the past few decades. This is mainly due to the reason that this obstacle has a great religious significance to it. The Jewish holy place was captured in 1967 by Israel who annexed East Jerusalem from Jordan only days after seeking control. Resolutions by the UN on the illegal annexation had little impact on the Israeli settlement as they built walls and ramparts, blocking highways etc. East Jerusalem became a fortress. Moreover, Israelis have began to build massive walls, which now separate Palestinian suburbs from the center of Jerusalem and others from the West Bank. [81]

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[79] Cf. BBC (2010). http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-11102696.
[80] Cf. BBC (2010). http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-middle-east-11101797.
[81] Cf. BBC (2019). http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-middle-east-11096293.

4 The European Union as an International Actor

4.1 Introduction

As the European Council concluded in 2011:

> „The aim of preserving peace, preventing conflicts from erupting into violence and strengthening international security is an important element of the external action of the European Union as laid down in the Lisbon Treaty. Violent conflicts cost lives, cause human rights abuses, displace people, disrupt livelihoods, set back economic development, exacerbate state fragility, weaken governance and undermine national and regional security. Preventing conflicts and relapses into conflict, in accordance with international law, is therefore a primary objective of the EU's external action, in which it could take a leading role acting in conjunction with its global, regional, national and local partners." [82]

This goes to show that the European Union, with the European Council as one of the beating hearts of the Union, is taking its role as a global conflict manager very seriously and is eager to contribute to stopping the conflicts that have horrendous consequences. When looking back at the European Union's history of conflict management it is not able to base its actions on many experiences in large scale conflict management missions. This is partly the case due to its rather young age and for more than a decade; its sole experience was solving the conflicts in the West Balkans. However, over the years, the Union was able to successfully intervene in Macedonia in 2011 in cooperation with NATO. Over time the European Union has gained confidence in its ability to stabilize conflicts and contribute to a state of security for citizens. Yet, in 2008 the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo by major Western powers put the area back into the center stage of international security concerns. At the same time, conflicts arose from the Caucasus to South and South East Asia, from Iraq to Somalia and Sudan, which put the European Union in difficult situations. [83]

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[82] European Council (2011). http://eu-un.europa.eu/eu-council-adopts-conclusions-on-conflict-prevention.
[83] Cf. Whitman and Wolff (2012), p. 3.

When looking at the European Union as a global actor one has to keep in mind, that the Union is essentially a cooperation of 28 member states. This can very likely relate to 28 different opinions, objectives, motivations etc. By gaining more and more members over the past few decades it has consequently become more difficult for the European Union to reach consensus when deciding on common issues, such as foreign policy in conflict areas. This was greatly reflected during the recognition of successor states of Yugoslavia. Moreover, thinking of a more current example of looking at difficulties of the European Union to act as a global actor in unity is the divided positions on the current mass migration of refugees. The European Union has become extensively involved in attempts to secure peace and security in many regions including the Middle East, Africa and the Ukraine with constant European Council resolutions and meetings. [84]

Whitman and Wolff suggest three different categories as to how the European Union is capable of being an international actor for global conflict management. The following figure (see Figure 11) provides an overview of these capabilities as illustrated in their book, "The European Union as a global conflict manager":

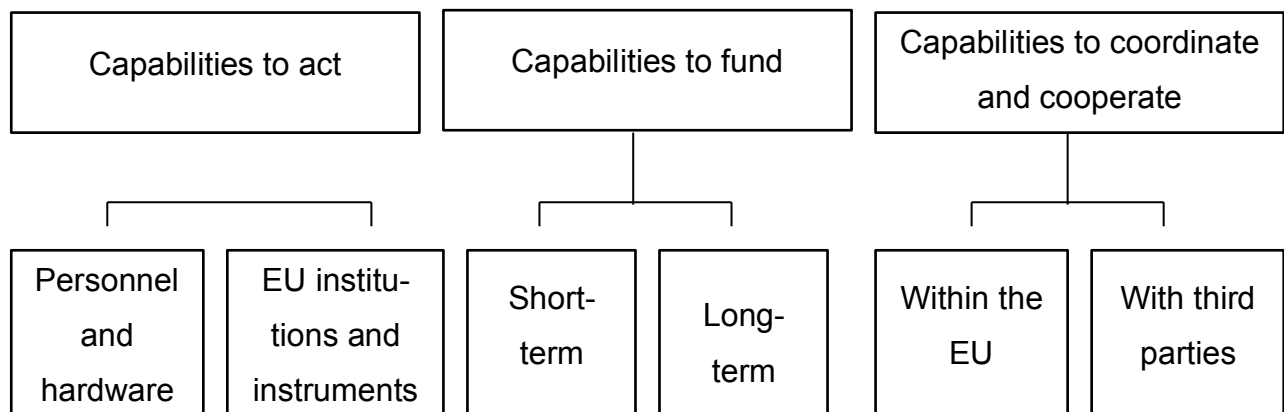| Capabilities to act	Capabilities to fund	Capabilities to coordinate and cooperate
Personnel and hardware / EU institutions and instruments	Short-term / Long-term	Within the EU / With third parties

Figure 11: Capabilities for EU conflict management [85]

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[84] Cf. Whitman and Wolff (2012), p. 4.
[85] Ibid, p. 11.

Capabilities to act

Political will is an essential factor for conflict management, as state leaders have to agree to be involved as a conflict manager. Often state interests and values play a large role in this process. Withman and Wollf name the likelihood of success a valuable factor for the assessment of the intervention success. Moreover, not only are the capabilities important in conflict management but its success is closely related to how well interventions are funded as well as coordinated and how well the different actors work together. The EU has made significant progress over the past few decades, as it was part of many peacekeeping tasks, rescue missions, and humanitarian aid processes. Moreover, the EU provides the personnel and hardware (if existent) for different crisis management operations. [86]

The Lisbon Treaty's introduction of a High Representative was a large step towards unifying the Union's CFSP and hence, their capability to act when it is needed. Many provisions now fall under the High Representative's management and authority. [87]

Capabilities to fund

Not only does the Union need the capabilities to fund a crisis management operation, but also the means to fund one. Usually long-term funds for the Union's CFSP activities are not a problem and have not yet suffered from a shortage. Conflict management is a complicated system within the Union policy. Funds should be transparent and accounted for hence, it is not always easy to coordinate efforts. However, with the creation of the Rapid Mechanism (RRM) in 2011, the European Union has made a large progress in its funding functionality. It was replaced by the IfS in 2007 and further refined the EU's capability to fund in terms of deploying financial resources for crisis management, peace building as well as conflict prevention. Different than its predecessor, the RRM, the IfS is structured into long- and short-term priorities. The RRM only intended for activities for six months or shorter). In the period of 2007 – 2013 the IfS, for instance, had a budget of € 2.062 billion. 72% of that budget was meant for short-term priorities (€ 2,487 million) and 23% for the long-term component (€ 484 million). [88]

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[86] Cf. Whitman and Wolff, p. 11.
[87] Ibid, p. 12.
[88] Ibid, p. 12-13.

Short-term priorities are the prevention of conflict, support for post-conflict regions as well as their political stabilization as well as ensuring the earliest possible recovery after a natural disaster. Long-term priorities are fighting as well as protecting against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, eliminating threats such as terrorism and organized crime, human and weapon trafficking etc. [89]

Capabilities to cooperate and coordinate

According to Whitman and Wolff, coordination and cooperation of EU capabilities in crisis management have two components, namely, a horizontal and a vertical one. The horizontal one is the coordination of EU institutions that are involved in conflict management, whereas the vertical dimension coordinates between the EU as a supranational organization that the EU MS represent. As the EU often works closely together with other international actors (either as a member or non-member) it is important that its capabilities are well structured as well as coordinated. The Union has a strong commitment towards its bilateral and multilateral cooperation with other institutions. [90]

4.2 Perceptions of the EU as a global actor

The European Commission issued a report entitled "Standard Eurobarometer" for spring 2016 and was carried out between 21 and 31 May 2016 in 34 countries (28 MS, five candidate countries (Macedonia, Turkey, Montenegro, Serbia and Albania) and the Turkish Cypriot Community (part of the country that is not controlled by the Republic of Cyprus). The report presents the first results of public opinion of the EU in terms of topics such as the economy, political situation etc. This chapter focuses on section 8 of the report, dealing with the public opinion on the EU's performance as an international actor. [91]

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[89] Cf. Whitman and Wolff, p. 13.
[90] Ibid, p. 14-15.
[91] Cf. European Commission (2016).
http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/PublicOpinion/index.cfm/ResultDoc/download/Document Ky/74264

QA19a.3 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
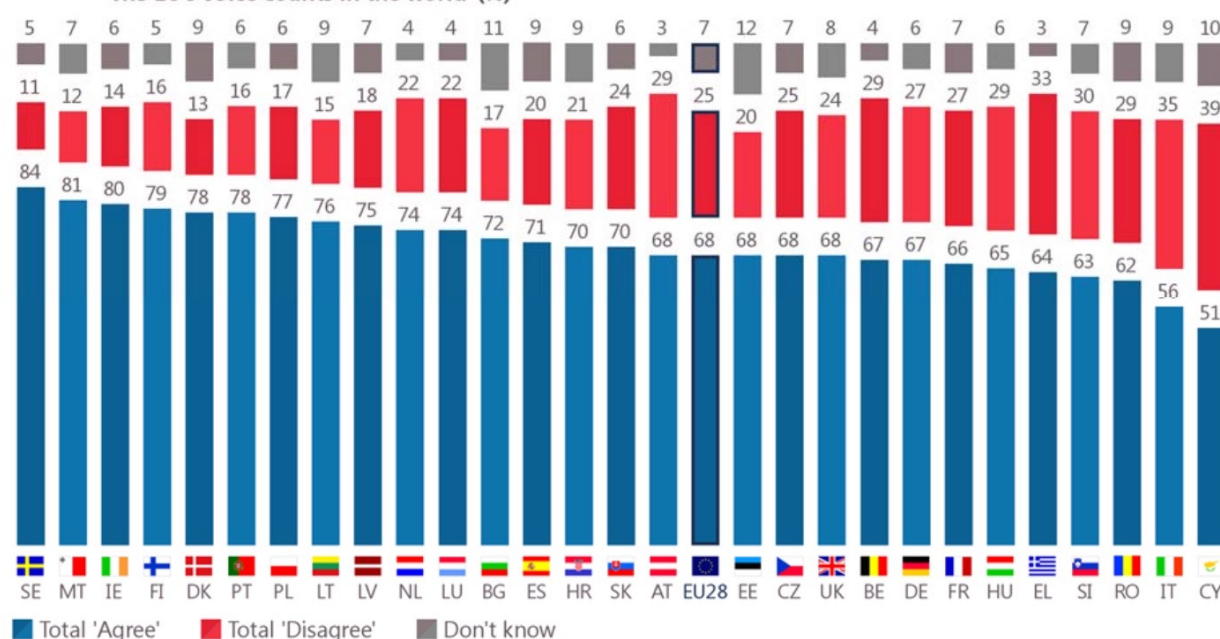**The EU's voice counts in the world (%)**

	SE	MT	IE	FI	DK	PT	PL	LT	LV	NL	LU	BG	ES	HR	SK	AT	EU28	EE	CZ	UK	BE	DE	FR	HU	EL	SI	RO	IT	CY
Don't know	5	7	6	5	9	6	6	9	7	4	4	11	9	9	6	3	7	12	7	8	4	6	7	6	3	7	9	9	10
Total 'Disagree'	11	12	14	16	13	16	17	15	18	22	22	17	20	21	24	29	25	20	25	24	29	27	27	29	33	30	29	35	39
Total 'Agree'	84	81	80	79	78	78	77	76	75	74	74	72	71	70	70	68	68	68	68	68	67	67	66	65	64	63	62	56	51

■ Total 'Agree' ■ Total 'Disagree' ■ Don't know

Figure 12: The EU's voice counts in the world (%) [92]

The graph shows that two in three Europeans believe that the EU's voice does count in the world (68%). 25% disagree with this statement while 7% answered: "Don't know.". Sweden (84%) together with Malta (81%), Ireland (80%), Finland (79%) and Denmark (78%) reported the highest approval rate for the EU's global voice. Cyprus (51%), Italy (56%), Romania (62%) and Slovenia (63%) reported the lowest approval rate. Austria (68%) amounts to an EU average. Looking at the numbers one can observe that none of the questioned 'countries' are below 50%, which can be seen as rather positive. Moreover, all countries move within a roughly 30% range between the lowest (51%) and the highest (84%), which can be considered quite significant scars given the political, economic and geographical states and differences of the highest and lowest ranking countries.

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[92] European Commission (2016).
http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/PublicOpinion/index.cfm/ResultDoc/download/Document Ky/74264, p. 37.

4.3 The European Union and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

"The European Union has invested a lot in these renewed efforts from the Quartet to come to a substantial result because we are convinced that we have a special role to play. We are, as Europeans, the first trading partner of Israel, we are, as Europeans, the first financial supporters of the Palestinian authority. We are in good relations with all the key actors of the region, starting from the countries that produced what is still the most interesting basis for the peace negotiations which is the Arab Peace Initiative on which even recently we heard some openings, some interesting openings, from the Israeli side. We are working within the Quartet with Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, the Arab League to create a framework that could, first of all, save the perspective of the two states and, secondly, recreate conditions for a process to be there, because we still refer to the Middle East Peace Process but the reality of facts is that in this moment there is no peace process at all." [93]

Since the Oslo Accords in 1993 the EU has sought numerous ways of engaging with the conflict partners, especially to protect human rights. However, the Union has partly failed to bring peace and meaningful change to the region. The Union's missions to the region, for example to the Rafah region to monitor the border crossing, resulted in mixed outcomes. Moreover, the Union has been consistently compromised in its efforts to coordinate and cooperate its efforts in conflict areas. This is mostly due to the reason that there is a lack of consensus in its MS and other external international actors, such as the USA. Moreover, the Union has failed to come up with a unified approach to resolute the conflict in the Middle East. [94]

The Union has been largely excluded from any major diplomatic efforts since the Oslo Accords of 1993, mostly because of the fact that the EU did not have an effective foreign policy system that would allow them to act. However, since then the EU has introduced several political frameworks (CFSP etc.) that allow the Union to be an effective international actor in the Middle East Process.

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[93] EEAS (2016). http://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/2016/030616_mogherini_mepp_en.htm
[94] Cf. Whitman and Wolff, pp. 82-83.

4.3.1 EU's Middle East Quartet membership

On April 10, 2002 the formation of a Madrid Quartet was announced, recalling the Madrid Conference of 1991, with the UN Secretary-General, the EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy as well as the Russian Foreign Minister. The focus and aim of the United Nations, the United States, the European Union and Russia is the two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with the assistance of other international actors. There are frequent meetings being held and reports issued. [95]

4.3.2 Objective of the European Union: Two-state solution

In a press release in June 2016 the European Parliament stated on the current state of the of the MEPP: "The resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is of fundamental interest to the EU, believing that the best outcome would be a two-state solution with an independent, democratic, viable and contiguous Palestinian state living side-by-side in peace and security with Israel." [96]

The EU's main goal for the Middle East crisis is a two-state solution where both Palestinians and Israelis live in peace. Therefore, the Union has been part of many peace projects in order to promote this approach. The following parameters are included in the EU's peace negotiations with other international actors:

➢ "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 re-

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[95] Cf. Musu (2007), p 2.
[96] European Parliament (2016). http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20160622STO33251/the-eu-and-the-middle-east-peace-process

surgence 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;

➢ Fulfillment 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." [97]

The EU has undertaken many political and practical activities and is the largest donor to Palestinian state-building efforts. The efforts are in line with the Union's two-state solution as well as the respect of the rule of law and human rights. In 2013 and 2014 the EU worked closely together with the USA and US Secretary John Kerry (and his efforts to foster Israeli-Palestinian negotiations). Moreover, the EU has issued a series of public statements in terms of their foreign policies supporting the two-state solution. These included the Venice Declaration of 1980 (recognizing the right to security and existence of all states in the Middle East Region), the Berlin Declaration of 1999 (it included a commitment to the creation of a Palestinian state when appropriate) as well as the Seville Declaration of 2002 (introducing specific details of the final status solution concerning borders, security, Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees and Israeli settlement). In addition to that, the EU has been a part, also as co-sponsor, to the Roadmap for Peace in 2002 (see chapter 3.5.3). From 2007 onwards, the EU has actively supported the 'Annapolis process', which is supported by Israelis and Palestinians to implement Roadmap obligations to reach a peace agreement at the end of 2008 (failed in the negotiation process concerning the deadline). The EU has also published an EU Action Strategy for Peace (see chapter 3.5.4) in the Middle East in 2007, which describes a number of ways the Union can support the peace process. [98]

Since the year 2009 the EU has worked closely together with the US and continued uphold the Palestinian state building.

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[97] EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/mepp/about/index_en.htm.
[98] Cf. EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/mepp/about/index_en.htm.

4.3.2.1 Political and practical support for the MEPP

In order top promote the two-state solution, the EU's long-term policy asserts are as follows:

➢ "Borders: The EU considers that the future Palestinian state will require secure and recognised borders. These should be based on a withdrawal from the territory occupied in 1967 with minor modifications mutually agreed, if necessary, in accordance with UNSC Resolutions 242, 338, 1397, 1402 and 1515 and the principles of the Madrid Process;

➢ Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory: the EU has repeatedly confirmed its deep concern about accelerated settlement expansion in the West Bank including East Jerusalem. This expansion prejudges the outcome of final status negotiations and threatens the viability of an agreed two-state solution. The EU considers that settlement building anywhere in the occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, is illegal under international law, constitutes an obstacle to peace and threatens to make a two-state solution impossible;

➢ Jerusalem: The EU considers that the peace negotiations should include the resolution of all issues surrounding the status of Jerusalem as the future capital of two states. The EU will not recognise any changes to the pre-1967 borders including with regard to Jerusalem, other than those agreed by the parties. The EU supports institution-building work in East Jerusalem, notably in the areas of health, education and the judiciary;

➢ Palestinian refugees: The EU supports a just, viable and agreed solution on this question. We will respect an agreement reached between the two Parties on this point. Since 1971 the EU has been providing significant support to the work of agencies providing vital services to the Palestinian refugees (UNRWA). It is committed to adapting this support as appropriate, in pursuit of a just and equitable solution to the refugee issue; and

> ➢ Security: The EU condemns all acts of violence which cannot be allowed to impede progress towards peace. The EU recognises Israel's right to protect its citizens from attacks and emphasises that the Israeli Government, in exercising this right, should act within international law. Through its EUPOL COPPS mission, the EU supports the reform and development of the Palestinian police and judicial institutions. EU-Israel cooperation on the fight against terrorist financing and money laundering or other aspects of soft security as well as on security research represents a non-negligible practical EU contribution to Israel's security. Security arrangements should, 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 new and emerging threats." [99]

4.3.2.2 Financial support for the MEPP

The EU is the largest donor to the Palestinians and has reached about € 1 billion in financial support in combined contributions (by the European Commission and EU member states). The main framework for financial support is the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). It develops both political and economic relations of the European Union with both the Palestinian Authority (PA) and Israel. Any program by the European Commission are mainly implemented by the European Neighborhood Instrument (ENI). With the help of these instruments, the EU fosters conditions for peace, stability and prosperity in the region to reach their objective of a two-state solution. The money is mainly used for humanitarian and emergency response, state-building activities, Palestinian economic activity as well as border assistance and civil society activities. [100]

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[99] EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/mepp/about/eu-positions/eu_positions_en.htm
[100] Cf. EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/mepp/about/practical/practical_en.htm.

4.4 Key documents and summits for the MEPP

This chapter introduces important documents for the Middle East Process either issued by the European Union or the EU as a negotiation partner (for instance, UN documents or Middle East Quartet documents) in chronological order. This includes documents and resolutions from the United Nations, European Council as well as The Road Map for Peace by the Middle East Quartet etc. Moreover, important summits held since the conflicts arose are discussed in this chapter. The European Union did not play a key role in all summits or documents. However, they have been important steps towards ending the Middle East crisis and are essential for understanding the MEPP.

4.4.1. UN partition plan, 1947

As already touched upon in the chapter 2.2.1, after World War II, hostilities began to escalate between Jews and in the Middle East. Each side had different ideas about Zionists and the British army, especially after British decided to relinquish its mandate over Palestine. Moreover, the British requested the newly formed United Nations to determine the future of the conflict region. According to Joel Beinin's and Lisa Hajjar's paper, the British had hoped that the UN would not come up with an accurate plan for the conflict region and would return Palestine back to them as a UN trusteeship. However, after the UN had sent officials to Palestine to investigate the situation, they concluded that it would be the best for the region to be divided into two separate states in order to satisfy the needs of both Arabs and Jews. In 1947 the UN General Assembly voted in favor of the partition into two states. The partition plan divided the country with the idea that each state would have the majority of its own population (56% for Jews and 43% for Arabs). The Jews had slightly more land based on the assumption that a large number of Jews would immigrate later on. Regarding Jerusalem and Bethlehem, both areas should become an international zone in order to prevent conflict. [101]

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[101] Cf. Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar (2014).
http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine Israel(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf, p. 4-5.

The Zionist leadership publicly accepted the UN partition plan whereas the Palestinian Arabs rejected it and regarded it an international betrayal, especially considering the fact that the UN partition plan granted more land to the Jews than to the Arabs. Soon after the adoption of the UN plan, Arabs and Jews began to fight one another. A year after voting on the partition plan, in 1948, the Zionist forces had secured over most of the territories that the UN plan had allotted to the Jewish state and began to fight for territory beyond what the UN had planned for them. In mid 1948, the British withdrew from Palestine and Zionist leaders proclaimed the State of Israel. Due to numerous fights over the past decades, the Palestinian Arab state has never been established as it had only envisioned by the United Nations partition plan. [102]

4.4.2 UN Security Council Resolution 242, 1967

After the '6 day war' in 1967 the UN Security Council adopted the so-called Resolution 242. This respective resolution calls for Israeli withdrawal from lands they had seized by force in the war in order to promote a peaceful existence with respect of boundaries. The interesting aspect of Resolution 424 is the fact that, depending on whether one reads the English or the French version of the document (both are official languages of the United Nations), the wording can be interpreted in a different way. For example, the French document uses 'the territories' (as in, Israel should withdraw from 'the territories'), whereas the English version uses only 'territories'. As a result of this, the English version suggest that the Israelis should withdraw from some; but not all territories whereas the French document implies that they should withdraw from all territories they had forcefully occupied. [103]

The Palestinians have rejected the Resolution 242 for many years due to the reason that the document does not acknowledge their right to return to the homeland that had been taken or national self-determination. This is a sensitive issue regarding the Palestinian refugees, as the Resolution 242 only calls for a 'just settlement', without further specification. However, the resolution entailed unilateral Palestinian recognition of Isra-

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[102] Cf. Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar (2014).
http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine Isra-el(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf, p. 5.
[103] Ibid. pp. 6-7.

el. Reciprocal recognition of Palestinian national rights is not mentioned in the resolution. [104]

4.4.3 UN Security Council Resolution 338, 1973

In October 1973, the war between Israel and Egypt in the Suez Canal and the peninsula Sinai reached a dangerous peek. Both the Soviet Union and the US urged the UN Security Council to act, and therefore it adopted the Resolution 338. This resolution contained the principles of Resolution 242 (see chapter 3.5.1.2) and generally called for a peace in the Middle East. Despite the resolution, the war continued and both the Soviet Union and the US were asked to intervene with military capacities. The Soviet Union followed this request while the US declined. Upon request by Egypt, the Security Council formed the Second Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II) as a peacekeeping force. Both Egypt and Israel agreed to disengage their forces, under close watch by UNEF II, and both sides signed a disengagement agreement. As a result of that, the UN created the United Nations Disengagement Force (UNDOF). UNDOF had the main goal of supervising agreements between Israel and Egypt, mainly to prevent further conflicts [105] and still continues to function in 2016. [106]

4.4.4 Camp David Accords, 1978

The Camp David Accords or Framework for Peace in the Middle East, were signed by former US President Jimmy Carter, former Egyptian President Anwar Sadat as well as the 1978 Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in September 1978. The accords established the framework for a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt after years of war. [107] The negotiations proved themselves to be very difficult due to years of disputes between the two states and the main issue of the fate of the Israeli settlement on the Sinai

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[104] Cf. Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar (2014). http://www.merip.org/sites/default/files/Primer_on_Palestine Israel(MERIP_February2014)final.pdf, p. 7.

[105] Cf. UN. http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/palestine/ch3.pdf, 1-2.

[106] Cf. UN. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/undof/.

[107] Cf. History of the Historian (unknown). https://history.state.gov/milestones/1977-1980/camp-david.

Peninsula. However, consensus could finally be reached on the last day of the summit. The final document was divided in three parts. The first one included the process for Palestinian self-government in the West Bank and Gaza area. The second part was a framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two states and the third and final part was a description of a similar peace treaty between Israel and its other neighbors. Israel's government also agreed to transition a self-governing PA that should be elected in order to replace Israeli political as well as military forces that were occupying territories. The document was signed and ended a state of war between Israel and Egypt. Regarding the difficult issue of the Sinai Peninsula, Israel had agreed to withdraw from the area and open diplomatic relations as well as the Suez Canal to Israeli ships (as they were banned at that time). Other Arab countries did not welcome Egypt's efforts and cooperation with Israel and banned Egypt from the Arab League. [108] Moreover, the PLO also rejected the accords. However, the Camp David Accord provisions were somewhat included and further developed in the Oslo Agreement (see 4.4.6) and therefore an important step in the MEPP. [109]

4.4.5 Madrid Conference, 1991

In November 1991, the Soviet Union and the USA invited Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine to a three-day conference for face-to-face peace negotiations. During this conference, four separate sets of bilateral talks were organized to resolve conflicts and sign peace treaties after the conference. Therefore, many bilateral meetings were held after the Madrid summit. Moreover, multilateral talks targeting the MEPP in terms of water, environment, refugees, arms control etc. were conducted throughout the world. Israel and Jordan, for instance, continued negotiating for almost two years after the Madrid Conference ended in 1991. Both signed a piece treaty on 26 October 1994. Following the Madrid Conference, Arabs launched what we know as the Oslo Process (see chapter 4.4.6). [110]

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[108] The Arab League is a regional organization of states in the Middle East, formed in Cairo in March 1945 (see: Encyclopedia Britain (2016). https://www.britannica.com/topic/Arab-League.)

[109] Cf. Encyclopedia Britannica (unknown). https://www.britannica.com/event/Camp-David-Accords.

[110] Cf. Palestinian Facts (unknown). http://www.palestinefacts.org/pf_1991to_now_madrid_desc.php.

4.4.6 Oslo Agreement, 1993

In September 1993, the former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO negotiator Mahmoud Abbas signed the Oslo Accord, a declaration of principles on interim self-government arrangement at the White House in Washington D.C., USA. In this document, Israel accepted the PLO as the official representative of the Palestinians while the PLO renounced terrorism and recognized Israel's right to live and exist in peace. Both the PLO and Israel agreed that the PA would govern responsibilities in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank area for a five-year period. After the five-year period was over, talks regarding borders, refugees and Israel should be held. However, when Rabin was assassinated in 1995, conflicts between the two parties arose yet again and lead to years of attacks before the peace process essentially collapsed. [111]

4.4.6 Camp David, 2000

In July 2000, former US President Bill Clinton, former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and PA chairman Yassar Arafat met at a second Camp David summit in order to negotiate a final peace settlement for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (mainly due to reasons such as the question of Jerusalem, refugees, Israeli settlement and borders). However, the parties were not able to come to a satisfying agreement and soon a wave of conflicts was keeping the region from achieving a peaceful stage. [112]

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[111] Cf. Office of the Historian (unknown). https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/oslo.
[112] Cf. Shyovitz, David (2016). http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Peace/cd2000art.html.

4.4.7 Taba 2001

The negotiations took place in January 2001 to speak about yet unresolved issues that could not be successfully dealt with a year before at the Camp David summit. Due to a very limited timetable, not every issue could be solved. However, some progress in the MEPP was made and a joint statement was published [113]

> "The Taba talks conclude an extensive phase in the Israeli-Palestinian permanent status negotiations with a sense of having succeeded in rebuilding trust between the sides and with the notion that they were never closer in reaching an agreement between them than today. We leave Taba in a spirit of hope and mutual achievement, acknowledging that the foundations have been laid both in reestablishing mutual confidence and in having progressed in a substantive engagement on all core issues. The two sides express their gratitude to President Hosni Mubarak for hosting and facilitating these talks. They also express their thanks to the European Union for its role in supporting the talks." [114]

4.4.8 Arab Peace Initiative, 2002

The Arab Initiative was held in 2002 and is a document that was adopted at the annual Arab League Summit in Beirut, Lebanon. In its 14th Ordinary Session the Arab Peace Initiative requests Israel to reconsider its policies as well as the withdrawal from the territories that were occupied since 1967. Moreover, there should be a just solution for the Palestinian refugee problem in accordance with the UN resolutions. In addition to that, the document requests Israel to recognize the establishment of a Sovereign Independent Palestinian State and end conflicts. In return, they would end the conflict and enter into peace negotiations. They would establish normal relations with Israel that are comprehensive with peace. [115]

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[113] Cf. Israeli Palestinian Pro Con (2008).
http://israelipalestinian.procon.org/view.answers.php?questionID=000427.
[114] Israeli Palestinian Pro Con (2008).
http://israelipalestinian.procon.org/view.answers.php?questionID=000427.
[115] Cf. BBC (2005). http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1844214.stm.

4.4.9 Roadmap to Peace, 2003

The Roadmap to Peace is a peace proposal by the US that started its negotiation process in 2002. It includes a series of benchmarks in order to create a Palestinian state that can co-exist in peace with Israel. Therefore, it is in line with the EU's two-state solution objective. Both the Israelis and Palestinians accepted the basic outlines of the document in 2003 after it was introduced by the Bush administration.[116]

The report requires both sides to immediately take steps to end any violent conflicts and create conditions for an everlasting peace. This means that Israel must dismantle their settlements built in Palestinian territories. Palestinians must curb terrorism and move towards a more democratic, accountable government. Moreover, the Roadmap to Peace introduces three phases for a successful implementation. The first phase is designed to end violence, freeze settlement in the West Bank and Gaza area and reform the Palestinian government. The second phase should lead to a provisional Palestinian state and the third phase includes final negotiations towards creating permanent boarders as well as the status of Jerusalem and both states' international recognition. However, to this day the Roadmap has not been fully implemented and has not yet reached its main goal, namely a permanent two-state solution for the Middle East conflicts. [117]

4.4.10 Annapolis, 2007

At the end of 2007, the Bush administration convened an international conference in Annapolis to review the MEPP, together with the former Prime Minister from Israel, Ehud Olmert, and PA President Mahmud Abbas. Together they reached a joint understanding to express their consent to open bilateral negotiations in order to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Palestine and reach an official agreement before the end of 2008. Therefore, a committee should oversee the process and Abbas and Olmert should meet regularly to follow and assist with negotiations. Moreover, both parties

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[116] Cf. CFR (2005). http://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/middle-east-road-map-peace/p7738
[117] Ibid.

should implement their promised obligations under the Roadmap (see chapter 4.4.10) until a peace treaty is reached. [118]

4.4.11 State-building for Peace in the Middle East: EU Action Strategy, 2007

The EU Action Strategy for state-building for peace in the Middle East was published in 2007 by the European Council for Foreign Affairs. Due to the number of conflicts and violence outburst during the years before the Action Strategy the European Council felt an obligation to act in order to engage the conflict partners in a bilateral dialogue. With the document the EU committed to support the two parties in their efforts to end the conflict peacefully as well as the US government in their facilitation efforts. Moreover, they committed to ensure an active involvement in the Middle East Quartet work processes and the advancing Arab Peace Initiative. Also, a continuously high level of political support would be offered to the region. The document also discussed prospects of how to achieve Palestinian statehood with democratic values and a functioning internal market and economy. In addition to that, it requested solutions to the East Jerusalem question, refugee situation as well as the region's security arrangements. [119]

4.4.12 Washington, 2010

US President Barack Obama invited Israel's Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu as well as Palestinian Mahmoud Abbas to the White House for MEPP talks. Both confirmed that they wish to put an end to the long period of struggle and referred to each other as 'partners in peace'. [120]

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[118] CRS Report for Congress (2007). https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS22768.pdf.
[119] Cf. Consilium (2007).
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/97949.pdf.
[120] The Guardian (2010). https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/sep/02/middle-east-peace-talks-begin.

Many peace talks have been held sine 2010, some successful, some with fewer consensus; many talks were initiated by the Middle East Quartet. Moreover, both the Israeli and Palestinian leaders are frequently invited to the European Union institutions for negotiations and talks in order to foster the MEPP.

4.5 Current State of the EU's Middle East Peace Process

High Representative Federica Mogherini held a speech in June 2016 at the Ministerial Meeting on the Middle East Peace Process and stated that:

> "The European Union has invested a lot in these renewed efforts from the Quartet to come to a substantial result because we are convinced that we have a special role to play. We are, as Europeans, the first trading partner of Israel, we are, as Europeans, the first financial supporters of the Palestinian authority. We are in good relations with all the key actors of the region, starting from the countries that produced what is still the most interesting basis for the peace negotiations which is the Arab Peace Initiative on which even recently we heard some openings, some interesting openings, from the Israeli side. We are working within the Quartet with Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, the Arab League to create a framework that could, first of all, save the perspective of the two states and, secondly, recreate conditions for a process to be there, because we still refer to the Middle East Peace Process but the reality of facts is that in this moment there is no peace process at all". [121]

4.5.1 EU's relationship with Israel

The EU has made many efforts over the past decades to establish a strong partnership with Israel, not only in political terms but also with regard to trade, financial and civil aid as well as technological and cultural cooperation. The EU has signed an Action Plan together with Israel that supported peaceful EU-Israeli relations. This Action plan is designed for Israel's gradual integration into EU policies and long-term cooperation. Moreover, the EU is a financial supporter for Israel – they are eligible for € 14 million within the current MFF period. In addition to that, the EU-Israel Association Agreement is the

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[121] EEAS (2016). http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160603_03_en.htm

legal basis for EU's relations with Israel. The EU has undergone a number of steps to support the MEPP with their membership of the Quartet or Federica Mogherini's meeting with Israel's president in Brussels in June 2016 for discussions etc. Moreover, the EU has several institutionally set-up functions such as the Special Representative to the MEPP, the European Commission Delegation for Israel etc. for a constant fostering of peace for the Middle East. [122]

4.5.2 EU's relationship with Palestine

"It is time for our people to live in freedom, without walls and checkpoints", stated President of the Palestinian National Authority Mahmoud Abbas during his visit in the European Parliament in January 2016. He continued explaining that, "Palestinian nation wants to live in full sovereignty [...] and the EU, being a major player, is helping to create an embryo Palestinian State." Moreover, Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament welcomed Abbas' positive statements and assured him that: "Your presence here today […] sends a strong signal that the will to achieve a lasting peace between Israel and Palestine is still alive."[123]

The Union has been working with the PA to create a more democratic, independent and viable Palestinian state that is able to live in peace and side by side with its neighbor Israel. The EU also has an Action Plan with Palestine, which was concluded with the PA, its legal basis for cooperation is the Interim Association on Trade and Cooperation. In addition to that, the EU is the largest financial donor to the Palestinians, especially to Palestinian refugees through UNRWA. However, there is not yet a consensus concerning the statehood of Palestine and has not been recognized by all MS. [124]

In 2014, the European Parliament has issued a resolution on the recognition of the Palestinian statehood. This document states that the European Parliament supports the recognition of the Palestinian state and the two-state solution for the MEPP. Moreover, peace negotiations should be advanced and reiterates that: "[…] its strong support for the two-state solution on the basis of the 1967 borders, with Jerusalem as the capital of

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[122] Cf. EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/israel/index_en.htm.

[123] Cf. European Parliament (2016). http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news-room/20160622IPR33211/palestinian-president-puts-his-state's-case-to-meps.

[124] Cf. EEAS (unknown). http://eeas.europa.eu/palestine/index_en.htm

both states, with the secure State of Israel and an independent, democratic, contiguous and viable Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security on the basis of the right of self-determination and full respect of international law." [125] In addition to that, the European Parliament stressed the fact that internal divisions in the Palestinian state shall be avoided and that Israeli settlements are illegal and a breach of international law. They also call for the High Representative to facilitate a common EU position regarding this matter. This resolution was passed by the European Parliament as a whole (by 498 votes to 88, 111 abstentions). [126] In 2014, Sweden was the first EU MS to recognize the Palestinian state. Since then, other EU MS such as Belgium and Luxemburg have adopted resolutions regarding the recognition of the Palestinian state. [127]

4.5.3 Most recent Middle East Quartet Report

During the process of writing this respective paper the most recent meeting of the Middle East Quartet was held in Munich on February 12, 2016. On July 01,2016 the European Council published the official report of the Middle East Quartet reflecting on the current trends that are imperiling the viability of the two-state solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Moreover, it focuses on the major threats to achieving peace to advance a two-state solution, not taking into consideration a complete review of the humanitarian, political legal, and security aspects of the situation in the conflict region. In its summary, the Quartet reiterates that the negotiated two-state solution should remain a priority as it meets Israeli security needs, as well as the Palestinian aspirations for statehood and sovereignty. Moreover, the Quartet recalls statements made that are relevant to the United Security Council Resolutions and pledges made that actively support the end of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. [128]

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[125] Cf. European Parliament (2014).
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdfs/news/expert/infopress/20141212IPR01105/20141212IPR01105_en.pdf, p. 1.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Cf. Martins (2014), pp. 281-282.
[128] Cf. EEAS (2017) Report of the Middle East Quartet. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160701_03_en.htm

The report lists three trends that severely undermine the hopes for peace:

➢ "Continuing violence, terrorist attacks against civilians, and incitement to violence are greatly exacerbating mistrust and are fundamentally incompatible with a peaceful resolution

➢ The continuing policy of settlement construction and expansion, designation of land for exclusive Israeli use, and denial of Palestinian development is steadily eroding the viability of the two-state solution; and

➢ The illicit arms build-up and militant activity, continuing absence of Palestinian unity, and dire humanitarian situation in Gaza feed instability and ultimately impede efforts to achieve a negotiated solution." [129]

The Quartet mentions the urgent need to put an end to these trends in order to prevent a more violent outcome. Furthermore, it states that any unilateral action is firmly rejected by the Quartet and shall not be recognized by the international community as peace negotiations and commitments can only be followed through with unilateral agreements. Moreover, the report includes comments on the issues of violence and incitement, settlement expansion, land designations, and denial of Palestinian development as well as the Gaza Strip and Palestinian Government. [130]

➢ <u>Violence and incitement</u>

The report states that the ongoing violence against civilians are, to a large degree, not in line with a peaceful two-state solution, and are leading to a gap of trust between communities. The document takes in to considerations the rather recent outbursts of violence in 2015 with regard to attacks by Palestinians against Israelis, leaving people killed in the area of the West Bank. Terrorists are often glorified for their 'sacrifices' and celebrated as 'heroic martyrs'. Social media, so the Middle East Quartet report, plays a

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[129] EEAS (2017) Report of the Middle East Quartet. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160701_03_en.htm
[130] Cf. EEAS (2017) Report of the Middle East Quartet. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160701_03_en.htm

large role in the incitement of terrorist attacks. However, the Quartet reported a decline in attacks in the year 2016 due to efforts of the Palestinian Authority Security Forces. [131]

> ➢ Settlement Expansion, land designations, and denial of Palestinian development

The Quartet reflects on the ongoing issues such as settlement expansion, land designations and denial of Palestinian development as reasons for eroding the viability of the two-state solution and essentially, preventing the conflict from ending. They question Israel's long-term intention due to statements made by Israeli minsters (names of Israeli ministers are not mentioned in the report) with regard to denying Palestine's statehood. [132]

> ➢ The Gaza Strip and Palestinian Governance

"The illicit arms buildup and militant activity by Hamas [133], the lack of control of Gaza by the Palestinian Authority, and the dire humanitarian situation, exacerbated by the closures of the crossings, feed instability and ultimately impede efforts to achieve a negotiated solution." [134] The report mentions the prevention of the use of territory for terrorist attacks against Israelis as a key element to the peace process in order to achieve security for the population. [135]

The Quartet concludes their report with ten recommendations including reducing tensions by avoiding provocative actions and preventing violence. Moreover, Israelis should cease the policy of settlement construction and expansion as well as end Palestinian development. In addition to that they should encourage positive policy shifts and make progress in areas such as water, housing, natural resources and energy. With regard to recommendations for Palestinians, the Quartet suggests that their leadership should continue in their efforts to strengthen their institutions, develop a strong and sustainable economy as well as improve their governance. In terms of the Gaza Strip and

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[131] Cf. EEAS (2017) Report of the Middle East Quartet. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160701_03_en.htm
[132] Ibid.
[133] Hamas is a group formed in the 1987 at the beginning of the first Palestinian intifada.
[134] EEAS (2017) Report of the Middle East Quartet. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160701_03_en.htm
[135] Cf. EEAS (2017) Report of the Middle East Quartet. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160701_03_en.htm

the West Bank the Quartet recommends a single, legitimate and democratic Palestinian authority that is in line with the rule of law. This should also include control of armed personnel and weapons. Both parties should immediately ceasefire and foster a climate of tolerance and peace. Any steps taken to undermine a peaceful two-state solution should, according to the report, be reversed. [136]

In a recent speech (July 2016) the High Representative on behalf of the EU commented on the February 2016 Middle East Quartet Report by saying that the EU is willing to work with both Israel as well as Palestine and other stakeholders for a successful MEPP and two-state solution. Moreover, The EU welcomes the report and its contributions as well as recommendations. She also states that the Union is urged to express concern at the current trends and is committed to work hard on progressing peace negotiations.[137]

The European Council has issued a number of conclusions concerning the Middle East Peace Process. The most recent one (at the time of the writing process of this respective thesis) was published on 20 June 2016 and goes as follows:

> "In line with previous Council Conclusions on the Middle East Peace Process, and in close coordination with the Quartet - in anticipation of its forthcoming report and recommendations, the EU continues to work with its Israeli and Palestinian counterparts, all other relevant stakeholders in the region and beyond, towards a two-state solution. Both parties to the conflict need to demonstrate, through policies and actions, a genuine commitment to a peaceful solution in order to rebuild mutual trust and create conditions for direct and meaningful negotiations aiming at ending the occupation that began in 1967, and resolving all permanent status issues;

> In that context, the Council welcomes the Joint Communiqué on the Middle East peace initiative adopted at the Ministerial meeting in Paris on 3 June 2016. The

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[136] Cf. EEAS (2016). http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160701_03_en.htm
[137] Cf. EEAS (2016). http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/07/08-declaration-eu-quartet-report/?utm_source=dsms-auto&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Declaration+by+the+High+Representative+on+behalf+of+the+European+Union+on+the+Middle+East+Quartet+report

Council reiterates its support for a just, sustainable and comprehensive resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and peace and stability in the region.

> ➢ The EU is determined, alongside other international and regional partners, to bring a concrete and substantial contribution to a global set of incentives for the parties to make peace with a view to an international conference planned to be held before the end of the year. To that end, the Council invites the Commission and the EEAS to present proposals, including on economic incentives, without delay. The Council also reaffirms the European proposal, as endorsed in the Council Conclusions of December 2013, of an unprecedented package of political, economic and security support to be offered to and developed with both parties in the context of a final status agreement." [138]

Many other resolutions and press texts concerning the Middle East Crisis itself have been issued. All resolutions are published in the Official Journal of the European Union. As the crisis in the Middle East is one of the most present issues on the EU agenda, there is a constant flow of statements by the European Council that are important but are not dealt with in this paper distinctively.

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[138] Consilium (2016). http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/06/20-fac-conclusions-mepp/

5 Perspectives for the future and conclusion

As Federica Mogherini has stated in her foreword in an EEAS statement in June 2016:

> "'Global' is not just intended in a geographical sense: it also refers to the wide array of policies and instruments the Strategy promotes. It focuses on military capabilities and anti-terrorism as much as on job opportunities, inclusive societies and human rights. It deals with peace-building and the resilience of States and societies, in and around Europe. The European Union has always prided itself on its soft power – and it will keep doing so, because we are the best in this field […] our interests are indeed common European interests: the only way to serve them is by common means. This is why we have a collective responsibility to make our Union a stronger Union […] a Union that builds on the success of 70 years of peace; a Union with the strength to contribute to peace and security in the whole world." [139]

The European Union has by no means been a project that can look back at a 100% success rate. It had to overcome many milestones, failures and bumps on the road in order to become what it is today, namely an international actor with a strong voice, which feels responsible for contributing to peace and stability all over the world. This can be observed to a great extend when it comes to the Middle East Peace Process.

Therefore, this conclusion may also refer back to the research question stated at the beginning of this paper:

> ➢ What are the foreign policy actions of the European Union and are they in line with its peace process objective of a two-state solution in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

The author argues, that the European Union has a broad spectrum of foreign policy actions that are in line with their two-state solution for the MEPP. These include, for instance, financial aid for the region, support for refugees and close cooperation with other international actors by offering either advice or by holding membership (UN, Middle East Quartet etc.). Moreover, the European Union provides both political as well as soft

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[139] European Union (2016). http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/EUGS.pdf, pp. 3-4.

power measures to resolve the conflict in the Middle East. In addition to that, the EU has repeatedly updated its foreign policy apparatus in terms of creating a better-functioning role of the High Representative as well as a Special Representative to the Middle East Crisis. These steps have proved themselves to be an important part of the MEPP.

The European Union has become a respectable international actor in terms of its foreign policy and soft power matters. Reports have shown, that the EU is perceived as a strong international actor with a loud voice in the global spectrum. (see chapter 4.1). However, a construction such as the European Union may only gain a stronger voice by becoming more and more powerful. Hence, it could be argued and criticized that the European Union has gradually become a 'super state', gaining more and more control over its Member States. Moreover, the European Union has had difficulties in reaching consent in not only their foreign policy matters. This is due to the fact, that the interests of its 28 MS vary greatly, which makes it very difficult to reach consensus. This can be observed in great detail in the current refugee situation in Europe. Millions displaced people from the Middle East, Africa etc. have been arriving since roughly September 2015 and the European Union has yet to come to a conclusion as to how to deal with the migration flow.

However, the EU does speak with one voice when it comes to its foreign policy measures in the MEPP. In terms of their capabilities to fund, coordinate and act (as introduced by Whitman and Wolff) the European Union has proved itself to be an organized and capable international actor. For example, as reported in this paper, the EU is the largest donor of aid for Palestinians. Thousands of displaced Palestinians receive health care, education etc. due to EU funded organizations and camps. Moreover, the EU provides special representatives for the Middle East Peace Process that coordinate the foreign policies, observe elections, assist in peace negotiations etc.

Together with other international players, such as the US, the EU has undergone many important foreign policy steps towards their two-state solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts and has maintained their foreign policy measures in line with their objective. These important steps include the Middle East Quartet Membership, UN resolutions, the strengthening of the role of the High Representative under the Lisbon Treaty and her

diplomatic efforts, inviting both Israeli and Palestinian leaders to Brussels encourage peace negotiations and engage in conversations etc.

Moreover, when considering Saunders' theoretical work on peace processes and what they are, the European Union has gained more and more importance in the negotiating process of the MEPP. Despite the fact the Union has not been involved to a great deal in the beginning of the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts – also due to the reason that the EU was still in its baby steps in terms of development and members etc. – it has been an undeniably important international actor in terms of their foreign policy actions concerning the MEPP in terms of funding, humanitarian aid, soft power laws as well as its role in peace negotiations over the course of time. Both the Israeli as well as Palestinian leaders have welcomed the EU efforts during their visits in Brussels and expressed their gratitude during the difficult MEPP.

In addition to that, the European Union and its institutions officials have constantly made great efforts to invite leaders of both regions, Israel and Palestine, to Brussels (and other places) to hear both voices and sides to stories. This is an important step to reach a two-state solution, as it is not favorable to negotiate with only one of the conflict partners. The European Union has largely avoided taking sides with either Israel or Palestine. However, breaches of international law, such as human rights violations, were and still are not tolerated.

In terms of future perspectives, the author believes that the European Union will remain a strong international player, not only in the MEPP. The Syria conflict, struggles on the African continent as well as Asia and South-America (and other regions) will challenge the European Union to act and support in whatever way they can. The author also holds the opinion that it is very likely that the European Union will remain strong in its soft power policies rather than undergo military measures. Their cooperation with the UN will likely be one of the key memberships the EU holds, together with its membership in the NATO. In addition to that, the question of whether and when Great Britain exits the European Union will possibly lead to temporary challenges for the European Union and challenges the foreign policy system that will have to adapted to the new situation. However, the European Union has always had a strong political agenda in terms of humanitarian aid and conflict solution and will likely remain working effortlessly on support-

ing people with the Union's citizenship and those who seek help from outside the Union's borders.

As Federica Mogherini stated in a speech on 3 June 2016 in Paris: "I am from a generation - like so many other Europeans and Arabs and Israelis - that was living in the conviction that Oslo would have opened up a time for peace for all of us. Today we see that this perspective is seriously, seriously, put at risk. This is why we in the European Union are convinced that there is a need for the regional actors and international community to come together and try to facilitate talks, serious talks between the parties on the two-state solution. We still don't see any other options for peace than the two states". [140]

Whether one holds a European nationality or calls himself/herself Arab or Israeli, reaching a peaceful solution (two-sate, one-state or other solutions) for the region to end the conflict permanently in order to guarantee people a safe and happy life, should be the highest priority for any international player – no matter how loud and influential their voice might be.

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[140] EEAS (2016). https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/5052_fr

6 Abstract

The European Union has had a long history of conflict management ever since its existence. It has gained a strong international voice over the past decades and has been an important partner in many peace negotiations. One of the European Union's highest priorities as an international actor is ending the conflict in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine and reaching a peaceful, long-term two-state solution for the region. This paper seeks to investigate, what foreign policy actions the European Union undergoes and whether they are in line with their goal of reaching a two-state solution. In order to answer this question, the author provides a detailed overview of the European Foreign Policy system as well as a description of the Middle East conflict. Moreover, this paper includes a number of key documents and summits that were essential for the Middle East Peace Process as well as the current status of the European Union's relationship with both the regions of Israel and Palestine.

Die Europäische Union kann auf eine lange Geschichte von Konfliktbewältigung seit ihrer Entstehung zurückblicken. Die Union hat die letzten Jahrzehnte eine starke internationale Stimme entwickelt und hat sich als wichtiger Partner in Friedensverhandlungen herausgestellt. Eine der höchsten Prioritäten der Europäischen Union als internationale Akteurin, ist das Beenden des Konflikts im Mittleren Osten zwischen Israel und Palästina und das Erreichen einer langanhaltenden Zwei-Staaten-Lösung für die Region. Diese Master-These hinterfragt, welche außenpolitische Maßnahmen die Europäische Union setzt und ob diese parallel zu der Zwei-Staaten-Lösung vollzogen werden. Um dies zu gewährleisten, stellt die Autorin dieser Master-These einen detaillierten Überblick des europäischen Außenpolitiksystems zur Verfügung sowie eine Beschreibung des Konfliktes im Mittleren Osten. Zudem beinhaltet diese Master-These eine Anzahl an Schlüsseldokumenten und wichtigen Gipfeltreffen, die für den Friedensprozess im Mittleren Osten essentiell waren und sind. Auch über die derzeitige Beziehung zwischen der Europäischen Union zu Israel und Palästina wird reflektiert.

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