

Understanding Israeli–EU Relations: A Matter of Perceptions and Images

Sharon Pardo

Sharon Pardo is a Jean Monnet lecturer at the Department of Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and the director of the university's Centre for the Study of European Politics and Society. Dr. Pardo has published numerous works on Israeli–EU relations, most recently, a book with Joel Peters: Uneasy Neighbors: Israel and the European Union.

Europe is Israel's economic, cultural and, in many respects, political hinterland. Israel enjoys a unique status in its relations with the European Union (EU), a status that grants it extensive rights in many areas such as research and development and economics. Indeed, recent years have witnessed a changing attitude within Israeli policy-making circles and civil society have toward the EU. Yet, over the years, Europe has not always been central to Israeli strategy and has rarely been seen in a positive light. These negative images and perceptions have led Israel to behave as if it were an island in the Atlantic Ocean rather than a Mediterranean country neighboring the European continent.

Under these circumstances, it would behoove us to examine the changing images and perceptions in Israel of the EU among the general public, political elites, organized civil society and the Israeli press. An evaluation of such perceptions—and in some cases only dispelling them—will allow for a better understanding of some of the challenges Israel has to overcome in order to gain more stable footing in its relations with the EU.

The European Union as a Global Power

This issue was addressed by a questionnaire on the dominant powers of the twenty-first century and on the nature of international politics. The interviewees included Israeli politicians; policy makers; directors and board members of Israel's leading trade unions, academic institutions and NGOs; and leading journalists of major Israeli newspapers, television channels and radio programs.

The interviewees placed the EU and France in fourth place on the list of global superpowers after the US, China, Russia and Germany—but they also expected the EU to move up to third place by the year 2020. According to the interviewees, among the greatest challenges facing the world's superpowers are climate change,

international terrorism and poverty. Consequently, protection of the environment, peacekeeping and the eradication of poverty should be the top goals of any superpower.

Approximately 50 percent of those interviewed were of the opinion that the US is the country best placed to maintain peace and stability in the world, while 33 percent believed that the EU, rather than the US, would be better suited to fill this role. Only 17 percent of the interviewees thought that a unipolar international system might have a positive effect on the maintenance of world peace, while 33 percent were of the opinion that world peace could be maintained under UN leadership or under balanced regional superpowers.

The European Union's Involvement in the Middle East Peace Process

In spite of the adoption of successful bilateral instruments and frameworks, political relations between Israel and the EU have never fully recovered from the shadow cast by the 1980 Venice declaration. From that point on, the EU has been seen by Israel as harboring a strong pro-Arab bias and an antipathy to Israel and its security. The positions adopted by the EU on the Arab–Israeli conflict have been seen in Israel as hostile to Israeli policies and concerns. Indeed, the EU and all its member states have been vocal in their criticism of Israeli policies over the past three decades. The harsh tone of much of this criticism has drowned out their expressed commitment to the existence and survival of Israel. Without question, European declarations and speeches have strongly shaped Israeli attitudes toward the EU, especially with respect to a potential role for the EU in the Middle East peace process.

It came as no surprise that survey results confirmed the view that Israelis do not see the EU as a significant player in the Middle East peace process. In the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) and Pardo 2007 national survey on Israelis' attitudes toward the EU and its member states, 75 percent of the Israeli public believed that either the US or EU member states should be involved in the peace process between Israel and its neighbors. When the respondents to the KAS and Pardo 2009 national survey were asked the same question, 56 percent of the respondents replied that the US should be involved, as opposed to 9 percent who said they preferred the EU. In addition, 34 percent of the respondents to the 2009 survey felt that EU involvement in the region in recent years had hindered progress in the peace process.¹

At the same time, it is important to note that Israelis understand that EU policies toward the Israeli–Palestinian conflict reflect the EU's increasing importance as an actor on the global stage. EU involvement in reaching a ceasefire in Gaza

in January 2009, the EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) in Rafah, and member states' military involvement in the UN Interim Force (UNIFIL II) in Lebanon are evidence of the EU's increased involvement in the Middle East in the field of security. These missions, and their acceptance by Israel, mark a significant step forward for Israeli–European relations, insofar as they established a precedent whereby the EU had been afforded a responsibility in the “hard security” sphere.

Israeli Perceptions of the EU: Public Opinion and Political Elites

Public Opinion

Israeli perceptions are often analyzed as if Israel were a single, coherent, unified society. This is clearly not the case. Various sectors of Israeli society hold differing views on the EU, and differences exist within each sector as well. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify certain perceptions that are widely shared by both the general public and by political elites.

There is a widespread perception among Israelis that the EU represents a hospitable framework for Israeli accession, and therefore that Israel should seek membership in the EU within the foreseeable future. In a Dahaf 2004 survey of Israelis' perceptions of the EU, 70 percent of respondents thought that joining the EU was either very important or important. In the KAS and Pardo 2009 national survey, an overwhelming majority (69 percent) of the Israeli public either “strongly supported” or “somewhat supported” the idea that Israel should join the EU. In addition, because large numbers of Israelis have roots in Central and Eastern Europe, following the EU enlargement in January 2007, some 40 percent of Israelis were identified as eligible for EU citizenship based on their country of birth or that of their parents and grandparents.

An additional perception, seemingly contradictory to the first perception, is that strong political relations with the EU are not that essential for Israel. In the Dahaf 2004 survey of Israeli public opinion, more than two-thirds of those polled considered relations with the US more important than relations with the EU. Only 6 percent considered relations with the EU more important than relations with the US. About one-quarter thought that both relations were equally important.³ Furthermore, 69 percent of the respondents to the KAS and Pardo 2007 survey said that they felt that culturally, Israel shared more with America than with Europe. Only 20 percent of the respondents felt they had more in common with Europeans than with Americans.⁴

A third perception follows from the second and accentuates the tension with the first, namely, that anti-Israeli attitudes and geostrategic views detrimental to

the security of Israel are embedded in the EU. Underlying this perception is a common belief among Israelis that antisemitism is prevalent in large parts of the EU. The 2007 KAS and Pardo survey reveals that 78 percent of those surveyed held that the EU is not doing enough to counter antisemitism in Europe. Likewise, 64 percent of the respondents to the Dahaf 2004 survey agreed with the claim that the EU positions toward Israel reflect antisemitic attitudes thinly disguised as moral principles.⁵

Political Elites

A number of Israeli politicians share the public's view that Israel is in a position to, and should, seek EU membership in the near future. For instance, in November 2002, then-foreign minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared that Israel favored joining the EU and asked Italy for assistance in achieving that goal.⁶ Likewise, in recent years, Israel's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Avigdor Lieberman, has been advocating for Israeli membership in both the EU and NATO. Ahead of the February 2009 general elections in Israel, Lieberman's party (Yisrael Beytenu) platform stated that:

One of the clear goals of Yisrael Beytenu is Israel's joining the European Union and NATO [...] Membership in the European Union would gain Israel greater political influence in an ever-strengthening Europe and contribute much to the economy. We can achieve this goal in the near future and should make every effort to make it come about.⁷

A different approach has been taken by Israel's president, Shimon Peres, who has argued that once Israel, the Palestinians and Jordan sign a peace agreement, "they should be accepted as members of a united Europe," in which the three countries could form a trading partnership that would create "a modern Benelux." According to Peres, offering EU membership "will give hope to the three parties."⁸

Significantly, there are also voices in the EU that support such thinking, reinforcing the Israeli perception that Israeli membership in the EU is possible. For example, Italy's prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, has for several years (and especially during the 2003 Italian presidency of the EU), been advocating Israel's accession to the EU. In 2004, Berlusconi declared that "Italy will support Israeli membership in the EU... As far as Italy is concerned, Israel is completely European in terms of standard of living, heritage and cultural values. Geography is not a determinant."⁹ More recently, during his January 2009 visit to Jerusalem, Berlusconi reiterated his earlier statements, announcing that "despite the geographical distance, one day Israel can be one of the member countries in the European Union. I am still convinced that it is proper that this happen, and we must continue working to that end."¹⁰

Israel is also considered to be a natural candidate for EU membership by French president Nicolas Sarkozy—or at least a more natural partner than Turkey. In his 2007 election campaign manifesto Sarkozy explained: “If Turkey entered the EU, I also wonder on what basis we could exclude Israel, so many of whose citizens are at home in France and in Europe, and vice versa.”¹¹ Support for Israeli accession to the EU can also be heard in the European Parliament. The Transnational Radical Party, for instance, has for many years been running a campaign for full Israeli membership in the EU.¹² Moreover, according to the former junior partner in Germany’s coalition government, the Social Democrats (SPD), Israel could join the EU. The party’s foreign affairs spokesman, Gert Weisskirchen, recently told the *Hamburger Abendblatt* daily that “I really wish Israel would become a full member of the European Union. Israeli membership is something that can be considered in fifteen years.”¹³

Although Israeli policy makers are aware of the importance of the EU to Israel, like the general public, many of them share the public’s view that good political relations with the EU are not crucial for Israel. In a statement that well reflects Israeli disregard of European opinion, in 2004 Prime Minister Ariel Sharon told a gathering of Israeli ambassadors to Europe that they should pay no heed to criticism of Israel by European governments since Israel “does not owe anyone [i.e., the Europeans] anything. We are obligated only to God!”¹⁴ Only three weeks after his return to power in 2009, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu took a similar approach toward Europe. In dismissing European calls to suspend the upgrade of Israeli–European relations, Netanyahu told the former Czech premier, Mirek Topolánek, that Europe “should not set conditions for us.”¹⁵

Israeli political elites also share the public’s perception that EU policies toward Israel are entrenched and rigid, and colored by antisemitism. In the last eight years, European antisemitism was discussed several times by the Israeli government in its weekly meetings. In press statements issued by Israeli politicians following meetings with European officials, the topic of European antisemitism is regularly cited.

Former foreign minister Tzipi Livni, although a strong advocate of Israeli–European relations, has painted a bleak picture, one of antisemitism being very much alive in Europe. “This is a battle to be fought, first and foremost, by the State of Israel, as the Jewish homeland. This is a battle to be fought by the entire Jewish nation. And this should also be the battle fought by the free world, which we must recruit,” Livni told participants of the foreign ministry’s Global Forum for Combating Antisemitism. According to Livni, “...modern antisemitism is spreading from fringes to the mainstream, in parallel with the growth of radical Islamic ideology in Europe. It poses a significant threat. We are witnessing new types of cooperation

in Europe between the racist right, radical left and the Jihadist Muslims in this campaign.”¹⁶ The fight against antisemitism in Europe is also included in the EU–Israel Action Plan, as well as in the December 2008 EU Council guidelines for strengthening political dialogue structures with Israel. Several chapters and sections of the Action Plan include references to antisemitism.

*Analysis of Public Opinion and Political Elites’ Perceptions of the EU*¹⁷

The general public’s perception that the EU is amenable to Israeli accession, and that, therefore, Israel should join the EU within the foreseeable future, is easy to understand. However, such a perception can be best characterized as wishful thinking. What is more surprising is the degree to which senior Israeli officials as well as European leaders, policy makers and others who are familiar with the workings of the EU cling to this idea. Proponents of Israeli EU membership ignore fundamental incongruities between Israel’s definition of itself as a Jewish state and the state of the Jewish people, on the one hand, and the EU’s guiding principle of an open and unified space without sharp distinctions between citizens of member states in terms of “insiders” and “others,” on the other. This fundamental difference would present significant obstacles for Israeli accession to the EU, even if Israel were invited by Europe to apply for membership. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for many Israelis to relinquish their core value of Israel as a Jewish state, since for many of them, this underscores the entire *raison d’être* for the existence of Israel as an independent state.

Israel is not regarded by EU institutions and officials as a likely candidate for joining the Union in the foreseeable future. Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner explained: “In the context of the [European Neighbourhood Policy] we still have a lot of work to bring Israel and the EU closer... as for the question of [Israel’s] EU membership—this question is not on the agenda.”¹⁸

Israel’s perception that it can join the EU also harms future prospects for developing and upgrading relations. Indeed, recognition by Israeli officials that Israel cannot, and should not, advocate for EU membership, but instead should work on developing extensive cooperation agreements, is a basic starting point for the strengthening and upgrading of Israeli–EU relations.

The Israeli perception that good relations with the EU are not critical for Israel is particularly harmful. The Israeli economy and a significant share of its research and technology are dependent upon cooperation with the EU. Moreover, Europe’s standing in global affairs and security policies (together with its desire to be more involved in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean) is likely to remain strong. The EU’s 2003 Security Strategy Paper considers the Middle East conflict a

violent one that persists on Europe's borders and threatens regional stability. The Strategy paper emphasizes that the "resolution of the Arab/Israeli conflict is a strategic priority for Europe... The [EU] must remain engaged and ready to commit resources to the problem until it is solved."¹⁹ The perceived difference in Israeli attitudes toward Washington and Brussels may lessen as the Obama administration appears ready to work more harmoniously, and even in synch with, the EU on the Middle East.

For any meaningful upgrade of Israeli–European relations to occur, Israel needs to be cognizant of the fact that the EU is an emerging global actor that has a potentially constructive role to play in shaping the geopolitical and geostrategic future of Israel. Now, with the Lisbon treaty in force, Europe intends to assume a key role in the management of international affairs. The role that the EU has chosen to play in the Lebanese crisis following the 2006 Second Lebanon War, in defusing the Iranian nuclear crisis and in facilitating a ceasefire following the January 2009 Cast Lead operation may prove that the EU is committed to playing an international role. This may help Israel dispel its own perception with regard to the value of good political relations with Brussels.

The Israeli perception that EU policies toward Israel are entrenched and rigid and that large parts of the EU remain antisemitic is harder to dispel, given that there are voices in the EU that reinforce this view. In June 2008, the former vice president of the European Commission and current Italian foreign minister, Franco Frattini, gave credence to this view at the meeting of the Annual Europe–Israel Dialogue. "I have to admit," declared Frattini, "if I look at the past, the EU has, on some occasions, taken an unbalanced stance toward Israel, confusing between legitimate political criticism of Israel and intolerance against Jewish people that can become antisemitism."²⁰

Israelis interviewed for the questionnaire cited earlier identified Europe's Muslims as a main source of the current rise of antisemitism in Europe. They pointed to the combination of growing Islamic populations in EU member states and some features of globalization that result in radical versions of European antisemitism fused with anti-Zionism, anti-Israel sentiment and anti-Americanism. All interviewees concluded that these culminate in the manifestation of a "new" expression of European antisemitism, superimposed on the traditional historical core of European antisemitism.

A View from Civil Society

In analyzing Israel's civil society, my colleagues and I conducted a study of a hundred websites of major Israeli trade unions, academic institutions and NGOs.

The internet search was conducted between March and April 2008 and was based on the terms “European Union” and “Europe.” An additional component of this analysis consisted of personal interviews with twenty leaders, directors and board members of Israel’s leading trade unions, academic institutions and NGOs.

Thirty percent of the examined organizations made some kind of reference to the EU/Europe in their websites. Five percent of the organizations made a reference on their homepage and 25 percent of them referred to the EU/Europe in other pages of their websites. In the thirty websites that mentioned the EU/Europe, 134 items and links referred to the EU and 749 items and links referred to Europe. The figure of 30 percent of organizations that made some reference to the EU/Europe in their websites seems to represent a significant quantitative measure. However, a qualitative analysis of these references reveals that they play a far less central role for the EU/Europe than the numbers might suggest.

It is important to emphasise that Israeli civil society is not unified in its approach to the EU. It is possible to divide the Israeli civil society organizations into three categories:

- organizations that are not concerned with the EU and for which the Union has no direct relevance to their work;
- organizations that are aware that the EU can assist them but do not enjoy the Union’s financial support; and
- organizations that enjoy the Union’s financial support.

This third group includes left-wing and liberal civil society organizations that see the EU as a potential political and ideological partner. It believes that the Union respects the work of civil society even if their work conflicts with the policies of the Israeli government. As the director of one Israeli NGO explained, the EU exemplifies “how a democratic system should behave.” Not surprisingly, these organizations perceive the EU as the global defender of human rights and as an independent global power.

Unlike other Israeli sectors, many of the civil society organizations do not perceive the EU as an antisemitic entity; quite the opposite is true. Most of them report that they have never encountered any antisemitic behavior in dealing with their European counterparts. For these organizations, the issue of antisemitism is not part of their agenda. Most Israeli NGOs stated that they would like Israel to strengthen relations with the EU; some of them would even like to see Israel as a full member of the EU. According to the director-general of one of the largest Israeli civil society organizations, “If Israel were to join the EU, Israel would finally be a member of a family of nations that believe in human rights and in

equality—a family of nations that fight for the protection of the environment. It is not that Europe is a perfect place, but European society is an enlightened society. Israeli EU membership will release us from our historical siege.”²¹

Israeli Media Perceptions of the EU

Although newspaper circulation is currently in decline worldwide, leading newspapers still remain a major source of information for the general public, as well as for the country’s elite and opinion leaders. They play a central role in forming foreign images and influencing the character of international relations. In this context, we analyzed the content of the three main national Hebrew newspapers, *Haaretz*, *Yedioth Ahronoth* and *Maariv*. The analysis spans all news items in the printed editions of these newspapers between October 1, 2007 and March 31, 2008. A survey was carried out in which the names of the twenty-seven EU member states or the terms “European Union” and/or “Europe” were mentioned in the headline or in the sub-headline, either in a value-laden context or in a descriptive, factual manner. A simple matrix was then used to catalog each news item according to the position it presented and whether the context was positive, negative, neutral or a simple presentation of general information. We also checked to see whether the news item covered Israel, Jewish communities/Shoah/antisemitism, foreign affairs, economy, security, culture, gossip or immigration.

The number of news items relating to the EU and its member states varied greatly among Israel’s three leading newspapers. *Haaretz* published 64 percent of all news items on Europe, while *Maariv* published 25 percent, and *Yedioth Ahronoth* published the remaining 11 percent. In terms of the content of the news items, it is noteworthy that most of the items did not overlap and many news items tended to appear in only one paper.

In its coverage of the EU and its individual member states, *Haaretz* focused more on internal affairs, foreign relations, Israel, the European Jewish communities, the Shoah and antisemitism. In many cases, *Haaretz* published articles written by its own journalists; in other cases, the newspaper published translated articles that were originally published in the *New York Times* and the *International Herald Tribune*. The news items published by *Haaretz* tended to be longer as well as more substantive and analytical than those published by *Maariv* and *Yedioth Ahronoth*. The news items in *Maariv* and *Yedioth Ahronoth* were shorter and more superficial. The percentage of news items mentioning the EU/Europe was much greater in *Haaretz* (16 percent) than in *Yedioth Ahronoth* (4 percent) and *Maariv* (2 percent).

Out of the twenty-seven EU member states, France was mentioned most often by the Israeli newspapers. The focus of the news coverage was more on the personal

life of President Sarkozy. While 36 percent and 38 percent of the news items published in *Yedioth Ahronoth* and *Maariv* (respectively) focused on France, a majority of them were dedicated to gossip regarding his personal life.

Haaretz, too, focused on France more than on any other EU member state during the stated period (25 percent), but most of these items covered French foreign and domestic affairs (31 and 27 percent, respectively). After France, Germany received the most attention in Israel's three leading newspapers, with 15 percent of all news items. In *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 90 percent of the news items on Germany also related to Israel, European Jewish communities, the Shoah or European antisemitism. In *Haaretz*, 57 percent of the news items did so, and in *Maariv* 48 percent mentioned Germany in one of these contexts. The KAS and Pardo 2009 national survey also revealed that for the most part, Israelis have a very favorable image of Germany, with 65 percent of those surveyed expressing their wish to see a more dominant Germany within the EU. Not surprisingly, among the Israelis surveyed, Chancellor Angela Merkel comes out as one of the most favored leaders, with favorable ratings of 56 percent as opposed to 6 percent unfavorable.

Analysis of the Media Data

One of the initial assumptions of this media survey was that the image of the EU would be dominated by either European attitudes toward Israeli and European Jewish communities/antisemitism or economic themes. It was assumed that the Israeli media would frame the EU as an economic power, a weak political force and as an anti-Jewish entity. Yet the first two parts of this assumption proved to be wrong. The findings reveal that the coverage by Israel's major newspapers during the six-month period surveyed related to the EU as "a powerful political system," and sometimes even "a power of passive aggression,"²² acting internally and externally. Paradoxically, the EU is framed as a marginal economic power with an anti-Jewish character.

It is interesting to point out that the EU's internal policies and member states' domestic affairs received the largest share of media attention—34 percent of all news items. The second most visible media framing of the EU was around the Union's external affairs—17 percent of the sampled news items.

While the initial assumption was that the Israeli media would take a neutral to negative approach toward the EU with regard to internal and external affairs, the findings reveal that Israel's major newspapers took a neutral or positive stance. In 89 percent of all sampled news items the media presented the Israeli readers with a neutral position and in 7 percent of all sampled news items the media presented

readers with a positive position. In only 4 percent of the items the Israeli media clearly took a negative position.

As discussed above, based on the general public feeling as well as statements by political elites regarding antisemitism in the EU, the initial assumption was that the EU's image in the Israeli media would be framed by questions concerning Jewish communities, the Shoah and European antisemitism, and that the EU and its member states would be perceived as anti-Jewish entities. This assumption was borne out by the survey's findings that representation of the EU as an antisemitic entity received the third largest share of media attention—13 percent of all news items. In other words, the survey demonstrated that Israel's major newspapers see the EU as an entity with an anti-Jewish bias.

Regarding the frequency with which news items on the Shoah and European antisemitism appeared, some of the foreign news editors and journalists of these dailies admitted that the decision to report extensively on antisemitic incidents in Europe and on the Shoah stemmed from the fact that "antisemitism and the Shoah sell newspapers in Israel." Indeed, often news items on antisemitism and the Shoah were placed prominently on the front page. Notwithstanding this antisemitic image, the EU and its member states were portrayed as possessing democratic values, being advocates for human rights, leading aid donors and active international negotiators on the Iranian nuclear crisis.

Conclusion: Perceptions and Images Play a Critical Role in Israeli–EU Relations

However problematic some of these perceptions and images might be, we should not lose sight of the fact that they play a critical role in Israeli–EU relations. If Israel wants to continue developing and upgrading its relations with the EU, it should make much more of an effort to understand, and in some cases even dispel, its (mis)perceptions and images of the EU. As François Duchêne has already cautioned us: "Israel can never be wholly foreign to [...] Europeans... Jews are so much part of the fabric of European history and contemporary life that relations with Israel must, in some sense, be an extension of folk memories on both sides."²⁵ Without understanding these memories, it will be difficult to address the perceptions and images on which the future of Israeli–EU relations ultimately lies.

Notes

This article draws on Sharon Pardo, "Between Attraction and Resistance: Israeli Views of the European Union," in Sonia Lucarelli and Lorenzo Fioramonti, (eds.) *External Perception of the European Union as a Global Actor* (Oxon, 2009), pp. 70–86 and on Y. Dror and S. Pardo, "Approaches and Principles for an Israeli Grand Strategy towards the European Union," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 11:1 (2006), 17–44.

- ¹ Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Sharon Pardo, *Measuring the Attitudes of Israelis towards the European Union and its Member States* (Jerusalem, 2007/2009).
- ² *Ibid.* (2009), pp. 26–29, 56.
- ³ Dahaf Institute, *Israelis' Attitudes towards the European Union* (Tel Aviv, 2004), p. 24.
- ⁴ Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Pardo (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- ⁵ Dahaf, p. 41.
- ⁶ "Israel Should Join the European Union," IDF Radio, November 9, 2002.
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- ¹⁰ "Statements by PM Olmert and European Leaders," *Ynet*, January 18, 2009. Berlusconi made the statement at a joint news conference with four other European leaders who arrived in Israel to support the Israeli– Hamas ceasefire.
- ¹¹ Nicolas Sarkozy, *Testimony* (New York, 2007), p. 148.
- ¹² Transnational Radical Party, "For Israel in the EU," Transnational Radical Party Website, October 25, 2009, www.radicalparty.org.
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- ¹⁶ Tzipi Livni, "Address to the Global Forum for Combating Anti-Semitism," Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website, October 25, 2009, www.mfa.gov.il.
- ¹⁷ For an in-depth discussion, see Y. Dror and S. Pardo, "Approaches and Principles for an Israeli Grand Strategy towards the European Union," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 11:1 (2006), 17–44.
- ¹⁸ Adar Primor, "EU Commissioner for External Relations: We Will Take Advantage of the Improvement of Relations with the US for a Deeper Involvement of the EU in the Peace Process," *Haaretz*, February 8, 2005.
- ¹⁹ Council of the European Union, "A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy," *European Council*, December 12, 2003, p. 8.

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