

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ABRAHAM ACCORDS: NORMALIZATION
AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY ISRAEL WITH THE U.A.E., BAHRAIN, SUDAN, AND MOROCCO
BY JOEL SINGER*
[Various Dates, 2020]

Introduction

On September 15, 2020, in a ceremony that took place on the South Lawn of the White House in Washington, DC, Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, and the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Bahrain (Bahrain) Abdullatif bin Rashid Al Zayani signed a trilateral document, called the "Abraham Accords Declaration,"¹ a political declaration that called for the promotion of peace and cooperation in the Middle East. As referenced in the declaration, it was titled after the common patriarch Abraham, from whom the three monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, have descended. U.S. President Donald Trump added his signature as a witness to the Abraham Accords Declaration, as well as to two other, bilateral documents also signed in Washington on the same day, which are discussed below.

On September 15, 2020, Israel and the UAE also signed a full-fledged peace treaty called "Abraham Accords Peace Agreement: Treaty of Peace, Diplomatic Relations and Full Normalization." The same day, Israel and Bahrain signed a short declaration, titled "Abraham Accords: Declaration of Peace, Cooperation, and Constructive Diplomatic and Friendly Relations," in which the two parties announced their intention to establish peaceful relations between them and enter into a series of normalization agreements in the spirit of the Abraham Accords Declaration. Three days later, Israel and Bahrain implemented their Washington declaration when, in Manama, Bahrain, they signed a full-fledged peace treaty titled "Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic, Peaceful and Friendly Relations."

Following the signing of their peace treaties, Israel, the UAE, and Bahrain, respectively, have entered into a series of normalization agreements. Among other agreements, on October 18, 2020, Israel and Bahrain signed seven normalization agreements,² and on October 20, 2020, Israel and the UAE entered into four such agreements.³

All these declarations and agreements are now referred to, collectively, as the Abraham Accords.

On October 23, 2020, Israel and the Republic of the Sudan (Sudan) also agreed to normalize their relations. In a joint declaration published by Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Sudanese Chairman of the Sovereignty Council Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, Sudanese Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok, and U.S. President Donald Trump, the leaders agreed "to the normalization of relations between Sudan and Israel and to end the state of belligerence between their nations."⁴ At the time of writing, Israel and Sudan had not yet signed any publicly available document implementing the October 23 announcement. While the declaration did not indicate that the newly established Israeli–Sudanese relations were part of the Abraham Accords, a fact sheet published by the White House on that day stated that they constituted an expansion of the Abraham Accords to include Sudan.⁵

On December 22, 2020, Israel, Morocco, and the United States signed a Joint Declaration announcing the establishment of full diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations between Israel and Morocco and committing to normalize their relations in various areas, including immediately authorizing direct commercial flights between the two nations.⁶ While this declaration did not specifically cite the Abraham Accords as the umbrella for the Israel–Morocco agreement, the U.S. Department of State's website included this declaration on its Abraham Accords webpage.⁷

* Joel Singer served as Legal Adviser of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, previously as Director of the International Law Department of the Israel Defense Forces. Beginning shortly after the 1973 Yom Kippur War and for a span of almost 25 years, Singer was a member of Israeli delegations negotiating peace treaties and other agreements with all of Israel's Arab neighbors, including Egypt (the 1979 Israel–Egypt peace treaty), Lebanon, Syria and the Palestinians (the Israel–PLO Mutual Recognition Agreement and the Oslo Accords). Singer blogs on Israeli–Arab negotiations issues on his website: <https://www.joelsinger.org>.

Context

The four agreements that Israel signed with the UAE, Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco supplement, after a long hiatus, two peace treaties that Israel had previously signed with two of its neighboring Arab countries, Egypt⁸ in 1979 and Jordan⁹ in 1994.

In 1949, Israel entered into General Armistice Agreements with its two other neighboring Arab countries, Syria¹⁰ and Lebanon,¹¹ but these agreements only ended the war between those countries and did not establish full peace. Since the convening in 1991 of the Middle East Peace Conference in Madrid, peace negotiations have commenced between Israel and those two countries, but no peace treaties have yet been concluded. In 1993, Israel entered into a series of agreements with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on behalf of the Palestinian people that included, among other agreements, the Mutual Recognition Agreement and the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements,¹² and the Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip,¹³ which resulted in establishing Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza (collectively, the Oslo Accords). Notwithstanding repeated attempts, however, the parties have not yet been able to conclude a permanent status agreement for the West Bank and Gaza, as envisioned in the Oslo Accords.

Following the Oslo Accords, several other Arab countries, including Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Oman, and Qatar, agreed to establish limited relations with Israel, each of which included the opening of liaison, interest or trade offices in the territories of both countries.¹⁴ Those relations, however, remained very low key, and the underlying agreements have not been made publicly available.¹⁵

Significance of the Abraham Accords

Prior to the Abraham Accords, commencing at different times, the UAE, Bahrain, Sudan and Morocco maintained informal relations of various types with Israel, but none of these countries agreed to formalize its relations with Israel. This was due, among other things, to the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative¹⁶—spearheaded by Saudi Arabia and agreed to by the 22 member states of the Arab League—which required that normalization by any Arab countries with Israel, beyond Egypt and Jordan, be deferred until after the Palestinians reached a peace agreement with Israel. The most significant aspect of the normalization agreements that those four Arab countries signed with Israel as part of the Abraham Accords, therefore, is that the UAE, Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco have now agreed to come out of the closet and bring those relations with Israel to light, without waiting for an Israeli–Palestinian peace agreement to be concluded.

Another interesting aspect of the Abraham Accords, which relates specifically to the normalization of relations between Sudan and Israel, is associated with the famous “Three No’s” resolutions adopted shortly after the end of the 1967 Six-Day War by the Arab League in its meeting in Sudan’s capital Khartoum: no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel.¹⁷ In normalizing its relations with Israel, Sudan did, at least symbolically, a complete about-face when it agreed to negotiate with Israel, recognize it, and make peace with it.

Additional Observations Regarding Unique Features of the Abraham Accords

NORMALIZATION AGREEMENTS CLASSIFIED AS PEACE TREATIES

While peace treaties traditionally are used as legal instruments intended to end a war between two enemy states, there has never been any war between Israel and the UAE, Bahrain, Sudan, or Morocco. Nor did Israel consider any of these countries to be enemy states under its domestic laws. As such, the agreements that established the new relations between Israel and those four Arab countries differ from the peace treaties that Israel signed with Egypt and Jordan, which did end the state of war between Israel and those two countries that both had fought with Israel and had been considered enemy states prior to the signing of the respective peace treaties.¹⁸ Yet, even though the new agreements should have more properly been designated as normalization agreements, the Israel–UAE and Israel–Bahrain agreements were drafted as peace treaties, apparently in order to elevate their political impact. Thus, for instance, the Israel–UAE agreement included the following words in its title: “Treaty of Peace, Diplomatic Relations and Full Normalization Between the United Arab Emirates and the State of Israel,” and stated in its first clause, “Peace, diplomatic relations and full normalization of bilateral ties are hereby established between the United Arab Emirates and

the State of Israel.” It is not uncommon for countries that had not previously considered themselves to be in a state of war with each other to use the title “peace treaty” for a normalization of relations agreement. See, for instance, the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Chile and Argentina, signed November 29, 1984,¹⁹ the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People’s Republic of China, signed August 12, 1978,²⁰ and the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between India and the Soviet Union, signed August 9, 1971.²¹

ISRAEL–BAHRAIN AGREEMENT DESIGNATED AS A JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Another unique aspect of the Israel–Bahrain agreement is that, presumably in order to downgrade to some extent the political implications of characterizing the new agreement as a peace treaty, it is designated as a Joint Communiqué. As stated in the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, however, an international instrument is considered to be a binding treaty regardless of its particular designation.²² As the International Court of Justice observed with regard to a case involving a joint communiqué, “on the question of form, the Court need only observe that it knows of no rule of international law which might preclude a joint communiqué from constituting an international agreement to submit a dispute to arbitration or judicial settlement.”²³

SIGNIFICANT ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN BROKERING THE ABRAHAM ACCORDS

Since the end of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the United States has actively participated in all Arab–Israeli peace negotiations as a third-party mediator. Among many other peace initiatives, starting with the 1973 Geneva Middle East Peace Conference that launched the Middle East peace process, followed by the 1978 Camp David Summit, the 1991 Madrid Middle East Peace Conference, through the 1993 Israel–PLO Oslo Accords signed in Washington, as well as in subsequent peace initiatives, the United States has always played a major role in brokering Middle East peace agreements.

Throughout its peace-brokering efforts, the United States has occasionally resorted to the “expanding the pie” technique, whenever the negotiating parties’ own “give and take” has failed to add up to a self-sufficient, win–win agreement, through supplementing the parties’ commitments by providing various types of U.S. assurances and undertakings to the parties. Thus, for instance, on the same day that Israel and Egypt signed the 1975 Interim Agreement,²⁴ in which Israel undertook to partially withdraw from the Sinai in return for several Egyptian steps towards peace, the United States entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with Israel in which it provided Israel with various commitments, including for the provision of military and economic assistance, oil supply, and support in international organizations.²⁵ The United States then also provided Egypt with a similar set of assurances.

Consistent with that long-standing practice, the United States’ brokering of the Abraham Accords included several U.S. commitments, provided primarily to the Arab parties.

1. *The UAE.* Immediately following the signing of the Abraham Accords, after prior UAE requests for purchasing sophisticated American weapon systems had been denied, the Trump administration formally notified Congress that it planned to sell fifty stealth F-35 fighter jets and eighteen advanced military drones to the UAE as part of a broader arms deal worth \$23 billion.²⁶
2. *Bahrain.* The U.S. incentive provided to Bahrain was the least significant among those provided to the other Arab parties to the Abraham Accords; it appears to have consisted only of declaring, shortly after Bahrain joined the Abraham Accords, a Bahraini Islamic resistance group, known as Saraya al-Mokhtar, as a terrorist group under U.S. law.²⁷
3. *Sudan.* Following Sudan’s signing of the normalization agreement with Israel, the U.S. Department of State agreed to remove Sudan from the list of countries sponsoring terrorism,²⁸ on which Sudan had been included for almost three decades.²⁹ Sudan’s removal from the List of State Sponsors of Terrorism ended a long list of U.S. economic and other sanctions previously imposed on Sudan.
4. *Morocco.* In what appears to be the most generous U.S. incentive to any of the Arab countries that joined the Abraham Accords, the United States, on December 10, 2020, recognized Morocco’s sovereignty over the entire Western Sahara, which the United Nations, the European Union, and the African

Union view as disputed territory.³⁰ Additionally, unlike the U.S. incentives to the other Arab members of the Abraham Accords, which do not form part of the formal normalization agreements, U.S. recognition of Morocco's sovereignty over Western Sahara constitutes a part of the Morocco–Israel–United States Joint Declaration of December 22, 2020, which specifically referenced the U.S. Proclamation on Recognizing the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of Morocco Over the Western Sahara.³¹

ENDNOTES

- 1 The text of the Abraham Accords Declaration is available on the U.S. Department of State website, <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Abraham-Accords-signed-FINAL-15-Sept-2020-508-1.pdf>.
- 2 For a list of these normalization agreements, *see*: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/Israel-and-Bahrain-sign-Memorandums-of-Understanding-18-October-2020.aspx>.
- 3 For a list of these agreements, *see*: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-hosts-historic-trilateral-summit-meeting-20-October-2020.aspx>.
- 4 For the text of this declaration, *see*: <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/joint-statement-united-states-republic-sudan-state-israel/>.
- 5 For the White House fact sheet, *see*: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-brokers-historic-peace-agreement-israel-sudan/>.
- 6 For the text of the Joint Declaration, *see*: <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Joint-Declaration-US-Morocco-Israel.pdf>.
- 7 For the U.S. Department of State's Abraham Accords webpage, *see*: <https://www.state.gov/the-abraham-accords/>.
- 8 Treaty of Peace Between the State of Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt 1979, 1138 U.N.T.S. 59 at 72; 18 I.L.M. 362 (1979).
- 9 Israel–Jordan Treaty of Peace, 34 I.L.M. 43 (1995).
- 10 42 U.N.T.S. 327.
- 11 42 U.N.T.S. 287.
- 12 32 I.L.M. 1525 (1993).
- 13 36 I.L.M. 551, 567 (1995).
- 14 *See, e.g.*, Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Year in Review (1999), <http://www.israel.org/MFA/AboutTheMinistry/Pages/Ministry%20of%20Foreign%20Affairs-%20The%20Year%20in%20Review.aspx>.
- 15 In October 2000, following the outbreak of the second Palestinian Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza (also known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada), the Israeli offices in these Arab countries were closed and relations with Israel were suspended.
- 16 The Council of the League of Arab States adopted this initiative in its meeting at the Summit Level in Beirut (March 2002). The resolution is available at <https://centerpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Arab-Peace-Initiative-Official-Translation.pdf>.
- 17 For the text of the Khartoum resolutions, dated September 1, 1967, *see* the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20khartoum%20resolutions.aspx>.
- 18 Egypt and Israel fought in 1948 (the First Arab–Israeli War), 1956 (the Suez or Sinai War), 1967 (the Six-Day War) and 1973 (the Yom Kippur War). Jordan and Israel fought in the 1948 and 1967 wars.
- 19 For the text of the Chile–Argentina agreement, *see*: <https://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/TREATIES/CHL-ARG1984PF.PDF>.
- 20 For the text of the Japan–People's Republic of China agreement, *see*: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/treaty78.html>.
- 21 For the text of the India–Soviet Union agreement, *see*: <https://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/5139/Treaty+of>.
- 22 *See*, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, May 23, 1969, 1155 U.N.T.S. 331, art. 2 § 1(a) (definition of “treaty”).
- 23 Aegean Sea Continental Shelf, Judgment, 1978 I.C.J. Rep. 39, ¶ 96 (Dec. 19).
- 24 *Reprinted in* Report by the Secretary-General concerning the Agreement between Egypt and Israel, Annex, 30 U.N. SCOR, Supp. at 54, U.N. Doc. S/11818/Add.1 (July–Sept. 1975); *see also* 14 I.L.M. 1450.
- 25 For an unofficial text of the United States–Israel Memorandum of Understanding, *see*: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/israel-united-states-memorandum-of-understanding-1975>.
- 26 Jennifer Hansler, *Trump administration informs Congress of intent to sell \$23B in arms to UAE*, CNN (Nov. 11, 2020), <https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/11/politics/uae-arms-sales-formal-notification/index.html>.
- 27 Designation of Saraya al-Mukhtar as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist, 85, Fed. Reg. 82564 (Dec. 18, 2020), <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2020/12/18/2020-27849/designation-of-saraya-al-mukhtar-as-a-specially-designated-global-terrorist>.
- 28 U.S. Dep't State, Bureau of Counterterrorism, State Sponsors of Terrorism (Dec. 18, 2020), <https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism> (designating Saraya al-Mokhtar as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist).
- 29 As part of the deal, Sudan agreed to pay \$335 million to compensate victims of al-Qaida attacks on United States Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the Navy destroyer Cole in 2000. *See* Lara Jakes et. al, *State Dept. to Remove Sudan From List of Terrorist States*, N.Y. TIMES (Updated Dec. 14, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/19/world/africa/sudan-trump-israel-terrorism.html>.
- 30 U.S. Proclamation on Recognizing the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of Morocco Over the Western Sahara (Dec. 10, 2020), <https://ma.usembassy.gov/proclamation-on-recognizing-the-sovereignty-of-the-kingdom-of-morocco-over-the-western-sahara/>.
- 31 *See supra* note 6.

THE ABRAHAM ACCORDS DECLARATION*
[September 15, 2020]

The Abraham Accords Declaration:

We, the undersigned, recognize the importance of maintaining and strengthening peace in the Middle East and around the world based on mutual understanding and coexistence, as well as respect for human dignity and freedom, including religious freedom.

We encourage efforts to promote interfaith and intercultural dialogue to advance a culture of peace among the three Abrahamic religions and all humanity.

We believe that the best way to address challenges is through cooperation and dialogue and that developing friendly relations among States advances the interests of lasting peace in the Middle East and around the world.

We seek tolerance and respect for every person in order to make this world a place where all can enjoy a life of dignity and hope, no matter their race, faith or ethnicity.

We support science, art, medicine, and commerce to inspire humankind, maximize human potential and bring nations closer together.

We seek to end radicalization and conflict to provide all children a better future.

We pursue a vision of peace, security, and prosperity in the Middle East and around the world.

In this spirit, we warmly welcome and are encouraged by the progress already made in establishing diplomatic relations between Israel and its neighbors in the region under the principles of the Abraham Accords. We are encouraged by the ongoing efforts to consolidate and expand such friendly relations based on shared interests and a shared commitment to a better future.

[Signatures]

The image shows four handwritten signatures, each written on a horizontal line. The signatures are arranged in two columns. The top-left signature is a cursive name that appears to be 'Bibi Netanyahu'. The top-right signature is a cursive name that appears to be 'Abraham Lincoln'. The bottom-left signature is a cursive name that appears to be 'Donald Trump'. The bottom-right signature is a cursive name that appears to be 'Benjamin Netanyahu'.

* This text was reproduced and reformatted from the text available at the U.S. Department of State website (visited March 15, 2021). Redirecting you to <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Abraham-Accords-signed-FINAL-15-Sept-2020-508-1.pdf>.

TREATY OF PEACE, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND FULL NORMALIZATION
BETWEEN THE U.A.E. AND ISR.*

[September 15, 2020]

**Abraham Accords Peace Agreement:
Treaty of Peace, Diplomatic Relations and Full Normalization
Between
the United Arab Emirates
and
the State of Israel**

The Government of the United Arab Emirates and the Government of the State of Israel (hereinafter, the “Parties”) *Aspiring* to realize the vision of a Middle East region that is stable, peaceful and prosperous, for the benefit of all States and peoples in the region;

Desiring to establish peace, diplomatic and friendly relations, co-operation and full normalization of ties between them and their peoples, in accordance with this Treaty, and to chart together a new path to unlock the vast potential of their countries and of the region;

Reaffirming the “Joint Statement of the United States, the State of Israel, and the United Arab Emirates” (the “Abraham Accords”), dated 13 August 2020;

Believing that the further development of friendly relations meets the interests of lasting peace in the Middle East and that challenges can only be effectively addressed by cooperation and not by conflict;

Determined to ensure lasting peace, stability, security and prosperity for both their States and to develop and enhance their dynamic and innovative economies;

Reaffirming their shared commitment to normalize relations and promote stability through diplomatic engagement, increased economic cooperation and other close coordination;

Reaffirming also their shared belief that the establishment of peace and full normalization between them can help transform the Middle East by spurring economic growth, enhancing technological innovation and forging closer people-to-people relations;

Recognizing that the Arab and Jewish peoples are descendants of a common ancestor, Abraham, and *inspired*, in that spirit, to foster in the Middle East a reality in which Muslims, Jews, Christians and peoples of all faiths, denominations, beliefs and nationalities live in, and are committed to, a spirit of coexistence, mutual understanding and mutual respect;

Recalling the reception held on January 28, 2020, at which President Trump presented his Vision for Peace, and *committing* to continuing their efforts to achieve a just, comprehensive, realistic and enduring solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict;

Recalling the Treaties of Peace between the State of Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt and between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and committed to working together to realize a negotiated solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict that meets the legitimate needs and aspirations of both peoples, and to advance comprehensive Middle East peace, stability and prosperity;

Emphasizing the belief that the normalization of Israeli and Emirati relations is in the interest of both peoples and contributes to the cause of peace in the Middle East and the world;

Expressing deep appreciation to the United States for its profound contribution to this historic achievement;

Have agreed as follows:

* This text was reproduced and reformatted from the text available at the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon website (visited March 15, 2021), <https://lb.usembassy.gov/abraham-accords-peace-agreement/>.

1. **Establishment of Peace, Diplomatic Relations and Normalization:** Peace, diplomatic relations and full normalization of bilateral ties are hereby established between the United Arab Emirates and the State of Israel.
2. **General Principles:** The Parties shall be guided in their relations by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among States. In particular, they shall recognize and respect each other's sovereignty and right to live in peace and security, develop friendly relations of cooperation between them and their peoples, and settle all disputes between them by peaceful means.
3. **Establishment of Embassies:** The Parties shall exchange resident ambassadors as soon as practicable after the signing of this Treaty, and shall conduct diplomatic and consular relations in accordance with the applicable rules of international law.
4. **Peace and Stability:** The Parties shall attach profound importance to mutual understanding, cooperation and coordination between them in the spheres of peace and stability, as a fundamental pillar of their relations and as a means for enhancing those spheres in the Middle East as a whole. They undertake to take the necessary steps to prevent any terrorist or hostile activities against each other on or from their respective territories, as well as deny any support for such activities abroad or allowing such support on or from their respective territories. Recognizing the new era of peace and friendly relations between them, as well as the centrality of stability to the well-being of their respective peoples and of the region, the Parties undertake to consider and discuss these matters regularly, and to conclude detailed agreements and arrangements on coordination and cooperation.
5. **Cooperation and Agreements in Other Spheres:** As an integral part of their commitment to peace, prosperity, diplomatic and friendly relations, cooperation and full normalization, the Parties shall work to advance the cause of peace, stability and prosperity throughout the Middle East, and to unlock the great potential of their countries and of the region. For such purposes, the Parties shall conclude bilateral agreements in the following spheres at the earliest practicable date, as well as in other spheres of mutual interest as may be agreed:
 - Finance and Investment
 - Civil Aviation
 - Visas and Consular Services
 - Innovation, Trade and Economic Relations
 - Healthcare
 - Science, Technology and Peaceful Uses of Outer-Space
 - Tourism, Culture and Sport
 - Energy
 - Environment
 - Education
 - Maritime Arrangements
 - Telecommunications and Post
 - Agriculture and Food Security
 - Water

- Legal Cooperation
- Any such agreements concluded before the entry into force of this Treaty shall enter into effect with the entry into force of this Treaty unless otherwise stipulated therein. Agreed principles for cooperation in specific spheres are annexed to this Treaty and form an integral part thereof.

6. Mutual Understanding and Co-existence: The Parties undertake to foster mutual understanding, respect, co-existence and a culture of peace between their societies in the spirit of their common ancestor, Abraham, and the new era of peace and friendly relations ushered in by this Treaty, including by cultivating people-to-people programs, interfaith dialogue and cultural, academic, youth, scientific, and other exchanges between their peoples. They shall conclude and implement the necessary visa and consular services agreements and arrangements so as to facilitate efficient and secure travel for their respective nationals to the territory of each other. The Parties shall work together to counter extremism, which promotes hatred and division, and terrorism and its justifications, including by preventing radicalization and recruitment and by combating incitement and discrimination. They shall work towards establishing a High-Level Joint Forum for Peace and Co-Existence dedicated to advancing these goals.

7. Strategic Agenda for the Middle East: Further to the Abraham Accords, the Parties stand ready to join with the United States to develop and launch a “Strategic Agenda for the Middle East” in order to expand regional diplomatic, trade, stability and other cooperation. They are committed to work together, and with the United States and others, as appropriate, in order to advance the cause of peace, stability and prosperity in the relations between them and for the Middle East as a whole, including by seeking to advance regional security and stability; pursue regional economic opportunities; promote a culture of peace across the region; and consider joint aid and development programs.

8. Other Rights and Obligations: This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way, the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations. The Parties shall take all necessary measures for the application in their bilateral relations of the provisions of the multilateral conventions of which they are both parties, including the submission of appropriate notification to the depositaries of such conventions.

9. Respect for Obligations: The Parties undertake to fulfill in good faith their obligations under this Treaty, without regard to action or inaction of any other party and independently of any instrument inconsistent with this Treaty. For the purposes of this paragraph each Party represents to the other that in its opinion and interpretation there is no inconsistency between their existing treaty obligations and this Treaty. The Parties undertake not to enter into any obligation in conflict with this Treaty. Subject to Article 103 of the Charter of the United Nations, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Parties under the present Treaty and any of their other obligations, the obligations under this Treaty shall be binding and implemented. The Parties further undertake to adopt any legislation or other internal legal procedure necessary in order to implement this Treaty, and to repeal any national legislation or official publications inconsistent with this Treaty.

10. Ratification and Entry into Force: This Treaty shall be ratified by both Parties as soon as practicable in conformity with their respective national procedures and will enter into force following the exchange of instruments of ratification.

11. Settlement of Disputes: Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Treaty shall be resolved by negotiation. Any such dispute which cannot be settled by negotiation may be referred to conciliation or arbitration subject to the agreement of the Parties.


12. Registration: This Treaty shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Done at Washington, DC, this day Elul 26th, 5780, Muharram 27th, 1442, which corresponds to 15 September 2020, in the Hebrew, Arabic and English languages, all texts being equally authentic. In case of divergence of interpretation, the English text shall prevail.

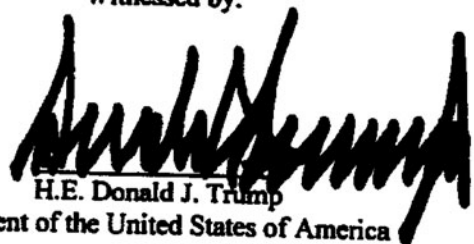
For the State of Israel:


H.E. Benjamin Netanyahu,
Prime Minister

For the United Arab Emirates:


H.H. Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan
Minister of Foreign Affairs and International
Cooperation

Witnessed by:


H.E. Donald J. Trump
President of the United States of America

ANNEX

Pursuant to Article 5 of the Treaty of Peace, Diplomatic Relations and Full Normalization between the United Arab Emirates and the State of Israel, the Parties shall conclude bilateral agreements in spheres of mutual interest, in furtherance of which they have agreed to the following provisions. Such provisions are annexed to the Treaty and form an integral part thereof.

FINANCE AND INVESTMENT

Further to the Agreed Protocol signed between the Parties on September 1, 2020, in Abu Dhabi, the Parties shall cooperate to expeditiously deepen and broaden bilateral investment relations, and give high priority to concluding agreements in the sphere of finance and investment, recognizing the key role of these agreements in the economic development of the Parties and the Middle East as a whole. The Parties reaffirm their commitment to protecting investors, consumers, market integrity and financial stability, as well as maintaining all applicable regulatory standards. Recognizing also their shared goal to advance regional economic development and the flow of goods and services, the Parties shall endeavor to promote collaborations on strategic regional infrastructure projects and shall explore the establishment of a multilateral working group for the “Tracks for Regional Peace” project.

CIVIL AVIATION

The Parties acknowledge the importance of ensuring regular direct flights between Israel and the United Arab Emirates, for passengers and cargo, as an essential means for developing and promoting their relations. They recognize as applicable to each other the rights, privileges and obligations provided for by the multilateral aviation agreements to which they are both a party, their annexes and any amendments thereof applicable to both Parties, particularly the 1944 Convention on International Civil Aviation, opened for signature at Chicago on the seventh day of December 1944, and the 1944 International Air Services Transit Agreement. Accordingly, the Parties shall as soon as practicable conclude all the necessary agreements and arrangements governing civil aviation, and consequently work towards establishing an international air corridor between their two States in accordance with international law. They shall also reach and implement the necessary agreements and arrangements with respect to visas and consular services to facilitate travel for the citizens of both States.

TOURISM

The Parties affirm their mutual desire to promote tourism cooperation between them as a key component of economic development and of developing closer people-to-people and cultural ties. To this end, the Parties shall facilitate the exchange of information through advertisement spots, published and audiovisual promotional materials, and participation in tourist fairs. They shall also work together to promote joint tourism projects and packages between tourist operators so as to enhance tourism from third States. They shall work towards carrying out reciprocal study tours in order to increase knowledge in the development, management and marketing of heritage, cultural and rural tourism with a view to diversifying and deepening touristic links between them; and endeavor to utilize national marketing budgets to promote mutual tourism between the States.

INNOVATION, TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Parties shall enhance and expand their cooperation in innovation, trade and economic relations, so that the dividends of peace are felt across their societies. Recognizing that the principle of the free and unimpeded flow of goods and services should guide their relations, as well as the potential for diversification of bilateral trade opportunities, the Parties shall cooperate in order to enable favorable conditions for trade, and the reduction of trade barriers.

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER-SPACE

The Parties acknowledge the important role of science, technology and innovation in the growth of multiple key sectors and shall strengthen joint action and mutual cooperation in scientific and technological advancement. This shall include furthering scientific cooperation and exchange, including between scientists, research and academic institutions, pursuing the establishment of joint research and development centers, and exploring the possibility of joint funding of research and scientific projects in select fields of mutual interest.

The Parties further express their common interest in establishing and developing mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, in a manner consistent with each Party's respective applicable national laws and international obligations. Such cooperation may include implementation of joint programs, projects and activities in the fields of science, space exploration, space related technologies and education, exchange of experts, information and best practices, and the promotion of cooperation between their respective space industries.

ENVIRONMENT

The Parties acknowledge the importance of protecting, preserving and improving the environment, and shall promote environmental innovation for the sustainable development of the region and beyond. The Parties shall endeavor to cooperate to develop environmental protection strategies on priority issues, including on biodiversity conservation, marine environment protection and climate change mitigation and adaptation, and on the possible establishment of a center for developing pioneering solutions to climate challenges in arid and semi-arid environments.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND POST

The Parties recognize the necessity of mutually beneficial cooperation for the continued development of telecommunications, information technologies and postal services. They take note of the establishment between them of direct communications services, including telephone lines, and agree to promote, in accordance with relevant international conventions and regulations, direct postal exchange, submarine cables and e-commerce solutions, as well as utilize available satellite systems, fiber optical communication, and broadcasting services. The Parties will strive to develop frameworks for innovation in ICT, including advanced fixed and wireless communications, collaboration on 5G networks, smart cities, and use of ICT solutions to foster innovation and the creation of best services.

HEALTHCARE

The Parties welcome progress made in cooperation between them regarding the treatment of, and the development of a vaccine for, the Covid-19 virus, as a sign of the tremendous potential for cooperation between them in the health-care sphere. Recognizing the importance of building ties in the fields of health and medicine, the Parties shall cooperate, *inter alia*, on: medical education, training and simulations, digital health and artificial intelligence innovation in the health sector, and emergency management and preparedness.

AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SECURITY

The Parties recognize the great importance of sustainable agricultural development, recognizing its vital role in addressing food security concerns, as well as in the preservation of the environment. They shall cooperate to harness and maximize existing technologies, actively facilitate new collaborations, and share and develop knowledge, technologies and innovative approaches in the field of arid agriculture, irrigation technologies, mariculture techniques in shallow sea water, sustainable nutritious fish feed production, and seed enhancement in hot and humid climates.

WATER

The Parties recognize the critical importance of sustainable water use and shall cooperate for their mutual benefit to address issues of water supply, water treatment and management, water security, efficiency, wastewater management and re-use, as well as water conservation and desalination.

ENERGY

The Parties take note of the strategic importance of the energy sector and in particular of their need to promote renewable energy, cooperation in the natural gas field, regional grids, alternative energy and energy security. They shall advance and develop mutual cooperation in energy projects, share best practices and discuss policies in energy forums that will help to promote and unlock the energy potential of the region, coordinating where appropriate with the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), headquartered in Abu Dhabi.

MARITIME ARRANGEMENTS

Each Party shall recognize the right of vessels of the other Party to innocent passage through its territorial waters in accordance with international law. Each Party will grant normal access to its ports for vessels and cargoes of the other Party, as well as vessels and cargoes destined for or coming from the other Party. Such access shall be granted on the same terms as generally applicable to vessels and cargoes of other nations. The Parties shall conclude agreements and arrangements in maritime affairs, as may be required.

LEGAL COOPERATION

Recognizing the importance of a supporting legal framework for the movement of people and goods and for fostering a continuous business friendly environment between them, the Parties shall make best efforts to grant each other the widest measure of legal cooperation, including, *inter alia*, in respect of mutual legal assistance in civil and commercial matters, in accordance with their national laws and shall endeavor to conclude specific agreements and arrangements in this sphere.

JOINT STATEMENT OF THE U.S., SUDAN, AND ISR.*
[October 23, 2020]

Joint Statement of the United States, the Republic of Sudan, and the State of Israel



President Donald J. Trump, Sudanese Chairman of the Sovereignty Council Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, Sudanese Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu spoke today to discuss Sudan's historic progress towards democracy and opportunities to advance peace in the region.

After decades of living under a brutal dictatorship, the people of Sudan are finally taking charge. The Sudanese transitional government has demonstrated its courage and commitment to combating terrorism, building its democratic institutions, and improving its relations with its neighbors. In light of this historic progress, and following President Trump's decision to remove Sudan from the State Sponsors of Terrorism list, the United States and Israel agreed to partner with Sudan in its new start and ensure that it is fully integrated into the international community. The United States will take steps to restore Sudan's sovereign immunity and to engage its international partners to reduce Sudan's debt burdens, including advancing discussions on debt forgiveness consistent with the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. The United States and Israel also committed to working with their partners to support the people of Sudan in strengthening their democracy, improving food security, countering terrorism and extremism, and tapping into their economic potential.

The leaders agreed to the normalization of relations between Sudan and Israel and to end the state of belligerence between their nations. In addition, the leaders agreed to begin economic and trade relations, with an initial focus on agriculture. The leaders also agreed that delegations will meet in the coming weeks to negotiate agreements of cooperation in those areas as well as in agriculture technology, aviation, migration issues and other areas for the benefit of the two peoples. The leaders also resolved to work together to build a better future and advance the cause of peace in the region. This move will improve regional security and unlock new opportunities for the people of Sudan, Israel, the Middle East, and Africa.

This historic agreement is a testament to the bold and visionary approach of the four leaders. Prime Minister Netanyahu, Chairman al-Burhan, and Prime Minister Hamdok expressed their appreciation for President Trump for his pragmatic and unique approach to ending old conflicts and building a future of peace and opportunity for all the people of the region.

* This text was reproduced and reformatted from the text available at the website of the Trump Administration White House (visited January 5, 2021), <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/joint-statement-united-states-republic-sudan-state-israel/>.

JOINT DECLARATION BETWEEN MOROCCO, THE U.S., AND ISR.*
[December 22, 2020]

JOINT DECLARATION

The **Kingdom of Morocco**, the **United States of America** and the **State of Israel**,

Referring to the telephone conversation held between His Majesty King Mohammed VI and His Excellency President Donald Trump, on 10 December 2020, and to the historic statements issued on the same day by them, and by His Excellency Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of the State of Israel, announcing the opening of a new era in the relations between the Kingdom of Morocco and the State of Israel;

Welcoming the opportunity created through the extraordinary efforts and leadership of the United States;

Highlighting the proclamation by the United States of America on “Recognizing the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of Morocco over the Western Sahara”, according to which:

- “The United States recognizes Moroccan sovereignty over the entire Western Sahara territory and reaffirms its support for Morocco’s serious, credible, and realistic autonomy proposal as the only basis for a just and lasting solution to the dispute over the Western Sahara territory”.
- “To facilitate progress toward this aim, the United States will encourage economic and social development with Morocco, including in the Western Sahara territory, and to that end will open a consulate in the Western Sahara territory, in Dakhla, to promote economic and business opportunities for the region”.

Recalling the exchanged views, during the same conversation between His Majesty King Mohammed VI and His Excellency Donald Trump, on the current situation in the Middle East region in which His Majesty the King reiterated the coherent, constant and unchanged position of the Kingdom of Morocco on the Palestinian question, as well as the position expressed on the importance of preserving the special status of the sacred city of Jerusalem for the three monotheistic religions in His Majesty the King’s capacity as Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee;

Recognizing the historic role that Morocco has always played in bringing the people of the region closer together and promoting peace and stability in the Middle East, and given the special ties that His Majesty maintains with the Moroccan Jewish community living in Morocco and throughout the world including in Israel;

Mindful that the establishment of full diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations is in the common interest of both countries and will advance the cause of peace in the region, improve regional security, and unlock new opportunities for the whole region;

Recalling the conversation between His Majesty King Mohammed VI and His Excellency Donald Trump, His Majesty the King affirmed that the Kingdom of Morocco and the State of Israel intend to:

- Grant authorizations for direct flights between Morocco and Israel, including by Israeli and Moroccan airline companies, as well as grand rights of overflight;
- Immediate resume full official contacts between Israel and Moroccan counterparts and establish full diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations;
- Pursue cooperation on trade; finance and investment; innovation and technology; civil aviation; visas and consular services; tourism; water, agriculture, and food security; development; energy and telecommunications; and other sectors as may be agreed;
- Reopen the liaison offices in Rabat and Tel Aviv.

* This text was reproduced and reformatted from the text available at the U.S. Department of State website (visited March 15, 2021), <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Joint-Declaration-US-Morocco-Israel.pdf>.

- Based on the above, the Kingdom of Morocco, the United States of America and the State of Israel agree to:
 1. Commit to fully respect the elements contained in the present Declaration, promote it and defend it;
 2. Decide that each party will fully implement its commitments and identify further actions, before the end of January;
 3. Act accordingly at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels.

Done at Rabat, 22 December 2020

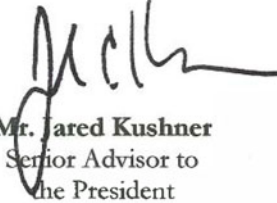
[signatures]

For
the Kingdom of Morocco



Mr. Saad Dine El Otmani
Chief of Government

For
the United States of America



Mr. Jared Kushner
Senior Advisor to
the President

For
the State of Israel



Mr. Meir Ben-Shabbat
National Security Advisor
and Head of the National
Security Council



Mr. Alon Ushpiz,
Director General,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC,
PEACEFUL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN ISR. AND BAHRAIN

[October 18, 2020]

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

**ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC, PEACEFUL AND
FRIENDLY RELATIONS**

BETWEEN

THE STATE OF ISRAEL

AND

THE KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN

The Governments of the State of Israel and the Kingdom of Bahrain (hereinafter, the “Parties”):

Guided by the principles enshrined in the “*Declaration of Peace, Cooperation and Constructive Diplomatic and Friendly Relations*” signed by the Kingdom of Bahrain and the State of Israel in Washington, DC on 15 September 2020;

Reaffirming the principles enshrined in the “*Abraham Accords Declaration*” signed by the Kingdom of Bahrain, the State of Israel, the United Arab Emirates and the United States of America in Washington, DC on 15 September 2020, as well as their shared desire to widen the circle of peace and advance peace and security in the Middle East;

Reaffirming also their desire to create a future in which all peoples and all faiths can live together in the spirit of cooperation and enjoy peace and prosperity, where States focus on shared interests and building a better future;

Respecting the principles of equality among States, national sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States;

Guided by their mutual willingness to establish friendly, peaceful and cooperative relations between their two countries in the political, economic, security, social, humanitarian, cultural, scientific and other fields;

Convillced that the establishment of diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations is in the common interest of both States and will enhance their economic development, advance people-to-people relations and a culture of peace, promote regional stability and further strengthen international peace and security;

Have agreed as follows:

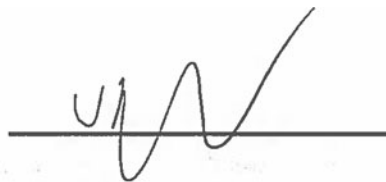
1. The Parties hereby establish full diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations between them, and full bilateral ties, as of the date of signature of this Joint Communiqué.
2. The Parties shall be guided in their relations by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among States. In particular, they shall recognize and respect each other’s sovereignty and right to live in peace and security, promote lasting security and eschew the threat and use of force, develop friendly relations of cooperation between them and their peoples, and settle all disputes by agreed peaceful means, and shall endeavor to take all necessary measures to apply in their bilateral relations the provisions of the multilateral conventions of which they are both parties.
3. The Parties shall establish reciprocal embassies and exchange resident ambassadors as soon as practicable after the signing of this Joint Communiqué, and shall conduct diplomatic and consular relations in accordance with the applicable rules of international law.

4. The Parties shall seek to conclude bilateral agreements or memoranda of understanding in the following fields, as well as in other spheres of mutual interest as may be agreed, at the earliest practicable date: Finance and Investment; Civil Aviation; Security; Visas and Consular Services; Innovation, Trade and Economic Relations; Healthcare; Science and Technology; Tourism, Culture and Sport; Energy; Environment; Education; Maritime Arrangements; Telecommunications; Agriculture and Food Security; and Water. Such agreements will enter into effect in accordance with each State's internal procedures.
5. The Parties shall promote a culture of peace, mutual understanding, coexistence and mutual respect between their peoples in the spirit of their common ancestor, Abraham, and the new era of diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations between them. In this spirit, they shall promote dialogue, exchange, and people-to-people programs between their societies, as well as work together to counter extremism, terrorism, incitement, discrimination and radicalization.
6. The Parties shall maintain regular and continuing dialogue, through diplomatic and other channels, in order to ensure coordination and cooperation between them, as well as to fully realize the potential of the new era of peaceful and friendly relations for the benefit of their societies, and the peace, security and prosperity of the region as a whole.

In witness whereof, the undersigned representatives, being duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Joint Communiqué.

Done at Manama on 18 October 2020, which corresponds to 1 Rabi al Awwal 1442, 30 Tishrei 5781, in duplicate, each in the Arabic, Hebrew and English languages, all texts being equally authentic. In case of divergence of interpretation of the texts, the English text shall prevail.

[Signatures]



Merz Ben-Shabbat



עורכים: ד"ר מיכאל מילשטיין, טלי טוני מרקו

כרך 10, גיליון מס' 11, 12 באוקטובר 2020

מה בין הסכם השלום המצרי-ישראלי ובין "דיל הנורמליזציה" האמירתי-ישראלי

- הגרסה המצרית

ד"ר מירה צורף*

אופוריית הנורמליזציה בעקבות ההסכמים המדיניים שנחתמו בין איחוד האמירויות ובחריין לבין ישראל ב-15 בספטמבר בושינגטון הרקיעה שחקים. הסופרלטיבים שחלקו מדינות מערביות וחלק מהמדינות הערביות הסוניות המתונות למנהיגי ישראל ואיחוד האמירויות ולא פחות מכך לשושבינת ההסכם-ארה"ב היו יוצאי דופן וכך גם התמיכה החד משמעית בהסכם שפרטיו המלאים לא היו ידועים אלא ליודעי ח"ן בלבד. עיתונאים ופובליציסטים רבים התייחסו אף הם במאמריהם להסכם כ"שלום היסטורי". נשיא מצרים עבד אל-פתאח אל-סיסי היה ראשון הנשיאים הערביים שברך על ההסכם. בחשבון הטוויטר שלו כתב אל-סיסי בין השאר: "עקבתי בעניין ובהערכה אחר ההודעה המשולשת (ישראל-איחוד האמירויות-בחריין) וההסכם המאשר את עצירת הסיפוח של האדמות הפלסטיניות ע"י ישראל ונקיטת צעדים שעניינם השכנת שלום במזרח התיכון. אני מברך גם על המאמצים, שתכליתם להביא לשגשוג ויציבות באזור, הבאים לידי ביטוי בהסכם זה"¹. הצהרת הנשיא המצרי משקפת נכוחה את מורכבותה של העמדה המצרית נוכח חתימת הסכמי הנורמליזציה עם איחוד האמירויות ובחריין.

מחד גיסא, מצרים הינה חוליה מרכזית בציר המדינות הסוניות המתונות שבהן נכללות, בין השאר, ערב הסעודית, מדינות המפרץ וירדן כשמנגד ניצבות מדינות כגון תורכיה, איראן ותנועת האחים המוסלמים המתאפיינות בקיצוניותן. אל-סיסי מצדו שוקד מאז ניבחר לנשיא לטפח את

* ד"ר מירה צורף היא חוקרת במרכז משה דיין ללימודי המזרח התיכון ואפריקה ומרצה בחוג להיסטוריה של המזרח התיכון ואפריקה באוניברסיטת תל אביב.

¹ @Abdelfattah Elsi, Twitter.com, August 13, 2020

תדמיתו כמנהיג שוחר שלום וכמי שמבקש ליישב סכסוכים באזור בדרך המשא ומתן, אשר על כן, חש מחויבות לבטא את תמיכתה של מצרים ביוזמת הנורמליזציה המצרית-ישראלית.

מאידך גיסא, לתמיכה הבלתי מסויגת של מצרים בהסכם יש סיבות אינסטרומנטליות שיסודן ראש וראשית לכל בתלות הכלכלית של מצרים באיחוד האמירויות, שהשקיעה הון עתק בפרויקטים מצריים שאותם מוביל הנשיא המצרי, בכלל אלה בנייתה של קהיר החדשה, פרויקט פיתוח אורבני מגלומני שעד כה לא הצדיק את ההון הרב שהושקע בו. מיליארדי דולרים השקיעה איחוד האמירויות גם בפיתוח תשתיות בצפון סיני שנועדו להיטיב את תנאי חייהם של הבדואים תושבי סיני, על מנת שניתן יהיה לגייסם למאבק המצרי נגד ארגוני הטרור הפועלים בחצי האי. איחוד האמירויות היא גם בת ברית אסטרטגית של מצרים בחזית הלובית ושותפה מלאה לתמיכתו של אל-סיסי בגנרל ח'ליפה חפטר נגד ממשלת הפיוס הלאומי הנתמכת ע"י תורכיה וקטר. גורמים כלכליים ואסטרטגיים אלה מסבירים אף הם את תמיכתו של אל-סיסי בהסכם הנורמליזציה בין איחוד האמירויות לישראל.

ואולם, תמיכתה החד משמעית לכאורה של מצרים בהסכם מציבה דילמה לפתחו של אל-סיסי שכן, נשאלת השאלה האם התמיכה המצרית בהסכם הנורמליזציה של האמירויות עם ישראל אינה מחייבת את מצרים לנרמל את יחסיה שלה עם ישראל? כיצד מתרץ אל-סיסי את ההקפדה היתרה של מצרים, המדינה הראשונה שחתמה על הסכם שלום עם ישראל, לשמר את השלום כשלום קר לא מנורמל מזה למעלה מארבעה עשורים? תשובה לשאלה זו ניתן למצוא בנאומו של אל-סיסי אותו נשא ב-23 בספטמבר לפני העצרת הכללית של האו"ם בו הצהיר, בין השאר, כי "אם אנו שואפים לממש את החלטות האו"ם שתכליתן לכונן שלום יציב ובר קיימא במזרח התיכון מן הראוי שהסוגיה הפלסטינית תעמוד לנגד עינינו. העם הפלסטיני קָמָה לממש את הזכות האנושית הבסיסית ביותר והיא להיות עם חופשי במדינתו העצמאית. דורות של פלסטינים שוועו לממש את זכותם זו והחלטות רבות מספור התקבלו בנידון אך ללא הועיל...".² לא בכדי העלה אל-סיסי את הנושא הפלסטיני בפורום זה ובנקודת הזמן הזו - כשמונה ימים לאחר חתימת הסכמי הנורמליזציה - שכן, זו הייתה דרכו של נשיא מצרים להדגיש את תפקידה המרכזי של מדינתו כמדינה הערבית היחידה המסרבת להסיר את הסוגיה הפלסטינית מסדר היום של הקהילה הבינלאומית וכמי שממשיכה לשמר את הקשר הגורדי בין פתרון הסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטיני, ברוח פתרון שתי המדינות לשני העמים, ובין נרמול היחסים עם ישראל.

² See: "[President Sisi's full UNGA speech](#)", *Egypt Today*, September 22, 2020

העיתונות המצרית מעניקה אף היא כיסוי נרחב להסכם ברוח זו ומאמרים המנתחים את נסיבות חתימת ההסכם מבקרים נמרצות את ארה"ב, שניצחה על המשא ומתן שהוביל לחתימתו. כך לדוגמה, התפרסם באל-אהראם מאמר פרי עטו של חוסיין הרידי תחת הכותרת: "פלסטיין והעתיד", ובו התייחסות ביקורתית כלפי ממשל טראמפ בשל התעלמותו המוחלטת מהסוגיה הפלסטינית: "עבור הממשל האמריקאי הנוכחי פתרון הולם לקונפליקט הישראלי-פלסטיני אינו חלק מסדר היום ובמקומו גיבשו האמריקאים תוכנית פוליטית המושתתת על סיפוח ישראלי ארוך טווח של השטחים הכבושים בגדה המערבית, ובכך למעשה סיכלו את יישום פתרון שתי המדינות".³ עוד טען הרידי במאמרו כי מאז נבחר טראמפ לנשיא, הוא פועל בשיתוף פעולה הדוק עם ממשלת נתניהו כדי שנושאים שאותם מן הראוי לפתור במסגרת הסכם שלום כולל וסופי של הבעיה הפלסטינית יידונו ויגובשו באופן בלעדי ע"י ארה"ב תוך פגיעה אנושה בחוק הבינלאומי מחד גיסא, והתעלמות מוחלטת מעמדות רשמיות שאימצו ממשלים אמריקאים קודמים מאז 1967 מאידך גיסא. הכותב הפנה אצבע מאשימה כלפי "תוכנית המאה" של הנשיא טראמפ בשל התעלמותה מהשאיפות הלאומיות של העם הפלסטיני והצביע על מאפיין מובהק העובר כחוט השני בין היוזמות השונות של הממשל האמריקאי הנוכחי הנוגע לשוב סכסוכים באזורנו. כך לדוגמה, קבע הכותב כי גם "עסקת השלום" של הנשיא האמריקאי שנחתמה בבית הלבן ב-15 בספטמבר מתעלמת לחלוטין מהחלטות מועצת הביטחון ושואבת את השראתה מהנוסחה הישראלית המבוססת על הרעיון של "שלום תמורת שלום".⁴ הרידי הוסיף כי הנציגים שחתמו על ההסכם שיבחו את השלום בין הערבים לבין המדינה היהודית כשהם מתעלמים לחלוטין מבעיית פלסטיין, שהיא למעשה הגורם המרכזי לחוסר היציבות בין הערבים לבין ישראל מאז 1948, ואילו הנשיא טראמפ מצדו הדגיש בעת טקס החתימה את הסכמי הנורמליזציה הנוספים ההולכים ומתגבשים כעת בין מדינת ישראל לבין מדינות ערביות נוספות (הכותב ציין את סודאן ואת נסיכות עומאן כאופציות אפשריות). החתימה על עסקאות הנורמליזציה מבית מדרשו של הנשיא טראמפ מובילה, לטענת הכותב, לגניזת היוזמה הערבית משנת 2002 המבוססת על העיקרון של שטחים תמורת שלום. הכותב חתם את מאמרו בקריאה להנהגה הפלסטינית לאחד כוחות, לקיים בחירות, להצעיר את ההנהגה ולחדש את המשא ומתן עם ישראל במטרה להגיע לפתרון הסכסוך. צעדים כגון אלה, קבע הרידי, יותירו את הסוגיה הפלסטינית חיה, בועטת ורלבנטית, שהרי "לא ניתן לעסוק במשא ומתן לשלום באזורנו כששבעה מיליוני פלסטינים מודרים שלא לאמר מנודים ממנו, הדבר מצריך לרבע את המעגל".⁵ מן הראוי

³ Hussein Haridy, "[Palestine and the Future](#)", *ahramonline*, September 30, 2020

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

לציין, כי המאמר ראה אור בגרסה האלקטרונית של **אל-אהראם**, שהוא שופרו של המשטר ולפיכך משקף לחלוטין את עמדתו ואת זו של העומד בראשו.

הן נאומו של אל-סיסי לפני העצרת הכללית של האו"ם והן מאמרו של הרידי מעלים על נס את אחריותה של מצרים כ"מבוגרת האחראית" שאינה שוכחת ואינה זונחת את הבעיה הפלסטינית. הדברים נועדו להציג את מצרים כמדינה הערבית היחידה שאינה הולכת שבי אחרי הסכמים נוצצים שתועלות כלכליות ואחרות בצידן, ומקיימת ככתבו וכלשונו את הסכם השלום הישראלי-מצרי על פיו התנאי האולטימטיבי לנרמול היחסים בין שתי המדינות הוא פתרון הסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטיני והקמתה של מדינה פלסטינית לצידה של מדינת ישראל.

היבט נוסף המייחד את מורכבותה של התגובה המצרית להסכם הנורמליזציה הוא הדגש על ההשוואה בין הסכם השלום המצרי-ישראלי ובין עסקת הנורמליזציה המצרית-ישראלית. השוואה זו מופיעה אף היא במאמרי מערכת ארוכים ומפורטים בעיתונות המצרית. מאמרים אלה מיועדים לאותן קבוצות מקרב הציבור המצרי שנועדו זה כבר בהתנגדותן לנרמול היחסים עם ישראל ובכלל אלה האינטלקטואלים המצרים. גם ציבור הקוראים במדינות הערביות הנו קהל יעד רלבנטי העוקב בדריכות ובהתמדה אחר עמדותיה של מי שהייתה הראשונה שחתמה על הסכם שלום עם ישראל ובעשותה כן סימלה את קץ האידיאולוגיה הפן ערבית הנאצריסטית. יוזמת השלום אותה הוביל הנשיא אנוור סאדאת עוררה ביקורות קשות, שלא לאמר מתקפות אישיות כנגד הנשיא המצרי על שזנח את הסולידריות הערבית ובגד באחים הפלסטינים. ביקורות אלה משמשות כיום את הכותבים המצרים כדי לנגח את אלה שהתנגדו אז למהלך המצרי וכיום רצים ריצת אמוק לחתום על הסכמים עם ישראל ללא כל תמורה של ממש ותוך התעלמות מהסוגיה הפלסטינית.

מאמר שכותרתו: "הסכם הוגן לסוגיה הפלסטינית: ממצרים לאיחוד האמירויות", פרי עטה של דינה עזת, אשת תקשורת מובילה, שראה אור אף הוא ביומון המצרי **אל-אהראם**, מוקדש כל כולו להעצמת ההסכם המצרי-ישראלי ובעיקר להאדרת מנהיגותו של הנשיא סאדאת ולגימוד הסכם נרמול היחסים האמירתי עם ישראל. הדבר בא לידי ביטוי ראש וראשית לכל בהמשגה בה משתמשים הכותבים המצרים ביחס להסכמים הללו: בעוד ההסכם הישראלי-מצרי הוא "הסכם שלום" בין שתי מדינות עימות ריבוניות, שסכסוך דמים מתמשך אפיין את יחסיהן, ההסכם המצרית-ישראלי אינו אלא "דיל הנורמליזציה" - הלשון הטראמפיסטית בה משתמשים הכותבים המצרים כדי להצביע על המהות האינסטרומנטלית של ההסכם. ברובד התוכני הדגישה עזת הן את ההיבט הקונטקסטואלי שקדם לחתימתו של ההסכם והן את ההיבט הפרסונלי: "סאדאת צדק כיוון שהבין שמצרים אינה יכולה עוד להוביל את העולם הערבי למלחמות נוספות. יתירה מזאת,

הקונסטלציה הבינלאומית אפשרה למצרים לשחרר שטחים מצריים במסגרת ההסכם ובכך לחסוך למצרים עימותים צבאיים, שעלולים היו לגרום לקריסת כלכלתה".⁶ בהקשר זה ציטטה עזת את דבריו של מוחמד תופיק - בעבר שגריר מצרים בווינגטון, אשר נמנה עם מתנגדיו המובהקים של הסכם השלום - שהבהיר כי "יוזמת השלום שאותה יזם הנשיא סאדאת לאחר מלחמת אוקטובר הממה אותנו, כיוון שאנו היינו משוכנעים בעת הזאת ביכולתה של מצרים להוביל את העולם הערבי לשחרור כל השטחים שנכבשו ע"י ישראל. "לא הבנו", הוסיף תופיק, "את מה שסאדאת הפנים כבר אז, שמלחמת 1967 הנחיתה מכת מחץ לפן ערביות שאותה הוביל גמאל עבד אל-נאצר ושהתבוסה (נכסה) גבתה מחיר כבד מן העולם הערבי כולו וממצרים בעיקר".⁷

עזת הדגישה במאמרה כי אין מקום להשוואה בין הסכם השלום המצרי-ישראלי ובין דיל הנורמליזציה המצרית-ישראלי. לשם אישוש טיעוניה היא נסמכה על מקורות דיפלומטיים מצריים וערביים וקבעה כי סאדאת היה מנהיג פוליטי וצבאי כריזמטי שנלחם בישראל במלחמת אוקטובר, הפגין יכולות צבאיות מרשימות וניצח. הוא ניהל משא ומתן ארוך וסיזיפי משך שנים עד לחתימת הסכם השלום עם ישראל ועשה זאת נוכח אופוזיציה פנימית ואזורית. ישראל מצידה ראתה בהסכם השלום הגשמת חלום ותרמה לכך גם העובדה שסאדאת עצמו מצא לנכון לפנות לדעת הקהל בישראל ולשכנע אותה באשר לתועלת שנושא עמו השלום. עזת קבעה עוד כי הנסיבות הפנים מצריות, הבין-ערביות והגלובליות כמו גם אישיותו יוצאת הדופן של הנשיא סאדאת שונות באופן מהותי מאלה שהובילו לחתימת חוזה הנורמליזציה המצרית-ישראלי. המנהיג האמירתי, הנסיך מחמד בן זיאד, קובע הפרשן המצרי עבד אל-מנעם סעיד, המצוטט במאמרה של עזת, אינו אלא מנהיג שמרני בן המאה ה-21. המטרה של איחוד האמירויות היא, לדעת פרשנים אמירתיים ודיפלומטים אמריקאים, לבסס את מעמדה של איחוד האמירויות כשחקן אזורי בעל השפעה. שליט האמירויות זיהה, לטענתם, את "המומנטום המצרית" שבו המדינות הערביות המסורתיות לא היו פנויות להוביל ולהנהיג, כיוון שהיו ועודן טרודות בבעיותיהן הפנימיות, והוא ביקש לתפוס את מקומן. שליטי האמירויות דילגו מעל היוזמה הערבית הסעודית של 2002, שבמסגרתה הוצעה לישראל נורמליזציה מלאה בתמורה לנסיגה מהשטחים הפלסטיניים וכינונה של מדינה פלסטינית שבירתה מזרח ירושלים, הם לא התנו את הנורמליזציה בפתרון הסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטיני ואף לא הציעו פתרונות חלופיים ויצירתיים ליישוב הסכסוך. מה שעמד לנגד עיניהם היא ההתקרבות

Dina Ezzat, "[A fair Settlement of the Palestinian Cause: From Egypt to the UAE](#)", *ahramonline*,⁶ September 24, 2020.
⁷ Ibid.

לארה"ב ולישראל בת בריתה וההזדמנויות הכלכליות, הצבאיות והאסטרטגיות שמהלך זה צופן בחובו ותו לא.

לסיכום, נראה כי התגובה המצרית לחתימת ההסכם המפרצי-ישראלי משקפת את חששותיה של מצרים מפני כרסום במעמדה כאחות הבכירה במזרח התיכון לטובת מדינות צעירות ועשירות, שלא חוו את מהפכות "האביב הערבי" ואינן מתמודדות עם משברים כלכליים אקוטיים וזעזועים חברתיים, ומנצלות את שעת הכושר שנקרתה בדרכן כדי למנף את מעמדן הן בזירה האזורית והן בזירה הגלובלית. אשר על כן, בחרה מצרים לחזור ולהדגיש את אחריותה ולהזכיר לכל מי שהספיק לשכוח, הן בזירה הערבית והן בזירה הגלובלית, כי הנוסחה הישנה קרי: נורמליזציה מצרית תמורת שטחים פלסטיניים, עודנה חיה, נושמת ובוועטת.

כל הזכויות שמורות למרכז משה דיין ללימודי המזרח התיכון ואפריקה באוניברסיטת תל-אביב. ניתן לעשות שימוש לא מסחרי בתכנים, תוך ציון שמו של הכותב ומרכז משה דיין באוניברסיטת תל-אביב, ובתוספת סימוכין וקישור למקור באתר של מרכז משה דיין, <https://dayan.org/he>.