

The impact of the Abraham Accords on the pattern of friendship and enmity in the Middle East regional security complex Ali Adami^{1*}, Ebrahim Rasouli²

- 1. Associate Professor, International Relations Department, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Allameh Tabataba'i University (ATU), Tehran, Iran.
- 2. PhD Candidate, International Relations Department, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Allameh Tabataba'i University (ATU), Tehran, Iran.
- Article Info Abstract

Article Info	Abstract
Original Article	The normalization of Israel's relations with four Arab countries, including the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain,
Main Object: International Relations Scope: Israel, Middle East, USA	Morocco and Sudan, in the second half of 2020, which is known as the Abraham Accords, is one of the new and important changes in the Middle East (West Asia) regional security complex. These agreements put an end to a historical enmity and non-recognition of Israel as a country for nearly
Received: 05 November 2024 Revised: 19 November 2024 Accepted: 27 November 2024 Published online: 1 December 2024	eight decades by these four Arab countries. Since these agreements, due to their nature, process and goals, have the potential to influence the security complex of the Middle East, investigating how it influences and its consequences on the pattern of friendship and enmity of this security complex is a research necessity and the goal of this article. In this regard,
Keywords: Abraham Accords, friendship and enmity Pattern, Middle East (West Asia) Regional Security Complex, normalization.	the main question of this article is how the Abraham Accords have affected the pattern of friendship and enmity in the West Asia Regional Security Complex? The current research seeks to answer the above question by using the qualitative content analysis method, using the security set theory of Barry Buzan and Ole Waever. The results of this research indicate that the Abraham Accords in 2020 have influenced the pattern of friendship and enmity in the West Asia security complex through strengthening the identity of the Hebrew-Arab coalition against the Axis Resistance. These effects are in the form of conflict between revisionists and supporters of the status quo in the West Asia security complex, simultaneous strengthening of the identity of the Hebrew-Arab alliance and the axis of resistance, the increase in the arms race and the continuation of the war as a method of resolving the conflict between the axis of resistance and the Hebrew-Arab alliance has appeared.

Cite this article: Adami A, Rasouli E. (2025). "The impact of the Abraham Accords on the pattern of friendship and enmity in the Middle East regional security complex". Countries Studies. 1(3): 49-54. doi: https://doi.org/10.22059/jcountst.2024.384882.1182.



Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License Website: https://jcountst.ut.ac.ir/ | Email: jcountst@ut.ac.ir | EISSN: 2980-9193

Publisher: University of Tehran

* 4748-7214



Corresponding author: [™] adamiali2002@yahoo.com, [™] https://orcid.org/0009-0007-

Extended Abstract Introduction

The normalization of Israel's relations with four Arab countries, including the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Morocco and Sudan, in the second half of 2020, which is known as the Abraham Accords, is one of the new and important changes in the West Asia regional security complex. These agreements put an end to a historical enmity and non-recognition of Israel as a country for nearly eight decades by these four Arab countries.

Aims

Since the Abraham Accords, due to their nature, process and goals, have the potential to influence the security complex of the West Asia, investigating how it influences and its consequences on the pattern of friendship and enmity of this security complex is a research necessity and the goal of this article. In this regard, the main question of this article is how the Abraham Accords have affected the pattern of friendship and enmity in the West Asia Regional Security Complex?

Methods

The current research seeks to answer the above question by using the qualitative content analysis method, using the security set theory of Barry Buzan and Ole Waever.

Discussions and Results

The results of this research indicate that the Abraham Accords in 2020 have influenced the pattern of friendship and enmity in the West Asia security complex through strengthening the identity of the Hebrew-Arab coalition against the Axis Resistance. These effects are in the form of conflict between revisionists and supporters of the status quo in the West Asia security complex, simultaneous strengthening of the identity of the Hebrew-Arab alliance and the axis of resistance, the increase in the arms race and the continuation of the war as a method of resolving the conflict between the axis of resistance and the Hebrew-Arab alliance has appeared.

Conclusion

Considering that Abraham's agreements do not include all actors of the West Asia security complex, especially the axis of resistance, in fact we will face two different faces of the West Asia; A West Asia that, based on the views and behavior of the supporters of the status quo or the Hebrew-Arab coalition, seeks to stabilize the status quo and normalize Israel's relations with other Arab countries as much as possible; and another West Asia that, based on the views and behavior of the axis of resistance, seeks the elimination of Israel and the elimination of America's presence in the West Asia region.

Conflict of interest

The authors declared no conflicts of interest.

Authors' contributions

All authors contributed to the original idea, study design.

Ethical considerations

The authors have completely considered ethical issues, including informed consent, plagiarism, data fabrication, misconduct, and/or falsification, double publication and/or redundancy, submission, etc.

Data availability

The dataset generated and analyzed during the current study is available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

References

- *Abraham Accords Declaration.* (September 15, 2020). Available on the U.S. Department of State website, <u>https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Abraham-Accords-signed-FINAL-15-Sept-2020-508-1.pdf.</u> (Assessed on: March 15, 2023)
- Akhavan Kazemi M, Narimani G, Sadeghi S.Sh. (2017). "An analysis of the strategic relations between Saudi Arabia and the Zionist Regime against the Islamic Revolution". *Quarterly Journal of Islamic Revolution Studies*. 13(47): 146-175. DOR: 20.1001.1.20085834.1395.13.47.7.3. <u>http://enghelab.maaref.ac.ir/article-1-458-fa.html</u>. [in Persian]
- Ali Al-Rumahi M. (2023). "The reality of the Israeli political normalization process on the concept of national security: A contemporary analytical study." *Journal of Political Science and Law.* 37: 192-212. <u>https://democraticac.de/?p=92086</u>. (Assessed on: November 18, 2024) [in Arabic]
- Asriran. (2024). "Former Iranian diplomat: It's important that 10 countries had to cooperate to repel Iran's attack". <u>www.asriran.com/0041cS</u>. [in Persian]
 Bajoghli N, Nasr V. (January 17, 2024). "How the war in Gaza revived the Axis of
- Bajoghli N, Nasr V. (January 17, 2024). "How the war in Gaza revived the Axis of Resistance". Foreign Affairs. <u>https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/howwar-gaza-revived-axis-resistance</u>. (Assessed on: May 5, 2024)
- Basharat S. (2022). "The Abraham Accords and the formation of Israel's political geopolitics in the Arabian Gulf Region". <u>http://yabous.info/?ID=45</u>. (Assessed on: November 17, 2024) [in Arabic]
- *Britanica*. (November 17, 2024). "Israel-Hamas War". <u>https://www.britannica.com/event/Israel-Hamas-War.</u> (Assessed on: May 21, 2024)
- Burke J. (November 7, 2023). "A deadly cascade: How secret Hamas attack orders were passed down at last minute: *The Guardian*. <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/nov/07/secret-hamas-attack-orders-</u> israel-gaza-7-october. (Assessed on: November 12, 2023)
- Buzan B. (2002). "The Middle East: A perennial conflict formation". Translated by Sadeghi A. *Foreign Policy Quarterly*, 16(3): 633-680. <u>https://www.sid.ir/paper/465324/fa</u>. [in Persian]
- -----. (1999). *People, States and Fear*. Translated by Institute of Strategic Studies, Tehran. [in Persian]
 - -----. (1991 [1983]). *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era.* 2nd ed. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester

51

Wheatsheaf.

- Buzan B, Wæver O. (2013). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Translated by Tayeb A. Tehran: Research Institute for Strategic Studies. [in Persian]
 - -----. (2009). *Regions and Powers*. Translated by Ghahramanpour R. Tehran: Research Institute for Strategic Studies. [in Persian]
- Chegnizadeh Gh, Tajik H, Nabavi SM. (2013). "The impact of Syrian evolutions on the interactive pattern between Iran and Türkiye; A conceptual and theoretical model". *Afaq Security Quarterly*. 6(21): 61-110. https://ps.ihu.ac.ir/article 200445.html?lang=fa. [in Persian]
- CNN (August 13, 2020). "The full statement by the US, Israel and UAE on normalizing Israel-UAE relations". https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/13/middleeast/mideast-trump-full-statement-
- uae-israel-intl/index.html. (Assessed on: March 15, 2023)
- Darwish, A. (March 11, 2024). "*The New York Times*: The Gaza War increased pressure on the Abraham Accords, and the Emirates has no plan to abandon relations with Israel." *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*. <u>https://B2n.ir/x51981</u>. (Assessed on: November 17, 2024) [in Arabic]
- Dassa Kaye D, Vakil S. (April 26, 2024). "Is an anti-Iran alliance emerging in the Middle East?". *Foreign Affairs*. <u>https://www.foreignaffairs.com/middle-east/anti-iran-alliance-emerging-middle-east</u>. (Assessed on: April 27, 2024)
- Don (November 20, 2023). "Arab governments must withdraw from the Abraham Accords and end military coordination with Israel". Democracy for the Arab World Now. <u>https://B2n.ir/b34730</u>. (Assessed on: November 18, 2024) [in Arabic]
- Golani B, Nagel J. (December 15, 2023). "How can the US use the Gaza war to expand the Abraham Accords?". *The Jerusalem Post.* <u>https://www.ipost.com/opinion/article-778098</u>. (Assessed on: January 9, 2024)
- Goldsmith L. (October 21, 2023). "Gaza, the Abraham Accords, Armageddon and a new path for diplomacy". *The Post.* <u>https://www.thepost.co.nz/worldnews/350096063/gaza-abraham-accords-armageddon-and-new-path-diplomacy.</u> (Assessed on: October 25, 2023)
- Hood L. (January 23, 2024). "How much influence does Iran have over its proxy 'Axis of Resistance' – Hezbollah, Hamas and the Houthis?". *Conversation*. <u>https://theconversation.com/how-much-influence-does-iran-have-over-its-proxyaxis-of-resistance-hezbollah-hamas-and-the-houthis-221269</u>. (Assessed on: July 10, 2024).
- *Alhurra*. (October 25, 2023). "After the war... What is the fate of the "Abraham Agreement" and the position of the Arab normalization countries?". <u>https://B2n.ir/b07889</u>. (Assessed on: November 17, 2024) [in Arabic]
- Ibrahim L. (October 18, 2024). "The New Middle East: The age of federations and the rebalancing of power." *Al Furat Center for Studies*. https://firatn.com/?p=4240. (Assessed on: November 16, 2024) [in Arabic]
- *Isna* (January 2, 2024). "Taeb: Today, Israel has collapsed and America has declined in power". www.isna.ir/xdQhwg. (Assessed on: June 30, 2024) [in Persian]
- *124 News.* (June 27, 2023). "Saudi envoy to U.S.: 'We talk about integration with Israel, not normalization". Available at: <u>https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/middle-east/the-gulf/1687853017-saudi-envoy-to-u-s-we-talk-about-integration-with-israel-not-normalization.</u> (Assessed on: March 15, 2023)
- Lotfi M, Soltaninejad M. (2024). "An emotional analysis of the crisis in the relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar (2017-2021): The role of dignity and respect". *Countries Studies*. 2(3): 91-97. doi: https://doi.org/10.22059/jcountst.2024.369247.1083. [in Persian]
- Michael K, Guzansky Y. (February 24, 2022). "Revisiting the possibility of a regional military alliance". INSS Insight. No. 1561, Available on The Institute for National

Security Studies website. <u>https://www.inss.org.il/publication/nato-of-the-middle-east/</u>. (Assessed on: May 14, 2024)

- Al Omari Gh. (2020). "Normalization can inject new life into the Arab peace initiative". *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*. <u>https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/fa/policy-analysis/adysazy-rwabt-ba-asrayyl-mytwand-hyaty-tazh-bh-abtkar-slh-arab-bbkhshd</u>. (Assessed on: November 10, 2024) [in Persian]
- Mrou B, Lidman M. (September 29, 2024). "Hezbollah confirms its leader Hassan Nasrallah was killed in an Israeli airstrike". *AP News*. <u>https://apnews.com/article/lebanon-israel-hezbollah-airstrikes-28-september-</u> 2024-c4751957433ff944c4eb06027885a973. (Assessed on: November 2, 2024).
- Myrvold Ch. (2022). "The Abraham Accords: A Comparative Perspective on American Foreign Policy in the Middle East". *UIT the Arctic University of Norway*. <u>https://munin.uit.no/handle/10037/25488</u>. (Assessed on: November 18, 2023).
- Najafi I, Mousavi Shafaee M, Golmohammadi V, Hosseinzadeh V. (2023). "Insulator state and continuity of the Afghanistan conflict". *Countries Studies*. 1(3): 89-93. doi: https://doi.org/10.22059/jcountst.2023.359723.1034. [in Persian]
- Niakouei, SA, Sotoudeh, AA. (2015). "The impact of civil wars in Iraq and Syria on Middle East security complex (2011-2015)". *Strategic Policy Research Quarterly*. 4(15 serial 45): 153-177. <u>https://qpss.atu.ac.ir/article_2380.html</u> [in Persian]
- Norlen T, Sinai T. (October 2020). "The Abraham Accords Paradigm Shift or Realpolitik?". *Marshall Center Security Insight*. no. 64, <u>https://www.marshallcenter.org/en/publications/security-insights/abraham-</u> accords-paradigm-shift-or-realpolitik. (Assessed on: February 20, 2024)
- Olmert J. (April 23, 2024). "Iran and Israel shift from proxy war to direct conflict". *Fair Observer*. <u>https://www.fairobserver.com/world-news/iran-and-israel-shift-from-proxy-war-to-direct-conflict/#</u>. (Assessed on: May 21, 2024)
- Oskanian K. (2013), Fear, Weakness and Power in the Post-Soviet South Caucasus: A Theorical and Empirical Analysis. University of Westminster, Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137026767.
- Podeh E. (2018). "Saudi Arabia and Israel: From secret to public engagement". *Middle East Journal*. 72(4): 563-586. doi: https://doi.org/10.3751/72.4.12.
- Rashid H. (2021). Diplomatic relations and their role in settling international conflicts: Arab-Israeli normalization as a model. Master's thesis, Near East University: Institute of Graduate Studies. <u>https://docs.neu.edu.tr/library/9584954258.pdf</u>. (Assessed on: November 19, 2024) [in Arabic]
- Ravid B. (October 31, 2024). "Iran preparing major retaliatory strike from Iraq within days, Israeli intel suggests". *Axios*. <u>https://www.axios.com/2024/10/31/israel-iran-planning-attack-iraq</u>. (Assessed on: November 2, 2024)
- Safaei Mehr AR, Mehraban Helal M, Pour Khosh Saadat M, Najafi MJ. (2023), "Investigating the impact of normalization of relations between the UAE and Bahrain and the Zionist regime on the security arrangements in the Persian Gulf". *Defense Policy*. 31: 125-147. DOR: 20.1001.1.10255087.1401.31.121.5.2 [in Persian]
- Sazmand B, Jokar M. (2015), "Regional security complex, campaigns and relations patterns of the Persian Gulf countries". *Geopolitics Quarterly*. 12(2): 151-177. DOR: 20.1001.1.17354331.1395.12.42.7.5. [in Persian]
- Al-Shamahi A. (17 Jan 2022). "What is behind the Houthi attacks in the UAE?". *Al Jazeera*. <u>https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/17/explainer-houthi-attacks-abu-dhabi-uae</u>. (Assessed on: July 9, 2024)
- Shlaim A. (2013). "Israel, Palestine, and the Arab Uprisings. In: Gerges FA, ed. The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World. Cambridge University Press: 380-401. https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09781139236737.021.

53

54 The impact of the Abraham Accords on the Middle East regional security complex

Countries Studies, Vol 3, No 1, Spring 2025

Simon S. (June 30, 2021). "Israel and the Persian Gulf: A source of security or conflict?". Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft. Quincy Brief No. 13. <u>https://quincyinst.org/research/israel-and-the-persian-gulf-a-source-of-security-or-conflict/#</u>. (Assessed on: May 27, 2024)

- Singer J. (2021). "The Abraham Accords: Normalization agreements signed by Israel with the U.A.E., Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco". *International Legal Materials*. 60(3): 448-463. doi: <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/ilm.2021.18</u>.
- Singh M. (February 22, 2022). "Axis of Abraham: Arab-Israeli normalization could remake the Middle East". *Council on Foreign Relations*. <u>https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2022-02-22/axisabraham?check logged in=1</u>. (Assessed on: May 14, 2024)
- Taub A. (November 2, 2024). "Can Iran and Israel find a new equilibrium?". NewYorkTimes.https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/02/world/middleeast/can-iran-and-israel-find-a-new-equilibrium.html. (Assessed on: November 2, 2024)
- Vaez H, Khodaverdi H, Keshishyan Siraki G, Dehshiri MR. (2023). "Normalization of Saudi-Israeli relations and its impact on the Islamic Republic of Iran's National Security: Threats against the axis of resistance". *International Studies Quarterly*. 19(4 serial 76): 287-314. doi: <u>10.22034/isj.2023.347291.1853</u>. [in Persian]
- Walles J. (July 02, 2023). "Prospects for Israeli-Saudi normalization: Can Washington wrangle a deal?". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <u>https://carnegiemec.org/diwan/90103.</u> (Assessed on: December 3, 2023)
- Washington Post. (January 1, 2024). "Iran showcases its reach with militia attacks across Middle East". <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/01/01/iran-militias-gaza-israel/.</u> (Visited January 5, 2024)
- White House. (November 24, 2023). "Remarks by President Biden on the release of hostages from Gaza". <u>https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/11/24/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-release-of-hostages-from-gaza/.</u> (Assessed on: November 25, 2023).
- Yossef A. (March, 2021). "The regional impact of the Abraham Accords". MWI Report. 2021(2). Available at: <u>https://mwi.westpoint.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2021/02/regional-impact-abraham-accords.pdf.</u> (Assessed on: May 12, 2024)
- Zarif MJ, Karimi S. (2023). "Iran and the cognitive challenge in various perceptions of strategic alliance in international relations". *Countries Studies*. 1(3): 95-99. doi: <u>https://doi.org/10.22059/jcountst.2023.360338.1038</u>. [in Persian]
- Zielińska K. (2023-04-04). "Israel and the Arab states: between conflict and interdependence". *Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)*. https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-commentary/2023-04-04/israel-and-arab-states-between-conflict-and-interdependence. (Assessed on: May 18, 2024)
- Al-Zuwairi M. (December 11, 2021). "The New Wave of Normalization with Israel: Love of Palestine or Fear of Iran?". Gulf Studies Center/Qatar University. https://B2n.ir/q35298. (Assessed on: November 18, 2024) [in Arabic]