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007

**The EU: An International Agent in
Palestine?**

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Politics

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New Zealand

Katherine Lyons

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To my father,
who once gave me
an apostrophe-on-a-stick.

Abstract

This thesis examines the ability of the European Union (EU) to impact on the Palestinian people and their institutions. Before using the formal concept of actorness to examine the extent of this impact, it presents a model of actorness that synthesises aspects of Bretherton and Vogler's and Sjösjedt's models. It uses the components of this model as a series of lenses through which to focus on and examine various facets of the EU's influence. The analysis deals with diplomacy, aid, and the effects of the unexpected Hamas victory in the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) elections. The thesis finds that the EU's early lack of diplomatic direction improved for a period but was limited by its consistent inability to have an effect if it ignored the US. In the field of aid, the EU has been a more successful actor. However, the EU's best efforts in these spheres have been undone by two EU blunders. First, it classified Hamas as a terrorist organisation and subsequently felt unable to provide aid to a Hamas-run government. Second it joined the Quartet in the hope of increasing its own diplomatic clout, but found that it had given the US the opportunity to erode its ability to act as an independent financial agent.

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Chronology

1948	May	Israeli-Arab War/Declaration of Israeli State
1951	April	'Inner Six' Treaty of Paris forms European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
1957	March	Treaty of Rome forms the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Agency (Euratom)
1965	July	Brussels Treaty merges the ECSC and Euratom under EEC governance (known as the EC)
1967	June	Israeli-Arab war (Six Day War)
	July	Brussels Treaty comes into effect
	November	UNSCR 242
1970	November	European Political Cooperation (EPC) launched
1971		First EC joint position on the Middle East
		EC begins funding UNRWA
1972		UN resolution stating that recognising the Palestinians' rights was essential to any Arab-Israeli peace settlement
1973	January	UK, Ireland and Denmark join the EC
	October	6th: Arab-Israeli war (October War) 15th: Arab oil embargo of Israeli supporters 22nd: UNSCR 338
1974	June	12 th PNC: PLO acceptance of a two-state solution
1976	January	Election of US President Jimmy Carter
1977	June	European Council agrees that Palestinians should have homeland
1978	September	Camp David Accords
1979	March	Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty
1980	June	Venice Declaration

1981	January	Greece joins the EC
1982	June	Israeli invasion of Lebanon
1986	January	Spain and Portugal join the EC
1987	December	First Intifada begins
1988	November	19th PNC announced readiness to negotiate with Israel and renounced terrorism
1991	October	Madrid Conference Israel's Closure Policy Introduced
1992	February	Maastricht Treaty agrees on formation of the EU
1993	September	Signing of the Oslo Accords
	November	Maastricht Treaty comes into effect - EU comes into existence
	December	The first donor conference on police aid
1995	January	Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU
	September	Oslo II
	November	Barcelona Conference and establishment of EMP
	November	Assassination of Israel's Labour Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin
1996	May	Benjamin Netanyahu's election
	November	Luxembourg declaration
	December	Creation of the post of EUSR
	December	Arab nations drop support for multilateral working groups
1997	January	Hebron Protocol
	July	EU-PLO interim association agreement
	October	Treaty of Amsterdam
1999	October	Wye River Memorandum
	April	Berlin Declaration: Call for Palestinian State
	June	ESDP officially launched Javier Solana appointed High Representative to CFSP

2000	
June	EU-Israel Association Agreement
June	European Council Common Strategy on the Mediterranean Region
July	Camp David II
September	Second Intifada begins
2001	
January	Taba Peace Conference
February	Nice Treaty
February	Ariel Sharon elected
September	11 September Attacks on US US declares war on 'Terror' Bush: "either you're with us, or with the terrorists"
October	US Invasion of Afghanistan
2002	
April	Formation of the Middle East Quartet
June	Seville declaration
September	Quartet Roadmap
2003	
March	US Invasion of Iraq
March	ENP outlined
September	EU adds Hamas to terrorist list
2004	
May	Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia, plus the Mediterranean islands of Malta and Cyprus join the EU
November	Mahmoud 'Abbas made Prime Minister after Yasser Arafat dies
December	EU-Israel and EU-PA Action Plan
2005	
January	EU COPPS established
November	EUPOL COPPS & EUBAM Rafah established
2006	
January	Hamas election victory EUPOL COPPS deployed
March	Boycott of PA
June	Hamas kidnaps Gilad Shalit
2007	
January	Romania and Bulgaria join the EU
June	Fatah-Hamas Government Collapse Hamas takes Gaza
July	Funding to Fatah-led PA resumed
2008	
July	EPM re-launched as Union for the Mediterranean
December	Israel launches Operation Cast Lead
2009	
June	US President Barak Obama insists Palestine has right to exist Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu admits possibility of 'two state solution'

Abbreviations

ACRS	Arms Control and Regional Security multilateral working group
AHLC	Ad Hoc Liaison Committee for assistance to the Palestinian People
AMA	Agreement on Movement and Access
AU	African Union
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJHA	Cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs
COTER	Counter Terrorism Programme
DoP	Declaration of Principles
EAD	Euro-Arab Dialogue
EC	European Community
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office
ECTAO	European Commission Technical Assistance Office
EEA	European Economic Area
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESF	Executive Support Force
EU	European Union
EUBAM Rafah	EU Border Assistance Mission at Rafah
EU COPPS	European Union Coordinating Office for Palestine Police Support
EUPOL COPPS	EU Police Mission for the Palestinian Territories
EUSR	EU Special Representative
EWG	Environmental Working Group
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICA	Israeli Civil Administration
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisations
IR	International Relations
MC	Monitoring Committee
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEDA	Mesures d'Accompagnement Programme
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MPC	Mediterranean Partnership Countries
MWG	Multilateral Working Group

MWGWR	Multilateral Working Group on Water Resources
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NSF	National Security Force
OAPEC	Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PA	Palestinian Authority
PBC	Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation
PDRP	Palestinian Authority Development and Reform Plan
PEGASE	Mécanisme Palestino-Européen de Gestion de l'Aide Socio-Economique
PISGA	Palestine Interim Self-Governing Authority
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PNC	Palestine National Council
PSF	Preventative Security Force
REDWG	Regional Economic and Development Working Group
RWG	Refugee Working Group
SWG/Institution Building	Sectoral Working Group on Institution Building
SWG/Police	Sectoral Working Group on Police
SWG	Sectoral Working Group
TFPR	Task Force for Palestinian Reform
TIM	Temporary International Mechanism
TIPH	Temporary International Mission in Hebron
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UNSCO	United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
US	United States
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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