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**THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN ISRAELI – PALESTINIAN
CONFLICT (2017 – 2021)**

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SANTRAUKA

Europos Sąjungos deklaracijos numato diplomatinį Izraelio ir Palestinos konflikto sprendimą. Diplomatine rezoliucija apima diplomatiškas ir ekonomines priemones naudojimą, tarptautinės teisės laikymąsi, taip pat žydų ir palestiniečių apsisprendimo teisių svarstymą. Nepaisant to, kad Palestinos ir Izraelio vyriausybių pareigūnų derybos su ES yra vienas iš geriausių būdų pasiekti tam tikrą rezultatą regione, šiame moksliniame darbe atlikta analizė rodo didelį atotrūkį tarp deklaruojamo Europos Sąjungos politinio vaidmens. ir jo tikrasis. Kitaip tariant, koncentravimasis į Izraelio ir Palestinos konflikto teisinę bazę, o ne į tarptautinę teisę ir žmogaus teises, rimtai kenkia diplomatinės taikos su ES tarpininkavimu regione įgyvendinimui.

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ABSTRACT

Declarations of the European Union envisage diplomatic resolution of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. The diplomatic resolution includes the use of diplomatic and economic tools, compliance with international law, as well as considering the rights for self-determination of Jews and Palestinians. Despite the fact that conducting negotiations of the Palestine and Israeli government officials with the EU is one of the ultimate ways of achieving piece in the region, the analysis, conducted in this research paper shows the significant gap between the declared political role of the European Union and its actual one. In other words, concentrating on the legal framework of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, rather than on the international law and human rights seriously undermines the realization of the diplomatic peace with the EU mediation in the region.

Keywords: European Union; Israel; Palestine; conflict; Constructivism

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
IR	International Relations
AP	Action Plan
MFA	Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MS	European Union Member State
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OPT	Occupied Palestinian territory
PM	Prime Minister
UN	United Nations
US	United States

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INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the topic. Being considered as the main cause of political instability and constant armed conflicts in the Middle East, Israeli – Palestinian conflict initially was a local dispute between Israeli and Palestinian population on the ground of Palestinian and Israeli historical affiliation. The Israeli - Palestinian conflict was inherited from the era of the bipolar world and has firmly entered the modern system of international relations. It can be described as an ethno-territorial conflict between two ethnic groups - the Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews. Yet, the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 fueled the engaging of the number of Arabic countries in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. The intransigence of the parties caused the vain of the negotiations, held in 2013. As the Middle East is one of the key directions in the modern world politics, the relevance of the topic is due to the need to research the development of the international relations in the region, as well as the negotiation role of the European Union in the peacemaking process. Besides, the chosen topic is relevant due to the fact that the Israeli – Palestinian conflict still remains unresolved. As for Israel in particular, the resolution of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict guarantees the security of the state. The resolution of this conflict is of an utmost importance because its further development will have a significant impact not only on the political destiny of Middle East, but also on the world community.

Novelty. Despite Israeli – Palestinian conflict was previously scrutinized by the various scholars, the topic chosen for this Master thesis researches the ongoing crisis and the current negotiation role of EU in resolving this conflict. The negotiation role of the European Union is examined in accordance with 2017 – 2021-time period.

Object of the thesis. The object of the research is the activities of the EU in relation to the Israeli - Palestinian conflict for the period of 2017 – 2021.

Subject of the thesis. The subject of the research is the specific foundations, forms of implementation and results of the EU policy on the resolution of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict.

The main research problem. The main research problem of the thesis is the necessity to apply the instruments and theoretical framework of constructivism to explain the results brought by the European Union as a negotiator to the Israeli – Palestinian conflict during the period from 2017 to 2020 in the context of political involvement of such actors as USA, Russian Federation, and the UN, with a strong emphasis on the international human rights law. Ultimately, studies advocate

specific grounds, forms of implementation and results of the EU policy to resolve the Israeli - Palestinian conflict.

The aim of the thesis. To establish the peculiarities of the formation, content and effectiveness of the EU policy on the settlement of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict as an example of its activities in relation to conflicts.

Research Objectives:

1. To analyze the benefits of constructivism theory for explanation of the processes going on in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict with the negotiation role of the EU.
2. To clarify the position of the European Union on the main political aspects of resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, its role in determining the political parameters of this process and the problem of influencing them.
3. To analyze the prehistory of Israeli – Palestinian conflict with the focus on the negotiation role of European Union before 2017.
4. To discuss the factors that affected the political behavior and contribution of the European Union in resolving of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.
5. To find the similarities and differences between the negotiation role of the European Union with the other parties, such as USA and Russian Federation during 2017 - 2021.

Research Tasks:

1. To describe the factors that affected the political behavior of the EU in resolving of Israeli – Palestinian conflict.
2. To analyze the official and unofficial discourse of the EU in the context of Israeli – Palestinian conflict, as well as the document content analysis.
3. To name goals and far going aims of EU foreign and security policy in the Middle East.

Methodology. While analyzing the negotiation role of the EU in Israeli – Palestinian conflict during 2017 – 2021:

Document content analysis:

1. Documents of the EU and its member states:
 - Fundamental agreements.
 - Documents of EU bodies.
 - Documents adopted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States of the European Communities in the framework of European Political Cooperation.
 - Speeches, reports, articles, interviews, letters, books by politicians and public figures of the EU and its member states.
 - Reference materials, newsletters, press releases from the official EU websites.
2. Documents agreed by the Human Rights Council, UN Security Council Authority, United Nations Human Rights Council, The Arab Peace Initiative, United Nations, as well as Security Council Resolutions.
3. Documents related to the course of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict:
 - Annual Reports of United Nations Human Rights Council
 - Fatah– Hamas Reconciliation Agreement of October 2017
 - Speeches, reports, articles, books by politicians and public figures of Israel, Palestine, other countries, UN representatives.

Official discourse – While analysing the negotiation role of the European Union in Israeli – Palestinian conflict there were considered the interviews of governmental officials, i.e. former EU High Representative Federica Mogherini, Israeli prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, former President of the United States Donald Trump, President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin etc. The information was derived from such official sources, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Palestine, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, official webpage of the European Union etc.

Unofficial discourse - In this research there were analyzed such books as ‘Social Theory of International Politics’ published by Alexander Wendt, ‘Collective Identity Formation and the International State. Source: The American Political Science Review’, which help to understand

the concept of Constructivism and its relation to the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. In addition, there were analyzed such articles as ‘The relations among Israel, Europe, and the Palestinian Authority’ published by Mohamed A. Ali, ‘The end of Oslo: a new european strategy on Israel – palestine’ published by Hugh Lovatt and so on.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

1.1. The concept of constructivism in International Relations

Although the Constructivism notion was at first presented in IR by Nicholas Onuf in 1989, this research paper elaborates on IR theory of Constructivism in accordance with Alexander Wendt, who wrote a number of academic articles and a book (1987; 1992; 1994; 1995; 1999). According to Wendt, the neorealist approach, where the anarchy always leads to self – help, must be rejected, since it solely depends on the international relations between states. As a result, each state creates its own identities, so that these identities and interests are not given apriori, and interests and the actions of the states are conditioned by them¹. Besides, being a social theory, Constructivism in the Wendt interpretation considers the structures of human associations a cultural phenomenon, rather than a materialistic one. In other words, although the material aspect is undeniable, as well as the fact that human beings are the deliberate actors, they remain within the ideational frame of identity and interests that stipulate these humans’ participation in the international system². Constructivism has following claims:

4. States stand at the core of the international theory of politics and are considered as the principal units of it.
5. The state system consists of the inter-subjective rather than material main structures.
6. The state identities of and interests are shaped by the social constructions. In other words, the state identities and interests are neither created by human nature, nor by domestic

¹ Jackson,R.,Sorensen, G. (2007). Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches. Published by OXFORD University Press. Page 168. Retrieved from <http://web.pdx.edu/~noordijk/constructivism/constructivism.pdf>

² Wendt, A (1999). Social Theory of International Politics. Published by CAMBRIDGE University Press. Page 193. Retrieved from <http://www.guillaumenicaise.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Wendt-Social-Theory-of-International-Politics.pdf>

politics, as claimed by the neorealists and neoliberalists respectively³.

The Wendt's interpretation of Constructivism implies that some actors are attached meanings by the other actors and are treated by them in accordance with this meaning. In other words, the international political structure political environment where states interact is both material and socially constructed. Social practices often "reproduce the intersubjective meanings that constitute social structures and actors alike"⁴. According to John Gerard Ruggie, when the actors determine a social factor, it "influences their subsequent social behavior"⁵ (John Gerard Ruggie). In other words, agents and structures are mutually dependent rather than autonomous. The ultimate difference between Constructivism and Realism is the constructivist accent on norms. Besides, the states have coherent goals and developing strategies to achieve them, as well as they do not rely on the national societies and domestic forces⁶.

Norms and State Behavior

State Behavior and International Norms "Mutually Constituted"

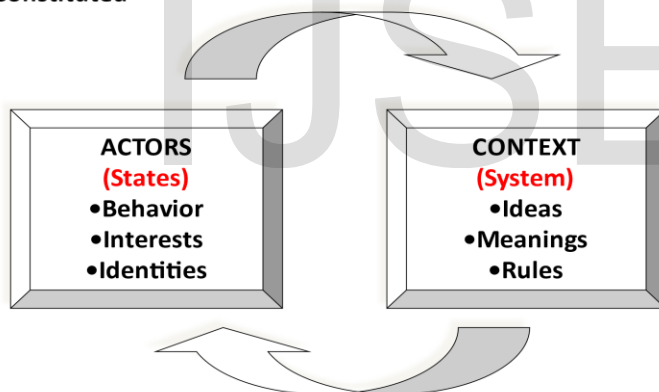


Table 1. Norms and State behavior. Picture from eClass <https://eclass.uoa.gr › file.php › κοινοσκευακιβισμοσ>

³ Wendt, A (1994). Collective Identity Formation and the International State. Source: The American Political Science Review, Vol. 88, No. 2. Published by American Political Science Association. Page 385. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/2944711?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

⁴ Hopf, Ted. (1998). The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory. International Security, 23 (1). Published by the MIT press. Page 178. Retrieved from <http://www.maihold.org/mediapool/113/1132142/data/Hopf.pdf>

⁵ Ruggie, J. G. (1998). What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge. International Organization, 52 (4). Published online by Cambridge University Press. Page 858. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/libalt/journals/swetsfulltext/5333872.pdf>

⁶ Grieco, Joseph M. (1997). Realist International Theory and the Study of World Politics. In M. W. Doyle, & G. J. Ikenberry, New Thinking in International Relations Theory. Pp. 163 – 201. Retrieved from ADA University Library

Defining the identities and interests of Constructivism, Wendt articulates that the identity is a subjective viewpoint of the international actors that shapes their behavioral disposition, since the identity is grounded in their self – understanding. Thus, the “inter-subjective or systemic” view, which creates identity and the construction by both “internal and external structures” (i.e., self and others) emerges from the identity concept, described above. In addition, Alexander Wendt divides the identity concept into four kinds: (1) personal or corporate, (2) type, (3) role, and (4) collective⁷ (Alexander Wendt). The personal/incorporate kind of identity implies the so-called ‘isolation’ of ‘self’ from the group. The personal or corporate identities exist exogenous/independently from that ‘other’. Type identity in the international system implies the types of states regimes, such as democratic, authoritative, communistic, capitalistic, and theocratic ones. The role identity is determined by the culture and expectations, which existence depends on the relations with the others. Finally, the collective identity is based on the blurring of the notions of ‘self’ and ‘others’, so that these two identities are incorporated under a single one. According to Wendt, ‘other’ is partially configured into ‘self’, which brings such positive result, as the philanthropic behavior⁸.

1.2. The limitations of Constructivism

The Instructor of English as a Foreign Language, School of Science and Technology, Kwansai Gakuin University Robert Dormer in his research paper discusses the limitations of Constructivism, based on the various academic articles and books of such scholars, as Keohane, Mearsheimer, Campbell etc. When it comes to the empirical research, the constructivism was criticized for lacking the concrete research agenda⁹. Yet, the use of core Constructivist topics has assisted in studying the power, culture and even the boundaries of moral possibility. The neorealist criticism considers the earlier constructivist analysis of rationalist positions as noticeably missing the descriptions of mechanisms that simplify the empirical support of the neorealist models, neither

⁷ Wendt, A (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Published by CAMBRIDGE University Press. Page 224. Retrieved from <http://www.guillaumenicaise.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Wendt-Social-Theory-of-International-Politics.pdf>

⁸ Ibid, pp. 224 – 229.

⁹ Keohane, R (1988). *International Institutions: Two Approaches*. *International Studies Quarterly* 32(4), pp.379-380. Retrieved from https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/161137/mod_resource/content/1/Keohane%201988%20-%20International%20Institutions%20-%20two%20approaches.pdf

it has the compelling reasons of the rise and fall of discourses¹⁰. Hence, according to Copeland, despite the fact that the explanation of constructivism has brought a significant impact on the International Relations, especially in terms of giving the deep explanation of state-as-actor, challenging the dominant neorealist paradigm, and thus, ultimately setting a higher standard in IR in terms of involvedness/quality of systemic theorizing¹¹. Dormer sees the main aspects of neorealism – constructivism conflict in the absence of compelling explanation of identity formation, the absence of critics of realist concept of ambiguity, the lack of explanation of the concept of norms and their functioning, as well as the issue of whether “‘cultures of anarchy’ as three, apparently modal states is a sustainable observation”¹² (Robert Dormer). Besides, according to Jack Snyder, despite constructivism is able to describe are good at describing it fails in considering the institutional and material conditions that are needed for maintaining the of consensus about new ideas and values¹³.

1.3. The application of Constructivism to the Israeli – Palestinian conflict

The international political arena is characterized by the explanation of the role of human awareness in depiction of various problems and conflicts by the Constructivism. Hence, the human capacity and the respective people’s will are properly applied for nurturing a deliberate approach and emphasizing the importance of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.¹⁴ According to Mehrzad Javadikouchaksaraei, Mohammad Reevany Bustami, Azeem Fazwan Ahmad Farouk & Ali Akbar Ramazaniandarzi, “Constructivism seizes the middle ground because it is interested in understanding how the material, subjective and intersubjective worlds interact in the social construction of reality, and because, rather than focusing exclusively on how structures constitute agents’ identities and interests, it also seeks to explain how individual agents socially construct

¹⁰ Dormer, R (2017). The Impact of Constructivism on International Relations Theory: A History. Published by Kwansai Gakuin University Social Sciences Review. Pp. 59 – 60. Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/151651418.pdf>

¹¹ Copeland, C (2000). The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay. International Security, Vol. 25, No. 2. Published by The MIT Press. Pp. 196 – 199. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/2626757?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

¹² Dormer, R (2017). The Impact of Constructivism on International Relations Theory: A History. Published by Kwansai Gakuin University Social Sciences Review. Page 60. Retrieved from ADA University Library

¹³ Snyder, J. One World, Rival Theories. Published on 26.10.2009. Accessed on 15.12.2021. published by FP Portal. Retrieved from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/26/one-world-rival-theories/>

¹⁴ US and EU Approaches Towards Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Published by All Answers Ltd. Published on November 2018. Accessed on 08.12.2021. Retrieved from <https://ukdiss.com/examples/israeli-palestinian.php?vref=1>.

these structures in the first place”¹⁵ (Mehrzad Javadikouchaksaraei, Mohammad Reevany Bustami, Azeem Fazwan Ahmad Farouk & Ali Akbar Ramazaniandarzi).

Considering the fact that Constructivism implies the people are socially identified by the social environment, both ethno-religious people and those who converted into Judaism are considered Jewish, i.e., the birth factor per se is not of ultimate importance. Besides, according to Javadikouchaksaraei, as Constructivism implies the research, establishment and understanding the social reality, the Israeli – Palestinian conflict was fueled by the emergence of the Palestinian identity because of the presence of Jewish immigrants. In other words, in case of potential threat of one group of people to another one the proves are needed¹⁶.

When it comes to the role of European Union in the Israeli - Palestinian conflict, Wendt argues that as states/unions are unitary actors with an identity, it is necessary for them to have a common identity if they pretend to function as actors in international arena. According to Katzenstein, although all member states of the EU are unified under the common EU – identity, this identity is related to the social norms framed by the Constructivism¹⁷. Yet, as the interests shape the international behavior of the political actors and are focused on power, the European Union pursue its interests in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict by having membership in Quartet. The constructivist frame of analysis implies the situations ought to be firstly defined by the actors and then responded by them. The conscious actors choose the most applicable behavior in a certain situation only after getting aware of a set of identities and norms. This ‘most applicable’ behavior is also appropriate for the relations amongst nations. In other words, one nation’s differentiation is characterized by the value judgements about other nations, as well as one ethnic group’s relationship with the other groups characterizes this ethnic group.

Subsequently, these relationships empower the ethnic boundaries, rather than vanish them. This constructivist argument can be observed on the example of Israeli – Palestinian conflict, i.e., the enmity between these two nations is characterized by their intensive interaction, rather than isolation. Merom argues that the perception of general attributes within the group, as well as the

¹⁵ Javadikouchaksaraei, M., Bustami, M., Farouk, A., Ramazaniandarzi, A. (2015). Published by Center for Policy Research and International Studies, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). Page 109. Retrieved from <https://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/ass/article/view/49978>

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 110.

¹⁷ Katzenstein, P. (1996). *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. Published by New York COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS. page 5. Retrieved from ADA University Library.

perception of Israeli group differentiation from the other ones shapes the Israeli identity and a bonding social tie, regardless of whether these perceptions are innate, acquired or imaginative¹⁸. The collective memories of Israeli people, such as the Holocaust, as well as ‘shared central societal beliefs’, myths and ideologies form a prism through which a society looks at the world and functionates in it. In other words, after the grave threat of Nazi the Arabs became the second ultimate threat for the Israeli people. According to Siniver, the formation of the Israeli collective identity is strongly influenced by the Israeli educational system, which provide filtered information to the young Israelis who never encountered Palestinians personally and, as a result, affect their negative perception about the Arabs¹⁹.

Thus, despite the fact that basically, identity is formed within the state as representation of the main domestic political actors about the country and its place in the world, the construction of identity is also influenced by other states, the interaction with which allows the created images, as well as the international system and norms adopted by the international community, to be tested. The matter of identity is especially important, since, according to A. Wendt, it is identity that underlies interests. When it comes to application of Constructivism to the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, it explains ‘Jewish people’ concept from the social identity standpoint, as well as the misuse of the of the Jewish community’s perceived beliefs by the elites in terms of the Constructivist analysis of the overall means and ways the political actors perceive and display the material and social world, together with the threat associated with the Palestinian identity creation due to the presence of Jewish immigrants²⁰.

¹⁸ Merom, G. (1999). Israel’s National Security and the Myth of Exceptionalism. Published by Political Science Quarterly. Retrieved from https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/psq/psq_99meg01.html

¹⁹ Siniver, A. (2012). Israeli Identities and the Politics of Threat: A Constructivist Interpretation, *Ethnopolitics*, 11:1, 24-42, DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2011.571186. pp. 31 – 32. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2011.571186>

²⁰ Javadikouchaksaraei, M., Bustami, M., Farouk, A., Ramazaniandarzi, A. (2015). Reinterpreting the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Constructivism Theory of Understanding a Cross-Ethnic Phenomena. Published by Canadian Center of Science and Education. Retrieved from <https://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/ass/article/view/49978>

2. BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE ISRAELI – PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

2.1. The general historical background

The Israeli – Palestinian conflict has its roots in 1948 after the proclaiming of the Israeli state and is considered as one of the long-lasting and severe conflicts in the world, which has not been resolved yet. Thus, "having survived several decades of wars and upheavals, the main opposing sides of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict have become involved in a complex and contradictory peace process in the Near Middle East"²¹(Константин Поляков, Ахмят Хасянов). During the last several decades there were made a number of serious attempts to settle this conflict, such as The Madrid Middle East Peace Conference October 31-November 1, 1991, with the initiative of the United States, the USSR and the UN. According to Fernando Rodriguez, the working process of the Madrid Conference implied the two – track system, according to which Israel was supposed to conduct two –front negotiations. The first front envisaged the peace deal between Israel and the Arabic community as a whole, and the second front was supposed to deal with the direct Israeli – Palestinian negotiation process. In addition, The United States was appointed a mediator between the conflicting parties²². Despite the fact that the level of trust and commitment that was achieved by the United States during The Madrid Middle East Peace Conference was unprecedentedly high, and the Madrid Conference created the fertile ground for peace negotiations between Israel and Palestine, it failed to bring the positive result in terms of diplomatic resolve of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict. Ultimately, the reason for that fail was the high level of distrust between the participating parties which subsequently undermined the whole work process²³.

²¹Поляков К. И., Хасянов А.Ж. Палестинская Национальная Автономия: опыт государственного строительства. – М., 2001, с. 5. Retrieved from http://book.iimes.su/wp-content/uploads/2001/r2001pal_p.pdf

²² Rodriguez, F. (2011). "The 1991 Madrid Peace Conference: U.S. Efforts Towards Lasting Peace in the Middle East Between Israel and its Neighbors". Published by the University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations. 1343. Page 37. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.uno.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2327&context=td>

²³ Ibid, page 44.

2.2. Israeli - Palestinian conflict in the XX century and attempts to resolve it: the role of Oslo Accords

After the end of the First World War, in part of the territory of the disintegrated Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, a regime of government of Great Britain was formed under the mandate of the League of Nations. In April 1920, at a conference in San Remo, the Entente countries gave Great Britain a mandate to govern Palestine, which lasted from 1922 to May 15, 1948. In addition to the territory of modern Israel, the Mandate included the territories of modern Jordan, Judea and Samaria, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip²⁴. After the proclamation of Israel's independence on May 15, 1948, there appeared League of Arab States (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt), which declared war on the newly created Jewish state. "Israel had two big advantages: firstly, they were supported by the United States and the USSR, and secondly, they were supplied with one of the newest weapons of that time from Czechoslovakia." (Евгений Пырлин). The Arabs were supported only by England²⁵. During the war, Israel captured 6,700 km of Palestinian territory. After the end of the war, by decision of the UN General Assembly of 11/29/1947, it was intended for the Arab state, and the western part of Jerusalem. "The rest of Palestine, assigned to the Arab state, and the eastern part of Jerusalem were annexed by Jordan. Thus, as a result of the war, the Palestinian Arabs were unable to exercise their right to create their own state, which became a victim of Jewish extremism." During the Six Day War, the Israelis occupied the Sinai Peninsula up to the Suez Canal, which was discontinued, and occupied the Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip. Within a few days, Israel almost completely broke the resistance of the Arab troops. "After Israel's victory in the Six Day War, the Security Council adopted Resolution 237 (1967), calling on Israel to ensure the safety, well-being and security of the inhabitants of those areas where military operations took place."²⁶ (Анна Коротун).

²⁴ Коротун, А. (2017). Палестина – Израильский конфликт в XXI веке: перспективы урегулирования. Page 29. Published by Министерство образования и науки Российской Федерации ФГБОУ ВО «Уральский государственный педагогический университет» Институт социального образования Факультет международных отношений и социально-гуманитарных коммуникаций Кафедра рекламы и связей с общественностью. Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/93286786.pdf>

²⁵ Пырлин, Е.Д. 2001. 100 лет противоборства. Генезис, эволюция, современное состояние и перспективы решения палестинской проблемы. Стр. 480. ISBN: 5-8243-0024-0..

²⁶Коротун, А. (2017). Палестина – Израильский конфликт в XXI веке: перспективы урегулирования. Page 31. Published by Министерство образования и науки Российской Федерации ФГБОУ ВО «Уральский государственный педагогический университет» Институт социального образования Факультет

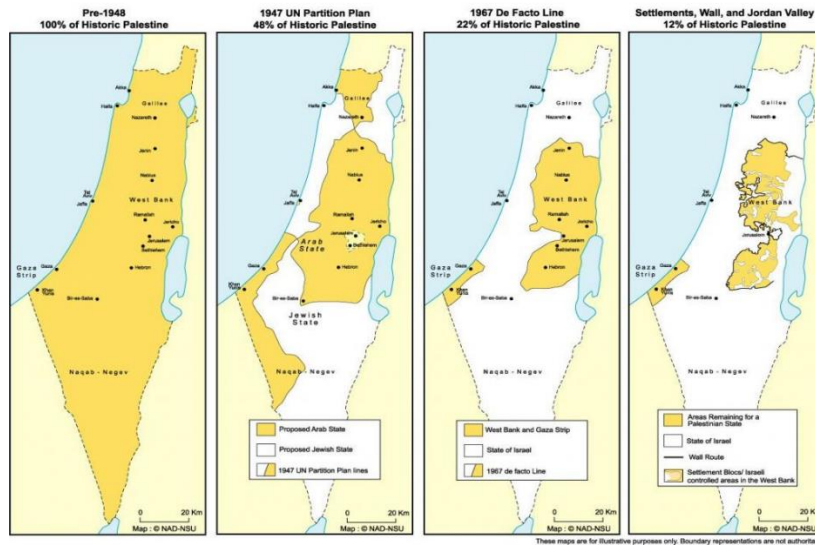


Table 1. History of Palestine – from beginning till today. Picture from <https://lifeinsaudiArabia.net/history-of-palestine-from-beginning/>

Oslo Accords - a set of two separate agreements signed by Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was One of the ultimate attempts to resolve Israeli – Palestinian conflict. According to the official site of Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the current peace process in the Middle East began with behind-the-scenes talks between Israeli and Palestinian representatives in the Norwegian capital Oslo, which led to an agreement between Foreign Minister of Israel Shimon Peres and Chairman of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Yasser Arafat. On September 9, 1993, there was a letter sent by Arafat to Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin, in which the following principles were first declared on behalf of the PLO:

- recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace and security.
- recognition of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.
- commitment to resolve the conflict peacefully.
- rejection of terrorism and other forms of violence.
- taking responsibility for the fulfillment of these obligations by all elements and structures of the PLO.
- invalidation of the Palestinian Charter clauses that deny Israel's right to exist.
- a commitment to bring the necessary amendments to the Palestinian Charter for

международных отношений и социально-гуманитарных коммуникаций Кафедра рекламы и связей с общественностью. Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/93286786.pdf>

consideration by the Palestinian National Council.

Israel's response to this letter was to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people in peace negotiations²⁷. Subsequently, the Oslo I was ratified in Washington, D.C., in 1993 and Oslo II was ratified in Taba, Egypt, in 1995²⁸. The subsequent analysis of Israeli – Palestinian conflict shows that despite the actuality of Oslo Accords, they do not play any significant role in resolving the Middle – East conflict. The aim of the Oslo I was “to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council (the "Council"), for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973)”²⁹ (Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements).

According to the Oslo II, Article I, “Israel shall transfer powers and responsibilities as specified in this Agreement from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Council in accordance with this Agreement. Israel shall continue to exercise powers and responsibilities not so transfer. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the powers and responsibilities transferred to the Council shall be exercised by the Palestinian Authority established in accordance with the Gaza-Jericho Agreement, which shall also have all the rights, liabilities and obligations to be assumed by the Council in this regard. Accordingly, the term "Council" throughout this Agreement shall, pending the inauguration of the Council, be construed as meaning the Palestinian Authority”³⁰. According to Article XIV, “Both sides shall take all measures necessary in order to prevent acts of terrorism, crime and hostilities directed against each other, against individuals falling under the other's authority and against their property and shall take legal measures against

²⁷ ДВУСТОРОННИЕ ПЕРЕГОВОРЫ. Израиль – палестинцы. Published by Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accessed on 03.11.2021. Retrieved from <https://mfa.gov.il/MFARUS/ForeignRelations/PeaceProcess/Pages/BilateralPalestinians.aspx>

²⁸ Oslo Accords. Published by History Portal. Published on 21.08.2018. accessed on 02.11.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/oslo-accords>

²⁹ Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION. Published by United Nations Peacemaker Portal. Page 4. Published on 11.10.1993. Accessed on 11.02.2021. Retrieved from https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IL%20PS_930913_DeclarationPrinciplesInterimSelf-Government%28Oslo%20Accords%29.pdf

³⁰ Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip Washington, D.C., September 28, 1995. Oslo II - The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement - English Text. Published by The Israeli – Palestinian conflict: an interactive database. Pp. 2 – 3. Accessed on 04.11.2021. retrieved from https://www.ecf.org.il/media_items/624

offenders”³¹(Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip Washington, D.C).

2.3. The historical role of EU in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict

The Israeli state was not only recognized by the myriad European Union countries in 1948, but also was hugely supported in terms of political and financial aspects, which considerable facilitated the consolidation of Israel as a country. The reason in such loyalty of the EU to Israel is rooted in the Europe’s attribute to Jewish genocide during WWII. In other words, giving land and other opportunities to the Jewish people, including survivors of the death camps, to establish their own state was the so-called historical liability of the European countries³². The European Union has the following tasks as a mediator: fight against terrorism, illegal migration, and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It is the peace agreement that will become the main condition for eliminating these threats. Also, one of the main goals of the EU is energy security - one of the important priority areas of a united Europe, which is why the EU is interested in ensuring peace in the Arab region.

Despite the fact that the European Union has always recognized the irreversible right of Israel to peacefully live within the internationally identified borders, it supports the Palestinian state as well. The analysis of the terminology, used in the general declarations of the member states depicts the transformation in the approach of European states towards the Palestinian issue. For example, the term ‘Arab refugees’ was altered to ‘Palestinians’ - people in need of their ‘homeland’ and ‘received the right to self – determination’ with the ‘the possibility of a Palestinian state’.³³ (Ismael Al - Yamani). In general, the historical analysis of the European Union’s participation in resolving Middle east conflict shows that as the EU does not represent a military power but only socio – economic one, it has not achieved any crucial success in this process. For example, the

³¹ Ibid, page 12.

³² The EU and Israel – Partnership and the weight of history. Published by Centre for European Policy Studies. Retrieved from <https://www.ceps.eu/publications/eu-and-israel-partnership-and-weight-history>. Accessed 22/06/2021.

³³ Yamani, I. (2018). The Role of the European Union in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Published by ResearchGate. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328964720_The_Role_of_the_European_Union_in_the_Israeli-Palestinian_Conflict

joining of the EU to the Quartet (United States, EU, Russia, and UN), which was created in 2003 with the purpose of facilitating the Israeli-Palestinian talks, as well as the successful adoption of a roadmap for fulfilling the two-State solution clearly depicts the strength of the EU as a diplomatic and civilian power,³⁴.

The example that shows the weakness of the EU as a military power is the fact that the EU prefers to bring social and economic support to Palestine in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict and at the same token effectively conducts the commercial relations with Israel. According to Ismael al Yamani, although the EU finances the public servants of the Palestine, the first Member of the European Parliament Jean Arthuis noted the importance of the focusing on the international business funding, rather than implementation of the big projects, which results in poor governance and coordination³⁵. The EU supported the grant of observer state status of Palestine in 2012, based on the “constructivist” approach. The organization rejects the idea of forming a single state, believing that it will be impossible to create democracy in the region³⁶.

Officially, the EU recognizes the need to comply with all international agreements and UN Resolutions Number 242 and 338 on ceasefire in Middle East. According to UN Resolution 242, there was required to withdraw Israeli troops “from territories of recent conflict,” an Arab “termination of all claims or states of belligerency,” and a recognition of the State of Israel and its “right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force”³⁷(Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967). Resolution 338 “calls upon all parties of the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the position they now occupy”, “immediately and concurrently with the ceasefire, negotiations shall start between the parties

³⁴ SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS RESOLUTION ENDORSING ROAD MAP LEADING TOWARDS TWO-STATE RESOLUTION OF ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT. Published by United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases. Accessed 04.07.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/press/en/2003/sc7924.doc.htm>

³⁵ Yamani, I. (2018). The Role of the European Union in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Published by ResearchGate. Pp. 4 – 5. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328964720_The_Role_of_the_European_Union_in_the_Israeli-Palestinian_Conflict

³⁶ Махмутова, М. (2020). Динамика Урегулирования Палестино – Израильского Конфликта (1991 — 2019 ГГ.). Published by ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ БЮДЖЕТНОЕ УЧРЕЖДЕНИЕ НАУКИ ИНСТИТУТ ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ РОССИЙСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК. Page 54. Retrieved from https://ivran.ru/sites/28/files/Tekst_dissertacii_Mahmutovoj_M.I..pdf.

³⁷ Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Middle East. Page 8. Published by UNSCR Search engine for the United Nations Security Council Resolutions. Retrieved from <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/242>

concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East”³⁸ (Resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973). Also, the European Union recognizes the Arab Peace Initiative, adopted in 2002 at Beirut Summit, according to which Israel was supposed to affirm “Full Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967, including the Syrian Golan Heights, to the June 4, 1967 lines as well as the remaining occupied Lebanese territories in the south of Lebanon”, “The acceptance of the establishment of a sovereign independent Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories occupied since June 4, 1967 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with East Jerusalem as its capital”; Arab side was supposed to “Consider the Arab-Israeli conflict ended, and enter into a peace agreement with Israel, and provide security for all the states of the region”, “ Establish normal relations with Israel in the context of this comprehensive peace”.³⁹ (The Arab Peace Initiative, 2002). The European Union recognizes the occupation of Palestine and considers the expansion of West Bank settlements unacceptable. When it comes to Jerusalem, Brussels advocates for the resolve the borders problem and the status of the Holy City only via negotiations, neither it recognizes any changes in the borders before 1967, except those agreed by both conflicting sides.

Summarizing this chapter, it is obvious that USA failed to conduct the role of an effective negotiator after The Madrid Middle East Peace Conference due to distrust issues between Israel and Palestine. Historically Israel was advantaged in terms of USSR and USA support, as well as the weapon supply from Czechoslovakia. The Oslo Accords, consisted of two sets, (Oslo I ratified in Washington, D.C., in 1993 and Oslo II ratified in Taba, Egypt, in 1995). Did not bring any results either. When it comes to the role of European Union in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict settlement, Israel received a strong financial and political support from the EU in 1948 due to the Jewish genocide in World War II. This allowed Israel to consolidate as a state. Conversely, the EU attempted to support the Israeli side of the conflict as well, which reflects in EU’s advocating against terrorism, illegal migration, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and supporting energy security. Taking the role of only socio – economic power representative and omitting the

³⁸ Resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973. Cease-fire in Middle East. Page 10. Published by UNSCR Search engine for the United Nations Security Council Resolutions. Retrieved from <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/338>

³⁹ The Arab Peace Initiative, 2002. Official translation of the full text of a Saudi-inspired peace plan adopted by the Arab summit in Beirut, 2002. Page 1. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=a5dab26d-a2fe-dc66-8910-a13730828279&groupId=268421

military one prevented the European Union from succeeding as a negotiator in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

3. NEGOTIATION ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN ISRAELI – PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

3.1. Political situation between Israel and Palestine during 2017 – 2020

According to the UN Human Rights Council, findings of the Middle East Quartet show that some Fatah members demonstrated public support the armed attacks on Israel, as well as stimulated violent clashes. The Article 35 of “Additional information pertaining to the comprehensive review on the status of recommendations addressed to all parties since 2009 with regard to the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem” (A/HRC/35/19.Add.1.) provides that Palestinian terrorists are proclaimed heroic martyrs, and media outlets turned into powerful manipulative tool in the arms of Hamas and other radical groups with the purpose of aggravating terrorism and open violence propaganda against Jewish people⁴⁰. Although the Palestinian Authority (PA) stated opposition to the violent actions against civilians, in practice it did not take any obvious actions to prevent consistent terrorist attacks. When it comes to Israel, together with Egypt it was blockading Gaza Strip during 2007 – 2017, preceded by won Palestinian elections by Hamas in 2006 and a conflict between Fatah and Hamas in 2007⁴¹.

Consistent violence against Israel, refuse to recognize the state of Israel and accepting all previous agreements between Israel and the Palestine by Hamas led to the tension of the political situation between these two states during this period. Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu in the letter to the Gaza activists with the #FreedomFlotilla of Fools Slogan condemns them in solidarity with a terror regime and articulates that despite the abovementioned activists are prohibited from reaching Gaza directly by sea, they have a right to land in Israel and send humanitarian aid to Gaza through one of the crossings. Netanyahu also mentions the legitimacy of sea blockade, i.e., the

⁴⁰ Additional information pertaining to the comprehensive review on the status of recommendations addressed to all parties since 2009 with regard to the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem* ** (6 - 23 June 2017). A/HRC/35/19.Add.1. Pp 10 - 11. Article 35. Published by UN Human Rights Council. Retrieved from <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G17/163/67/PDF/G1716367.pdf?OpenElement>

⁴¹ Ferrer, M. (2018). The War Report 2017. The armed conflict in Israel – Palestine. Page 5. Published by Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights. Retrieved from <https://www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/The%20Armed%20Conflict%20in%20Israel-Palestine.pdf>

support of UN Secretary General and international law⁴².

Israel considers the Report of the United Nations Independent Commission of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict biased, as it states that “The commission’s investigations also raise the issue of why the Israeli authorities failed to revise their policies in Gaza and the West Bank during the period under review by the commission. Indeed, the fact that the political and military leadership did not change its course of action, despite considerable information regarding the massive degree of death and destruction in Gaza, raises questions about potential violations of international humanitarian law by these officials, which may amount to war crimes. Current accountability mechanisms may not be adequate to address this issue”⁴³ (A/HRC/29/52). Israel claims that by withdrawing military troops from Gaza in 2005 and dismantling 21 Jewish settlements it refrains from occupation⁴⁴.

The armed clashes between Israel and Palestine continued during 2018. According to Aljazeera News portal, one of the hinders to productive Israeli – Palestinian negotiations is the division in Palestinian politics in the face of rival Hamas and Fattah governments due to the failure in reaching consensus in giving full control over security forces in the Gaza Strip, including the military wing of Hamas to the Palestinian Authority⁴⁵. In addition, there happened “Great March of Return” - the massive Palestinian protests against the Israeli armed forces. Ultimately, the purpose of these protests was the invoking desire of Palestinian refugees from Israel to return to the lands they lived until establishment of Israeli state in 1948. Israel has refused such right, as it potentially could make Israel lose its Jewish majority⁴⁶. Yet, due to the fact that Israel rejected such opportunity for Palestinian refugees, these protests did not bring any result. According to World Report chapter of Human Rights Watch news portal, during 2019 the human rights of Palestinian citizens were

⁴² PM Netanyahu’s Letter to the #FreedomFlotilla of Fools. June 29, 2015. Published by JewishPress.com News Portal. Accessed 06.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.jewishpress.com/news/breaking-news/pm-netanyahu-letter-to-the-freedomflotilla-of-fools/2015/06/29/>

⁴³ Report of the Independent Commission of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict -- A/HRC/29/52. Page 20, Article 78. Published by United Nations Human Rights Council. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/CoIGazaConflict/Pages/ReportCoIGaza.aspx#report>

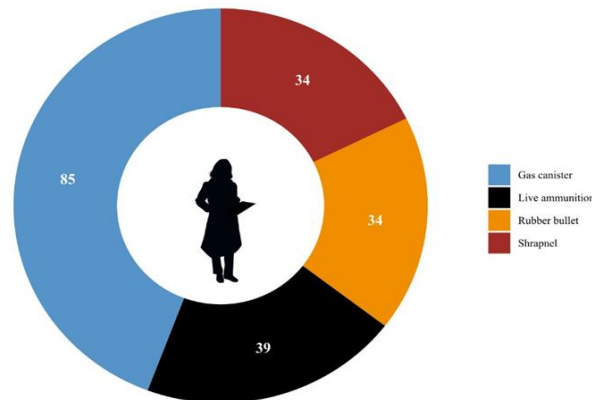
⁴⁴ Eglash, R. July 2, 2015. Does Israel actually occupy the Gaza Strip? Published by The Washington Post News Portal. Accessed on 06.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/07/02/does-israel-actually-occupy-the-gaza-strip/>

⁴⁵ The events that shook the Palestinian territories in 2018. Published by ALJAZEERA News Portal. Accessed 09.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/30/the-events-that-shook-the-palestinian-territories-in-2018>

⁴⁶ The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Through the Lens in 2018. Published by HAARETZ News Portal. Accessed 09.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/year-end/MAGAZINE-the-israeli-palestinian-conflict-through-the-lens-in-2018-1.6748985>

severely discriminated by the Israeli government by preventing the entrance people and goods into the Gaza Strip and at the same token creating the possibility for the Israelis to settle in the occupied West Bank⁴⁷. This political behavior of Israeli state violates international humanitarian law.

Total injuries to health workers during the demonstrations in Gaza
injuries by type of weapon, 30 March - 31 December 2018



Source: UN Commission of Inquiry on the 2018 protests

Table 2. Total injuries during the demonstrations in Gaza.

https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session40/Documents/A_HRC_40_74_CRP2.pdf

3.2. Escalation of Israeli – Palestinian conflict in 2021

According to Conflict on Foreign Relation News portal, there was a rule of an Israeli court in October 2020, according to which several Palestinian families had to be resettled from neighborhood in East Jerusalem, i.e., Sheikh Jarrah and hand over this territory to the Jewish families by May 2021. After the unsuccessful attempt to appeal to the court with the requirement to terminate the forcible displacement of Palestinians from Sheikh Jarrah in February 2021, inhabitants of Sheikh Jarrah began to host nightly sit - ins in April 2021, along with Palestinian demonstrators against anticipated displacements⁴⁸. Consequently, the armed conflict between Palestinian terroristic group Hamas and Israel fully escalated during first weeks of May 2021. In a response to the abovementioned measures of Israel against Palestinians, Hamas shelled various

⁴⁷ Israel and Palestine. Events of 2019. Published by Human Rights Watch News Portal. Accessed by 14.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/israel/palestine#>

⁴⁸ Israeli - Palestinian Conflict. Recent Developments. Published by COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS News Portal. Accessed by 14.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/israeli-palestinian-conflict>

major Israeli cities, including Jerusalem, which provoked Israel to the airstrikes in the Gaza Strip, controlled by Hamas⁴⁹.

According to the Human Rights Watch investigation, the Israel rocket attack to Palestine lead to the death of the 62 of the 129 or more civilians, which is considered as a severe violation of the laws of war and is equalized to war crimes. By contrast, according to the report of Israeli authorities, more than 4,360 unguided rockets and mortars were launched by the Palestinian armed groups towards the population centers of Israel, including Hamas between May 10 and 21. As a result, 12 Israeli civilians died and several hundred were injured⁵⁰. Nowadays the Israeli – Palestinian conflict turned into an arena for a great power competition between Russia, China, and the United States. In the attempt to undermine the role of USA as a ‘dominant third – party role, Russia and China initiated the negotiations between the conflicting sides. Besides, the conflict escalation in May 2021 was the reason for China to accuse the United States in hindering the measures taken by the U.N. Security Council in preventing the Middle East conflict.⁵¹

The escalation of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict in May 2021 provoked the polar attitude of the Democrats party members of the United States, as well as the Pro – Palestinian solidarity protests in a number of countries. When it comes to the division of political perspective of Democrats party in the United States to the conflict escalation in the Middle East, the public accusation of Palestinian Hamas and support of Israel by Joe Biden was considered as the ‘outdated approach’ to the conflict in Middle East by the Democrats, which ignores the tough situation of Palestinians, as well as fail of Biden to protect human rights⁵².

⁴⁹ Israeli-Palestinian tensions erupt into open conflict. Published by VOX News Portal. Accessed by 16.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.vox.com/22440330/israel-palestine-gaza-airstrikes-hamas-updates-2021>

⁵⁰ Palestinian Rockets in May Killed Civilians in Israel, Gaza. Published on 12 August 2021. Published by Human Rights Watch News portal. Accessed on 16.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/08/12/palestinian-rockets-may-killed-civilians-israel-gaza>

⁵¹ The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Amid a New Reality and a New Region. Published on May 26, 2021. Published by United States Institute of Peace News Portal. Accessed on 20.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.usip.org/publications/2021/05/israeli-palestinian-conflict-amid-new-reality-and-new-region>

⁵² Israeli-Palestinian tensions erupt into open conflict. Published by VOX News Portal. Accessed by 20.09.2021. retrieved from <https://www.vox.com/22440330/israel-palestine-gaza-airstrikes-hamas-updates-2021>

West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights

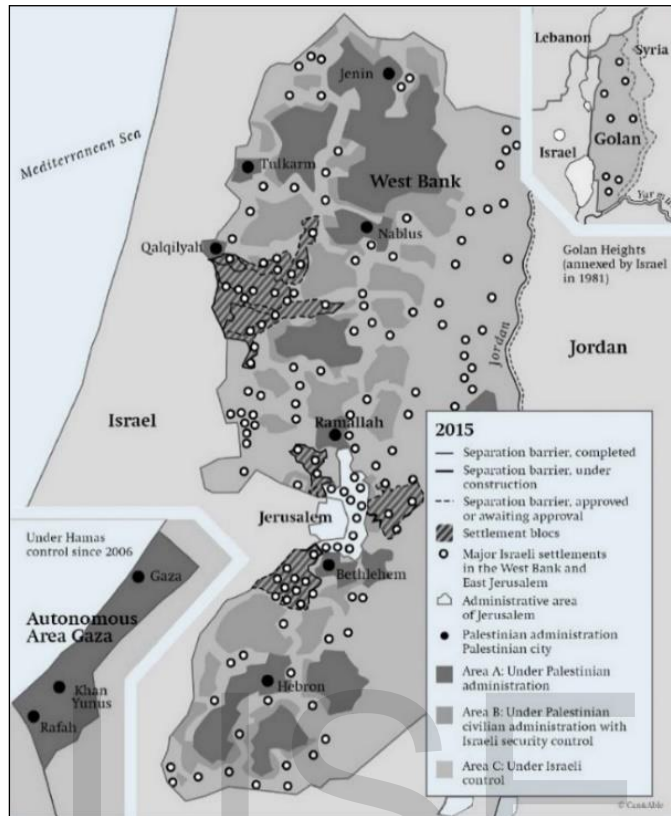


Table 3. West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights. https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/research_papers/2018RP03_tit.pdf

3.3. Progress in the negotiation process in 2017 – 2021

According to Andrea Dessi, a determined EU action can be divided for two areas: mobilization of European Union’s full support of reuniting efforts of Gaza and the West Bank under unified legitimate Palestinian Authority, as well as sustainable development in East Jerusalem and West Bank⁵³. There was signed Fatah– Hamas Reconciliation Agreement of October 2017, according to which Palestinian administration was supposed to take control over border crossings of Gaza by 1 November 2017, as well as Gaza Strip by 1 December 2017 and unite the employees hired by the

⁵³ Dessi, A. (2017). Europe and the Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Call for Coherence. Published by Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI). Page 2. Retrieved from <https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaicom1724.pdf>

Hamas during 2007 – 2017 by 1 February 2018⁵⁴. This agreement, followed by the abovementioned reuniting efforts of Gaza and the West under single legitimate Authority of Palestine can be considered as an opportunity for the European Union to take more significant role in resolving Middle East conflict. Besides, as a matter of exception, the EU increased its annual contribution to UNRWA by another EUR 10.5 million, and considerable share of this amount is allocated for health and education issues of Palestine refugees in Gaza⁵⁵.

On 15 January 2017 there was launched Conference for peace in the Middle East, attended by over 70 states, hosted by Jean-Marc Ayrault and spoked by President of France François Hollande. This conference had the purpose of creating the new prospects for negotiations between Palestine and Israel, which became more and more unsuccessful, thereby increasing political tensions between the two countries. According to Middle East Peace Conference Joint Declaration, adopted hereby, “the Participants met in Paris on 15 January 2017 to reaffirm their support for a just, lasting and comprehensive resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They reaffirmed that a negotiated solution with two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security, is the only way to achieve enduring peace”⁵⁶. In July 2018 Israel adopted Nation – State Bill that defines Israel as nation state of Jewish people. This Bill was disapproved by the European Union that supported the two – state solution. Besides, the EU reaffirmed its adherence to the UN Security Council resolutions 242 and and 497, according to which claims of Israel to the territories, occupied during the war are considered invalid⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ Asseburg, M. (2017). The Fatah–Hamis Reconciliation Agreement of October 2017. Page 1. Published by German Institute for International and Security Affairs. Retrieved from https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/comments/2017C44_ass.pdf

⁵⁵ Statement by the Spokesperson on Gaza and intra-Palestinian reconciliation. Bruxelles, 09.11.2017. Published by EEAS10 2010 – 2021 European Union External Action Service News Portal. Accessed 28.08.2021. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-Homepage/35369/statement-spokesperson-gaza-and-intra-palestinian-reconciliation_en

⁵⁶ MINISTÈRE DE L'EUROPE ET DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES. Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs. Conference for peace in the Middle East (15 January 2017). France Diplomacy. Accessed on 02.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/israel-palestinian-territories/peace-process/initiative-for-the-middle-east-peace-process/article/conference-for-peace-in-the-middle-east-15-01-17>

⁵⁷ Wermelbal, G. The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process in a Post-Mogherini Era. Published on 03.10.2019. Published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace News Portal. Accessed on 21.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/79985>

Fatalities and injuries between 30 March and 31 December 2018

Category	Total	Women	Children	Body part targeted					Press	Health workers
				Head/neck	Torso	Upper limb	Lower limb			
Gaza:										
Fatalities by live ammunition	183	1	32	70	101	0	12	2	3	
Injuries by live ammunition	6 106	159	940	175	401	493	4 903	39	39	
Injuries by bullet fragmentation/shrapnel	1 576	59	345	-	-	-	-	5	34	
Injuries by rubber-coated metal bullet	438	36	124	-	-	-	-	4	34	
Injuries by direct tear-gas canister hit	1 084	60	233	-	-	-	-	32	85	
Israel:										
Fatalities	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Injuries by stones, explosives	4	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Table 4. Fatalities and injuries between 30 March and 31 December 2018.

https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session40/Documents/A_HRC_40_74_CRP2.pdf

In 2019 the high representative for foreign affairs and security policy of the European Union Josep Borell claimed that the European Union will do its best to maintain the conflict settlement process. He harshly criticized the peace plan of USA under the government of Donald Trump, introduced 28 January 2020, which implies the recognition of occupied territories since 1967 under the control of Israel, Israeli retention of Jerusalem in its expanded entirety and the Israeli desire to annex the Jordan Valley, as this peace plan violates the international norms. In addition, Borell disapproved the initiative of the United States to relocate its embassy to Jerusalem⁵⁸. Despite the fact that the so-called piece plan of the USA President Donald received the endorsement of Israeli PM Netanyahu, it seriously hindered the USA – Palestinian political dialogue and ultimately, the solution of Israeli – Palestinian conflict.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Osiewicz, P. The EU’s diplomatic head and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict one year on. Published by MEI@75 News Portal. Published on 30.03.2021. accessed on 22.09.2021. retrieved by <https://www.mei.edu/publications/eus-diplomatic-head-and-israeli-palestinian-conflict-one-year>

⁵⁹ Jensehaugen, J., Martins, B., Waage, H., Palik, J. (2020). A House Divided: EU Policy on the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict. Page 2. Published by PRIO Middle East Center. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Jensehaugen%20et%20al%20-%20A%20House%20Divided%20EU%20Policy%20on%20the%20Israeli%E2%80%93Palestinian%20Conflict%20C%20MidEast%20Policy%20Brief%202002-2020.pdf>



Table 5. *The Trump peace plan.* <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Jensehaugen%20et%20al%20-%20A%20House%20Divided%20EU%20Policy%20on%20the%20Israeli%E2%80%93Palestinian%20Conflict%2C%20MidEast%20Policy%20Brief%2002-2020.pdf>

Yet, this political behavior of the EU during 2019 – 2020 did not mean support Palestine against Israel. During an official conversation with Palestinian Foreign Minister Riyad al-Maliki in November 2020 Borell strongly encouraged the Palestinian side to conduct negotiation process with purpose of peaceful conflict settlement. Hugh Lovatt characterizes the policy of the European Union towards the settlement of Middle East conflict as “Groundhog Day movie”, i.e., it shows active initiative during the periodical Israeli -Palestine conflict escalations for defending EU’s vision of two – state solution. However, ultimately the participation in negotiation of the European union did not bring any result neither in negative nor positive way⁶⁰.

When it comes to the events of 2021, on May 18 26 out of 27 Foreign Ministers of the European Union, except Hungary hold an emergency meeting of an EU Council and required both Israel and Palestine to ceasefire, as well the ensuring the access to the humanitarian aid and protection of civilian people. Ultimately, the EU Council condemned Palestinian radical movement Hamas for the rocked attacks to Israel and supported the right of Israel “take proportionate self - defense

⁶⁰ Lovatt, H. (2020). The End of Oslo: A new European Strategy On Israel – Palestine. Page 3. Published by European Council on foreign Relations. Retrieved from https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/Lovatt_End-of-Oslo.pdf

measures”⁶¹ (Ольга Демидова). At the same token, Borell highlighted that Israel should refuse the future evictions of Palestinians from East Jerusalem. The pro – Israeli position of Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Siyarto during his visit to Paris, calling the statements of the EU ‘very one – sided’ and being amply loyal to the Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu depicts the absence of a clear direction in the EU policy towards Israeli – Palestinian conflict. In 2021 The European Council decided to extend until 30 June 2022 the mandates of its two civilian missions under the Common Security and Defense Policy under the Common Security and Defense Policy deployed in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict zone. The European Union Border Assistance Mission at the Rafah checkpoint was launched on 25 November 2005 following the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip to provide a third-party presence at the Rafah checkpoint between Gaza and Egypt and to build confidence between the Israeli government and the authorities Palestine⁶².

Hence, the 2007 – 2017 period was characterized by the violent actions of Palestine against Israel, rejection of Israel as a state and accepting all prior agreements between Israel and the Palestine by Hamas and consequently the worsening of political situation between Israel and Palestine. Followed by a failed court appeal that required the forcible displacement termination of Palestinians from Sheikh Jarrah and nightly sit - ins of the city residents, there was an armed conflict escalation between Hamas and Israel in May 2021. When it comes to the EU initiatives, it expressed full support of bringing together the West Bank and Gaza under one legitimate Palestinian Authority, and sustainable development in East Jerusalem and West Bank. Yet, the activities of the European Union again did not bring any result. The European Council decided to prolong the mandates of its two civilian missions under the Common Security and Defense Policy implemented in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict area until 30 June 2022.

⁶¹ Демидова, О. 26 из 27 стран ЕС призвали Израиль и ХАМАС к прекращению огня. Published on 18.05.2021. Published by DW News Portal. Accessed on 22.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.dw.com/ru/26-iz-27-stran-es-prizvali-izrail-i-hamas-k-prekrashheniju-ognja/a-57575375>

⁶² ЕС продлил до 30 июня 2022 года мандаты миссий в зоне палестино-израильского конфликта. Published on 28.06.2021. Published by Trend News Agency News Portal. Accessed on 24.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.trend.az/world/europe/3446895.html>

6. THE OBSTACLES TO AN EFFECTIVE EU ROLE IN THE ISRAELI – PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

4.1. The main reasons of failure of the EU as a mediator in the Middle – East conflict

Ultimately, there are three main factors that prevent the EU from successfully implement its negotiation role. Firstly, despite that the role of the United States as a main mediator/negotiator in the regulating Israeli – Palestinian conflict was neither acknowledged by Palestine, nor Israel, the European Union has never challenged it. In other words, the EU refrained from taking initiative for leading negotiating role in the Middle East conflict. The statement of the EU High Representative Federica Mogherini in February 2018 that “Nothing without the United States, nothing with the United States alone” (Remarks by HR/VP Federica Mogherini) proves the unwillingness of the EU to take the leading mediating role in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict⁶³. In addition, the European Union refrained from the criticism of political rhetoric of Donald Trump and initiatives of the USA. Experts from Mitvim – The Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policies and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – The German Institute for International and Security Affairs Dr. Muriel Asseburg and Dr. Nimrod Goren highlight the three main obstacles of the EU to successfully implement its mediator role in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

Firstly, as was mentioned above, the European Union never questioned the initiatives of the United States in resolving Middle East conflict. Yet, there was EU8 statement for press stakeout on MEPP in 2018, according to which “EU reiterates once more and emphasizes the EU's strong continued commitment to the internationally agreed parameters for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East based on international law, relevant U.N. resolutions and previous agreements. Any peace plan that fails to recognize these internationally agreed parameters would risk being condemned to failure”⁶⁴(EU8 statement for press stakeout on MEPP). In other words, despite making

⁶³ Remarks by HR/VP Federica Mogherini at the joint press point ahead of the extraordinary session of the International Donor Group for Palestine (Ad Hoc Liaison Committee, AHLC). Bruxelles, 31/01/2018. Accessed 08/09/21. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/39142/remarks-hrvp-federica-mogherini-joint-press-point-ahead-extraordinary-session-international_en

⁶⁴ EU8 statement for press stakeout on MEPP (France, Kingdom of the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany and Italy). 18/12/2018. Published by Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic Germany at the United Nations. Accessed 08/09/2021. Retrieved from <https://new-york-un.diplo.de/un-de/e8-mepp/2172242>

this significant statement, the EU failed to enhance its impact on the conflict resolution and not unlike the United States, to take the role of main facilitator. Asseburg and Goren see the second reason of EU failure in the role of main facilitator and mediator in the passive role of EU member states in propagating such significant stances of EU as differentiation, neither they correctly indicated the origin or labeling⁶⁵.

According to the response of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to EU decision on product labeling, made on 11 November 2015, the labeling of only Israeli products, i.e., the country undergone terrorism, depicts the hypocrisy and double standards of the European Union. Netanyahu severely criticized this initiative of the EU and highlighted that the labeling of Israeli products, which originate from territories that are controlled by Israel since 1967 would rather create issues for the Palestinian citizens, working in the Israeli factories, than the Israeli economics as a whole⁶⁶. As a reaction to the attempts of Palestinian government to use international mechanisms (UN bodies, ICC, etc.) for realization of Palestinian rights, as well as the international BDS campaign, Israel made EU Member States to adopt anti - Semitism definition of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in May 2016⁶⁷. Moreover, in the attempt to delegitimize international supporters of Palestine Israel used the influence of powerful NGO's, such as the NGO Monitor.⁶⁸

Asseburg and Goren articulate that despite the strong trading ties between Israel and the European Union, participation of Israel in the EU – funded program Horizon 2020 and other initiatives, such accusations make Israel consider EU as ‘unfriendly, irresponsible actor’, which should not play any crucial facilitating role in the resolving Israeli – Palestinian conflict⁶⁹. The

⁶⁵ Asseburg, M., Goren, N. (2019). *Divided and Divisive: Europeans, Israel and Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking*. Published by Mitvim – The Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policies, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) – The German Institute for International and Security Affairs & PAX. Page 38. Retrieved from https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/fachpublikationen/Asseburg_PAX_REPORT_Divided_Divisive.pdf

⁶⁶ PM Netanyahu's response to EU decision regarding product labeling. Published by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 11 Nov 2015. Accessed 11/08/2021. Retrieved from <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2015/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-responds-to-EU-decision-regarding-product-labeling-11-November-2015.aspx>

⁶⁷ Working Definition of Antisemitism. 26 May 2016. Published by International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). Accessed 13/08/2021. Retrieved from <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism>

⁶⁸ Asseburg, M., Goren, N. (2019). *Divided and Divisive: Europeans, Israel and Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking*. Published by Mitvim – The Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policies, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) – The German Institute for International and Security Affairs & PAX. Page 39. Retrieved from https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/fachpublikationen/Asseburg_PAX_REPORT_Divided_Divisive.pdf

⁶⁹ Ibid.

third reason for weak role of the European Union and its Member States in resolving conflict in Middle East is inability to reach consensus about the priority of the Israeli – Palestinian in the European foreign policies, plagued by the consolidation of the legislative politics in Europe, the ‘refugee crisis’ in 2015 and the approach of Donald Trump’s administration to the conflict⁷⁰. In other words, there were huge disagreements between Germany and France on whether bilateral negotiations or international conferences are more suitable for conducting the facilitating process.

There were also disagreements on which political tools are more effective in the resolving Israeli – Palestinian conflict, i.e. incentives vs. disincentives, as well as “the recognition of a Palestinian State, of negotiating a full-fledged Association Agreement with the Palestinians in preparation of statehood, of convening an Association Council with Israel, etc.”⁷¹ Thus, this analysis shows that the refrain of the European Union from criticizing the attempts of the United States to resolve Israeli - Palestinian conflict, pursuance of the personal interests and inability to prioritize the Middle – East conflict in the context EU foreign policy indicate the weakness of the European Union as a mediator in the conflict.

There is another complex of "hot" issues that can harm the European Union which can be highlighted as well. Firstly, there are significant religious and ethnic differences existing in the core of the conflict. Secondly, one of the sides of Israeli – Palestinian conflict is the struggle for natural resources. Thirdly, the conflict is the rivalry with the main military ally of the European Union, i.e., the United States. The fourth reason is already established close economic ties with Israel, and, finally, relations with Russia, which, among other things, are maintained through the convergence of strategies to resolve the situation in the Middle East⁷² (Дмитрий Кутрашев). Despite the fact that the European Commission, which represents the interests of the EU as a whole, rather than the member states, is responsible for the bilateral political relations of the European Union with Israel and Palestine respectively, the main directions of the European Union’s diplomatic and foreign policy are mostly determined by the member states in various institutional circumstances.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 39 – 40.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 40.

⁷² Кутрашев, Д. (2012). Посредническая миссия ЕС в палестино-израильском конфликте. Published by ВСЯ ЕВРОПА News portal. Accessed 22.08.2021. Retrieved from <http://alleuropa.ru/?p=3425>

There are several reasons of the EU's failure in the negotiation process of Middle East conflict. Firstly, the European Union is hedging against the possible risks and high costs that can be faced in case of active policy conducting. Secondly, being complexly structured, the EU changes its political course very slowly. Thirdly, the European Union does not prioritize the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, as the EU finances the Palestinian Autonomy and articulates the concerns regarding the two – state solution⁷³. According to Mideast policy paper, due to the political controversy of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, its settlement implies high risk. In addition, the strong interrelation between the policy of the European Union with Middle East Quartet, the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee, and the UN Security Council resolutions prevents the EU from deviation from these international structures. The third complexity in resolving the Israeli – Palestinian conflict is the fact that the EU prioritizes the stability in its member states over the measures against the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. Thus, although the State of Palestine is recognized by the several European countries, barely the European Union as a whole would do the same or implement any differentiation policies⁷⁴.

4.2. Complexity of resolving the Israeli – Palestinian conflict from the EU standpoint

According to the governments of the European Union, dependence on the foreign aid hinders the sustainable economic development of Palestine and establishment of solid democratic institutions. Yet, such aid is considered by the EU as assistance in funding the Israeli occupation, i.e., creating the opportunities for Israel to spend fewer financial resources on the development of the occupied territories⁷⁵. According to BBC News Ukraine, Israel has announced plans to build

⁷³ Jensehaugen, J., Martins, B., Waage, H., Palik, J. (2020). A House Divided: EU Policy on the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict. Page 4. Published by PRIO Middle East Center. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Jensehaugen%20et%20al%20-%20A%20House%20Divided%20EU%20Policy%20on%20the%20Israeli%E2%80%93Palestinian%20Conflict%20C%20MidEast%20Policy%20Brief%2002-2020.pdf>

⁷⁴ Jensehaugen, J., Martins, B., Waage, H., Palik, J. (2020). A House Divided: EU Policy on the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict. Page 4. Published by PRIO Middle East Center. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Jensehaugen%20et%20al%20-%20A%20House%20Divided%20EU%20Policy%20on%20the%20Israeli%E2%80%93Palestinian%20Conflict%20C%20MidEast%20Policy%20Brief%2002-2020.pdf>

⁷⁵ Muasher, M. The EU's Passive Approach to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. Published on 06.05.2021. Published by CARNEGIE EUROPE News Portal. Accessed on 24.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/84486>

another 2,500 homes in Jewish settlements in occupied East Jerusalem. Defense Minister of Israeli state Avigdor Lieberman and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu argue that this policy was implemented as a response of the Israeli authorities to "housing needs"⁷⁶ The position of status – quo preferred by the European Union creates facilities for the Palestinian Authority to restrain any political non-violent peace movement, as well as is reflected by the Palestinian government as a corrupt one. In addition, the European Union continues the support of the two – state solution, simultaneously allowing Israel to implement occupational policy⁷⁷. In other words, the EU maintains the two – states solution without taking any creating any realization plan, as well as it does not disapprove the USA piece plan under Trump administration that makes two – state solution impossible. The problem with creating the realization plan, i.e., the roadmap is the absence of a monitoring mechanism that would regulate the accountability of the parties, as well as their compliance with commitments.

Muasher claims that after the signing of the Oslo agreements, the issue of the rights of the Palestinians has faded into the background as in the settlement of the conflict between Israel and Palestine can make it controversial. The problem of the rights of the Palestinian people cannot be omitted by the international community as with the time passing, the possibility for Israel and Palestine to exist side by side becomes more and more vague⁷⁸. In other words, neither being able to resolve the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, nor taking active role in the negotiation process, the European Union holds back and conceding the competent Israeli, Palestinian and US leaders. In addition, preserving status – quo by the EU more and more hinders the Middle East conflict settlement. According to IIA REGNUM News Portal, ultimately, the main goal of the European Union is diplomatic efforts, rather than sanctions. The official representative of the EU foreign policy service Peter Stano articulates that “We rely on diplomatic efforts in the settlement of the Middle East conflict, the main thing now is to stop the violence, there is no talk of any sanctions

⁷⁶ Израиль хочет построить еще 2,5 тысячи домов в Восточном Иерусалиме. Published by BBC News Ukraine News Portal. Published on 24.01.2017. Accessed on 28.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/news-russian-38738225>

⁷⁷ Muasher, M. The EU's Passive Approach to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. Published on 06.05.2021. Published by CARNEGIE EUROPE News Portal. Accessed on 24.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/84486>

⁷⁸ Muasher, M. The EU's Passive Approach to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. Published on 06.05.2021. Published by CARNEGIE EUROPE News Portal. Accessed on 24.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/84486>

now”⁷⁹ (ИА REGNUM News Portal). In other words, the European Union considers sanctions as a mere tool in the diplomatic process, rather than an effective punishment mechanism that could facilitate the Israeli – Palestinian conflict settlement. According to reliefweb News Portal, due to the fact that nowadays there is a rapid increasing of the Jewish settlers in the West Bank (more than 650,000), the creation of the independent Palestinian state in the neighbor area is problematic. In addition, the other hurdle for the establishment of Palestinian state and coexistence with Israel is the debates of Israel about the annexing Area C, Jordan Valley and 60% West Bank⁸⁰. In other words, the European Union justifies its weakness as a negotiator role in the Middle East conflict with the aggressive invasion policy conducted by Israel on the occupied territories and refusing compromises with Palestinian side. This contradicts the UN Security Council Resolution 1397 from 12 March 2002, according to which Palestine is given the right to self – determination and establishment of the Palestinian state, and Israel is given the security right and recognition of its borders⁸¹.

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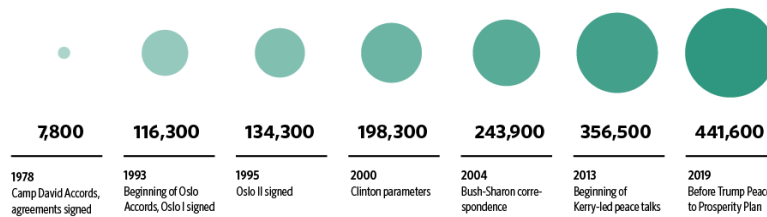
⁷⁹ ЕС назвал главную цель в разрешении конфликта между Израилем и Палестиной. Published by ИА REGNUM News Portal. Published on 17.05.2021. Accessed on 28.09.2021. Retrieved from <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3271349.html>

⁸⁰ Jensehaugen, J., Martins, B., Waage, H., Palik, J. (2020). A House Divided: EU Policy on the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict. Page 2. Published by PRIO Middle East Center. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Jensehaugen%20et%20al%20-%20A%20House%20Divided%20EU%20Policy%20on%20the%20Israeli%20E2%80%9393Palestinian%20Conflict%20C%20MidEast%20Policy%20Brief%2002-2020.pdf>

⁸¹ United Nations Security Council. Resolution 1397 (12 March 2002). Published by UNSCR Search engine for the United Nations Security Council Resolutions. Accessed on 02.10.2021. Retrieved from <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1397>

Settlement Expansion in the West Bank, 1978-2019

In 2019, the number of settlers was about fifty-seven times larger than in 1978



NOTE: Numbers exclude East Jerusalem, where the settler population has grown from between 120,000 and 140,000 in 1992 (before the Oslo Accords) to 225,178 in 2019.

SOURCE: For West Bank data, see "Settlement Watch, Data: Population," Peace Now, <https://peacenow.org.il/en/settlements-watch/settlements-data/population>. For East Jerusalem data, see United Nations, "Israeli settlements—SecGen report (GA res.47/172)," July 8, 1993, <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-178776/>; and "Settlement Watch, Data: Jerusalem," Peace Now, <https://peacenow.org.il/en/settlements-watch/settlements-data/jerusalem>.

Table 6. *Breaking the Israel-Palestine Status Quo.* <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/04/19/breaking-israel-palestine-status-quo-pub-84167>

The analysis of this chapter shows that by contrast to the USA, the EU showed laid – back position in an attempt to take the role of an ultimate negotiator in the Middle East conflict, i.e., it did not express any discontent with the initiatives of Donald Trump Administration in regard with the occupied Palestinian territories. Moreover, the EU advocated for differentiation, without correct indication of the origin or labeling, neither it was able to correctly prioritize the Israeli – Palestinian conflict in the European foreign policy. Ultimately, despite strong support of two – state solution the European Union maintains so-called status quo and does not stop Israel from implementation of occupational policy.

5. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF UN AND EU POSITION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS

5.1. The analysis of United Nations Human Rights Council Annual report

According to Mohamed Ahmad Ali, despite the fact that one of the main directions of EU’s internal and external policies is protection and promotion of human rights in such countries as Iran, Iraq, Yemen and Egypt, it takes very laid-back position in case of Israeli – Palestinian conflict on

this matter. In other words, not only the European Union refuses to apply sanctions to Israel, it also conducts tied political relations with it⁸². Moreover, comparing to the case of partner countries of Mediterranean, there is no Subcommittee for Human Rights with Israel in the European Union, as well as the EU – Israel Action Plan consists of the weakest human rights responsibilities comparing to the other states⁸³.

When it comes to Palestinian human rights protection by the EU, Konecny articulates that UK and France did their best in order to prevent Palestine from ICC involvement, as according to UK and France leaders, ICC involvement could lead both conflicting parties to war crimes trial, which, in its turn would undermine the Israeli – Palestinian negotiations⁸⁴. The Human Rights Council of the United Nations General Assembly listed the recommendations for government of Israel and Palestine on the matter of the human rights protection. According to the Annual report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and reports of the Office of the High Commissioner and the Secretary-General (A/HRC/24/30), the total compliance with international human rights and humanitarian law requires the government of Israel to review the methods and mechanisms for using no-go areas in Gaza (ARA); Israel ought to fully lift the blockade of Gaza and take only those punitive measures in accordance with international human rights law and international humanitarian law; Israel have to take all necessary preventive measures against violence and ensure accountability for these measures on the non-discriminative basis; being the occupying side of the conflict, Israel shall protect the Palestinian civilians, as well as to provide the Palestinian communities under the risk of forcible transfer in the Masafer Yatta and Area C with shelter in accordance with the international law; the children under detention shall be treated by the Israeli government in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child⁸⁵.

When it comes to the requirements to the Palestinian side of the Middle - East conflict, ultimately, it is required to conduct investigations of the presumed violations of international human rights law on the non-discriminative basis and these investigations must comply with the

⁸² Ali, M. (2020). The relations among Israel, Europe, and the Palestinian Authority. Page 18. Published by Iowa State University, Department of Political Science. Retrieved from <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1702&context=creativecomponents>

⁸³ Konecny, M. (2016). Six EU double standards on Israel. Published by EUMep Portal. Retrieved from <https://eumep.org/publications/six-eu-double-standards-on-israel/>

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Human Rights Council (A/HRC/24/30). Human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem. Published on 22 August 2013. Pp. 17 – 18. Accessed on 07.10.2021. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session24/Documents/A_HRC_24_30_ENG.doc

‘standards of independence, impartiality, thoroughness, promptness and effectiveness’, as well as the ensuring of adoption of National Plan of Action for Human Rights⁸⁶. Yet, the Israeli side of the Middle – East conflict did not comply with the recommendations of the Human Rights Council. According to UN News Portal, 11 Palestinian children in the West Bank were killed by the Israeli military forces during January – August 2021, which is higher than the total amount of killed people during 2020. In addition, the escalation of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict in May 2021 resulted in death of 67 Palestinian children⁸⁷.

The UN human rights experts expressed their concern in regard with the violation of human rights of Palestinian people (especially children) by the Israeli armed forces, as well as required the Israeli government to fully comply with the Declaration on Human Rights Defenders, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1998. In addition, the UN human rights experts articulated that “An occupying power with a true commitment to human rights would protect and encourage the work of human rights defenders, and not ostracize, harass or silence them...human rights can be infringed only as a last measure and then only in a minimally impairing manner that is subject to meaningful judicial review”⁸⁸ (United Nations Human rights Office of the High Commissioner). In other words, this analysis shows the cyclicity in the attempt and failure to protect human rights of Palestinian people from the Israeli armed attacks by the international community. Due to the lack of punishment mechanism, such as sanctions or considering the sanctions against Israel as a tool of diplomatic settlement of the Middle – East conflict, and the inability to force Israel to comply with its commitments and legal obligations results in the impunity of Israeli government and severe violation of human rights of Israeli people, including children, as well as violation of international human rights law.

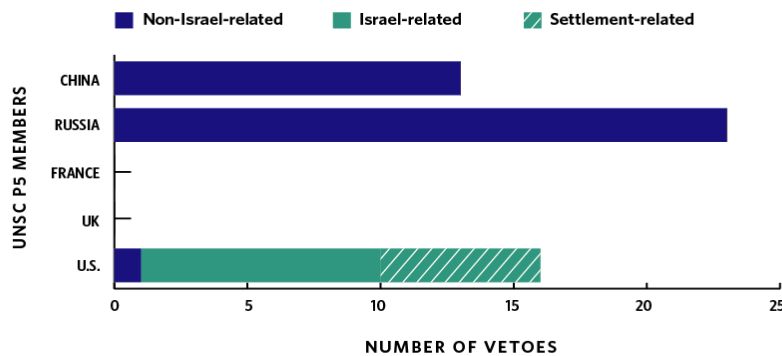
⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 18 - 19.

⁸⁷ UN experts urge Israel to ‘protect and encourage’ Palestine rights defenders. Published on UN News Portal. Published on 13.08.2021. Accessed on 07.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/08/1097802>

⁸⁸ UN experts condemn raid on West Bank NGO, urge Israel meaningfully probe child deaths. Published by United Nations Human rights Office of the High Commissioner. Accessed on 07.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/RU/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=27381&LangID=E>

Vetoes in the UN Security Council, 1995-2019

From 1995 to 2019, the United States vetoed six out of seven resolutions that condemned Israel's land expropriation, designated the settlements as illegal, and/or called for their cessation. In 2016, the administration under Barack Obama and Joe Biden abstained from voting on the seventh.



NOTE: France and the United Kingdom did not use their veto power during this period.

SOURCE: Security Council Report, "The Security Council Veto," Table, December 16, 2020, <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/>.

Table 7. Breaking the Israel-Palestine Status Quo. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/04/19/breaking-israel-palestine-status-quo-pub-84167>

According to Evelyn Elliott, by ignoring the compromise on any bilateral agreement or collective settlement the government of Israel protects only Jewish interests rather than all citizens. The resolve of this situation requires an intervention of the foreign states. Elliott argues that in fact, current aggressive political behavior of Israel is the result of the passive negotiation role of such foreign powers, as the United States, as they do not fully utilize their political potential to prevent the humanitarian crimes committed by Israel⁸⁹.

5.2. Analysis of the EU documents during 2017 – 2021

Before providing the analysis of the EU documents during 2017 – 2021, it is necessary to depict the table on six transformation stages of 'the EU's formula for a just peace' between the years 1971 and 2009 by Anders Persson.

⁸⁹ Elliott, E. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Battle Over Homes and Human Rights. Published by OWP Organization for World Peace News portal. Published on 10.08.2021. accessed on 07.10.2021. retrieved from <https://theowp.org/reports/the-israeli-palestinian-conflict-a-battle-over-homes-and-human-rights/>

1971	1973	1977	1980	1999	2009
Paris Declaration	EPC Middle East Declaration	EPC Middle East Declaration	Venice Declaration	Berlin Declaration	Council of the EU
No mention of the Palestinian s as an explicit party to the conflict.	EC recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.	EC took into account the need for a homeland for the Palestinian people.	EC recognized the Palestinians' right to exercise fully their right to self - determination.	EU declares its explicit commitment to the creation of a Palestinian state.	EU recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state.

Table 8: *The Transformation of EU's Formula for a Just Peace, 1971-2009 (Persson 2013, p.144).*
<https://lup.lub.lu.se/search/ws/files/3049963/3736685.pdf>

From this table there can be inferred that the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state by the EU Council was the last significant step of the European Union in the Israel - Palestinian conflict settlement.

In 18 of May 2017 the European Parliament adopted resolution on achieving the two-state solution in the Middle East, according to which the EU reclaims its support of the two-state solution based on the borders acknowledged in 1967 and accepting Jerusalem as the capital of both Israel and Palestine. In addition, it articulates the protection of the abovementioned two – state solution and the peace process in the Middle East ought to be an ultimate priority in the foreign policy of the EU. The European Union required Israel to refuse the settlement policy, as well as anticipates the Supreme Court decision on the ‘regularization law’ approved by Knesset on 6 February 2017 that lawfully validates the Israeli settlements without the agreement of the legitimate private proprietors. Ultimately, EU resolution on achieving the two-state solution in the Middle East suggests the ‘Parliamentarians for Peace’ initiative that implies the unification of European, Israeli and Palestinian parliamentarians for facilitating the

advancement of peace agenda, as well as making additions to the diplomatic efforts of the European Union⁹⁰.

According to the speech of High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the plenary session of the European Parliament on the United States recognition of the Golan Heights as Israeli territory and the possible occupation of the West Bank settlements on 16 April 2019, none of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including the abovementioned ones are recognized by the European Union. Besides, Mogherini harshly criticized the settlement policy of Israel on the occupied territories, as well as insisted on the two – state solution as an ultimate solution to the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. However, she articulated that the pre – 1967 borders would be recognized by the EU only in case of consent on this matter by both conflicting parties⁹¹. During the joint video conference of the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France, Germany and Jordan held on 7 July 2020 there was articulated that the annexation of Palestinian in 1967 violates the international law, as well as the unrecognized by both conflicting parties border changes since 1967 would not be recognized. The Foreign of abovementioned EU and Arabic states expressed their strong commitment to the internationally recognized two – state solution and promised the facilitation of the Israeli – Palestinian negotiations⁹².

According to Joint Communication to The European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions from 09.02.2021, “On this basis, the EU and its Member States and partners should renew efforts to reach a settlement in the Middle East Peace Process (MEPP). In this regard, the European Union will seek to encourage and build upon the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and a number of Arab countries, with a view to enhancing the prospects for a negotiated two-state

⁹⁰ European Parliament resolution of 18 May 2017 on achieving the two-state solution in the Middle East (2016/2998(RSP)). Texts adopted on Thursday, 18 May 2017 – Strasbourg. Accessed on 18.11.2021. Retrieved from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2017-0226_EN.html

⁹¹ Speech by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the plenary session of the European Parliament on the US recognition of the Golan Heights as Israeli territory and the possible annexation of the West Bank settlements. Published by #EEAS10 2011 – 2021 European Union External Action Service News Portal. Published on 16.04.2019. Accessed on 25.11.2021. retrieved on https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/61140/speech-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-plenary-session-european_de

⁹² Joint Declaration of the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France, Germany, and Jordan on the current state of the Middle East Peace Process. Published by Federal Foreign Office News Portal. Published on 07.07.2020. Accessed on 17.11.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/middle-east-peace-process/2364710>

solution based on the internationally agreed parameters as well as regional peace and security.”⁹³(JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS). Besides, according to European Union Statement by Andrea Pontiroli made on 20 October 2020, referring to the UN Resolution 2334 (2106) the European Union strongly rejects the Israeli expansive settlement policy on such Palestinian territories as East Jerusalem, E1, Har Homa and Givat Hamatos. Besides, once again EU representative articulated that the border changes since 1967 will not be recognized, as it hinders two – state solution and the possibility to make Jerusalem the future capital of Israel and Palestine. By contrast, the European Union supports the Israeli – United Arab Emirates political ties and responsibility of Israel to refrain from any unilateral decision “decision that undermines a lasting, agreed solution”⁹⁴. Besides, the Mandate of the EUSR for the Middle East Peace Process, according to which the Israeli – Palestinian conflict should be settled in accordance with the abovementioned two – state solution and the resolution of the UNSCR 2334 (2016), the EUSR takes responsibility for the maintenance political ties with the UN and League of Arab Emirates⁹⁵.

6. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EU NEGOTIATION ROLE WITH USA AND RUSSIA

6.1. Comparative analysis of EU negotiation role with Russian Federation

On 4 August 2021 on the UN General Assembly (GA) Russian Federation articulated its position in regard with the conflict settlement in the Middle East. “9. The destructive policies of certain extra-regional players in the Middle East and North Africa are clearly part of a global

⁹³ JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS. Published on 09.02.2021. Accessed on 29.11.2021. Published by European Commission. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52021JC0002&rid=2>

⁹⁴ EU Statement – United Nations 4th Committee: Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories. Published by #EEAS10 2011 – 2021 European Union External Action Service. Published on 20.10.2020. Accessed on 30.11.2021. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/87280/eu-statement-%E2%80%93-93-united-nations-4th-committee-report-special-committee-investigate-israeli_en

⁹⁵ New EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process appointed. Published by European Council/Council of the European Union. Published on 29.04.2021. Accessed on 30.11.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2021/04/29/new-eu-special-representative-for-the-middle-east-peace-process-appointed/>

strategy to destroy the UN-centric architecture established after World War II and replace it with a completely illegitimate "rules-based world order"⁹⁶. We support the international legal parameters for resolving conflicts in this region agreed upon at the UN and implemented solely through political and diplomatic means. Our proposal to create a regional security architecture in the Persian Gulf and, in the longer term, throughout the whole Middle East remains on the table. 11. We are convinced that one of the foundations for establishing peace and security in the Middle East is the revival of the Middle East settlement process with the resolution of the Palestinian problem at its core"⁹⁷(The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation). In other words, Russia shows its interest in the diplomatic resolve of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict in compliance with international law, as otherwise it faults the Middle East and North Africa for the attempt to destabilize peace created by the UN after WWII. Besides, Russia envisages East Jerusalem as the capital of future state of Palestine and West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, while the other specific aspects of the of Jerusalem status should be negotiated through Israeli – Palestinian talks. At the same token, Russia Federation urges both conflicting sides to refrain from any expressions of violence, as well as from the one-sided actions that could lead to an escalation of the conflict or predetermine the outcome of a negotiated settlement of it⁹⁸.

The President of Russian Federation Vladimir Putin articulated that the aggravated Israeli - Palestinian conflict affects the security interests of the Russian Federation. According to him, "I would ask my colleagues to express their opinion on how the situation is now in the Middle East, I mean the aggravated Israeli - Palestinian conflict. This is happening in the immediate vicinity of our borders and directly affects the interests of our security"⁹⁹(РБК News Portal). At the same time, Deputy Speaker of the Federation Council Konstantin Kosachev pointed out that Russia is making efforts at all levels to resolve the Israeli - Palestinian conflict. Russian Foreign Ministry initiated the establishment of the "Middle East Quartet" with an expanded membership which implies the

⁹⁶ Russia's position at the seventy-sixth session of the UN General Assembly. Published on 04.08.2021. Published by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation. Accessed on 12.10.2021. Retrieved from https://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/general_assembly/-/asset_publisher/lrZMhfoYRUj/content/id/4834791

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ О позиции России по Ближневосточному Урегулированию. Published by the Published by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation. Accessed on 13.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.mid.ru/o-pozicii-rossii-po-bliznevostocnomu-uregulirovaniu>

⁹⁹ Путин заявил о близости к России конфликта между Израилем и Палестиной. Published on 14.05.2021. Published by РБК News Portal. Accessed on 13.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/14/05/2021/609e65b59a7947eda4962a99>

meeting of Russia, USA, UN, EU + Egypt, Jordan, UAE, Bahrain + Palestine, Israel + Saudi Arabia, i.e., so-called '4 + 4 + 2 + 1 meeting'¹⁰⁰.

When it comes to the comparison of the position of Russia with the European Union, there are several similarities and differences in it. The first similarity is the fact that both Russian Federation and EU are interested in the peaceful settlement of the Middle – East conflict. Yet, in case of Russia the aggravation of Israeli - Palestinian conflict occurs in the immediate vicinity of the Russian borders, which is obviously dangerous for Russian political security. According to Press Secretary of Russian Federation Dmitry Peskov, “This conflict really poses a danger in the event of uncontrolled growth <...>, because many countries are in difficult relations, there is a difficult atmosphere in the region, and the region as a whole has a fragile security system”.¹⁰¹ (РБК News Portal). Thus, the absence of the direct threat to the territorial borders allows the European Union to take role of so-called passive negotiator in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. Moreover, both Russia and the EU defend human rights of the Palestinian people. Palestinian diplomat Abdel Khafiz Nofal argues that as Russian Federation is a political ally of Palestine and simultaneously has the strong bonds with Israel, it will have an opportunity to influence the Israeli side of the conflict¹⁰².

Not unlike the European Union, Russia maintains diplomatic relations with both conflicting sides, yet Russia is focused on working with the leadership of Hamas with the purpose of transforming its radical positions. For example, in January 2006, Russia turn out to be the first non-Muslim country that was in favor of conducting the diplomatic relations with the new Palestinian leadership, i.e. the leaders of Hamas. This initiative was positively met by Hamas, as Hamas delegations visited Moscow three times for consultations at the Russian Foreign Ministry in 2006, 2007 and 2010¹⁰³. Moreover, Russia does not consider Hamas as a terrorist group and

¹⁰⁰ Путин призвал прекратить насилие между Палестиной и Израилем. Published on 18.05.2021. Published by Известия IZ News Portal. Accessed on 13.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://iz.ru/1165517/2021-05-18/putin-prizval-prekratit-nasilie-mezhdu-palestinoi-i-izrailem>

¹⁰¹ Кремль объяснил слова Путина о конфликте Израиля с Палестиной и границах. Published on 17.05.2021. Published by РБК News Portal. Accessed on 13.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/17/05/2021/60a234c09a79474f4b5c8580>

¹⁰² Посол в РФ заявил, что Палестина заинтересована в установлении мира с Израилем. Published on 12.05.2021. published by ТАСС News Portal. Accessed on 13.10.2021. retrieved from <https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/11352929>

¹⁰³ Роль СССР/России в ближневосточном урегулировании. Справка. Published by РИА Новости News Portal. Published on 08.12.2010. Accessed on 15.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://ria.ru/20101208/306131199.html>

supplies it with weapons, which allows Hamas to avoid an international isolation, as well as to consolidate its positions in the domestic political arena, where they compete with Fatah¹⁰⁴.

By contrast, as was analyzed in this research paper, the European Union considers Hamas as a terrorist group and blames it for the rocket strikes to Israel. The other difference between Russian and EU political behavior towards the Israeli – Palestinian conflict settlement is the active involvement of the Russian Federation in the Palestinian domestic politics. According to ЛИГА.net News Portal, by interfering in the internal political affairs of Palestine, Russia pursues the enhancement of its influence in the region, and then getting the opportunity to become a mediator in the conflict negotiations. The stabilization of the situation in the domestic political arena in Palestine will strengthen its position in foreign policy, allowing them to engage in the fight more actively against Israel. The desire to strengthen its positions in the Middle East makes Russia undermine the positions of the other third parties of the conflict, i.e., the European Union, the USA and UN. According to ex-deputy minister of information policy Dmitry Zolotukhin, “Putin can offer to stop supporting Hamas or influence them, and in exchange ask the United States for preferences in the situation with Ukraine, Crimea or Donbass”¹⁰⁵(ЛИГА.net. News portal). By contrast, the EU does not take any serious attempts to undermine the role of other negotiators in pursuing its own interests. Yet, both Russia and the EU ultimately strive for the recognition of the Palestinian state and try to maintain strong economic ties with both conflicting sides.

6.2. Comparative analysis of EU negotiation role with the USA during 2017 – 2021

When it comes to the comparative analysis of the negotiation role of the USA with the EU during 2017 – 2021 in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, it is important to note the significance of this region for the USA in terms of energy resources, existing in the region. The United States and Israel are actively cooperating in various fields, which determines the adoption by the United States of Israel's position on the peaceful settlement of the conflict. Until the 2000s, the American elite did not interfere in the state-building of Palestine, and all its attempts to resolve the conflict were

¹⁰⁴ Разбор | Как Россия участвует в конфликте Израиля и Палестины: семь примеров. Published by ЛИГА.net. News portal. Published on 13.05.2021. Accessed on 10.11.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.liga.net/world/articles/kak-rossiya-uchastvuet-v-konflikte-izrailya-i-palestiny-sem-primero>

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

framed by the international conferences. In the 2000s, the position of the United States changed. The American elite said that in order to resolve the Israeli - Palestinian conflict, it is necessary to intervene in the internal affairs of Palestine, to assist with their state structure, and it is also crucial to provide assistance in establishment of a democratic state. If Palestine follows democratic principles, then the Israeli - Palestinian conflict will have a chance of a settlement.

In 2017 the administration of Donald Trump, began to develop a new plan to resolve the Israeli - Palestinian conflict. It was prepared under the leadership of Jared Kushner, Trump's senior advisor and son-in-law. The official name of the document is 'Peace for Prosperity', it provides for economic assistance to Palestine and neighboring Arab countries in exchange for a peace agreement with Israel. The first part of this plan - the economic one - was announced on June 22, 2019. In accordance with it, investments in the amount of \$ 50 billion will be directed to Palestine, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon within 10 years. More than half of this amount is proposed to be provided to Palestine, including for the implementation of over 100 projects in industry, medicine, education, etc. e. About \$ 1 billion is expected to be spent on tourism projects. Another \$ 5 billion will be directed to the construction of a modern transport network that will connect the West Bank and the Gaza Strip through Israel.

The White House stressed that the goal of this plan is to create 1 million jobs in Palestine and double its GDP within 10 years. Part of the funding should be covered from the US budget, but large investments are expected to be attracted from the Persian Gulf countries, the West, and the private sector. To manage finances and implement projects, the United States proposes to create a multinational development bank - a 'head fund', which will be controlled by an appointed board of governors. In addition, as stated in the document, a certain proportion of the funds will be raised through international grants and subsidized loans. On June 25-26, 2019, the document was presented in Bahrain's capital Manama at the Peace for Prosperity conference. Officials from Palestine and a number of Arab countries, in particular Iraq and Lebanon, refused to participate in the event¹⁰⁶.

The first similarity between the negotiation role of USA and EU is the fact that they both made crucial attempts to settle the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. For example, in January 2020, D. Trump

¹⁰⁶ Инициативы США по урегулированию палестино-израильской проблемы. Published by TACC News Portal. Published on 28.01.2020. accessed on 25.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://tass.ru/info/7628871>

proposed his own program for resolving the Israeli - Palestinian conflict - the 'Deal of the Century'. The main points of the 'Deal of the Century' are as following: Palestinian abandonment of terror against Israel, the creation of a united Jerusalem, which will become the capital of Israel, the expansion of the Palestinian territory, Israel's cessation of construction in the Palestinian territories. Opinions were divided on this peace initiative. The League of Arab States recognized this project as unfair, as it does not fully take into account the interests of the Palestinians. The leader of the Palestinian state, Abbas, also rejected the American project. When it comes to the European Union, it joined to the Quartet of four sides actively participating in the diplomatic resolving of Israeli – Palestinian conflict, i.e., the United States, EU, Russia, and UN (described earlier in this research paper). In addition, an important event in the process of settling the Israeli - Palestinian conflict initiated by the EU is the Paris Conference, which took place on January 15, 2017. Yet, the difference between the USA and EU's approach to the conflict settlement is representation of solely socio – economic aspect by the European Union and taking the laid – back role in the military one. The other similarity between USA and EU's approach is the attempt to support both Israel and Palestine and failure to achieve success in this area.

Ultimately, both USA and the EU propose projects and ways of a peaceful solution to the problem, but their activities did not lead to a resolution of the Israeli - Palestinian confrontation. The reason for this was the maneuvering of the EU and the United States between Palestine and Israel, when each participant seeks to benefit from the Middle East conflict. Yet, the difference between the role of USA and EU is the fact that the EU has certain difficulties in pursuing a common policy on the issue of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict, since the main members of the EU have different views and interests. These problems are exacerbated by the inability of the EU institutional structures to develop a unified approach to the area of disagreement. In this sense there is no variety of political approaches to the Middle East conflict amongst states.

In a nutshell, regardless that Russia articulates its adherence to the international legal conflict resolving parameters agreed upon at the UN with the political and diplomatic implementation and considers East Jerusalem and West Jerusalem as a capital of Israel and Palestine respectively, Russia was the first non-Muslim country that supported political ties with Hamas, as well as it did not recognize it as a terroristic group and supplied Hamas with weapons that undermined the two - state solution and prevented Hamas from international isolation. Likewise, Russian Federation

pursues its own interests in Middle East by engaging in a domestic policy of Palestine. When it comes to the EU – USA comparison, the position of the latter expresses the strong commitment to the Israeli side, as well as unlike the European Union the USA represents not only socio – economic but also the military side. Yet, both European Union and the USA were ineffective in the Middle East conflict resolution.

7. POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR THE ISRAELI – PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

Taking into consideration the political situation existing between Israel and Palestine during 2017 – 2021, as well as the political behavior of ne third parties, such as USA and EU that are interested in the settlement of the Middle – East conflict, there can be made several anticipations of the future possible scenarios for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, depicted below as a table on the pages 76 – 79 in the Annex. Thus, from the Table 8 there can be inferred that highly likely the Israeli – Palestinian conflict will stay unresolved. One of the reasons for impossibility to resolve this conflict is the aggravation of political interests that result in incitement of interethnic and interfaith conflicts. Due to the fact that there is an expanding of settlement construction, i.e., the territories that Israel will seek to take control over, the aggravation of the conflict during 2017 - 2021 only alienated Israel and Palestine from achieving their main goals.

According to Professor of Moscow State Institute of International Relations Skosyrev Aleksei, there is a possibility of signing peaceful agreement between Israelis and Palestinians but under settlement conditions of Israeli state, such as there the establishment of a quasi-state in Gaza while transforming the Palestinian settlements on the West Bank into separate cantons under local self-government. In other words, there is a possibility for Israel to retain control over the West Bank while formally declaring the end of the occupation¹⁰⁷. According to VOA News Portal, there are 4 mains tasks of the USA as a negotiator that are supposed to be solved for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict settlement: 1) The United States ought to recognize Israel as a ‘normal’ state, 2) The USA ought to actively uphold the conflict settlement, 3) The United States needs to reform, limiting the influence of various lobbying groups on the foreign policy, 4) The USA ought to initiate an open

¹⁰⁷ Скосырев, А. (2015). Стратегия и тактика Израиля в отношении палестинской проблемы на рубеже XX–XXI веков. Published by ИМИ МГИМО (У) МИД РОССИИ. Pp. 152 – 153. Retrieved from https://mgimo.ru/files2/y08_2015/270616/Skosyrev-thesis.pdf

debate that will facilitate the prioritizing of true interests of the United States in the Middle East¹⁰⁸. The position of the USA is similar to the one of EU in attempts to peacefully resolve the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. Besides, both EU and the USA confront the actions of Hamas. Yet, the USA is more interested in eliminating of proliferation of radicalism and extremism on the Israeli territory. In addition, while the EU tries to maintain the economic relations with both conflicting sides, the United States make more attempts to strengthen its influence in the region.



Table 9. Темпы роста населения в Израиле и на Палестинских территориях
<http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2010/0411/analit03.php>

CONCLUSIONS

The Israeli – Palestinian conflict is the most long-lasting conflict among all unsettled conflicts in the world, which started after Six Days War in 1967. This conflict has a complex multi-level structure. The reason for the start of the Israeli - Palestinian conflict was the seizure of the Western Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip Israel. The fate of Palestinian refugees occupies a special place in history and international law. The conflict over Palestine still affects world politics and the dynamics of the development of the Middle East region. The issue of Palestinian refugees

¹⁰⁸ Арабо-израильский конфликт. Парад теорий. Published by VOA News Portal. Published on 13.05.2009. Accessed on 19.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.golosameriki.com/a/a-33-2009-05-13-voa17/646105.html>

and the Palestinian statehood in general is characterized by an international character, which it acquired shortly after the end of World War II, when Great Britain, whose colonial possessions Palestine was part of, transferred it to the UN for consideration. From this research paper analysis, it can be inferred that the conflict settlement is also plagued by such factors as the complexity of conflict structure and involvement of international political actors. The constant financial support of Palestinian Authority, i.e., Hamas and maintain of strong economic ties with Israel did not prevent the European Union from playing the role of minor negotiator in the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. In addition, the attempts of the EU to resolve Israeli – Palestinian conflict either failed or was not supported by the conflicting sides, particularly Israel, as well as they were hindered by the internal problems within the European Union¹⁰⁹.

The various states, international organizations and NGOs tried to resolve Israeli – Palestinian conflict. For example, in 1974, the General Assembly once again reaffirmed its position - the Palestinian people have the right to a just solution of the issue, and the following year the corresponding Committee was established. In addition, the experts of UN stressed that Israel, the ‘occupying Power’, does not comply with the UN Security Council resolution and continues to expand Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. In addition, they believe that the construction of the separation wall, the construction of bypass roads, the confiscation of land, the demolition of houses, the seizure of Palestinian buildings, the destruction of agricultural, water and sanitary facilities, evictions and threats of forced resettlement of Palestinian families, human rights violations and violence from settler parties, including the intimidation, injury and killing of Palestinians, negatively affect the situation of the population of the occupied territories. In 2002, an international ‘Quartet’ of mediators was created for the peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. It includes the UN, the European Union, Russia and the United States¹¹⁰. When it comes to the USA initiatives during the period described in this research paper, i.e., 2017 – 2021, the Donald Trump administration initiated ‘Peace for Prosperity’ in 2017 and the peace plan of USA in January 2020 that respectively imply the provision of economic aid to Palestine and neighboring

¹⁰⁹ Wermenbol, G. The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process in a Post-Mogherini Era. Published by Malcolm H. Kerr. Carnegie Middle East Center News Portal. Published on 03.10.2019. Accessed on 25.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://carnegie-mec.org/sada/79985>

¹¹⁰ Палестино-израильский конфликт - краткая история. Published by United Nations/UN News. Published on 20.05.2021. accessed on 25.10.2021. Retrieved from <https://news.un.org/ru/story/2021/05/1403232>

Arab countries in exchange for a peace agreement with Israel and recognition of occupied territories under Israeli government.

From the research made by this paper there can be made several conclusions:

1. As was discussed earlier in this research paper, Constructivism recognizes the possibility of change in world politics, emphasizing the historicity of all social relations. First of all, it should be noted that in this study the EU is viewed as a third party to the conflict. It means any actor, other than the opposing sides, who intervenes in the conflict with the aim of its peaceful resolution. Such a broad definition allows one to take into account all the variety of ways and instruments of the EU's influence on the conflict. In a nutshell, the Israeli – Palestinian conflict is characterized by the ethnic, cultural and community disparities. In EU politics, norms and interests coexist. When the European Union supported the authoritarian Fatah regime, which seemed capable of fulfilling their obligations in resolving the conflict with Israel, there was prevail of interests rather than norms. However, such concepts of the relationship between norms and interests remain very vague and again proceed from the possibility of a clear distinction between them.
2. The European Union considered that the norms of international law, the collective rights of Palestinians and Israelis would be best realized by creating a sovereign Palestinian state in the former Palestinian mandate within the borders before the 1967 war (with possible territorial exchanges), which would have peaceful relations with Israel. The EU has declared and support for the observance of human rights and international humanitarian law by all actors. The EU's activity at the political and diplomatic level, as well as the various types of assistance it provides to the Palestinians, are aimed at achieving these goals. While relying on the principle of multilateralism, the EU believes that multilateral formats with the participation of various actors, primarily the UN and the International Quartet on the Middle East, should play an important role in resolving the conflict¹¹¹.
3. As was mentioned above, the Israel – Palestinian conflict consists of several levels. The first level is the conflict of *linguistic, religious and material values* between Israel and Palestinian people; the second level is the clash between *actors*, i.e. Israel as a state,

¹¹¹Гудалов, Н. (2015). Политика Европейского союза по разрешению палестино-израильского конфликта на современном этапе. Published by Санкт – Петербургский Государственный Университет. pp.230 – 231. Retrieved from https://disser.spbu.ru/disser2/disser/Gudalov_Dissertaciya.pdf

partially recognized Palestinian National Administration (PNA) and armed enclave Hamas; the support of Palestine and accepting Palestinian refugees by the Arab – Muslim countries, i.e. Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt etc. can be considered as the third *regional* level of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict; finally, the fourth level is the *international* aspect, i.e. The involvement of the Quartet (EU, UN, USA and Russian Federation)¹¹². According to Mahmoud Al-Habbash, Adviser to the President of Palestine for Religious Affairs, "If Israel and its settlers do not stop provoking the religious feelings of Palestinians and Muslims in general, then the world will face a religious war, the fire of which will go beyond Palestine, and the whole world will pay for it"¹¹³(Коммерсантъ News Portal).

4. All the territory that Israel currently occupies, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, is its territory historically, politically and in fact. In this connection, Israel has no reason to agree with the creation of an independent Palestinian state on its territory. Ultimately, The Israeli - Palestinian conflict is a clash of two territorial entities, ethnic communities for the right to create a monocultural country and its universal recognition. Considering the historically arisen contradictions, there can be distinguished 4 forms of relations between the parties to the conflict: continuation of the large-scale war, win of Israel, win of Palestine and peace settlement. As analyzed in Table 8 on pp. 71 – 74, created by the author, the most likable scenario for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict is continuation of the war, fueled by the religious contradictions and indirect participants.
5. There are also internal impairments existing in the European Union that hinder its active role and successful involvement in the settlement of Israeli – Palestinian conflict. These impediments are created as a result of Brexit, ideological dissimilarities and legislative and institutional obstacles. According to Lovatt, there are two polar positions of the European states on the matter of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict: Western European states, such as France and Germany support the two – state solution, whereas eastern states are committed

¹¹² Махмутова, М. (2020). Динамика Урегулирования Палестино – Израильского Конфликта (1991–2019). Рр. 203 – 204. Retrieved from https://ivran.ru/sites/28/files/Tekst_dissertacii_Mahmutovoj_M.I..pdf

¹¹³ Советник Аббаса: палестино-израильский конфликт может перерасти в религиозную войну. Published by Коммерсантъ News Portal. Published on 19.05.2021. Accessed on 10.11.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4817140#id2055696>

to the ideological and geopolitical support of Israel¹¹⁴. Despite the fact that the two – state solution remains the best one amongst the others, realization of it is plagued by the maneuvering of Russian Federation, the European Union and the United States between Palestine and perceiving their own interests in the Middle East region.

6. The comparative analysis of EU role in the Middle East conflict with Russia revealed several similarities: first, Russia is more involved than the EU in the resolving of the conflict due to the territorial close to the Middle East. Second, Russia considers the East Jerusalem as the capital of the future state of Palestine, and West Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel. Russia suggests agreeing upon the specific parameters of the status of Jerusalem via direct Israeli – Palestinian negotiations. Russia calls on the Palestinians and Israelis to refrain from any manifestations of violence and from unilateral actions that could lead to an escalation of the situation or settlement of the conflict. Russia considers Israeli settlement in the occupied Palestinian territories of the West Bank as a violation of an international law, as well as protects Palestinian human rights¹¹⁵. When it comes to the differences between Russian and EU approach to the resolving of Israeli – Palestinian conflict, there are several outcomes as well: Russian Federation does not consider Hamas as a terrorist group and strengthens its international influence by weapons supply. Thus, Russia pursues its other aim – to intervene in the Palestinian domestic politics and enhance its political influence in the Middle East, which subsequently undermines the role of the other negotiator parties. The comparative analysis of EU role in the Middle East conflict with the USA revealed several similarities: the USA is interested in the peaceful resolve of the conflict by initiating the ‘Deal of the Century’. Yet, the EU and the USA have an opposite approach to the conditions of the conflict settlement, as the latter requires Palestine to accept Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the territories occupied since 1967 as a part of Israeli state. Moreover, unlike the European Union, the USA is concerned not only with the socio – economic but also with the military side of the Middle East conflict, as well as the USA does not lack unity amongst the states when it comes to the position on

¹¹⁴ Lovatt, H. (2020). The End of Oslo: A new European Strategy On Israel – Palestine. Page 4. Published by European Council on foreign Relations. Retrieved from https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/Lovatt_End-of-Oslo.pdf

¹¹⁵ О позиции России по ближневосточному урегулированию. Published on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Retrieved from <https://www.mid.ru/o-pozicii-rossii-po-bliznevostocnomu-uregulirovaniu>

the Israeli – Palestine conflict resolve. Ultimately, the analysis of the USA political behavior shows that the deviation from internationally recognized norms put under the question the legitimacy of the Quartet.

7. Palestinian people undergo discriminatory policy conducted by Israeli government, which is reflected in rough abuse of human rights and occupation of Gaza and West Bank since 1967. According to Human Rights Watch News Portal, the restriction of goods and people' movement, as well as closure of Gaza by Israel negatively impacts the humanitarian aspect. When it comes to Palestine, both Hamas and PA in Gaza and West Bank respectively prohibit and harshly punish any manifestations of opposition to the government policy¹¹⁶. Anti-Palestinian / pro-Israel rhetoric of Donald Trump has brought the PLO and Hamas closer. This rapprochement testifies to the emerging trend towards unification of the internal Palestinian political elite in order to protect the interests of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian side has once again become convinced that the United States has no desire to resolve the conflict taking into account the interests of the parties¹¹⁷.
8. Taking into consideration the measures taken by the USA, EU and the Russian Federation and the escalation of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict in May 2021 there is no prediction about the possible peaceful settlement of it in the future. When it comes to the Israeli side, there are a number of emerging shaky political coalitions, which are more valuable for the politicians than the peaceful resolving of the conflict. The Palestinian side suffers from the domestic politics problems, i.e., clash between Hamas and Fattah which hinders the successful peace initiative towards Israel. According to Makhmutova, due to the fail of the Quartet in the negotiation role, at this point of the conflict there is no mediator that ought to settle it. The analysis conducted by this research paper shows that the Israeli – Palestinian conflict barely will be resolved in the nearest future. Ultimately, the conflict does not attract any attention of the international community unless there are radical political steps of the politicians or conflicting parties escalate. Makhmutova articulates that

¹¹⁶ Israel/Palestine. Published by Human Rights Watch. Accessed on 22.11.2021. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/middle-east/north-africa/israel/palestine>

¹¹⁷ Ахмад, Р. (2021). Проблема создания палестинского государства на рубеже XX–XXI вв.: акторы, стратегии, перспективы. Page 155. Published by Уральский федеральный университет имени первого Президента России Б. Н. Ельцина. Retrieved from <file:///C:/Users/aliya.abdullayeva/Downloads/2.%20%D0%94%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%81%D0%B5%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D1%8F.pdf>

in case of finding new approaches to the negotiation and conflict resolution process by the third parties the Middle - East conflict has a chance for being resolved¹¹⁸.



Table 10. *Israel-Gaza violence: The conflict explained.* Published by BBC News. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-44124396>

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¹¹⁸ Махмутова, М. (2020). Динамика Урегулирования Палестино – Израильского Конфликта (1991–2019). pp. 210–212. Retrieved from https://ivran.ru/sites/28/files/Tekst_dissertacii_Mahmutovoj_M.I..pdf

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ANNEXES

Norms and State Behavior

State Behavior and International Norms “Mutually Constituted”

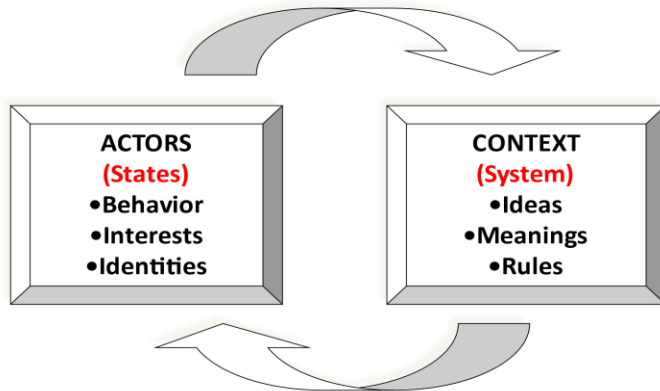


Table 1. Norms and State behavior. Picture from eClass <https://eclass.uoa.gr/file.php> > κοστροκτιβισμός

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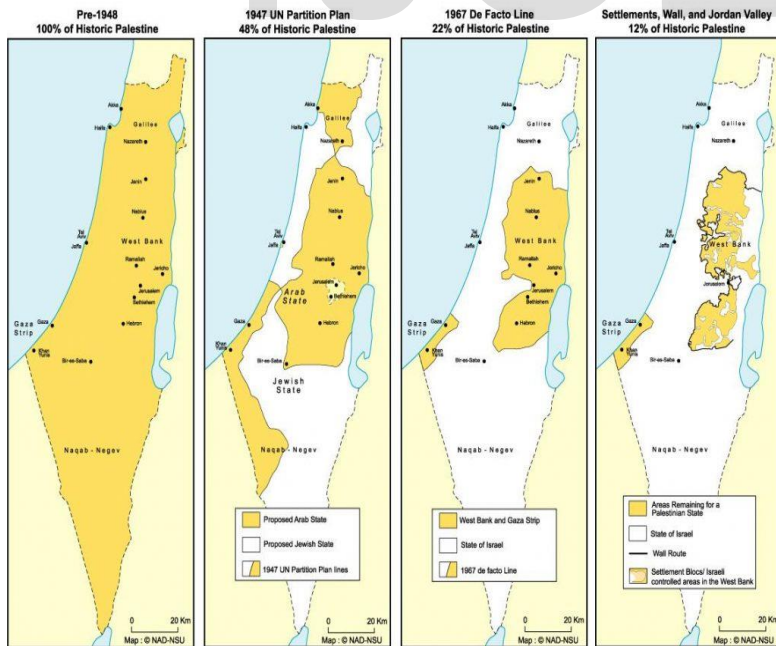
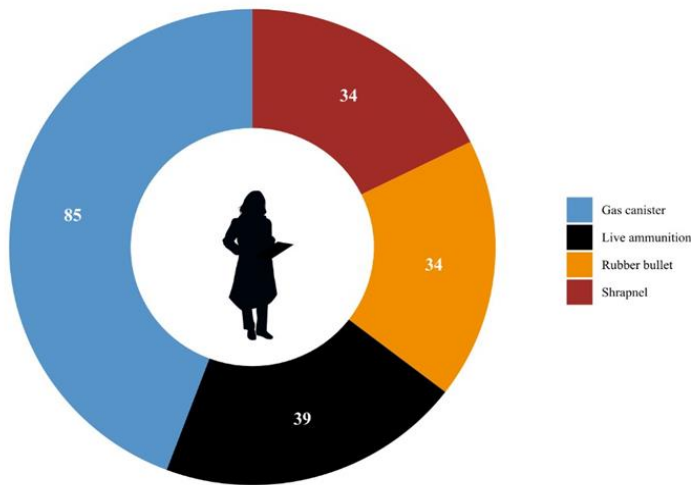


Table 2. History of Palestine – from beginning till today. Picture from <https://lifeinsaudi Arabia.net/history-of-palestine-from-beginning/>

Total injuries to health workers during the demonstrations in Gaza

injuries by type of weapon, 30 March - 31 December 2018



Source: UN Commission of Inquiry on the 2018 protests

Table 3. Total injuries during the demonstrations in Gaza.

https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session40/Documents/A_HRC_40_74_CRP2.pdf

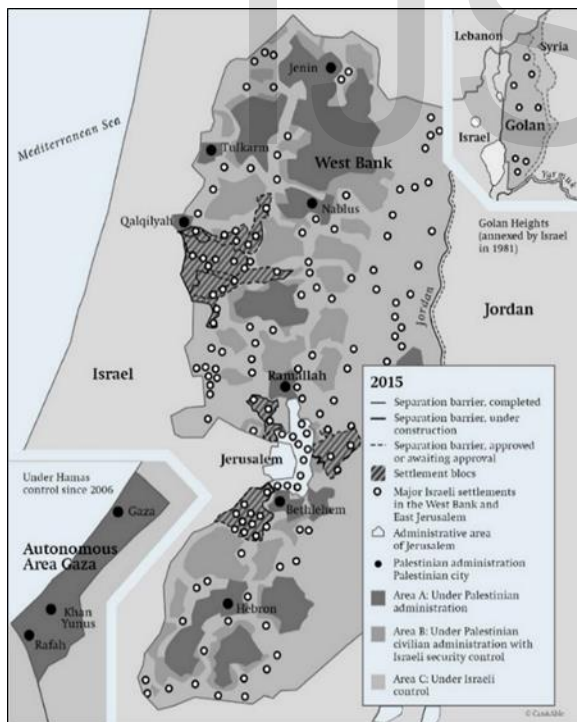


Table 4. West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights. https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/research_papers/2018RP03_t1.pdf

Category	Total	Women	Children	Body part targeted					Press	Health workers
				Head/neck	Torso	Upper limb	Lower limb			
Gaza:										
Fatalities by live ammunition ^a	183	1	32	70	101	0	12	2	3	
Injuries by live ammunition ^b	6 106	159	940	175	401	493	4 903	39	39	
Injuries by bullet fragmentation/shrapnel ^c	1 576	59	345	-	-	-	-	5	34	
Injuries by rubber-coated metal bullet	438	36	124	-	-	-	-	4	34	
Injuries by direct tear-gas canister hit	1 084	60	233	-	-	-	-	32	85	
Israel:										
Fatalities ^d	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Injuries by stones, explosives	4	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Table 5. Fatalities and injuries between 30 March and 31 December 2018.

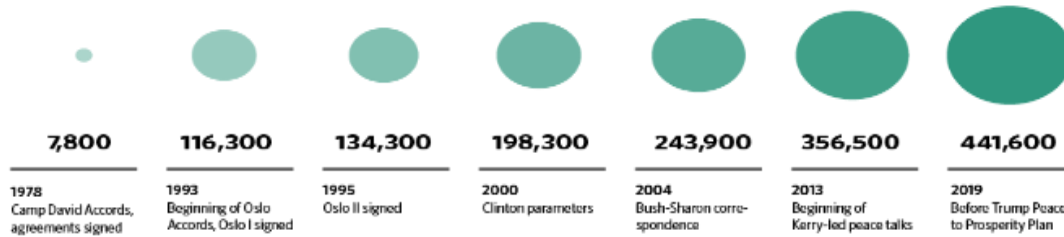
https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session40/Documents/A_HRC_40_74_CRP2.pdf



Table 6. The Trump peace plan. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Jensehaugen%20et%20al%20-%20A%20House%20Divided%20EU%20Policy%20on%20the%20Israeli%20%80%93Palestinian%20Conflict%2C%20MidEast%20Policy%20Brief%2002-2020.pdf>

Settlement Expansion in the West Bank, 1978-2019

In 2019, the number of settlers was about fifty-seven times larger than in 1978



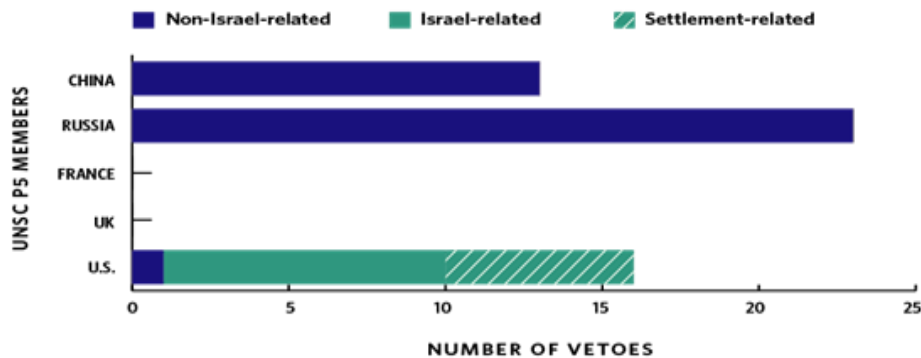
NOTE: Numbers exclude East Jerusalem, where the settler population has grown from between 120,000 and 140,000 in 1992 (before the Oslo Accords) to 225,178 in 2019.

SOURCE: For West Bank data, see "Settlement Watch, Data: Population," Peace Now, <https://peacenow.org.il/en/settlements-watch/settlements-data/population>. For East Jerusalem data, see United Nations, "Israeli settlements—SecGen report (GA res.47/172)," July 8, 1993, <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-178776/>; and "Settlement Watch, Data: Jerusalem," Peace Now, <https://peacenow.org.il/en/settlements-watch/settlements-data/jerusalem>.

Table 7. Breaking the Israel-Palestine Status Quo. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/04/19/breaking-israel-palestine-status-quo-pub-84167>

Vetoes in the UN Security Council, 1995-2019

From 1995 to 2019, the United States vetoed six out of seven resolutions that condemned Israel's land expropriation, designated the settlements as illegal, and/or called for their cessation. In 2016, the administration under Barack Obama and Joe Biden abstained from voting on the seventh.



NOTE: France and the United Kingdom did not use their veto power during this period.

SOURCE: Security Council Report, "The Security Council Veto," Table, December 16, 2020, <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/>.

Table 8. Breaking the Israel-Palestine Status Quo. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/04/19/breaking-israel-palestine-status-quo-pub-84167>

1971	1973	1977	1980	1999	2009
Paris Declaration	EPC Middle East Declaration	EPC Middle East Declaration	Venice Declaration	Berlin Declaration	Council of the EU
No mention of the Palestinians as an explicit party to the conflict.	EC recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.	EC took into account the need for a homeland for the Palestinian people .	EC recognized the Palestinians' right to exercise fully their right to self - determination .	EU declares its explicit commitment to the creation of a Palestinian state .	EU recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state.

Table 9: *The Transformation of EU's Formula for a Just Peace, 1971-2009.*

<https://lup.lub.lu.se/search/ws/files/3049963/3736685.pdf>

Name	Conditions under which the scenario is possible	Implications for major and minor participants and intermediaries	Likelihood
Continuation of the conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There will be continuation of Israeli – Palestinian confrontation; ➤ There will be continuation of religious contradictions between Israelis and Palestinians; ➤ Israeli – Palestinian conflict will be supported by the indirect participants; ➤ Palestine will be supplied with the weapons by the Arab states. 	<p><u>Israel:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Destabilization of the situation in the country; ➤ Development of terrorism. <p><u>Palestine:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Economic problems; ➤ Unresolved problem in the Gaza Strip; ➤ Palestinian refugee problem; ➤ Maintaining the status of an unrecognized state. <p><u>USA:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There will be continued the struggle for influence in the region. <p><u>EU:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The problem of refugees will 	The most likable scenario

<p>Israel wins</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Israel takes control of the "Holy Places"; ➤ The United States intervenes in the conflict; ➤ The conflict is aggravated by the confrontation between Sunnis and Shiites in Islam. 	<p style="text-align: center;">strengthen.</p> <p><u>Israel:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Has control over the disputed territories; ➤ Increases its influence in the region. <p><u>Palestine:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Retains the status of an unrecognized state; ➤ Has the dire economic situation; ➤ Strengthening the migration problem. <p><u>USA:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Has control over the region. <p><u>EU:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The flow of migration creates demographic problem. <p><u>Arab countries:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There will be an escalation of the Religious struggle between Jews and Muslims. 	<p>The least likable scenario</p>
<p>Palestine wins</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The countries of the Arab world will unite and support Palestine in the fight against Israel; ➤ 2) the US will refuse supporting Israel. 	<p><u>Palestine:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The problem with "sacred lands" and territories will be resolved; ➤ There will be boost in economic growth; ➤ The Palestinian state will be recognized by all actors in 	<p>Less likable scenario</p>

		<p>the international arena;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Palestine will gain the strong influence in the region. <p><u>Israel:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Israel will run into the plight; ➤ There will be huge economic losses; ➤ There will be refugee problem. <p><u>USA:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Failure to maintain influence in the region. <p><u>Arab states:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There will be maintenance of peaceful coexistence in region; ➤ There will be boost in economic development. 	
<p>Peaceful settlement of the conflict</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Israel and Palestine will be able to find a peaceful solution to the conflict; ➤ Palestine is recognized as a sovereign state; ➤ 3) Israel is recognized as a state by all Arab countries. 	<p><u>Israel:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There will be stabilization of the situation in the region; ➤ The development of terrorism will not have any ground; ➤ There will be stable economic growth; ➤ Solving the problem of "sacred lands". <p><u>Palestine:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The problem with the Gaza Strip will be resolved; 	<p>An unlikely scenario</p>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Palestine will be recognized as a sovereign state; ➤ There will be strengthening of the economic and political spheres of the country; ➤ The problem of "sacred lands" will be resolved. <p>USA:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Failure to maintain influence in the region. <p>EU:</p> <p>The refugee problem will be resolved;</p> <p>Arab countries:</p> <p>The situation in the region will be stabilized.</p>	
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Table 10. The possible scenarios for Israeli – Palestinian conflict. Created by the author.

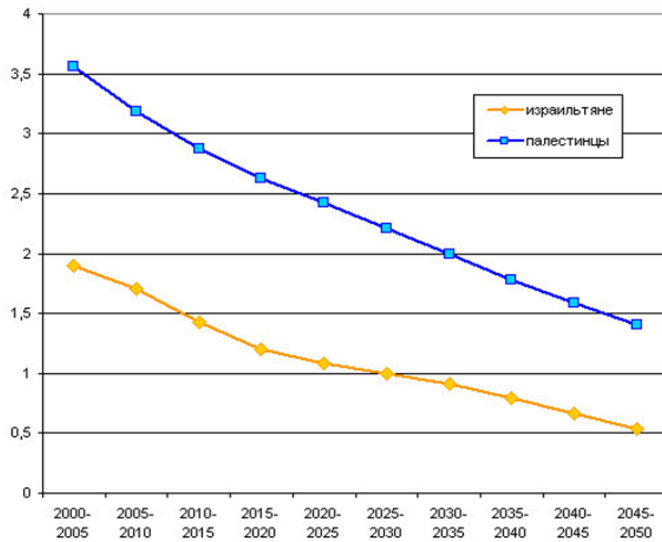


Table 11. Темпы роста населения в Израиле и на Палестинских территориях

<http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2010/0411/analit03.php>