

МИНИСТЕРСТВО НАУКИ И ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ РФ

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«Соглашения Авраама» 2020 г.:

документы и материалы внешней политики Государства Израиль

Практикум



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Практикум публикует оригинальные документы внешней политики Государства Израиль, которые отражают процесс заключения «Соглашений Авраама» и других договоров Израиля с арабскими странами.

Коллекция документов включает рамочные «Соглашения Авраама», предметные договоры и соглашения между Израилем и четырьмя арабскими государствами: ОАЭ, Бахрейном, Марокко и Суданом. Документы МИД Израиля и материалы израильской печати подробно характеризуют политическое содержание и основные направления сотрудничества еврейского государства с указанными арабскими странами Персидского залива и Северной Африки, раскрывают цепочку дипломатической событий и внешнеполитической активности израильского правительства на треке урегулирования.

Практикум предназначен для студентов Института международных отношений и мировой истории ННГУ, обучающихся по направлению «Зарубежное регионоведение». Практикум будет полезен студентам в изучении курсов: «Процесс формирования внешней политики», «Интеграционные проекты в странах Востока» (бакалавриат) и «Процесс формирования внешней политики ведущих государств», «Актуальные социально-экономические и политические проблемы Запада и Востока», «Интеграционные процессы в Европе и Азии» (магистратура).

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Введение

Практикум публикует документы и другие материалы внешней политики Государства Израиль, имеющие отношение к дипломатическим событиям 2020 года на Ближнем Востоке.

В период с августа 2020 г. по январь 2021 г. при посредничестве администрации президента Д. Трампа Израиль подписал соглашения о нормализации отношений с рядом арабских стран: ОАЭ, Королевством Бахрейн, Королевством Марокко и Республикой Судан. Соглашения имели рамочный характер и получили название «Соглашения Авраама», очевидно, в честь библейского пророка Авраама, которого почитают христиане, иудеи и мусульмане. Авторы соглашений указали, что поддерживают усилия по развитию межрелигиозного и межкультурного диалога и продвижению культуры среди представителей трех авраамических религий и всего человечества.

Рамочные «Соглашения Авраама» и последовавшие за ними более конкретные договоры о мире, протоколы о сотрудничестве оказались настоящим дипломатическим прорывом (breakthrough) в процессе ближневосточного урегулирования. После мирного договора Израиля с Египтом 1979 г. (Кэмп-дэвидские соглашения) и с Иорданией 1994 г. (Ословские соглашения) мирный процесс фактически «топтался на месте». Усилия международных посредников («Ближневосточный квартет»), арабских стран, Израиля и Палестинской Автономии урегулировать палестино-израильский конфликт в течение многих лет зашли в тупик.

Администрация президента-республиканца Д. Трампа решила пойти по иному пути урегулирования. Отказавшись братья за трудный палестинский трек урегулирования, после неудачи с экономическим проектом «Peace to Prosperity. The Economic Plan: A New Vision to the Palestinian People», американская дипломатия запустила процесс тайных переговоров Израиля с арабскими странами Персидского Залива и Северной Африки. Подробности этих переговоров, детали полученных на встречах договоренностей до сих пор хранятся в тайне. Тем не менее, известно, что «ударной силой» закулисных переговоров выступила команда американских переговорщиков во главе со старшим советником президента США Джаредом Кушнером.

Следует подчеркнуть, что администрация Д. Трампа оказалась в американской истории, пожалуй, самой произраильски настроенной в процессе урегулирования. «Соглашения Авраама» появились не внезапно, им предшествовала скрупулезная работа и целенаправленная политика Д. Трампа полной поддержки Государства Израиль на международной арене. Назовем здесь сенсационные указы президента Д. Трампа по вопросам, решать которые не осмеливались главы предшествующих администраций

США. Волевым решением Д. Трамп шаг за шагом шел к усилению военно-политических и переговорных позиций Государства Израиль. Это, в частности, проявилось в следующем.

- ❖ 2017 год – США признали Иерусалим столицей Государства Израиль.
- ❖ 2018 г. – США открыли посольство в Иерусалиме (ранее американское посольство, как и посольства других стран мира, располагалось в Тель-Авиве). Американская дипломатия начала убеждать своих зарубежных партнеров переносить свои посольства в Иерусалим.
- ❖ 2018 г. – США остановили финансирование Ближневосточного агентства ООН для помощи и работ в пользу палестинских беженцев (UNRWA) на том основании, что деятельность агентства не эффективна и «является препятствием на пути к миру» (госсекретарь М. Помпео).
- ❖ 2019 г. – президент Д. Трамп признал суверенитет Израиля над Голанскими высотами (которые были захвачены Израилем у Сирии в ходе войны 1967 г.).

После таких политических шагов, а, возможно и в процессе принятия таких решений, США усилили дипломатические контакты со сторонами конфликта, что нашло отражение в следующих действиях.

2020 г. – США посредничали в подписании 15 сентября рамочных «Авраамовых соглашений» между Израилем и арабскими странами: ОАЭ, Бахрейном, Марокко и Суданом.

2020 г. – США посредничали в заключении следующих соглашений:

- Договор о мире, дипломатических отношениях и полной нормализации между Объединенными Арабскими Эмиратами и Государством Израиль (15 сентября 2020 г.),
 - Декларация о мире, сотрудничестве и конструктивных и дружественных дипломатических отношениях Израиля и Бахрейна (15 сентября 2020 г.),
 - Присоединение Судана к Декларации об Авраамовых соглашениях,
 - Декларация Израиля и Королевства Марокко об установлении дипломатических отношений и развитии сотрудничества (22 декабря 2020 г.).
- До подписания Декларации, 10 декабря 2020 г. президент Д. Трамп признал суверенитет Марокко над территорией Западной Сахары.

Особую роль с американской стороны в подготовке и подписании соглашений и деклараций, как уже было сказано, сыграла команда дипломатов и переговорщиков во главе со старшим советником президента и его зятем Джаредом Кушнером. В группу Дж. Кушнера входили, в частности: специальный представитель США в ближневосточном

квартете Алан Дершовиц, заместитель Дж. Кушнера Ави Берковиц, посол США в Израиле Дэвид Фридман. Существенную поддержку в американо-израильском взаимодействии оказал Рон Дермер, посол Израиля в США и политический союзник израильского премьер-министра Б. Нетаньяху.

Команда Дж. Кушнера использовала в своей работе инструменты торга и убеждения. Например, американцам удалось убедить израильского премьер-министра Б. Нетаньяху временно отказаться от строительства новых еврейских поселений на Западном берегу реки Иордан – территории будущего палестинского государства, ныне входящей в состав Палестинской Национальной Администрации (Автономии). Американская дипломатия также использовала общий для Израиля и арабских стран Залива аргумент, а именно: необходимость создания мощного регионального военно-политического блока для противостояния Ирану. Администрация Д. Трампа в лице переговорной команды Дж. Кушнера транслировала обещание масштабной военно-экономической помощи странам, которые согласятся на заключение мирного договора и соглашений о многостороннем партнерстве и сотрудничестве с еврейским государством.

Для Государства Израиль, его политического руководства, общественности «Соглашения Авраама» стали дипломатической победой и реальным продвижением по пути урегулирования конфронтационных прежде отношений с арабским миром. 15 октября 2020 г. состоялось внеочередное пленарное заседание Кнессета, на которое была вынесена просьба Правительства о ратификации Договора о мире и сотрудничестве между Государством Израиль и Объединенными Арабскими Эмиратами. Перед голосованием глава правительства Биньямин Нетаньяху заявил, что "договор с ОАЭ не появился из воздуха", его подписанию предшествовала серьезная работа. После девятичасового обсуждения, в котором приняли участие более 100 депутатов из общего количества 120 депутатов, Кнессет одобрил мирный договор с ОАЭ, известный как "Соглашения Авраама". Результаты голосования: 80 голосов «за», 13 – «против», при отсутствии воздержавшихся.

Российская Федерация в целом приветствовала подписание «Соглашений Авраама», однако высказала свое видение процесса ближневосточного урегулирования. Так, 21 сентября 2020 года в интервью нью-йоркскому бюро телеканала «Аль-Арабия» министр иностранных дел С.В.Лавров заявил следующее:

«Рассматриваем недавние подвижки в развитии отношений между Израилем и ОАЭ, Израилем и Бахрейном как реальные факты. Мы получаем заверения от всех наших арабских друзей, что эти подвижки направлены на улучшение климата в регионе и ни при каких условиях не будут использованы для ущемления прав палестинского народа.

Посмотрим, как это будет на деле, когда диалог возобновится. Мы призываем наших израильских коллег и палестинских друзей создать условия, воспользоваться различными международными площадками для восстановления такого прямого диалога. Это единственный способ понять, что необходимо сделать в текущих условиях. То, что аннексия была отложена, конечно, лучше, чем, если бы она уже состоялась. Но перенос сроков – это не решение проблемы. Она по-прежнему существует. Только посредством прямого диалога мы сможем выйти на взаимоприемлемые развязки, которые поддержат как израильтяне, так и палестинцы».

По мнению старшего научного сотрудника Института востоковедения РАН В. Сажина, «Соглашения Авраама» ведут к формированию «фактического союза между Израилем и суннитскими монархиями Персидского залива и некоторыми другими арабскими странами против их общего врага — шиитского Ирана». В. Сажин и другие российские эксперты утверждают, что очевиден раскол арабского и в целом мусульманского мира по проблемам Палестины и Израиля. Это происходит потому, что всё большее число арабских стран заинтересованы в нормализации отношений с Израилем и его признании. Панарабская политика по палестинскому вопросу оказалась слабой и имеет тенденцию к разрушению, полагает В. Сажин.

Практикум содержит документы внешней политики Государства Израиль, распределенные по тематическим (страновым) разделам и по хронологическому принципу. Большая часть документов – это заявления, договоры, соглашения, пресс-конференции, опубликованы министерством иностранных дел Израиля и размещенные на сайте этого внешнеполитического ведомства.

Авторы использовали также документы внешней политики США и материалы израильской печати (англоязычная версия газеты «Израэль Хайом» и ежедневная газета «Times of Israel»). Каждый документ имеет ссылку на источник. Каждый раздел предлагает студентам ответить на контрольные вопросы для закрепления пройденного материала. Документы публикуются на английском языке для более глубокого знания студентом дипломатического источника и терминологии, которую тексты содержат и сообщают исследователю.

Раздел 1. «Соглашения Авраама»

Документ № 1

The Abraham Accords Declaration

15 September 2020

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.

Signed

President Donald J. Trump,

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bahrain Dr. Abdullatif bin Rashid Al-Zayani,

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

Minister of Foreign Affairs for the United Arab Emirates Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan

Источник: U.S. Department of State// Режим доступа:<https://2017-2021.state.gov/the-abraham-accords//index.html> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021.)

PM Netanyahu's Speech at the White House Signing Ceremony for the Historic Peace Agreements, the "Abraham Accords", with the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain

15 Sep 2020

PM Netanyahu: The people of Israel well know the price of war. And this is why I am so deeply moved to be here today. For those who bear the wounds of war cherish the blessings of peace.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Following is Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech today (Tuesday, 15 September 2020), at the White House in Washington DC, at the signing ceremony for the historic peace agreements, the "Abraham Accords", with the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, in the presence of US President Donald Trump, UAE Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed and Bahrain Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullatif Al Zayani:

"Ladies and gentlemen,

"Mr. President,

"This day is a pivot of history. It heralds a new dawn of peace. For thousands of years, the Jewish people have prayed for peace. For decades, the Jewish state has prayed for peace. And this is why today we're filled with such profound gratitude. I am grateful to you, President Trump, for your decisive leadership. You have unequivocally stood by Israel's side. You have boldly confronted the tyrants of Tehran. You've proposed a realistic vision for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. And you have successfully brokered the historic peace that we are signing today, a peace that has broad support in Israel, in America, in the Middle East—indeed in the entire world.

"I am grateful to Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed of the United Arab Emirates and to you, Foreign Minister Abdullah bin Zayed. I thank you both for your wise leadership and for working with the United States and Israel to expand the circle of peace.

"I am grateful to King Hamad of Bahrain and to you, Foreign Minister Abdullatif Al Zayani, for joining us in bringing hope to all the children of Abraham.

“To all of Israel's friends in the Middle East, those who are with us today and those who will join us tomorrow, I say As-salamu alaykum, peace unto you. Shalom.

“And you have heard from the president that he is already lining up more and more countries. This was unimaginable a few years ago, but with resolve, determination, a fresh look at the way peace is done, this is being achieved.

“Thank you, Mr. President.

“Ladies and gentlemen,

“The people of Israel well know the price of war. I know the price of war. I was wounded in battle. A fellow soldier, a very close friend of mine, died in my arms. My brother Yoni lost his life while leading his soldiers to rescue hostages held by terrorists at Entebbe. My parents' grief over the loss of Yoni was unrelieved until their dying day. And over the years, when I have come to console the families of Israel's fallen soldiers and victims of terror, I have seen that same grief countless times. And this is why I am so deeply moved to be here today. For those who bear the wounds of war cherish the blessings of peace.

“And the blessings of the peace we make today will be enormous. First, because this peace will eventually expand to include other Arab states, and ultimately it can end the Arab-Israeli conflict once and for all. Second, because the great economic benefits of our partnership will be felt throughout our region, and they will reach every one of our citizens. And third, because this is not only a peace between leaders, it's a peace between peoples—Israelis, Emiratis and Bahrainis are already embracing one another. We are eager to invest in a future of partnership, prosperity and peace. We've already begun to cooperate on combating corona, and I am sure that together we can find solutions to many of the problems that afflict our region and beyond.

“So despite the many challenges and hardships that we all face—despite all that—let us pause for a moment to appreciate this remarkable day. Let us rise above any political divide. Let us put all cynicism aside. Let us feel on this day the pulse of history. For long after the pandemic is gone, the peace we make today will endure.

“Ladies and gentlemen,

“I have devoted my life to securing Israel's place among the nations, to ensure the future of the one and only Jewish state. To accomplish that goal, I have worked to make Israel strong, very strong, for history has taught us that strength brings security, strength brings allies and ultimately—and this is something President Trump has said again and again—ultimately strength brings peace.

“King David expressed this basic truth thousands of years ago in our eternal capital, Jerusalem. His prayer, immortalized in the Book of Psalms in the Bible, echoes from our glorious past and guides us towards a brilliant future:

“ה' עז לעמו יתן ה' יברך את עמו בשלום.”

“May God give strength to his people, may God bless his people with peace.”

“Mr. President,

“Distinguished guests,

“This week is Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, and what a blessing we bring to this new year, a blessing of friendship, a blessing of hope, a blessing of peace”.

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs//Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-s-speech-at-the-White-House-signing-ceremony-with-the-United-Arab-Emirates-and-Bahrain-15-September-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021.)

Документ № 3

Press Briefing on United Arab Emirates-Israel Relations with Senior Advisor Jared Kushner

SPECIAL BRIEFING VIA TELEPHONE

JARED KUSHNER, SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 17, 2020

LONDON INTERNATIONAL MEDIA HUB

Moderator: Good afternoon to everyone from the Department of State’s London Media Hub. I’d like to welcome our participants dialing in from the Middle East and from around the world for this on-the-record press briefing with Jared Kushner, Senior Advisor to the President of the United States.

Today, Senior Advisor Kushner will discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United Arab Emirates and Israel. We’ll begin today’s briefing with opening remarks from Senior Advisor Kushner, then open the floor for questions.

I’ll now turn it over to Senior Advisor Kushner for a few opening remarks. Sir, the floor is yours.

Senior Advisor Kushner: Thank you very much and thank you to everyone for joining. I'm happy to take your questions, but I'll give you a quick overview on where we are and how we got here. Obviously, this historic breakthrough, this is the first peace agreement in the region in 26 years, and only the third in the last 70 with Israel. And so I do think it gives a lot of people great optimism that the Middle East doesn't have to be stuck in conflicts of the past and that, thanks to President Trump's leadership, we've started aligning people around shared interests, joint opportunities, and shared threats, and hopefully this leads to a whole new set of progress that can bring the region forward.

If you think about the campaign that President Trump ran, the Middle East was a very, very big issue last time. The Iran deal had just happened, which upset a lot of people here in America. They couldn't get it passed by Congress; they sent \$150 billion, several billion dollars, in cash to Iran and gave them a broad path to a nuclear weapon. A lot of America's allies felt very betrayed and alienated by the deal. There was tons of instability caused, whether it was civil war in Syria, Iraq was a mess, Yemen was a mess, Libya was a mess, and then ISIS was roaming free and had a caliphate the size of Ohio, and so where they were beheading American journalists and planning a lot of threats to America. We also had a lot of content online that was being pushed out to radicalize people all throughout the world, most extending from the Middle East, and a lot of funding coming from the Middle East as well.

President Trump's first trip as President was to Riyadh, where he gathered the 54 leaders of Muslim and Arab countries to lay out his vision for what needed to be dealt with in the Middle East. After that trip, he went to Israel and then he went to visit the Pope in Rome to address that all three Abrahamic faiths needed to come together to work on joint opportunities, as opposed to old grievances, if we wanted to push the world forward.

In the President's speech, he laid out four key objectives. The first one was that Iran was a problem and that we needed to all come together to constrain their aggression, and we've since taken great steps to do that. Number two was obviously ISIS, and we needed to make progress there, and we have. Number three was fighting the long-term battle against extremism and people who use the Islamic faith to try to sow destruction and cause instability, wrongfully using the faith to do that. And obviously, at that trip we launched the counter-terror finance center and the counter-extremism center with Saudi Arabia, the custodian of the two holy sites, and both centers have been quite successful as we've seen the level of radicalization going down and we see the amount of money going to terror groups going down. And then the fourth one was the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which obviously we've made great efforts on over the last months – over the last years.

So if you take what's happened over the last couple of years and you tie it all together, President Trump obviously moved the capital to Jerusalem, recognized the Golan Heights, got out

of the Iran deal, showing people in the region that, number one, he keeps his word, and building trust back from his allies, showing that he's going to stand for what's right and that he had a view of the region that would align with what a lot of people saw of where the problems were coming from.

We led the Warsaw Conference where we brought Prime Minister Netanyahu together with several of the Arab foreign ministers, where they were all basically talking off the same sheet of music about what the threats were in the region and how the countries had a lot more in common than people thought. And then we had the economic conference in Bahrain where we laid out a vision for the Palestinian people, where we laid out a very detailed \$50 billion economic plan for how to make the Palestinian people's lives better. That plan would double their GDP, create a million new jobs, and reduce their poverty rate by 50 percent. The Palestinians boycotted that conference and everyone else still showed up, which really changed the narrative in the region to basically people saying, "What's wrong with the Palestinian leadership?"

Finally, the President laid out his Vision for Peace in January of this year. Many people thought it would be a one-state solution. Through that vision, which was a two-state solution and is the first map ever agreed to by one of the parties and publicly put out in a peace negotiation, he got Israel to agree to negotiate on the basis of the President's vision, agree to the map, and agree to move forward on a Palestinian state. This was a major breakthrough that changed the view of a lot of people in the region about Israel's seriousness to actually make concessions to resolve this longstanding conflict. It showed other regional players that Israel was serious and that it was time to move forward in the region.

As we move forward to apply – to implement the plan and apply Israeli sovereignty to areas of the West Bank, that the deal we were working on was that Israel, in exchange for this, would not expand further. So we would give a four-year freeze and the Palestinians wouldn't – Israel wouldn't go beyond the barriers of what we agreed to in the plan, therefore saving the opportunity for a Palestinian state for the next four years. This was something we were getting close on, but a lot of people were objecting to it. And as we were moving forward, the United Arab Emirates thought that perhaps by normalizing with Israel and taking their relation to the next level they could stop that and save the possibility of having Israel be condemned for it and give the Palestinian people hope that there is an opportunity for a negotiated settlement still on the table.

The United Arab Emirates and Israel are two security powerhouses, two technology powerhouses, two economic powerhouses, and I do believe you're going to start seeing tremendous commerce between the two countries. Israelis are very excited that they can get cheaper flights now by flying through Dubai, and I know a lot of Muslims are excited that they can now fly through Dubai to Tel Aviv to go and visit the Al-Aqsa Mosque, which Israel has said is – where the king of Jordan will remain as the custodian and that is something that is now open to all Muslims. And I

will say that for at least the last hundred years or longer, radicals have used the threat of the mosque in order to try to sow division and radicalization, but the more that we can get Muslims to come and pray at the mosque freely and peacefully, the more people throughout the world will realize the mosque is not under attack, the mosque is open, and that hopefully will reduce the tension that exists between Israel and the Muslim world based on some historic anti-Semitic divides that have existed for far too long.

And obviously, with regards to the issue between Israel and the Palestinians, that really reduces that to a territorial dispute. Israel's made a very generous offer for a state and for land swaps, and the ball is really in the court of the Palestinians now. And obviously, we welcome them any time to come to the table. And I think that President Trump has earned the trust of a lot of the regional partners, more so than his predecessors, and that's what enabled this historic peace breakthrough to come about.

What I will say is that as one of the people who has been one of the few optimists about the Middle East over the last few years, what I've seen over the last four days is that a lot more people are now beginning to be optimistic about the potential. People are looking at all of the great opportunities that can exist by working together if we let go of some of the conflicts of the past and figure out how to carve a much brighter and better future. So we couldn't be more optimistic. We do believe there will be more normalizations with Israel, and we do believe at some point the Israeli-Palestinian issue now will get resolved on the basis of the Vision for Peace. There is room for negotiation in that vision and President Trump is ready to engage at any time to try and resolve it. But again, we're not going to chase the Palestinian leadership. We've reached out to them to basically say if you want to engage now, this – the allocation of Israeli sovereignty to these areas is on hold. Obviously, that – they said they would come back and negotiate if that happened; that has now happened, so we'll see what they decide to do.

So again, there's a lot of reasons to be optimistic now in the Middle East, a lot of good opportunity, but we've only got to where we are today by President Trump's leadership and by his strategy to the region, which has dramatically changed the way that people are perceiving the region, changed what's possible in the region, and I will say that he's also set the table for a lot more great breakthroughs in the months and years ahead. So we're quite optimistic and I think that we can't understate the significance of this breakthrough. I think Tom Friedman called it an earthquake that hit the region, and I think that that was – is hopefully something that we'll be able to get a lot more done on for a long time so that people can focus on economic opportunity and less on radicalization, and more on kind of how we can all come together as different faiths and different people to bring the region forward.

With that, should we open it to questions?

Moderator: Thank you, Senior Advisor Kushner. We'll now begin the question and answer portion of today's call. Please state your name and affiliation and limit yourself to one question related to the topic of today's briefing. Questions submitted in advance have been incorporated into the queue. And with that, we'll begin with BBC Arabic's Candice Hatem. She submitted the question, "How can the American administration ensure that the Israeli side will implement to stop the annexation process, as stipulated in the agreement?"

Senior Advisor Kushner: So again, we've built a very trusting relationship with Israel. President Trump, you heard in his comments, he's committed to holding them accountable to it. And Israel has agreed with us that they will not move forward without our consent. We do not plan to give our consent for some time as right now the focus has to be on getting this new peace agreement implemented. We really want to get as much interchange between Israel and the United Arab Emirates as possible, and we want Israel to focus on creating new relationships and new alliances.

So again, that land is land that right now Israel, quite frankly, controls. It's Israelis who are living there. It's not going anywhere. There shouldn't be any urgency for them to apply Israeli law. And so we believe that they will stick to their agreement. And again, they have trust with President Trump. I don't believe [inaudible] because he's been a great ally for Israel. And a lot of people said when we moved the embassy, "Well, why aren't you getting anything in return?" And President Trump said, well, first of all, it's the right thing to do and you shouldn't have to get something for doing [inaudible] as a promise that he made, and so he keeps his promises. And then number three is he did get something that a lot of the pundits didn't pick up on, which is he got the trust of the Israeli public and the Israeli Government, and that's something that's proven to be quite valuable. He trusts them and they trust him, and we do not believe that they will go forward against the deal that we made. And they are very excited about the peace that they have now with the United Arab Emirates and about the potential for more peace that will come.

Moderator: Great. We will take our first question from the English line from Monalisa Freiha of *Annahar* newspaper.

Question: [Inaudible] Prime Minister Netanyahu won't go with his plan to annex the West Bank?

Moderator: I'm sorry, I just heard the last part of that. Do you mind repeating?

Question: Yeah, yeah. Is there any assurances that or guarantees that Mr. Prime Minister Netanyahu won't go on with his planned annexation to annex the West Bank?

Senior Advisor Kushner: Yes, he has given us assurances that he will not do it without our consent, and that's good enough for us. So again, a piece of paper is worth less, often, than the agreement between countries, and right now we have an understanding together and that

understanding is built on a lot of years of trust and relation. And so we believe that that agreement will hold, and so far it has.

Moderator: Great. Our next question comes from the Arabic line, Shawki Mahmoud from [inaudible] *Al-Seyassah*. He asks, “What is your response to what is said about American pressure on Kuwait and the GCC countries to establish diplomatic relations with Israel?”

Senior Advisor Kushner: Well, we have not been putting pressure; we’ve – look, countries will do things that are in their interest to do. Kuwait has a very funny history with the Palestinians, right. When Kuwait was invaded by Iraq, I think that Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians sided with Saddam Hussein, and after that Kuwait kicked out 400,000 Palestinians. And now they are out there; they’ve taken a very radical view on the conflict to date in favor of the Palestinians, and obviously that hasn’t been very constructive.

What we see in the region right now is that it’s in the interests of a lot of these countries, both from a security point of view and from an economic point of view, to have relations with Israel. And again, we believe that countries will do what’s in their best interests. We’re willing to help facilitate it because there hasn’t been great channels of communications between some of these countries. And while there is a relationship with Israel in some, the trust isn’t fully there because these are newer relationships, and what we’ve done over the last years is try to accelerate the relationships, build the trust, and then what we’ve been able to do with the joint trust that America has built is try to be the mediator to finalize a lot of the finer points of these agreements.

So we do believe a lot more of the GCC countries will want to see a move forward, and quite frankly, the Palestinian people will only – their lives will only start being made better when their leadership decides that they want to finalize this conflict, right. So the conflict right now, there’s a full offer on the table; they can have a Palestinian state, they could have self-determination, they could have dignity. The mosque right now, that issue is fairly resolved in that the king of Jordan is the custodian of the mosque and Muslims who want to come and pray can come and pray. So that issue feels fairly resolved at this point. And then with regards to – with regards to the Palestinian leadership, they just need to sit down and say, hey, where do we finalize the map, and then we have a big economic plan that we can rush in [inaudible] against corruption and – but they need to make some reforms to make sure there’s a fair judiciary. When we did our Bahrain conference, they had people walking around the streets saying that their [inaudible] all the businessmen who came to the conference. And so it’s not really a free and fair economic society when people don’t have the ability to express their point of views. And so if you want to get international investors to come in and help the Palestinian people, you need to have an environment that’s pro-business, pro-growth, has transparency, and they have to have faith that their investments aren’t going to be destroyed because of – because of wars and skirmishes.

So I think that we're very close to a lot of breakthroughs in the region, and I think a lot of GCC countries want to have breakthroughs, but President Trump's approach has not been to put pressure on people. You can't – the goal is if you make peace and have a relationship, you want that relationship to endure and last. And a relationship that's built on pressure is not one that's going to last. We'd rather help build people – bring people together and build these relationships on shared interests and common threats so that leaders from both countries know that they're getting involved together so that they can keep their citizens safer and give their citizens more economic opportunity, and that's the right foundation off of which these relationships should be built, not based on pressure.

Moderator: All right, we have time for two more questions. We'll take the next one from the English line: Joseph Haboush of Al Arabiya.

Question: Thanks for doing this. I'd like to ask, how does the – this recent peace deal and those being worked on impact stability in the region, especially that two of the countries bordering Israel – being Lebanon and Syria – are heavily influenced by Iran, and you've also got Iraq's fate hanging in the balance, also being a country Tehran has invested in via its proxies and militias? Do you see a turning tide against Iran in the region? Thank you.

Senior Advisor Kushner: So yeah, that's a great question. Even *The New York Times* today had a big story about how Iran is losing the street in the region, and I think that that speaks to this. Again, Israel is always a very convenient scapegoat, right. For the last several years, a lot of the leaders in the region have used Israel as a distraction to divert attention with their publics against – instead of some – instead of having – away from some of their own shortcomings at home. And what you're seeing now is that with the state of Israel not the main issue of the region over the last few years, people are realizing that there's more instability and there's threats to them because of Tehran. I mean, there's been no Israeli missiles that landed in Saudi Arabia; there were Iranian missiles that landed in Saudi Arabia. There were no Israeli missiles that landed in the UAE; there were Iranian missiles that landed there. There are no Israeli proxies that are destabilizing Syria and Lebanon; it's Iranian-backed militias that are destabilizing Yemen and Syria and Lebanon.

And so I think people in the region have started to see that even more so over the last years, and there's a big blowback in these countries against the Iranian influence. And Iran at some point is going to have to make a decision, right, and that decision is to focus on making your people's lives better, stop trying to be [inaudible] on all of your neighbors. You have to stop playing these old games. Stop trying to export terror and extremism. And if they do that, then they'll be embraced by the region. But [inaudible] have a region that's going to be focused on the future if these old squabbles that are often exploited by the extremists are still around. That's why it's very critical for

all of these countries to finalize their relations with Israel and to not allow these bad actors to exploit these divisions that, quite frankly, shouldn't exist.

So Iran's place in the region has changed dramatically. Their financial condition has changed dramatically thanks to President Trump's leadership of ending the deal and the sanctions that we've imposed, and I think that that will keep going. And the more that countries come together, like Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia and others, the harder it will be for Iran to divide and conquer like they've done for years. And so they've always exploited the divisions in the region, so if you think about the people who don't want Saudi Arabia and Israel to make a peace agreement, the number one proponent of that is going to be Iran. And so, but I think that that just shows that it's probably the right thing to do and it's an inevitability and it'll be very good for Saudi business and it'll be very good for Saudi defense, and that, quite frankly, I think it will also help the Palestinian people because the more Israel has relations with the Arab countries, the more we'll be able to do things that are kind of kind of co- and joint investments to make the lives of the Palestinian people better.

Moderator: All right. For our final question we have Bander Alwarthan of *Alyaum* newspaper who asks, "Can we hear more on U.S.-Saudi cooperation on peace plans in the Middle East?"

Senior Advisor Kushner: I'm sorry, do you mind doing that one more time?

Moderator: Yes, Bander Alwarthan of *Alyaum* newspaper asks, "Can we hear more on the U.S.-Saudi collaboration on peace plans in the Middle East?"

Senior Advisor Kushner: So I've had many discussions now with MBS about it, and then also with King Salman about it. King Salman has a very, very strong place in his heart for the Palestinian people and for the cause, and MBS does, the crown prince, MBS, does as well. And what they basically said is that they want to see Saudi Arabia move forward in the region. They don't like the instability that's caused. But they do want to see the Palestinian people have a state, they want to see them have economic opportunity, and they'd like to see this resolved.

But Saudi Arabia put out a very positive statement when we put out our Vision for Peace calling for both parties to negotiate on the basis, and I do believe that every [inaudible] disappointed by the way that the Palestinian leadership has played their hand where they – it's almost like it doesn't matter what proposal you put out, they have the same talking points that their attack dogs say, and quite frankly, I feel like the world has started to block out the noise that comes out of there because it's just so predictable and illogical. And so we held a conference to invest \$50 billion for – in the Palestinian – for the Palestinian economy, and they criticized us. We put out a plan that basically had a Palestinian state and gave them most of what they've ever wanted, and they criticized us. We made a peace deal in the region, and they criticized us. I just think that their

credibility is really falling to an all-time low, and even people who want to help the Palestinians, those people are just seeing that you can't help people who don't want to help themselves.

And so, quite frankly, there's a lot of frustration in the region with the Palestinian leadership, and it's not just from the Palestinian people; it's also from their traditional allies, and it's because they're just either – they're either stuck in the past or they don't want to make peace or maybe they have a plan that none of us can figure out. But I don't see how their current actions are leading to the Palestinian people having a better life. And quite frankly, I think that the leaders in the Arab world, they just want to see the Palestinian people – they want to see this resolved. In the past, a lot of Arab leaders had seen this conflict as a pawn, but right now you have a lot of the leaders wanting to see it resolved so that we can move forward.

Moderator: All right. I'll now turn it over to Senior Advisor Kushner for closing remarks.

Senior Advisor Kushner: Perfect. No, that's really it. So thank you guys so much, and again, let's all stay optimistic. Let's hope that we can make more change. And the one thing I'll just really ask all of you is that – and you have a lot of people who use tired talking points or who are complaining. When they bring those points up I would ask them, well, what is your solution? What is the pathway forward? We've taken a lot of time on this file. We've spoken to everyone. We've done a lot of listening. We've put out a really extensive plan for peace and how to move things forward. We've now gotten countries to bridge divides.

This region will never be truly great – it's such a – the region – until these issues are resolved. The region has so much potential. It has natural resources. It has an innovative population. It has a young population. We need to get these countries interconnected with each other and we need to take the cancers of conflict – we need to extract them from the region. But unfortunately, while there is – while people still allow some of these leaders and these groups to exploit division, that's going to continue to hold back the region from achieving its true potential, and that's going to shortchange tens of millions of young people from the Middle East of achieving the potential that they have.

So this is a historic time. President Trump's leadership and his strategy are working. And we're going to continue to double and triple down on the region in order to make progress towards having a more peaceful, safer, and prosperous world. Thank you.

Moderator: All right. That concludes today's call. I'd like to thank Senior Advisor Kushner for joining us and thank all of our callers for participating. If you have any questions about today's call, you may contact the London Media Hub at LondonHub@state.gov. Information on how to access the English recording of this call will be provided by AT&T shortly.

Thank you and have a great day.

Senior Advisor Kushner: Thank you, guys. Bye.

Источник: U.S. Department of State// Режим доступа: <https://2017-2021.state.gov/press-briefing-on-united-arab-emirates-israel-relations-with-senior-advisor-jared-kushner//index.Html>
(Дата обращения: 23.01.2021)

Задания студентам к разделу 1.

1. Найдите и объясните политико-дипломатические термины, которые использованы в документах.
2. Проведите внешнюю и внутреннюю критику источника (выбранного документа).
3. Найдите предложения, в которых «Соглашения» указывают на вопросы политического урегулирования и на вопросы этно-религиозного мира и диалога.

Контрольные вопросы к разделу 1.

1. Назовите имена и должности лиц, подписавших «Соглашения Авраама».
2. Какое значение опубликованные соглашения придают урегулированию палестино-израильского конфликта?
3. Почему в своей речи премьер-министр Израиля упоминает Тегеран и его политику?
4. Объясните фразу Б. Нетаньяху: «history has taught us that strength brings security». Что имеет в виду израильский политик?
5. Прочитайте интервью с руководителем американской группы дипломатов, старшим советником Белого Дома Джаредом Кушнером. Назовите основные задачи и особенности переговорной тактики команды Дж. Кушнера.

Раздел 2. Соглашения Государства Израиль и Объединенных Арабских Эмиратов

Документ № 4

Joint Statement of the United States, the State of Israel, and the United Arab Emirates

President Donald J Trump, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, and Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the United Arab Emirates spoke today and agreed to the full normalization of relations between Israel and the United Arab Emirates.

This historic diplomatic breakthrough will advance peace in the Middle East region and is a testament to the bold diplomacy and vision of the three leaders and the courage of the United Arab Emirates and Israel to chart a new path that will unlock the great potential in the region. All three countries face many common challenges and will mutually benefit from today's historic achievement.

Delegations from Israel and the United Arab Emirates will meet in the coming weeks to sign bilateral agreements regarding investment, tourism, direct flights, security, telecommunications, technology, energy, healthcare, culture, the environment, the establishment of reciprocal embassies, and other areas of mutual benefit. Opening direct ties between two of the Middle East's most dynamic societies and advanced economies will transform the region by spurring economic growth, enhancing technological innovation, and forging closer people-to-people relations.

As a result of this diplomatic breakthrough, and at the request of President Trump with the support of the United Arab Emirates, Israel will suspend declaring sovereignty over areas outlined in the President's Vision for Peace and focus its efforts now on expanding ties with other countries in the Arab and Muslim world. The United States, Israel, and the United Arab Emirates are confident that additional diplomatic breakthroughs with other nations are possible, and will work together to achieve this goal.

The United Arab Emirates and Israel will immediately expand and accelerate cooperation regarding the treatment of and the development of a vaccine for the coronavirus. Working together, these efforts will help save Muslim, Jewish, and Christian lives throughout the region.

The normalization of relations and peaceful diplomacy will bring together two of America's most reliable and capable regional partners. Israel and the United Arab Emirates will join with the United States to launch a Strategic Agenda for the Middle East to expand diplomatic, trade, and security cooperation. Along with the United States, Israel and the United Arab Emirates share a similar outlook regarding the threats and opportunities in the region, as

well as a shared commitment to promoting stability through diplomatic engagement, increased economic integration, and closer security coordination. Today's agreement will lead to better lives for the people of the United Arab Emirates, Israel, and the region.

The United States and Israel recall with gratitude the appearance of the United Arab Emirates at the White House reception held on January 27, 2020, at which President Trump presented his Vision, and express their appreciation for United Arab Emirates' related supportive statements. The parties will continue their efforts in this regard to achieve a just, comprehensive and enduring resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As set forth in the Vision for Peace, all Muslims who come in peace may visit and pray at the Al Aqsa Mosque, and Jerusalem's other holy sites should remain open for peaceful worshipers of all faiths.

Prime Minister Netanyahu and Crown Prince Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed al Nahyan express their deep appreciation to President Trump for his dedication to peace in the region and for the pragmatic and unique approach he has taken to achieve it.

Источник: President Trump. August 13, 2020 // Режим доступа: <https://twitter.com/potus> (Дата обращения: 13.08.2020.)

Документ № 5

Israel announces the establishment of a full and formal peace between Israel and the UAE

13 Aug 2020

PM Netanyahu: This is the greatest advancement toward peace between Israel and the Arab world in the last 26 years and it marks the third formal peace between Israel and an Arab nation

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at a press conference this evening (Thursday, 13 August 2020):

"Today we usher in a new era of peace between Israel and the Arab world.

"I just came from an historic virtual conference between myself, President Donald Trump and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed of the United Arab Emirates. Together we announced the establishment of a full and formal peace between Israel and the UAE, which includes the mutual opening of embassies, direct flights and many other bilateral agreements.

"This is the greatest advancement toward peace between Israel and the Arab world in the last 26 years and it marks the third formal peace between Israel and an Arab nation.

“In 1979, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat signed the first peace treaty between Israel and Arab country. Fifteen years later, in 1994, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed a peace treaty with King Hussein of Jordan.

“Today, I am honored to announce formal peace with the United Arab Emirates under President Khalifa bin Zayed and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed. I believe we will soon see more Arab countries join this expanding circle of peace.

“I want to thank President Trump for his critical help in brokering this historic accord. And I want to thank him for his revolutionary Vision for Peace plan, which is the most realistic and important formula for peace in the region. President Trump’s Middle East plan served as a basis for today’s historic peace announcement.

“Israel and the UAE are two of the most advanced countries in the world. Together we will transform the region and forge an even better future for our people. A future of peace, security and prosperity.

“I've always believed that we could establish peace with the Arab world and have been working toward that lofty goal for decades. In recent years, Israel under my leadership has made advancements in ties with such countries as Sudan, Oman, Bahrain and other nations in the Gulf. I have reason to be very optimistic that today’s announcement with the UAE will be followed by more Arab nations joining our region's circle of peace.

“Shalom aleichem...”

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs//Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/Israel-announces-the-establishment-of-a-full-and-formal-peace-between-Israel-and-the-UAE.aspx> (Дата обращения: 27.12.2020.)

Документ № 6

PM Netanyahu appoints NSC Head Ben-Shabbat to oversee the staff work ahead of the talks with the UAE

14 Aug 2020

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, this afternoon (Friday, 14 August 2020), appointed National Security Council head Meir Ben-Shabbat to oversee the staff work ahead of the talks with the United Arab Emirates following the peace treaty, in coordination with all of the relevant elements.

Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: Источник: <https://mfa.Gov.Иl/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-appoints-NSC-Head-Ben-Shabbat-to-oversee-the-staff-work-ahead-of-the-talks-with-the-UAE-14-August-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 24.01.2021.)

**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:

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 3 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. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

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 healthcare 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.

Источник: U.S. Department of State//Режим доступа: <https://2017-2021.state.gov/the-abraham-accords//index.html> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021)

Документ № 8

PM Netanyahu on the historic peace agreement with the UAE

16 Aug 2020

PM Netanyahu: This peace was achieved because Israel strengthened itself by cultivating a free economy, and military and technological strength, and by combining these two strengths to achieve unprecedented international influence.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, today (Sunday, 16 August 2020):

“Last Thursday, together with US President Donald Trump and Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed, I declared the historic peace agreement between Israel and the United Arab Emirates. This is the first peace agreement between Israel and an Arab country in 26 years. It is different from its predecessors because it is based on two principles: ‘peace for peace’ and ‘peace through

strength'. Under this doctrine, Israel is not required to withdraw from any territory and together the two countries openly reap the fruits of a full peace: Investments, trade, tourism, health, agriculture, environmental protection and in many other fields, including defense of course.

“This peace was not achieved because Israel weakened itself by withdrawing to the 1967 lines. It was achieved because Israel strengthened itself by cultivating a free economy, and military and technological strength, and by combining these two strengths to achieve unprecedented international influence.

“This strong international position found expression in our willingness to take a stand against Iran’s aggression in the region and its efforts to attain nuclear weapons. The fact that we stood alone, and sometimes I had to stand alone against the whole world against Iran and the dangerous nuclear agreement with it, this made a major impression on Arab leaders in the region.

“A simple fact was proven anew: Strength attracts and weakness repels. In the Middle East, the strong survive and with strength, one makes peace. I have advanced the cultivation of Israel’s strength over the years and thereby the doctrine of ‘peace for peace’ as well. I do this with leaders around the Arab and Islamic worlds.

“This concept found public expression in my meeting with the President of Sudan about six months ago, in my meetings with senior Arab foreign ministers, in the open meeting in Warsaw a year and a half ago, and in my open visit to Oman two years ago at the invitation of the late Sultan Qaboos. I can tell you that it found expression in a series of secret meetings, about which I shall not go into detail.

“This doctrine stands in complete contradiction to the concept that held, up until a few days ago, that no Arab country would agree to make an official and open peace with Israel before a conclusion was achieved in the conflict with the Palestinians. In the Palestinians’ view, and in the view of many in the world who agreed with them, it would be impossible to achieve this peace with our capitulating to the Palestinians’ demands, including the uprooting of communities, the division of Jerusalem and a withdrawal to the 1967 lines.

“In effect, this mistaken concept gave the Palestinians a veto over achieving peace between Israel and Arab countries. It held Israel and the Arab world as hostages to the Palestinians’ most extreme demands, which put the State of Israel in genuine existential danger. Perhaps, in my view, the greatest danger was that more than a few Israelis agreed with the absurd conditions. No more. This concept of ‘peace through withdrawal and weakness’ is gone from the world. It has been replaced by a different concept: Genuine peace, peace for peace, peace through strength. This is what we are advancing today.

“I remind you that in the current agreement, not only has Israel not withdrawn from so much as one square meter, rather the Trump plan includes, at my request, the application of Israeli sovereignty over extensive territories in Judea and Samaria.

“It was I who insisted on including sovereignty in the plan, and this plan has not changed. President Trump is committed to it and I am committed to conducting negotiations on this basis. At the UN in 2013, I said that for years, many believed that Israeli-Palestinian peace would advance a broader reconciliation between Israel and the Arab world. I said that I was of the view that peace would be achieved in the opposite fashion: It was expanding reconciliation between Israel and the Arab world that would likely advance an Israeli-Palestinian peace. I added that in order to achieve this peace, we had to gaze not only at Jerusalem and Ramallah, but at Cairo, Amman, Abi Dhabi, Riyadh and other places as well.

“This was not a prophecy. This was the persistent and systematic policy that I led and which took years to trickle down. Thank G-d, it has indeed trickled down. I see additional countries joining the circle of peace with us. This historic change will also advance peace with the Arab world and, in the end, peace, true peace, monitored, secure, with the Palestinians as well.

“I would like to thank the various elements that, over the years, assisted in maintaining the link with the United Arab Emirates, especially the Mossad. I also add my special envoy to the Arab world, attorney Yitzhak Molcho, and National Security Council head Meir Ben-Shabbat and his team. I thank them all.

“In addition, special thanks for advancing this peace agreement goes to an additional person, Israeli Ambassador to the US Ron Dermer. He did exceptional work, unassumingly and professionally, together with the White House team and his colleague in Washington, the Emirati ambassador.

“And of course, again, I would like to express deep gratitude to President Trump and Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed; the cooperation between us brought about an historic move of very great importance to the future of Israel and the entire region.”

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs//Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-on-the-historic-peace-agreement-with-the-UAE-16-August-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 24.01.2021.)

PMO Statement on the peace agreement with the UAE

18 Aug 2020

The peace agreement with the United Arab Emirates does not include any reference to arms sales and the US has made it clear that it will always take strict care to maintain Israel's qualitative edge.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

The historic peace agreement between Israel and the United Arab Emirates did not include Israel's consent to any arms deal whatsoever between the United States and the UAE.

From the outset, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has opposed the sale of F-35s and other advanced weaponry to any country in the Middle East, including Arab countries that have peace agreements with the State of Israel.

Prime Minister Netanyahu has repeatedly expressed this position to the American administration and it has not changed. The consistent opposition to the sale of F-35s was reiterated on 2 June 2020 by the head of the National Security Council, who spoke with GOC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Amikam Norkin, at the request of Prime Minister Netanyahu.

In his 7 July conversation with US Ambassador to Israel David Friedman, Prime Minister Netanyahu was explicit in Israel's opposition to the sale of F-35s and other advanced weaponry to any country in the Middle East, including those with peace agreements with Israel. On 8 July, the Prime Minister sent a letter – via Ambassador Friedman – to US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in which he reiterated that Israel's position remains unchanged even following the reaching of peace agreements.

Defense Minister Benny Gantz was updated on this position on 29 July.

On 3 August, on instruction from the Prime Minister, Israeli Ambassador to the US Ron Dermer met with US Secretary of State Pompeo and underscored Israel's opposition to the sale of F-35s and other advanced weapons systems to any country in the Middle East.

The peace agreement with the United Arab Emirates does not include any reference to arms sales and the US has made it clear that it will always take strict care to maintain Israel's qualitative edge.

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PMO-Statement-on-the-peace-agreement-with-the-UAE-18-August-2020.aspx> Дата обращения: 23.01.2021)

PM Netanyahu speaks to the Knesset Negev Lobby

19 Aug 2020

PM Netanyahu: My commitment to security is absolute. We are now relating to every fire – fires are like rockets. We have been hitting and striking at Hamas on a daily basis, for the past eleven nights straight. If necessary, we will do much more.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Following is an excerpt from Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's remarks, today (Wednesday, 19 August 2020), at the Knesset, at a meeting of the Negev Lobby chaired by MK Shlomo Karei:

"We have good news that is very important to the state and to the Negev. The peace agreement with the UAE is a great opportunity for the injection of new investments in the Negev.

"In the Negev, you are developing the whole gamut of desert agriculture, water and solar energy. These things are very interesting to our friends in the UAE. I am aware of their desire to invest here in their sovereign wealth fund, which, by the way, is almost \$1 trillion. They are very interested in investing in Israel. I also intend to bring them to the Negev and I am certain that you will show them the great possibilities that exist here. Therefore, I think that there truly is a unique opportunity here. This is a historic agreement that contains great news for the State of Israel.

"I regret that there is also fake news surrounding it. Not only does it not harm the security of Israel, it will contribute to the security of Israel. There is no agreement by me or any agreement whatsoever on arms sales from the US to the UAE. Neither open nor secret, not in writing, not handwritten; it is all one large piece of fake news.

"I understand that it is difficult to accept the fact that we have made a different peace. Peace for peace. Not peace for land, not peace for weapons. Peace for peace. Peace for the great fruits of peace. This will reverberate for years to come.

"There is also fake economic news. We have a great challenge, a global pandemic, the coronavirus. We are fighting it and not only us, many countries are. Mortality in Israel is relatively low despite the pain that we feel over each one.

"We received amazing numbers. Nobody knows this because the media has not reported on it completely and fully. They said that our economy has contracted and that we are in a recession – the whole world is in a recession. However, the recession in Israel, the degree to which our GDP has contracted according to the Central Bureau of Statistics, is exactly half of the

contraction and the recession in Europe and almost all countries. Israel is practically the economy that has contracted the least, except for South Korea and several Baltic countries.

“You have not heard about this, of course. I say this because the truth needs to be told. The truth is that we are truly committed to pulling Israel out of this economic difficulty that is affecting the world. The truth is that we are committed to achieving peace with the Arab world. We eliminated the Palestinian veto on the development of peace with others – and other countries will come. The truth is that this very greatly serves the security of Israel and the truth is that I am very committed to developing the Negev and the Galilee.

“I spoke yesterday with local council heads from the area adjacent to the Gaza Strip, a very important conversation. I made it clear to them, and I reiterate to you: My commitment to security is absolute. We are now relating to every fire – fires are like rockets. We have been hitting and striking at Hamas on a daily basis, for the past eleven nights straight. If necessary, we will do much more. They need to understand that what happened last time will happen to them now twofold, to them and to the Islamic Jihad.

"They saw that we are ready to use all means, including targeted counter-measures, if things develop. I suggest that they not develop this. They certainly have an interest in allowing normal life on their side and we will not allow the absence normal life on our side. Therefore, this commitment is genuine and I am certain that it will also bear fruit in the coming days."

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-speaks-to-the-Knesset-Negev-Lobby-19-August-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 23.01.2021.)

Документ № 11

PM Netanyahu on UAE decision to cancel Israel boycott law

29 Aug 2020

PM Netanyahu: I welcome the decision of UAE President Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed to cancel the law on boycotting products from Israel and economic contacts with Israelis. This is an important step in promoting prosperity and peace in the region.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, this evening (Saturday, 29 August 2020):

"I welcome the decision of United Arab Emirates President Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed to cancel the law on boycotting products from Israel and economic contacts with Israelis. This is an important step in promoting prosperity and peace in the region."

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-on-UAE-decision-to-cancel-Israel-boycott-law-29-August-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021)

Документ № 12

PM Netanyahu's remarks at his press conference

31 Aug 2020

PM Netanyahu: This will be a warm peace because it is based on economic cooperation with an entrepreneurial economy similar to ours, with very great economic abilities and considerable funds that is also looking for investment horizons.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Following are Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's remarks at his press conference this evening (Monday, 31 August 2020), at the Prime Minister's Office, in Jerusalem:

"Good evening, citizens of Israel.

"This is a historic day, a joyous day for all citizens of Israel, a day of victory, the doctrine of peace for peace.

"I spoke today, a few minutes ago, with the members of our delegation in Abu Dhabi. On my instruction, the head of the delegation, Meir Ben-Shabbat, invited the United Arab Emirates (UAE) delegation to Israel. I can tell you that we will give them a red carpet welcome just like they welcomed us. I look at this again, as I saw the El Al plane land in Abu Dhabi, in daylight, and I saw our flags unfurled – I was moved and I felt enormous pride. I am certain that all of you, without exception, felt the same thing and certainly felt that this is a special day and the start of a new era in our history.

"I have been working for this day for a quarter century, for 25 years. I must tell you that for me as well, this is a personal and a national day that have joined together. Twenty-five years ago I wrote in my book "A Place under the Sun" (Makom tachat Hashemesh) the following words: 'It is possible to have a peace that does not entail dangerous concessions on Israel's part. A peace that rests on constant Israeli deterrence, a peace based on our growing strength and power. If in the next generation the Arabs come to recognize that Israel dwells in safety in the Middle East and is destined to remain there forever, it is possible that there will be a psychological revolution in the stand of the Arab states regarding Israel's right to exist.'

"I wrote: 'I believe that the Arabs will not bang their heads against a wall forever. A State of Israel that has eight or ten million Jews living in it in a few decades will be able to enjoy prosperity, momentum and independence. Precisely because the Jewish state will be so

strengthened, most of the Arab world will, in the end, be obliged to make a true peace with it.' And then I added: 'This outlook absolutely contravenes the widespread concept which holds that Israel will only secure peace if it appeases the Arabs with far-reaching concessions that will weaken it and shrink it. On the contrary, a lasting peace will only be achieved if the Jewish people convince the Arabs it must live with them and alongside them, that here it is and here it will remain.'

“I wrote these things a quarter century ago and since then I have been working without respite with map and compass to achieve them. I wrote this in the knowledge that peace is made with the strong, and that economic power brings military power which becomes diplomatic power.

“I will answer your questions but allow me a moment to take perspective and tell you: We needed to turn Israel into a very strong country. The first thing we needed to change was its cartelized, socialist, bureaucratic economy to as free an economy as possible. Therefore, when I was elected a year after I wrote those words, I stood before the US Congress in my first speech there, and I said that we needed to halt the US economic assistance to Israel, that we have matured, that we would turn Israel into a free market economy that could hold its own with the economies of the world. This is exactly what we did.

“The first thing I did, when I returned to Israel, was to cancel the restrictions on foreign currency, the first thing. There was much opposition, very great by the way, from officialdom. I canceled the restrictions on foreign currency and afterwards I dramatically cut taxes and we increased competition. We cancelled cartels and we did all the things that have turned Israel into a high-tech power. The start-ups could not have been active here with a 68% or 75% marginal tax rate, that is absurd. We changed Israel. We turned it, first of all, into a strong economy. This created the strong technology that – of course – created our strong military capability.

“But this was not enough because we did something else in these 25 years – we led the struggle against Iran arming itself with nuclear weapons. We have reached this day because I went on your behalf, citizens of Israel, and I stood with full force against Iran. I went to the American Congress, again in front of both houses, and I demanded the cancellation of the nuclear agreement.

“I want to explain to you that it was these strengths that laid the foundations of a completely different system of relations with many countries in and beyond the region. They laid the foundations of this historic day which we are now experiencing.

“There are many things that I cannot yet tell you about but I believe that in time they will come to light. But you can see the changes for yourselves – some of them, the tip of the iceberg; you have seen them in recent years.

“In March 2018, was the first Air India flight to the State of Israel through Saudi Arabian air-space. Every day Israeli citizens fly through Saudi air-space, still not in Israeli planes, until today; this has changed. In October 2018, I made an official visit to Oman at the invitation of the late Sultan Qaboos. In January 2019, I met with the President of Chad, a very large Muslim country in Africa, with which we resumed relations. In February 2019, I met in Uganda with the head of the Sovereignty Council of Sudan, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan. Ten days later I was at the Warsaw Conference together with representatives of a dozen Arab countries, an open visit. In August 2020, a few days ago, I held a conference call with our friend President Trump and the head of the UAE, Prince Mohammed bin Zayed. Today we watched the historic first open commercial flight of Israel through Saudi Arabian air-space to Abu Dhabi.

“This is a very important preparatory visit. I have asked our delegation to work as quickly as possible to prepare for the possibility of going to Washington and signing an official peace agreement soon. Our delegation is currently holding discussions with its counterparts on opening direct air routes, on visitors' visas for Israelis, on trade and innovation, on opening representations, on cooperation on the issue of the coronavirus and on many other subjects. Because this will be a different kind of peace.

“This will be a warm peace because it is based on economic cooperation with an entrepreneurial economy similar to ours, with very great economic abilities and considerable funds that is also looking for investment horizons. For the first time, the State of Israel, which has received investments from all over the world, is going to receive investments from the Middle East, from within the Middle East – this is a great change. This is a peace that will create jobs, encourage initiatives, and expand both our economy and that of the UAE. This is a peace that brings peoples together. There are meetings with leaders. I have met with very, very many leaders in the Arab and Islamic worlds, many more than you think. But this is a peace that will facilitate direct and unmediated meetings between citizens of Israel and the populations of those states. This is tremendous. This is peace for peace.

“From peace for peace I want to move on for a moment to greeting first grade. The education system will open tomorrow. This achievement is not self-evident in the coronavirus era. We are opening it; this is no simple thing. There are logistical problems there and there are human problems as well. My wife has just told me that she came from a meeting with the principal of a school in Jerusalem and with parents and there is a problem there because the little children coming to first grade from kindergarten are accustomed to being hugged. This is what the first grade teachers do but they cannot hug them. I would suggest telling them 'We wanted to hug you, this is what we would do, but we cannot.' Explain to the children that they are going

through a transition that is not simple but I am certain that we will overcome these and other problems. This is a very important achievement for the Israeli education system.

“From here I am going to the Corona Cabinet to make the final and safest decisions on opening the school year, that will safeguard our children. We determined at the outset that we would decide for the red cities on the evening before the start of classes; this is exactly what we said we would do and we are doing it. We said this so that there should be as few red cities as possible and as many open classrooms as possible because we are concerned both to teach the children and for our economy. To our joy, I can say that in most cities, with the opening of the school year, classrooms will open and schools will operate.

“From here I would like to wish all Israeli pupils a successful, safe and productive school year. Expand your knowledge, hit the books, not Tik Tok. I am excited together with you and wish you and all of us success.”

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.Gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-s-remarks-at-his-press-conference-31-August-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021)

Документ № 13

**Cabinet unanimously approves PM Netanyahu's proposal
to submit UAE peace agreement for Knesset approval**

12 Oct 2020

PM Netanyahu: This agreement is an agreement that is based on peace from strength, not peace from concessions that will weaken Israel and endanger it, but peace from Israel's strength.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

The Cabinet, today (Monday, 12 October 2020), unanimously approved Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's proposal to submit the "Abraham Accords Peace Agreement: Treaty of Peace, Diplomatic Relations and Full Normalization between the United Arab Emirates and the State of Israel" (see attached tri-lingual PDF file) for Knesset approval prior to its submission to the Cabinet for ratification.

Prime Minister Netanyahu at the start of the special Cabinet meeting:

"Today, I am submitting the historic peace agreement with the United Arab Emirates to the Cabinet. This is the first peace agreement that Israel has signed in over 25 years. We are also

completing the agreements with Bahrain, meaning that we will be making peace with two Arab states at the same time.

“This agreement is different from its predecessors in that Israel is not conceding any territory whatsoever. Second, the economic component in it is very dominant, and the economic aspects will be very good for all citizens of Israel. Third, this agreement is accompanied by the opening of the skies, the opening of Saudi skies to Israeli planes, to planes from Israel and to planes to Israel. This means that Israel is no longer a cul-de-sac but is becoming a main hub. It is also important to say that this is changing not only in geographic terms but in geopolitical and economic terms as well.

“I have no doubt that one of the by-products of this historic move is an additional historic change: Chevron, one of the largest energy companies in the world, has decided to enter Israel and invest in extracting gas from the sea which will also add billions to state coffers, and they have always been sensitive to what is happening vis-a-vis the Gulf states' relations with Israel. In addition to the efforts that we are investing, and which you are investing Yuval, there is no doubt that this agreement is already causing a very major geopolitical turning point.

“This agreement is an agreement that is based on peace from strength, not peace from concessions that will weaken Israel and endanger it, but peace from Israel's strength. This concept has been with me for many years. I wrote about it 25 years ago. I wrote that the widespread concept that we would achieve peace with the Arab states only if we appease the Arabs with far-reaching concessions that would weaken us was mistaken. On the contrary, we need to achieve peace and we can achieve peace by convincing the Arabs that our being here is an existing fact, based on our strength which is undisputed.

“Six years ago at the UN, I said that the notion that Israeli-Palestinian peace would assist a breakthrough to the expanse between Israel and the Arab world should also be reconsidered. I said there that I thought it works in reverse – that broad reconciliation between Israel and the Arab world would lead to the advancement of a realistic peace between us and the Palestinians. I said that we must turn our eyes to Abu Dhabi and Riyadh, and I think that all of you understand that this peace is being accompanied by very many actions. Most of the actions are below the surface – many meetings, many contacts, very many ties that have been in the making for years.

“I would like to take this opportunity to thank Yitzhak Molcho and Tony Blair, who very much assisted in establishing these links approximately five years ago, their deepening and their advancement after years of interruption. I would like to thank the Mossad, which has been of constant assistance, and President Trump and his team, the contribution of which was central. Usually, it is possible to say that without exception all of the peace agreements between Israel and the Arab states have been accompanied by US assistance, and here, not only was this not an

exception, but there was the direct and very important involvement of President Trump and his team.

“Over the weekend, I spoke with my friend, UAE Crown Prince Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed. I invited him to visit Israel. He invited me to visit Abu Dhabi. However, even before then we will see here a delegation from the UAE and an additional delegation of ours will go there. I assure you that we will welcome the delegation from the UAE with the same warmth and the same great excitement as the Israeli delegation was welcomed with in Abu Dhabi.

“We discussed the cooperation that we are advancing – in investments, in tourism, in energy, in technology and in other areas. We will also cooperate, and we are already cooperating, in the fight against the coronavirus. This is already happening. It will happen to a much greater degree. This will greatly assist us in defeating the pandemic.

“I told Crown Prince bin Zayed that this week we will approve the historic peace agreement, in the Cabinet and afterward in the Knesset. These agreements express the dramatic change that we have made in Israel's status in the region. The Arab states want to make peace with us because they see how we have turned Israel into a major power. They also see how we are standing against Iran, sometimes alone, against the entire world. They understand that we can assist them in very many areas. They see that Israel is neither a burden nor an enemy – but a vital ally all the time, but especially now.

“I have no doubt that we will soon see agreements with additional Arab and Muslim countries.”

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFAPressRoom/2020/Pages/Cabinet-unanimously-approves-PM-Netanyahu-s-proposal-to-submitUAE-peace-agreement-for-Knesset-approval-12-October-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021)

Документ № 14

Israel opens embassy in UAE, expanding new relations

"The Israeli Embassy in the United Arab Emirates will advance relations between the countries on all levels," Foreign Ministry says. UAE cabinet approves the establishment of an embassy in Tel Aviv.

By Ariel Kahana and News Agencies

Published on 01-25-2021

Israel on Sunday announced it has opened its embassy in the United Arab Emirates, following through on last year's US-brokered agreement to establish full diplomatic ties with the Gulf country.

The embassy is the latest in the Jewish state's diplomatic outreach to the Arab world. "The Israeli Embassy in Abu Dhabi has officially been opened, with the arrival of mission head Eitan Naeh," a Foreign Ministry statement said. "The Israeli Embassy in the United Arab Emirates will advance relations between the countries on all levels." The embassy will be operating from temporary offices until locating a permanent facility, the ministry said. It will "expand ties with the Emirati government, financial bodies, and the private sector, universities, the media and more," it added.

Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi said that the opening of the new embassy would "enable the expansion of bilateral relations between Israel and the Emirates for a swift and maximal implementation of the potential in these ties." Ashkenazi also thanked the UAE "heir to the throne, His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed, and my colleague and friend, Foreign Minister Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed, for their leadership and hospitality towards our representatives."

The UAE cabinet on Sunday approved the establishment of an embassy in Tel Aviv in Israel, state-run WAM news agency reported. Ashkenazi welcomed the UAE decision, saying it "will advance the warm ties between the states and peoples."

Since formally establishing ties in September, the two countries have already established direct flights and exchanged numerous trade delegations, while thousands of Israeli tourists have visited the UAE.

The UAE was the first of four Arab countries to establish or renew ties with Israel under the Abraham Accords, brokered by the Trump administration.

The Foreign Ministry said Israel would soon open an interest section in Morocco and a consulate in Dubai. It also said an embassy in Bahrain has been operating for several weeks.

Источник: Israel Hayom// Режим доступа: <https://www.israelhayom.Com/2021/01/25/israel-opens-embassy-in-uae-expanding-new-relations/> (Дата обращения: 01.02.2021)

Задания студентам к разделу 2.

1. Найдите, выпишите и объясните политико-дипломатические термины, которые использованы в документах.
2. Проведите внешнюю и внутреннюю критику источника (выбранного документа).
3. Составьте хронологию событий (даты, год), имеющих отношение к подготовке и заключению соглашений Израиля с ОАЭ.

Контрольные вопросы к разделу 2.

1. Назовите имена и должности лиц, подписавших соглашения Израиля с ОАЭ, и упоминаемых в документах раздела.
2. Какое значение опубликованные соглашения придают урегулированию палестино-израильского конфликта?
3. Прочитайте текст выступления премьер-министр Израиля на пресс-конференции 31 августа 2020 года. Назовите основные этапы подготовки соглашений Израиля с ОАЭ.
4. Объясните фразу Б. Нетаньяху в его речи 12 октября 2020 г. на заседании кабинета министров: «This agreement is an agreement that is based on peace from strength, not peace from concessions that will weaken Israel and endanger it, but peace from Israel's strength ». Что имеет в виду израильский политик?
5. Определите приоритетные направления сотрудничества Израиля с ОАЭ.

Раздел 3. Соглашения Государства Израиль с Королевством Бахрейн

Документ № 15

Israel and Bahrain sign Memorandums of Understanding

18 Oct 2020

Seven Memorandums of Understanding between Israel and Bahrain were signed today in Bahrain. Prime Minister Netanyahu welcomed the signing and said that we are making giant steps toward peace.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

The Israeli delegation to Bahrain, led by National Security Council head Meir Ben-Shabbat, today (Sunday, 18 October 2020) in Bahrain signed seven Memorandums of Understanding between Israel and Bahrain as well as a Joint Communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic, peaceful and friendly relations. Prime Minister Netanyahu welcomed the signing and said that we are making giant steps toward peace. Following is a listing of the MOUs that were signed today:

1. Establishment of Diplomatic, Peaceful Relations: Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic, Peaceful and Friendly Relations between the Kingdom of Bahrain and the State of Israel.
2. Economic Cooperation: Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the State of Israel and The Government of The Kingdom of Bahrain on Economic and Trade Cooperation.
3. Civil Aviation: Memorandum of Understanding on Civil Aviation between The Delegation of the Government of the Kingdom of Bahrain and The Delegation of the Government of the State of Israel.
4. Cooperation between the Ministries of Finance: Memorandum of Understanding between The Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of Bahrain and The Ministry of Finance of the State of Israel.
5. Communications and Post: Memorandum of Understanding between The Government of the State of Israel and The Government of the Kingdom of Bahrain on Cooperation in the Fields of Telecommunications, Information Technologies and Postal Services.
6. Agriculture: Joint Declaration on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture between The Ministry of Works, Municipalities Affairs and Urban Planning of the Kingdom of Bahrain and The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development of the State of Israel.

7. Cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs: Memorandum of Understanding between The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kingdom of Bahrain on Bilateral Cooperation.

8. Exemption of Visa Requirements for Diplomats: Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Bahrain and the Government of the State of Israel on the Exemption of Visa Requirements for Holders of Diplomatic, Special or Service Passports.

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/Israel-and-Bahrain-sign-Memorandums-of-Understanding-18-October-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021)

Документ № 16

In Jerusalem, Bahrain FM urges Israelis and Palestinians to resume peace talks

By RAPHAEL AHREN 18 November 2020

Conflict ‘needs to be resolved’ based on two-state solution, al-Zayani says during first Israel trip, as Netanyahu hails ‘important milestone’ on the road to peace in the region

In his first visit to Jerusalem, Bahraini Foreign Minister Abdullatif bin Rashid al-Zayani on Wednesday called for the resumption of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, indicating that the region will only know true peace with the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Delivering a statement alongside Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, al-Zayani said he hopes the emerging cooperation between Israel and Bahrain would “pave the way for a dawn of peace for the entire Middle East.”

To this end, he added, “I continue to emphasize, in all my meetings, that in order to achieve and consolidate such peace, the Palestinian-Israel conflict needs to be resolved. I therefore call for both parties to get around the negotiating table to achieve a viable two-state solution, as is also sought by the international community.”

Zayani is the first minister from the tiny Gulf kingdom to visit Israel, about two months after the two countries agreed to establish diplomatic relations.

In that short period of time, Jerusalem and Manama made “considerable progress” on the path to a more stable region based on peace, dialogue and understanding, Bahrain’s top diplomat said.

“Equally, we are demonstrating what is possible, outlining a positive goal and bringing a new sense of optimism for the future of the Middle East,” he added.

“I am very much looking forward to building on this historic progress and am convinced that we have an opportunity to build cooperation, tolerance, coexistence and trust — not only between our two nations, but between all children of Abraham. In doing so, let us deliver a peace that ensures a safe, stable and prosperous Middle East for all its peoples. Our region deserves no less,” he said.

In their respective speeches, delivered ahead of a tripartite meeting at the prime minister’s Balfour Street residence, Netanyahu and Pompeo hailed Israel’s recent normalization agreements with the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain — known as the Abraham Accords — and Sudan, but did not explicitly refer to the Palestinians.

“Three peace agreements in six weeks. I don’t think it gets much better than that,” Netanyahu said. “Today we’re making history again. This is the first-ever official ministerial visit from the Kingdom of Bahrain to the State of Israel. It marks another important milestone on the road to peace between our two countries — and peace in the region.”

Jerusalem and Manama are advancing their growing cooperation in various areas “with astonishing speed,” he went on. “Israelis are flying to Bahrain; Bahrainis are flying to Israel. The sky is no longer the limit.”

Netanyahu said he and Bahrain’s King Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa “are building a bridge of peace that many others will cross in the future.” He concluded his speech by describing al-Zayani’s visit as “another historic step on the road to a broader peace.”

Pompeo, who had arrived in Israel earlier Wednesday afternoon and will remain in the country until Friday, hailed Israel’s agreements with the UAE, Bahrain and Sudan, hoping “there would be many more to follow.”

The Abraham Accords have many benefits, including showing the leaders of Iran that “their influence in the region is waning and that they are ever-more isolated, and this shall forever be, until they change their direction,” said the outgoing US secretary of state.

All three leaders hailed the Israel-Bahraini agreement to open reciprocal embassies in both countries.

Earlier on Wednesday, al-Zayani announced, in a meeting with Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi, that Bahrain has okayed Israel’s request to establish an embassy in Manama and is in turn seeking authorization to open an embassy in Israel.

“This is a process which I hope can now move forward relatively quickly,” he said.

Ashkenazi said he and his guest had agreed to open embassies in both countries as soon as possible. “I hope that by the end of the year we will be able to hold ceremonies to mark their

openings,” he said, adding that he plans to visit Manama in December to personally open the mission.

Al-Zayani was also hosted by President Reuven Rivlin, who brought up the Israeli-Palestinian question as well.....

Источник: Times of Israel// Режим доступа: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-jerusalem-bahrain-fm-urges-israelis-and-palestinians-to-resume-peace-talks/> (Дата обращения: 10.01.2021)

Задания студентам к разделу 3.

1. Найдите, выпишите и объясните политико-дипломатические термины, которые использованы в документах.
2. Проведите внешнюю и внутреннюю критику источника (выбранного документа).
3. Назовите официальных лиц, принимавших участие в заключении и обнародовании соглашений Израиля с Королевством Бахрейн, и их должности.

Контрольные вопросы к разделу 3.

1. Почему главой израильской делегации на подписании Меморандума о взаимопонимании стал руководитель Совета национальной безопасности Израиля?
2. Какое значение опубликованные соглашения придают урегулированию палестино-израильского конфликта?
3. Почему министр иностранных дел Бахрейна, говоря об урегулировании израильско-палестинского конфликта, использует политическую формулу: «to achieve a viable two-state solution»? Что такое «a viable two-state solution »?
4. Объясните фразу Б. Нетаньяху в его речи 18 ноября 2020 г. на встрече с министром иностранных дел Бахрейна: «The Abraham Accords have many benefits, including showing the leaders of Iran that “their influence in the region is waning and that they are ever-more isolated». Что имеет в виду израильский политик?
5. Определите приоритетные направления сотрудничества Израиля с Бахрейном.

Раздел 4. Соглашения Государства Израиль с Королевством Марокко.

Документ № 17

PM Netanyahu's remarks on the establishment of relations between Israel and Morocco

10 Dec 2020

PM Netanyahu: We'll resume liaison offices quickly between Israel and Morocco and work as rapidly as possible to establish full diplomatic relations. This will be a very warm peace. Peace has never shone brighter than today in the Middle East.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Following are Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's remarks, this evening (Thursday, 10 December 2020), on US President Donald Trump's statement on the establishment of relations between Israel and Morocco, at the Western Wall, at the ceremony to light the first Chanukah candle, with the participation of US Ambassador to Israel David Friedman:

"I've always believed that this historic day would come, I've always worked for it. I want to first thank President Trump for his extraordinary efforts to expand peace, to bring peace to Israel and the peoples of the Middle East. President Trump, the people of Israel and the State of Israel will be forever indebted to you for your magnificent efforts on our behalf. I want to thank, too, the King of Morocco, King Mohammed VI, for taking this historic decision to bring a historic peace between us.

"The people of Morocco and the Jewish people have had a warm relationship in the modern period. Everybody knows the tremendous friendship shown by the kings of Morocco and the people of Morocco to the Jewish community there. And hundreds of thousands of these Moroccan Jews came to Israel, and they form a human bridge between our two countries and our two peoples, of sympathy respect, of fondness and love. I think that this is the foundation on which we can now build this peace.

"We'll resume liaison offices quickly between Israel and Morocco and work as rapidly as possible to establish full diplomatic relations. We'll also institute direct flights between Morocco and Israel and Israel and Morocco, giving this bridge of peace an even more solid foundation. This will be a very warm peace. Peace has never – the light of peace on this Hanukkah day has never – shone brighter than today in the Middle East."

Источник: Israel Ministry of foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-s-remarks-on-the-establishment-of-relations-between-Israel-and-Morocco-10-December-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 31.01.2021)

NSC Head Meir Ben-Shabbat and the Israeli delegation return from Morocco

23 Dec 2020

During the visit, a joint declaration was signed on the establishment of relations between Israel and Morocco; an official mission will be opened in Israel within approximately two weeks.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

The Israeli delegation to Morocco, led by National Security Council (NSC) head Meir Ben-Shabbat, this morning (Wednesday, 23 December 2020), returned to Israel. During the visit a joint declaration was signed on the establishment of relations between Israel and Morocco; an official mission will be opened in Israel within approximately two weeks.

The concluding meeting of the visit was held at midnight last night with the participation of NSC head Ben-Shabbat, US Senior Presidential Adviser Jared Kushner, Moroccan Foreign Minister Nasser Bourita and Moroccan King Mohammed VI's adviser Fouad Ali El Himma.

During the visit, NSC head Ben-Shabbat met with Moroccan King Mohammed VI, whom he invited – on behalf of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu – to visit Israel. He also met with Moroccan Foreign Minister Bourita and Moroccan royal adviser El Himma.

Four bilateral cooperation agreements and MOUs were signed on civil aviation, visa exemption for official passport holders, water and investment protection. It was also agreed that an official Moroccan mission would open in Israel within approximately two weeks.

NSC head Ben-Shabbat upon the delegation's landing:

"I thank Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for the privilege of heading the Israeli delegation to Morocco. We returned this morning from a very successful visit to Rabat that took place less than two weeks after the announcement of the establishment of relations between the two countries. An official Moroccan mission will open in Tel Aviv within approximately two weeks and we have already signed preliminary agreements that will begin to add tangible content to the bilateral cooperation. Relations with Morocco are advancing quickly and they will be full, deep, tight, warm and very friendly."

Источник: Israel Ministry of foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/NSC-Head-Ben-Shabbat-and-the-Israeli-delegation-return-from-Morocco-23-December-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 31.01.2021)

Israel opens diplomatic missions in Morocco

Ambassador David Govrin arrives in Rabat as Israeli FM hails 'warm peace' between Israel and regional states.

By News Agencies and ILH Staff

Published on 01-27-2021

Israel's diplomatic mission to Morocco reopened on Tuesday in the capital of Rabat, as Ambassador David Govrin arrived in the country.

The mission was shuttered some 20 years ago as the ties between the two countries were suspended, with Israel retaining the building that hosted the liaison office.

Morocco similarly retained the office hosting its own mission in Tel Aviv, which was also shuttered. amid the Second Intifada

Also on Tuesday, the Israeli consulate opened in Dubai, a major tourist destination in the United Arab Emirates, which also recently normalized its ties with the Jewish state. The consulate is Israel's second mission in the country as the embassy opened on Sunday, with Ambassador Eitan Na'eh landing in the UAE.

Israel's Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi welcomed the development, saying that it wrapped up the first phase of establishing Israel's diplomatic footprint in the region under the US-brokered Abraham Accords. He stressed that just several months ago, Israel only had representation offices in Jordan and Cairo, but now, the number stands at six, also including the mission in Bahrain. "This is actual evidence of regional change and warm peace between us and regional nations," the minister said.

Источник: Israel Hayom// Режим доступа: <https://www.israelhayom.com/2021/01/27/israel-opens-diplomatic-missions-in-morocco/> (Дата обращения: - 01.02.2021)

Arriving in Morocco, Israeli envoy makes expanding ties his mission

Ambassador David Govrin anticipates low-level relationship with Rabat will reach full diplomatic heights — building on years of contacts, visits and a shared history

By LAZAR BERMAN 2 February 2021

On December 10, then-White House adviser Jared Kushner told reporters that Morocco had agreed to establish “full diplomatic ties” with Israel. In fact, as Morocco’s King Mohammed VI made clear soon after, Rabat had agreed to re-establish a liason office with an eye toward expanding ties in the future.

Nearly two months later, Israel's man in Rabat says he's laying the groundwork for that anticipated deepening of government and civil ties, though the Moroccans appear to prefer taking the rekindled relationship slow.

"We are trying to expand our bilateral ties with the Moroccans in many different fields," envoy David Govrin told *The Times of Israel* this week. "The potential is very high."

Govrin is currently the head of Israel's liaison office in Rabat, and is likely to become Israel's ambassador should full diplomatic ties be established. In a December 2020 statement reestablishing ties, the countries agreed to immediately reopen liaison offices, while working to "resume official bilateral ties and diplomatic relations as soon as possible."

"Israel would like to establish our full diplomatic relationship as soon as we can," Govrin said, but the Moroccan government prefers a gradual process.

A Moroccan government spokesperson did not immediately respond to a request for comment. For now Rabat does not appear to be discussing full ties publicly, though the kingdom is eager to expand cooperation.

On Friday, Moroccan Foreign Minister Nasser Bourita and Israeli National Security Council chairman Meir Ben-Shabbat agreed by phone to establish "joint working groups" to promote cooperation between the two countries in a variety of areas, including investments, transportation, water, environment, energy and tourism.

And on Tuesday, Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi spoke with Bourita — the first conversation between the two top diplomats — and "agreed to work together to rapidly implement the agreements between Morocco and Israel," Ashkenazi said.

Israel and Morocco established low-level diplomatic relations during the 1990s following Israel's interim peace accords with the Palestinians, but those ties were suspended after the outbreak of the second Palestinian Intifada in 2000. Nevertheless, informal ties continued, and Israelis could still travel to Morocco as part of organized tours. An estimated 50,000 Israelis travel to Morocco each year, learning about the Jewish community and retracing family histories.

Govrin, who previously served as Israel's ambassador to Egypt, said he believed those informal ties would help smooth the resumption of contacts between the countries.

"It is much easier than other Arab countries due to the fact that over the last two decades, we've had constant contacts with civil society in Morocco. Many representatives of different Moroccan organizations visited Israel," he said. "The Jewish community here in Morocco played a significant role in connecting the two peoples. So we are not starting from scratch. We are continuing, we are expanding."

The relationship is also aided by Israel's massive community of Moroccan Jews, which numbers around 700,000, many of whom maintain a connection to the country. Today, some 3,000 Jews remain in Morocco, most of them in Casablanca.

Govrin spoke with visiting heads of Morocco's Jewish community in person in Israel, and with others by phone, before he flew to Rabat.

He will be heading to Casablanca later this week to meet the Jewish community there.

"I intend to hear their concerns if there are any, and what are the prospects... We should be very attentive to their concerns," he said.

While largely welcoming the resumption of ties, some Moroccan Jews expressed concerns following the December 10 announcement, fearing the reaction of Islamist elements in Morocco opposed to the normalization process.

In 2013, for instance, leftists and Islamists demonstrated outside the Tangiers Film Festival against a documentary about Moroccan Jews living in Israel. They claimed it promoted "normalization" with Israel.

"I'm afraid that protests will break out, that a rift will be created between the communities, that misunderstandings will prevail," a Moroccan Jewish woman told AFP shortly after the normalization deal.

When news of the agreement with Israel emerged in December 2020, Morocco's main Islamist parties released statements calling the move "deplorable" and a betrayal of the Palestinian cause.

Govrin arrived in Morocco on January 25. Since he is fully vaccinated against COVID-19, he was not required to quarantine in Morocco.

Israel's diplomats are currently operating out of a hotel in Rabat, and will be moving to rented offices soon. Israel still owns its shuttered liaison office in the capital, but sees it as unsuitable for its current needs.

"We are trying to establish the infrastructure for our activity," said Govrin. Those efforts include finding office space, recruiting staff, and starting to meet with Moroccan officials, representatives of the Jewish community, and Moroccan businessmen.

The mission is currently working on bringing personnel from Israel and hiring Moroccans as local staff.

Govrin, who speaks Arabic and French, openly identifies as an Israeli diplomat in Morocco. "Why should I hide?" he asked. "I don't have to hide. We went two days ago to a big mall... naturally, we were asked, 'Where are you from?' We were welcomed in a very warm way. The same in the hotel we are staying in. It's really amazing, and it's wonderful."

Though COVID-19 restrictions have largely dampened international travel, Israel and Morocco are hoping to inaugurate direct flights between the countries in the next two months. Israeli diplomats are preparing for a dramatic rise in the number of Israeli tourists to Morocco.

He hopes that significant numbers of Moroccan tourists will visit Israel as well, and that the immigration officials at Ben Gurion Airport “will understand that the reality has changed, and that there is a difference between [Morocco and] Arab countries that Israel does not have full diplomatic relations with, those who are still considered to be our enemies or hostile.”

Airport immigration officials in the past have been accused of treating Arabs and critics of Israel with a surfeit of suspicion, in some cases detaining or deporting people for comments they may have made online years ago.

Govrin said that Israel must continue to establish ties across the Arab world, and must “look for our partners in each and every Arab country.”

“We see these missions as a bridge to the Arab world,” he said.

Representing a country that gives prominence to military and security agencies, Govrin sees himself as participating in a campaign no less important for Israel’s security.

“I see myself as a soldier of peace,” Govrin said. “I think we should invest our effort as well as our time in this campaign for peace. It’s one thing to sign an official agreement; it’s another thing to implement it.”

“Implementing an agreement takes continuous effort and time,” he added. “You have to devote and use all your skills in order to open doors. It’s not easy.”

‘A historic week’

On top of Rabat, last week saw Israel open missions in Manama, Bahrain and both Abu Dhabi and Dubai in the UAE.

On Thursday, Foreign Minister Ashkenazi held a virtual summit with his top diplomats in those four locations, as well as embassies in Egypt and Jordan, calling the new openings part of a “historic week.”

“Opening the missions is a living testament to the changes occurring in the region and to change in Israel’s regional standing,” he said.

He said he expected the momentum created over the previous six months to continue with new US President Joe Biden.

“The Biden administration is committed to the peace process and normalization in the Middle East, and it will continue operating to widen the circle and to bring other countries in,” Ashkenazi said.

Источник: Times of Israel// Режим доступа: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/arriving-in-morocco-israeli-envoy-makes-expanding-ties-his-mission/> (Дата обращения: 03.02.2021)

Задания студентам к разделу 4.

4. Найдите, выпишите и объясните политико-дипломатические термины, которые использованы в документах.
5. Проведите внешнюю и внутреннюю критику источника (выбранного документа).
6. Назовите официальных лиц, принимавших участие в заключении и обнародовании соглашений Израиля с Королевством Марокко, и их должности.

Контрольные вопросы к разделу 4.

6. Почему главой израильской делегации на переговорах в Марокко стал руководитель Совета национальной безопасности Израиля?
7. Какое значение опубликованные соглашения придают урегулированию палестино-израильского конфликта?
8. Найдите биографические сведения об израильском дипломатическом представителе в Марокко Давиде Говрине (Ambassador David Govrin).
9. Почему в своей речи у Западной Стены (иерусалимской Стены Плача) премьер-министр Израиля, оценивая восстановление отношений с Марокко, особо подчеркивает роль и усилия президента Д. Трампа ?
10. Прочитайте интервью с послом Д. Говрином и назовите приоритетные направления сотрудничества Израиля с Марокко.

Раздел 5 . Соглашения Государства Израиль с Республикой Судан.

Документ № 21

PM Netanyahu meets with Chairman of the Sovereignty Council of Sudan Lieutenant General Abdel Fattah al Burhan in Entebbe

03 Feb 2020

It was agreed to start cooperation leading to normalization of the relationship between the two countries.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Chairman of the Sovereignty Council of Sudan, Lieutenant General Abdel Fattah al Burhan, met today (Monday, 3 February 2020), in Entebbe, Uganda, on the invitation of Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

It was agreed to start cooperation leading to normalization of the relationship between the two countries.

Prime Minister Netanyahu believes that Sudan is headed in a new positive direction and he expressed his views to the Secretary of State of the United States of America.

The Chairman of the Sovereignty Council of Sudan, Lieutenant General Abdel Fattah al Burhan, is eager to help his country modernize by taking it out of isolation and putting it on the world's map.

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-meets-with-Chairman-of-the-Sovereignty-Council-of-Sudan-Lieutenant-General-Abdel-Fattah-al-Burhan-3-February-2.aspx> (Дата обращения: 23.01.2021)

Документ № 22

PM Netanyahu welcomes the decision of the Sudanese Foreign Ministry

18 Aug 2020

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Pursuant to his 3 February 2020 meeting with Sovereignty Council of Sudan Chairman Abdel Fattah al Burhan, Prime Minister Netanyahu, today (Tuesday, 18 August 2020), welcomed the position of the Sudanese Foreign Ministry, which reflects the brave decision of the Sovereignty Council Chairman to work toward advancing relations between the two countries.

Prime Minister Netanyahu:

"Israel, Sudan and the entire region will benefit from the peace agreement and will be able – together – to build a better future for all peoples of the region. We will do whatever is necessary to turn vision into reality."

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа:

<https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-welcomes-the-decision-of-the-Sudanese-Foreign-Ministry-18-August-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 23.01.2021)

Документ № 23

PM Netanyahu's remarks at his press conference

24 Oct 2020

PM Netanyahu: In the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, the Arab League declared the three no's with Israel. Now there is the normalization agreement. An Israeli delegation will leave for Sudan in the coming days in order to complete the agreements.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, this evening (Saturday, 24 October 2020), made the following remarks at his press conference:

"I would like to begin by expressing deep sorrow over the passing of Yehuda Barkan from the coronavirus. Yehuda was marvelous; he was the man we loved to love. He gave us much joy over many years. May his memory be blessed.

"Citizens of Israel, yesterday we took another step toward a historic peace, peace between Israel and Sudan. I remind you that Sudan was an enemy country. It participated in war against Israel. In the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, the Arab League declared the three no's with Israel: No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel. We changed all of that of course. However, some of you may not remember that Iran also used Sudan for smuggling. Iran was a country from which very dangerous weapons would be smuggled to Hamas via Sudan, the Nile valley and Sinai and this compelled me to order steps to prevent this and indeed this has changed. Happily, all of the relations began to change in recent years. At first, the steps were secret. Afterwards there were open contacts. Now there is the normalization agreement. An Israeli delegation will leave for Sudan in the coming days in order to complete the agreements.

"First, I would like to thank Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni for hosting the summit meeting between me and the Chairman of the Sovereignty Council, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, eight months ago. At this opportunity, I would also like mention the amazing Sudanese diplomat, Dr. Najwa Abbas Gadaeldam, who passed away from the coronavirus. We tried to save her, without success. She greatly aided these contacts. I would like to thank the Chairman of the Sovereignty Council, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan and Sudanese Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok for their historic decisions. Above all, I would like to again thank President Trump and his team, together with whom we are changing history. After 25 years without peace agreements, we achieved three peace agreements in six weeks. This is neither luck nor coincidental; it is the result of the clear policy that we have led and the efforts that we made in the face of all of the experts and all of the commentators who said that it was not possible. It was possible; we believed in it. I worked for it. Peace for peace, peace from strength, and peace without dangerous withdrawals and uprootings.

"These agreements are good not just for security but they are good for the pocket. We are changing the map of the Middle East. You can see it here. We are now flying to the east over Saudi Arabia to the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, India and the east. This saves hours and a lot of money, of course, for the flights. And we are now flying west, over Sudan, part of our agreements that were made even before we declared about normalization, of course, via Chad, with which we have also established relations, to Brazil and South America. This is an immense

change. It is a change that changes the situation. Here Israel was completely isolated and they said that we were facing a diplomatic tsunami – the complete opposite occurred. Israel is now connecting to the rest of the world, thanks to our consistent policy. I said that there would be more countries and here is another country. I tell you even now – there will be more countries.

“Of course, I would also like to say a few words about the coronavirus. We made tough decisions about the restrictions that we were compelled to impose on the citizens of Israel and the citizens of Israel have cooperated. We have come down to a level of morbidity that is lower than in almost all European countries. Unfortunately, the second wave is raging there and hitting them like it is also hitting us. There is a major increase in morbidity there. I hope that they will succeed in exiting from it. I hope that these countries will succeed in lowering morbidity like we have. But I can say that there is no guarantee that we will be here [low morbidity, in reference to a graphic]. We will be here only if we adhere to the rules. Therefore, I say in advance, if morbidity comes down, the restrictions will come down. If morbidity goes up, the restrictions will come back. We have no choice. This is the only way to ensure life. I know that it is difficult. I know that there are difficulties for the self-employed. There are difficulties for businesses. We have assisted you and we will assist you more. We must do this but not at the expense of life. We will do what is necessary.

“The Cabinet will meet tomorrow. I am not prepared to accept that part of the public will follow the rules and part will not. Tomorrow I will propose levying fines, dramatically increased fines, on institutions and elements that do not honor the instructions of the government and the Health Ministry. We can agree to do a lot in order to lower this, it depends on everyone. What is necessary at the moment is simply the ability to put politics aside and put the State of Israel first. Therefore, to all of my political rivals, I say: We will have enough time for politics; leave it. Now it is necessary to concentrate on one thing only, mutual guarantee, responsibility because together we will defeat this pandemic.”

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu's-remarks-at-his-press-conference-24-October-2020.aspx>
(Дата обращения: 29.01.2021)

Документ № 24

PM Netanyahu on the declaration of normalization between Israel and Sudan

24 Oct 2020

PM Netanyahu: This is a new era, an era of true peace, a peace that is expanding with other Arab countries, with three of them joining in recent weeks.

(Communicated by the Prime Minister's Media Adviser)

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, yesterday (Friday, 23 October 2020), on the declaration of normalization between Israel and Sudan:

“Today we announce another dramatic breakthrough for peace, another Arab state joining the circle of peace. This time, it is normalization between Israel and Sudan. What a great turnaround!

“In Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, in 1967 the Arab League adopted its three ‘No’s’: ‘No to peace with Israel, no to recognition of Israel and no to negotiations with Israel.’

“However, today Khartoum has said, ‘Yes to peace with Israel, yes to recognition of Israel and yes to normalization with Israel.’ This is a new era, an era of true peace, a peace that is expanding with other Arab countries, with three of them joining in recent weeks.

“Delegations from Israel and Sudan will meet soon to discuss cooperation in many areas, including agriculture, trade and other areas important to our citizens.

“The skies of Sudan are open to Israel today. This allows for direct and shorter flights between Israel and Africa and South America.

“I thank the Chairman of the Sovereignty Council of Sudan, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, and Sudanese Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok.

“I would like to again thank President Trump and his team for their part in this historic move. We are expanding the circle of peace. What excitement; there should be more.”

Источник: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs// Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2020/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-on-the-declaration-of-normalization-between-Israel-and-Sudan-24-October-2020.aspx> (Дата обращения: 29.01.2021)

Документ № 25

Sudan signs ‘Abraham Accords’ with US, paving way for Israel normalization

By AGENCIES and TOI STAFF 6 January 2021

Sudan on Wednesday signed the “Abraham Accords” with the United States, paving the way for the African country to normalize ties with Israel.

A statement from the office of Sudan’s prime minister said Justice Minister Nasredeen Abdulbari signed the accord Wednesday with visiting US Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin.

The agreement signed Wednesday was a largely symbolic document, indicating Sudan's intentions to move forward with normalization. The memorandum did not officially establish diplomatic ties between Khartoum and Jerusalem, a move that is expected to happen in the near future, at an as yet undetermined date.

Recent US-negotiated deals between Arab and Muslim countries and Israel have been a major foreign policy achievement by US President Donald Trump's administration.

The deals were named the "Abraham Accords" after the biblical patriarch revered by Muslims and Jews.

The signing came just over two months after Trump announced that Sudan would start to normalize ties with Israel.

Before Sudan, the Trump administration engineered diplomatic pacts late last year between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain. Morocco also reestablished diplomatic relations with Israel, after cutting ties in 2000 in solidarity with Palestinians during the Second Intifada.....

Last month, Trump's administration finalized the removal of Sudan from the US list of state sponsors of terrorism. The move was a key incentive for the government in Khartoum to normalize relations with Israel....

Источник: Timesof Israel// Режим доступа: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/sudan-signs-abraham-accords-with-us-paving-way-for-israel-normalization/> (Дата обращения: 09.01.2021)

Документ № 26

In first, Israeli cabinet minister visits Sudan

"I am confident this visit lays the foundations for many important collaborations that will assist both Israel and Sudan as well as security stability in the region," says Intelligence Services Minister Eli Cohen.

By Ariel Kahana and Reuters

Published on 01-26-2021

An Israeli cabinet minister on Monday for the first time led an official delegation to Sudan to discuss moving forward on a US-brokered deal in October to normalize relations. "I am confident this visit lays the foundations for many important collaborations that will assist both Israel and Sudan as well as security stability in the region," Intelligence Services Minister Eli Cohen said in a statement after returning home.

Sudan joined the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Morocco last year in agreeing to move toward normal relations with Israel. The new US administration of President Joe Biden has said it wants to build on those deals.

Cohen, the first minister to head such a trip, said he met Sudanese President Abdel Fattah al-Burha, Defense Minister Yassin Ibrahim, and other Sudanese defense and intelligence officials. The Israeli delegation discussed with their hosts a variety of diplomatic and security issues as well as the potential for economic cooperation, his office said. The parties discussed regional security stability, which is essential for economic development, and have agreed to expand intelligence cooperation. The possibility of adding Israel to the Red Sea Council, of which Sudan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia are members, was also broached.

The Israeli delegation also raised a number of potential joint economic projects at the meetings, underscoring the fields of water, agriculture, renewable energy, health, and aviation.

Such cooperation is likely to focus on the possibility of establishing infrastructure projects, including desalination and renewable energy facilities, and training in the fields of agriculture.

It was agreed that a Sudanese delegation will travel to Israel, according to the Israeli statement.

Источник: Israel Hayom// Режим доступа: <https://www.israelhayom.com/2021/01/26/in-first-israeli-cabinet-minister-visits-sudan/> (Дата обращения: 01.02.2021)

Задания студентам к разделу 5.

1. Найдите, выпишите и объясните политико-дипломатические термины, которые использованы в документах.
2. Проведите внешнюю и внутреннюю критику источника (выбранного документа).
3. Назовите официальных лиц, принимавших участие в подготовке и заключении договоренностей Израиля с Республикой Судан, и их должности.

Контрольные вопросы к разделу 5.

1. Почему первым израильским министром, прибывшим в Судан, стал не глава МИД Габи Ашкенази, а министр по делам разведки Эли Коэн? Найдите этому факту объяснение как в документах, так и в материалах израильского англоязычного Интернета.
2. Проследите историю установления и развития израильско-суданского политического диалога. Назовите основные этапы диалога.
3. В заявлении 24 октября 2020 г., посвященном установлению дипломатических отношений Израиля с Суданом, премьер-министр Б. Нетаньяху, в частности,

сказал: «Today we announce another dramatic breakthrough for peace, another Arab state joining the circle of peace». Что означает термин «the circle of peace»?

4. Премьер-министр Израиля, оценивая восстановление отношений с Суданом, в своих выступлениях указывает на Хартумский саммит арабских государств 1967 г. и три «нет» в решениях саммита. Какое политическое значение имеет это упоминание?
5. Назовите приоритетные направления сотрудничества Израиля с Суданом.

Заключение

Внимательное прочтение и анализ документов внешней политики Израиля, опубликованных в практикуме, показывает несколько важных тенденций и перемен, которые произошли на треке арабо-израильского урегулирования в 2020 году.

Прежде всего, американская дипломатия успешно посредничала на переговорах Израиля с ОАЭ, Бахрейном, Марокко и Суданом. На переговорах дипломатическая группа Дж. Кушнера использовала различные методы убеждения и политического торга. Можно считать успехом американской дипломатии заключение «Соглашений Авраама» и сопутствующих соглашений и договоров. Однако Белому Дому и государственному департаменту США не удалось решить самую сложную проблему: палестино-израильский конфликт. Напротив, «благодаря» решениям президента Д. Трампа о Иерусалиме, переносе американского посольства и о Голанских высотах мирный процесс с палестинцами оказался «отброшен назад».

Во-вторых, Израиль подписал соглашения с арабскими странами Персидского залива и Северной Африки и таким образом расширил «кольцо мира». При этом Израиль не сделал никаких политических, экономических или территориальных уступок палестинцам или арабским странам. В отличие от Кемп-Дэвидских соглашений 1978-1979 гг., когда израильские войска и поселения покинули Синайский полуостров, в 2020 г. контролируемая Израилем территория не уменьшилась ни на йоту. Правительство Б. Нетаньяху пообещало только временно приостановить строительство новых поселений на Западном берегу реки Иордан.

В-третьих, подписанные соглашения могут означать формирование регионального блока в составе Израиля и суннитских режимов, направленного против Исламской Республики Иран. Остается вопросом, присоединится ли к этому альянсу Саудовская Аравия и другие монархии залива? Неясно также, какой вариант ближневосточной политика изберет пришедшая к власти администрация Джо Байдена.

В-четвертых. В ходе дипломатических событий 2020 года обозначилась интересная особенность процесса формирования внешней политики и принятия решений в Государстве Израиль. Премьер-министр Б. Нетаньяху выдвигал на роль первых переговорщиков своих политических союзников, политически лояльных министров (Э. Коэн) и чиновников высшего ранга (М. Бен-Шабат). Напротив, министр иностранных дел Г. Ашкенази и министр обороны Б. Ганц, политические конкуренты «Биби», отодвигались главой правительства от реального процесса обсуждения стратегически важных для Израиля решений.

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Ресурсы Интернет (на английском языке)

Источники

(Документы внешней политики Израиля и США на порталах)

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2. МИД Израиля // Режим доступа: <https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/Pages/default.aspx>
3. Кнессет (парламент Израиля)//Режим доступа: <https://main.knesset.gov.il/EN/Pages/default.aspx>
4. Белый Дом (Администрация Президента США)//Режим доступа: <https://www.Whitehouse.gov/>

5. Государственный департамент США // Режим доступа: <https://www.state.gov/>

Экспертно-аналитические учреждения Израиля (Think Tanks)

1. The Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv University <https://www.inss.org.il/>
2. The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University <https://dayan.org/>
3. The Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security // <https://jiss.org.il/en/>
4. International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) // <https://www.ict.org.il/Home.aspx#gsc.tab=0>
5. The Israel Council on Foreign Relations // <https://www.israelcfr.com/>

Газеты Израиля

1. Газета «Israel Hayom» // <https://www.israelhayom.com/>
2. Газета «Times of Israel» // <https://www.timesofisrael.com/>
3. Газета «Jerusalem Post» // <https://www.jpost.com/>
4. Газета «Yediot Ahronot» // <https://www.ynetnews.com/category/3083>