

ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories

State-building without a state

Dimitris Bouris



Bouris's book is an important contribution to understanding statebuilding in the OPTs because of its focus on the EU, whose central role is often ignored or downplayed. Through his assessment of security sector reform and rule of law promotion, Bouris lays bare the incoherence and inconsistency in EU policy and practices, and shows how statebuilding is not a technical project, but is highly political. He usefully reminds us of how Europe has a major responsibility not only historically for the situation in Israel/Palestine, but also for the current democratic deficit witnessed in the OPTs.

Mandy Turner, *Director of the Kenyon Institute in Jerusalem.*

Bouris' book offers a coherent and detailed assessment of the EU's role in the Palestinian state-building after the Oslo Accords. What makes the book unique is that it places the EU at the centre of the state-building project conducted in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, an endeavor that has so far been missing from the academic literature. The book is based on Bouris' exhaustive research providing the reader with crucial empirical material linked to a clear theoretical framework. It is an important contribution, which should be read by scholars, researchers, students and policy-makers across the EU and beyond.

Richard Youngs, *Senior Associate Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Professor of International Relations at Warwick University.*

Dimitris Bouris' book offers a unique insight into the EU's role in the Palestinian institution-building. The book demonstrates how the different tools like security sector reform and support to the judiciary, and policies of the EU do come together in pursuing the EU's political goal of supporting a 'two-state solution' in the Middle East with Israel and the future Palestinian state living side by side in peace and security. Bouris' analysis highlights the EU's indispensable role despite the many drawbacks and pitfalls that come with a long-lasting conflict like the one in the Middle East.

Christian Berger, *Director for North Africa, Middle East, Arabian Peninsula, Iran and Iraq, EEAS – European External Action Service.*

This is an important monograph that advances our knowledge on both conceptual and empirical grounds. Bouris delivers a fascinating account of the EU's engagement with the Palestinian territories that is well informed and sharply analytical. A must-read for those who wish to understand the limitations and opportunities of the European Union's role in the Middle East Peace Process. It is also highly recommended for scholars interested in the wider field of the European Union's external relations and literature on conflict resolution and contested statehood.

Dimitris Papadimitriou, *Professor of Politics, University of Manchester.*

The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories

This book analyses the present European Union (EU) approach to state-building, both in policy and operation. It offers a review of the literature on peace-building EU state-building and conflict resolution, before examining in detail the EU's role as a state-builder in the case of the Occupied Palestinian Territories following the 1993 Oslo Accords.

Drawing on extensive fieldwork and over 140 interviews carried out in Brussels, London, Jerusalem and Ramallah with EU, Palestinian and Israeli officials as well as academics, members of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and civil society, the author evaluates the present approach of state-building and offers a framework to test the effectiveness of the EU as a state-builder. Examining Security Sector Reform, Judiciary Sector Reform and the rule of law, the book brings the 'voices from the field' to the forefront and measures the contribution of the EU to state-building against a backdrop of ongoing conflict and a polarised social setting.

This book will be of interest to students and scholars of international relations, EU politics, Middle Eastern politics, conflict resolution and state-building.

Dimitris Bouris is Research Fellow at the European Neighbourhood Policy Chair, College of Europe (Natolin) and holds a PhD from the University of Warwick. His research interests include EU external relations (with a particular focus on the Middle East), conflict resolution, state-building and security sector reform.

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To my parents

**Συνέχισε να μου δίνεις χρώματα για να ζωγραφίζω ... τυχεροί
είναι αυτοί που πιστεύουν στην ομορφιά των ονείρων τους...**

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Foreword

The concept of peacebuilding is embedded within the notion of the ‘liberal peace’ and can be traced back to former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali’s 1992 Agenda for Peace. The concept is that of engaging in a wide variety of actions in conflict zones, from short-to-medium-term efforts at securing ceasefires, demobilisation, disarmament, peacekeeping and reconstruction, to longer-term activities aimed at promoting good governance, Security Sector Reform, judicial reform and transitional justice, democracy, civil society development, human rights protection and socio-economic development. The objective of ‘liberal peacebuilding’ is thus one of creating the conditions for a durable peace through policy actions aimed at erecting viable states, and promoting political, social and economic development, which branch out beyond the specific items on the conflict settlement agenda.

While all-encompassing in theory, in practice liberal peacebuilding has often merged into and been replaced by the narrower pursuit of state-building. Born out of a congruence of interests between liberal internationalist concerns for democracy and development, and realist concerns for security in failed or fragile states, liberal peacebuilding has often prioritised the (re)construction of the Weberian state, governmentality, control and pacification before (and often in contrast with) a rights and development agenda. The assumed link between state-building and (negative) peace rests on the Hobbesian notion that societies have to choose between the ‘war of all men against all men’ in a state of anarchy and the submission to a centralised state power for the enforcement of order. Viewing conflict as a breakdown of governance, state-building reflects an unwavering faith in the Westphalian state as the guardian of peace, enabling authorities to collect revenues, govern expenditures and regain the monopoly of the use of force. Paradoxically however, state-building often ends up undermining the very sovereignty it is intended to uphold by strengthening central authorities at the expense of citizens’ rights and/or by making these dependent on the whims of external state-builders. Likewise, peacebuilding has often promoted the marketisation of conflict societies through neo-liberal economic agendas, irrespective of local conditions. In so doing, liberal peacebuilding has often failed in its very mission of providing security, democracy, development and rights to conflict societies.

The inherent tension between peacebuilding and state-building has emerged vividly in the European Union's foreign policy in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Since the 1980 Venice Declaration, the European Community (at the time) has supported the Palestinian right to self-determination. As the Oslo Process came to a close with the eruption of the second Intifada in 2000, the EU upped the ante, explicitly backing the establishment of a viable and independent Palestinian state, living side by side in peace and security with Israel along the 1967 borders. In pursuit of this goal, the EU has deployed a variety of policy instruments. As documented in detail by Dimitris Bouris in this book, the EU has engaged in 'high politics' diplomatic activity, notably through the Middle East Quartet. It has deployed steadily increasing sums of financial assistance to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and has deployed two civilian missions in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS and EUBAM Rafah) in order to help the Palestinian Authority reform its security sector alongside initiatives in the domains of judicial reform and the rule of law.

What emerges from Bouris' insightful analysis of the EU's policies in the region is that Palestine is the quintessential test case in which the implementation of a state-building agenda has ended up trumping the broader peacebuilding goal, as Palestine has steadily moved away from democratic governance and towards an end of the Israeli occupation. Paradoxically, the end result is that neither peace nor a state loom on the horizon. As increasingly recognised by EU leaders themselves, the two-state solution is fast fading, without any palatable alternative emerging in its stead. Having contributed to this sorry state of affairs, it is perhaps time for Europeans, at official and civil society levels alike, to engage in a serious rethink of what a way out could look like. Just like in 1980, with European foreign policy in its stage of infancy, Europe broke the taboo of Palestinian self-determination, it is up to the EU once more to debate publically what a different two-state solution in Palestine might look like. A different two-state solution could be based, not on the notion of separation like its failed Oslo precedent, but on the ideals of exchange, intermingling and co-existence, which would both reflect more closely realities on the ground and could come to reflect what the European project has set out itself to accomplish on the continent.

Nathalie Tocci

Deputy Director, Institute for International Affairs, Rome

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Abbreviations

AA	Association Agreement
AGO	Attorney General's Office
AMA	Agreement on Movement and Access
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BP	Barcelona Process
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CPCC	Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DEI	Directorate of European Integration
DFID	Department for International Development
DG	Directorate General
DG EXPO	Directorate-General for External Policies
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EC	European Community
ECTAO	European Commission Technical Assistance Office
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESG	Economic Strategy Group
ESS	European Security Strategy
EUBAM Rafah	European Union Border Assistance Mission at Rafah Crossing Point
EUPM	European Union Police Mission
EUPOL COPPS	European Union Police Mission in the Palestinian Territories
EU	European Union
EU COPPS	European Union Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support
Fatah	Harekat al-Tahrir al-Wataniyyeh al-Falastiniyyeh
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GMP	Global Mediterranean Policy