



## THE ABRAHAM ACCORDS

A FIVE YEAR REPORT

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY** 



We're here this afternoon to change the course of history. After decades of division and conflict, we mark the dawn of a new Middle East. Thanks to the great courage of the leaders of these three countries, we take a major stride toward a future in which people of all faiths and backgrounds live together in peace and prosperity....

Together, these agreements will serve as the foundation for a comprehensive peace across the entire region—something which nobody thought was possible, certainly not in this day and age; maybe in many decades from now—but one founded on shared interests, mutual respect, and friendship.

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#### LETTER FROM

#### **Dr. Kevin D. Roberts**

#### President of The Heritage Foundation

President Donald Trump achieved many policy victories during his first Administration, but perhaps the greatest national security success was the forging of The Abraham Accords.

The opening of formal ties between Israel and the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Morocco, with additional diplomatic relations with Sudan and Kosovo, marked a watershed moment in the history of the Middle East. More than the bilateral agreements themselves, the Accords signify that old enmities can be resolved in the pursuit of future prosperity.

President Trump has cemented his legacy as peacemaker during the early days of his second Administration, having ended conflicts between India and Pakistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda, Cambodia and Thailand, and Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Historically, the Arab–Israeli conflict has been among the world's most intractable. Under President Trump's leadership, that is no longer the case. Rather than remain in perpetual conflict, the members of the Accords are forging a new future that recognizes their shared interests, opportunities, and identity not as Jews and Muslims, but as the descendants of Abraham.

Fundamentally, however, The Abraham Accords are a great testament to the enduring strength of Western Civilization and Judeo-Christian values. Faced with the growing threat from the enemies of the West, it was to the United States and Israel—the West's leader and its sole representative in the Middle East, respectively—that the Accords' member countries looked for partnership and support.

As an advocate for and defender of Western Civilization and its Judeo-Christian roots, The Heritage Foundation acquired the mission of the renowned Abraham Accords Peace Institute (AAPI) in April 2025. AAPI had immense positive impacts on regional stability in the Middle East and national security here at home during its four-year mission. Now, uniting AAPI's unique perspective and network with Heritage's deep policy and security expertise, The Heritage Foundation will advance the peace process in the region for a safer and more prosperous America.

I am pleased to present *The Abraham Accords: A Five-Year Report* as a Heritage publication celebrating the success and progress of the Accords at this milestone. It is my hope and belief that this will be only the first of many more such reports issued in the years ahead as the Children of Abraham find more ways to cooperate and collaborate as they create a bright future in their shared region.

#### The Abraham Accords Declaration:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Signed:





# THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION AND THE ABRAHAM ACCORDS

In April 2025, The Heritage Foundation adopted the mission of The Abraham Accords Peace Institute (AAPI), a nonpartisan nonprofit dedicated to supporting the implementation and expansion of The Abraham Accords.

Initially founded by President Donald Trump's former Senior Advisor Jared Kushner, AAPI was instrumental in promoting these nascent peace deals in the Middle East and ensuring that the renewed regional relationships fulfilled their potential.

Heritage's acquisition of AAPI's mission was part of a broader investment into Israel and the region's future—both of which are vital to America's national security. Two AAPI leaders based in Israel joined the Heritage team as Visiting Fellows to continue this effort.

Even before Heritage's adoption of AAPI's mission, the opportunities created by The Abraham Accords formed a key pillar in Heritage's seminal *Special Report, U.S.–Israel Strategy: From Special Relationship to Strategic Partnership, 2029–2047*, published in March 2025. This report argued that the U.S. should assist Israel in strengthening its economy and security, particularly through enhanced cooperation with Abraham Accords partners, in order to reorient the bilateral relationship to one reflecting an equal strategic partnership.

Throughout the year, The Heritage Foundation, led by Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy Vice President Dr. Victoria Coates and Allison Center for National Security Director Robert Greenway, engaged with U.S. and Middle Eastern policy leaders and stakeholders to advance The Abraham Accords and U.S. interests in the region. This initiative included meetings in Washington with foreign ministers and ambassadors of Accords member countries as well as travel to the UAE and Israel.

In April, Dr. Coates spoke at the Middle East–America Dialogue (MEAD) Summit in Abu Dhabi, one of the first major conferences in the region to openly include both Arabs and Israelis. Later that month, Dr. Coates, Mr. Greenway, and Senior Policy Analyst Daniel Flesch traveled to Israel, joining Heritage's Israel-based Senior Research Fellow Eugene Kontorovich and Visiting Fellows Asher Fredman and David Aaronson, to meet with Israel's Foreign, Defense, and Strategic Affairs Ministers and the ambassadors of Abraham Accords countries in Israel. Coates and Greenway also spoke at a leading national security conference in Jerusalem along with Israel's Prime Minister and other dignitaries and engaged with local and international media.

In July, Heritage hosted a "Peace Through Strength: U.S. Policy on Israel and the Middle East" conference that focused on The Abraham Accords and economic opportunities as well as the shared threats from Iran and radical terrorist groups. In addition, Heritage's Visiting Fellows spoke on The Abraham Accords at numerous high-level conferences and events in Israel and India.

The Davis Institute and Allison Center teams have also written and engaged extensively with U.S., regional, and international media on such issues as the importance of the new paradigms for Middle East peace spearheaded by President Trump in his second term, the potential of the India–Middle East–Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC), and the future of the U.S.–Israel strategic alliance.

In July, Heritage launched its dedicated Abraham Accords minisite (heritage.org/abraham-accords), and the Allison Center released its first Abraham Accords quarterly newsletter, providing the most comprehensive picture available of Abraham Accords—related data and trends. These regular newsletters, along with annual and other reports, will track the development of these historic agreements and share the results with important audiences in Washington, Jerusalem, and beyond.

In the coming years, Heritage will continue to support the strengthening and expansion of The Abraham Accords, regional cooperation, and America's vital interests in the region. We invite all of our partners to sign up for our newsletter and follow our activity in order to stay informed regarding the evolution and impact of U.S.-led peace, normalization, and cooperation in the Middle East.

#### ANALYSIS

#### The Abraham Accords After Five Years— The Path Traveled and the Way Forward

The Abraham Accords—which led to peace and normalization agreements between Israel and four Arab states in the span of four months—shattered expectations and challenged long-held conventional wisdom regarding Middle East peacemaking, which had been dormant for a quarter of a century.

Numerous factors contributed to making normalization possible between Israel and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Morocco, and Sudan—a drive toward economic diversification; the need for cutting-edge innovation to meet critical national challenges; cultures and histories of interfaith tolerance; shared threats from Iran, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other extremist groups; and the new frameworks created by the Trump Administration's *Peace to Prosperity* plan to resolve Israel–Palestinian conflict.

But without the leadership of President Trump, together with a small team of advisors who displayed a willingness to discard failed paradigms and adopt new approaches, The Abraham Accords would never have come into being.

The official signing of The Abraham Accords on the White House lawn on September 15, 2020, by the U.S., Israel, the UAE, and Bahrain, which were soon joined by Sudan and Morocco, led to an outpouring of cooperation, dialogue, and shared initiatives not just on the intergovernmental level, but on the people-to-people level as well. It immediately became clear that The Abraham Accords represented a new model of warm peace that was very different from the cold peace that existed between Israel and its earlier partners, Egypt and Jordan.

Hundreds of thousands of Israelis eagerly boarded direct flights to their new partners. Cooperative agreements and joint projects were launched in fields ranging from smart agriculture to water recycling, from green hydrogen to space and satellites, from neonatal cardiology to diabetes care, from fintech to cyber security, and in many other areas as well. Trade between Israel and its Abraham Accords partners grew from year to year, and Israeli companies established research and development (R&D) centers and manufacturing plants in Accords countries.

Interfaith dialogue also played an important role in these evolving ties. The shared values of tolerance and coexistence were symbolized by the opening of the Abrahamic Family House in Abu Dhabi, such institutions as Bahrain's King Hamad Global Centre for Peaceful Coexistence, and the numerous initiatives bringing together Muslims and Jews in Morocco.

On the governmental level, multiple high-level political and diplomatic visits took place, and numerous agreements were signed, including a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement between the UAE and Israel, the UAE's second such agreement with any country. Defense and security cooperation grew in the fields of air defense, satellites, drones, and homeland security.

The transfer of Israel to the U.S. Defense Department's Central Command (CENTCOM) Area of Responsibility played a critical role in integrating Israel and its deep security relationship with America into our regional defenses. This move also enabled enhanced military cooperation among the U.S., Israel, and Arab partners and allies, contributing to America's security and advancing our interests in CENTCOM.

The U.S. and its regional and international partners also established important multilateral frameworks for cooperation, including the I2U2 Group, which includes India, Israel, the U.S., and the UAE, and the Negev Forum, which brought together the U.S., Israel, the UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, and Egypt.

This period, while characterized by warm and growing relations, also highlighted the challenges involved in building bridges between countries, cultures, and business ecosystems that were very different and had not been connected in the past. These challenges ranged from difficulties in executing financial transfers and in travel procedures to disparities in business cultures, priorities, and expectations. As a result, many of the memoranda of understanding (MOUs) signed between Israeli and Arab entities failed to evolve into sustained cooperation, and important intergovernmental initiatives such as a joint Israeli-UAE R&D fund did not progress. Millions of Israeli tourists traveled to other Abraham Accords countries, but a far smaller number of citizens from the Arab Accords member countries visited Israel.

Although Sudan signed The Abraham Accords in January 2021, progress toward full normalization with Israel was interrupted. Following the October 2021 military coup, the Biden Administration froze economic aid to Sudan and turned a cold shoulder to its ruling Transitional Sovereignty Council. Organizations like The Abraham Accords Peace Institute continued to pursue multilateral cooperation among Accords member countries in an effort to address Sudan's food and water crises. However, in April 2023, the Sudan civil war broke out, devastating the country and preventing further cooperative initiatives. Looking ahead, U.S. leadership can play an important role in helping to stabilize Sudan and return it to the path of peace and development to include formal ties with Israel.

In September 2023, at the G20 summit in New Delhi, the U.S., India, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, the European Union (EU), France, Germany, and Italy signed an MOU on the principles of an India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor. IMEC represented a trailblazing vision for an overland corridor of trade, energy, and digital connectivity linking India to Europe via the Middle East. While Jordan and Israel were not signatories at the time, it was clear to all that they were both key nodes along the planned corridor and that realizing IMEC would require unprecedented cooperation and integration among the countries of the region. On September 20, 2023, Fox News aired an interview with Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in which he noted that "every day, we get closer" to normalizing relations with Israel. The region was ripe for historic change.

However, on October 7, 2023, Hamas launched its massive terrorist attack from Gaza, carrying out the worst massacre of Jews since the Holocaust and kidnapping 251 hostages. Hamas documents indicate that the Iraniansponsored terrorist group was deeply worried by the prospect of a Saudi-Israel deal and regional normalization and that this was a key reason for its decision to execute the long-planned attack. Then, on October 8, Hezbollah began to launch missiles at Israel along the Lebanese border. A multifront war ensued.

The ongoing war, and particularly Israel's operations in Gaza, has had an impact on The Abraham Accords, but diplomatic ties have remained stable. Bahrain and the UAE, for example, clearly condemned Hamas's attack while also criticizing Israel's response, embassies for the most part remained open, and high-level diplomatic meetings continued, including visits by Israel's President and Foreign Minister to the UAE and by Israel's Transportation Minister to Morocco. Trade ties were maintained with the UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, Egypt, and Jordan all recording a growth in their trade with Israel in 2024 compared to year over year in 2023. In the first half of 2025, Israel's trade with Morocco, Jordan, and Egypt continued to grow, and trade with the UAE and Bahrain returned to approximately 2023 levels. Israel's strategic and security cooperation with its Abraham Accords partners also continued.

At the same time, the expressions of warm people-to-people peace that had characterized The Abraham Accords up to that point significantly decreased. Public opinion toward Israel in the Accords countries, as in other parts of the Arab and Muslim world, took a downturn as mainstream media outlets across the Arab world portrayed Israel's action in Gaza in a highly negative light. This contributed to some anti-normalization protests. In November 2024, Rabbi Zvi Kogan was murdered in Abu Dhabi. Though UAE authorities acted swiftly and decisively to find Kogan's killers, the Chabad emissary's brutal death nevertheless raised questions about the safety of those wearing visible Jewish symbols. Business ties continued, but often under the surface or with the Israeli elements hidden from view. The decline in people-to-people ties was significant although certainly not all-encompassing. Several interfaith meetings took place with the participation of rabbis and Jewish leaders from Israel; multiple Moroccan youth delegations, in a number of cases organized by the NGO Sharaka, came to visit Israel; and the Israel-Premier Tech cycling team participated in the UAE Tour in February 2025. The UAE, Bahrain, and Morocco also leveraged the relationships and trust that they had built with their Israeli counterparts to play a key role in the delivery of humanitarian aid to Gaza.

While The Abraham Accords have remained resilient, restoring their positive momentum will require the determined U.S. leadership provided by President Trump as well as commitment from all Accords partners. Two critical missions must now be carried out. The first is to strengthen and deepen existing ties, including on the people-to-people level. The second is to expand regional cooperation, integration, and normalization.

Despite geopolitical tensions, ambitious multilateral initiatives that bring together the U.S., Israel, Arab and Muslim countries, and additional partners can be a key avenue for the advancement of Abraham Accords ties. At the governmental level, such projects could include advancing IMEC; establishing the Middle East Security Alliance envisioned during President Trump's first term; promoting Abraham Accords free-trade areas, special economic treaties, or Qualified Industrial Zones (along the Egypt–Israel model); developing the I2U2 framework; and establishing three-way partnerships in such fields as artificial intelligence research and development, innovation ecosystems, or water security.

On the people-to-people level, such efforts could include programs that bring together American, Israeli, and Arab entrepreneurs, students, researchers, or religious leaders. These programs could take place initially in the U.S. or other neutral locations to minimize sensitivities.

U.S. support in helping The Abraham Accords partners to overcome existing challenges and complete agreements would also be beneficial. This could include involvement in bringing key intergovernmental agreements to conclusion, ensuring smoother ties between financial systems and banks, upgrading border crossing infrastructure, and advancing projects such as Prosperity Green & Blue and the envisioned UAE-Israel Joint R&D Fund.

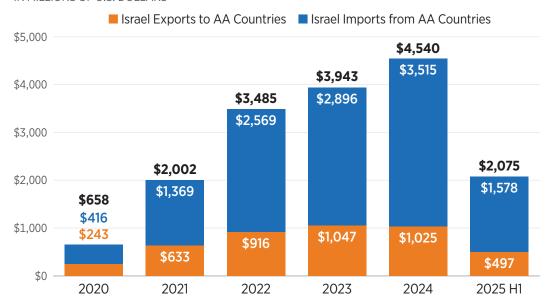
Beyond multilateral initiatives, expanding bilateral normalization between Israel and additional Arab and Muslim countries will require substantial U.S. effort and investment. Each candidate country's critical national goals and needs should be mapped out, and areas of shared interest or potential cooperation with the U.S. and Israel should be identified. Several countries had made progress toward normalization before October 2023, and each of them should be revisited. The underlying logic and mutual benefits of normalization still hold, and U.S. leadership remains a key element in deepening and expanding the historic Abraham Accords.

Since his first term, President Trump has demonstrated his dedication to advancing peace and his ability to do so successfully. Beyond The Abraham Accords, he has helped to end conflicts and facilitate talks in numerous other regions, including between India and Pakistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda, Cambodia and Thailand, and Armenia and Azerbaijan. Under President Trump's leadership, it will be possible to restore the momentum of Middle East peace as well. The Heritage Foundation is committed to supporting these efforts and to strengthening The Abraham Accords in order to advance U.S. interests in the region and around the world.

#### Overall Trade Between Israel and Abraham Accords and Partner Countries

Trade between Israel and its Abraham Accords and regional peace partners (UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, Sudan, Kosovo, Egypt and Jordan). Total trade from 2020-2025 H1 was \$16.7 billion, comprised of \$12.3 billion (74%) in Israeli imports and \$4.4 billion (26%) in Israeli exports.

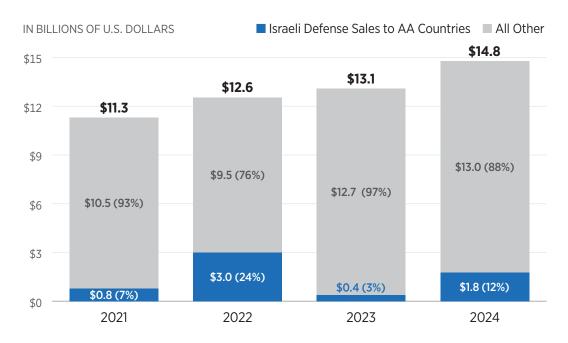




**NOTE:** Trade data reflect goods only and do not include services (e.g., software and cyber), defense exports, natural gas, or water.

**SOURCE:** Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, "Foreign Trade Statistics Monthly," https://www.cbs.gov.il/en/cbsNewBrand/Pages/Foreign-Trade-Statistics-Monthly.aspx (accessed August 22, 2025).

#### Israel's Defense Sales to Abraham Accords **Countries**



SOURCE: Government of Israel, Ministry of Defense, "Israel Sets New Record in Defense Exports: Over \$14.7 Billion in 2024," April 6, 2025, https://mod.gov.il/en/press-releases/press-room/israel-sets-new-record-in-defenseexports-over-147-billion-in-2024 (accessed August 22, 2025).

## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Ties between the UAE and Israel have flourished since the August 13, 2020, announcement of normalization during a three-way phone call that included President Donald Trump, then-Abu Dhabi Crown Prince Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Over a million Israelis visited the UAE following the signing of The Abraham Accords, and cooperation agreements were announced in countless fields, from water recycling, smart agriculture, and precision medicine to fintech, cybersecurity, and AI to space, sports, and the arts. Public celebrations of Jewish holidays took place in the streets of Dubai, several kosher restaurants opened their doors, and the Abrahamic Family House in Abu Dhabi, consisting of a mosque, synagogue, and church standing side by side, provided a shining example of interfaith coexistence.

UAE–Israel trade grew rapidly, reaching approximately \$11.5 billion from 2020 through the first half of 2025 according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). (This number is likely even higher because the CBS statistics do not include services such as cyber and software, mutual investments, or defense and therefore undercount the real value of UAE–Israel economic cooperation.) Trade increased significantly year over year until 2025. In May 2022, Israel and the UAE signed a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, and officials predicted that bilateral trade would grow to \$10 billion a year, which has contributed to continual increases in annual year-over-year trade.

Despite the mutual excitement and numerous agreements, the development of UAE–Israel relations also reflected the challenges involved in building bridges between two societies with very different cultures and no historical connection. Many of the Memoranda of Understanding signed by the two sides failed to evolve into sustained cooperation, often because of differences in business culture, expectations, and goals. Relatively few Emiratis visited Israel, and several of the envisioned government-to-government projects, such as a joint R&D fund, never fully materialized.

However, the UAE-Israel relationship remained resilient following Hamas's October 7, 2023, attack on Israel. UAE President Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan met with Israeli President Isaac Herzog in Dubai in December 2023, and Emirati Presidential Advisor Anwar Gargash declared that the UAE would maintain its relations with Israel despite the war, explaining that "[t]he UAE has taken a strategic decision and strategic decisions are long-term." For the most part, ambassadors remained in place, Emirati airlines continued direct flights, and trade grew in 2024 by 10 percent year over year before declining by 14 percent in the first half (H1) of 2025.

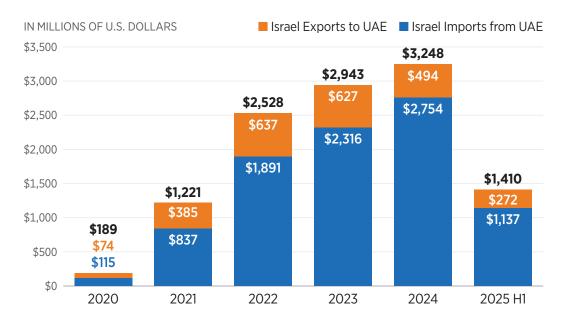
Nevertheless, expressions of the people-to-people peace that had characterized UAE-Israel ties before the war decreased significantly, and economic cooperation continued largely away from the public eye. In November 2024, Israeli Rabbi Zvi Kogan, a Chabad emissary to the UAE, was abducted and murdered. The UAE authorities arrested and sentenced to death three Uzbek nationals in connection with the murder, and Israeli officials suggested that Iran had been involved in the attack.

Throughout the war, the UAE has played a key role in providing humanitarian aid to Gaza. The close coordination was made possible by the bonds of trust and communication that had been built before October 7.

Looking to the future, the foundations of the UAE-Israel relationship remain strong, built on complementary economies, a diverse set of intergovernmental agreements, and a wide array of personal relationships that were developed and fostered before October 7. Nevertheless, a sustained calm in Gaza and substantial investment of political capital from all sides will be necessary to resurrect the public and people-to-people elements of UAE-Israel peace.

Given the strategic importance of both countries to the United States, expanding and enhancing UAE-Israel cooperation should remain a key goal of U.S. policy. Both countries are important U.S. allies and central to advancing American security, diplomatic, and economic interests in the Middle East.

#### **UAE-Israel Trade**



NOTE: Trade data reflect goods only and do not include services (e.g., software and cyber), defense exports, natural gas, or water.

**SOURCE:** Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, "Foreign Trade Statistics Monthly," https://www.cbs.gov.il/en/cbsNewBrand/Pages/Foreign-Trade-Statistics-Monthly.aspx (accessed August 22, 2025).

#### **UAE-Israel Official Agreements (2020-2025)**

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
Abraham Accords Peace Agreement: Treaty of Peace, Diplomatic Relations and Full Normalization Between the United Arab Emirates and the State of Israel	Binding Agreement	Entered into force January 5, 2021
MOU on Cooperation in Advanced Science and Technology	Binding Agreement	Effective upon entry into force of the Peace Treaty
Agreement between the Government of the United Arab Emirates and the Government of the State of Israel on Mutual Exemption of Visa Requirements	Binding Agreement	Entered into force February 13, 2021
Agreement on Mutual Recognition of COVID-19 Vaccination Certificates	Binding Agreement	Entered into force November 1, 2021
Agreement between the Government of the United Arab Emirates and the Government of the State of Israel for the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments	Binding Agreement	Entered into force December 27, 2021
Convention Between the Government of the United Arab Emirates and the Government of the State of Israel for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Tax Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income	Binding Agreement	Entered into force January 1, 2022
MOU on Educational Cooperation	Binding Agreement	Entered into force November 16, 2022
MOU Between the Israel Space Agency and the UAE Space Agency on Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes	Binding Agreement	Entered into force November 17, 2022

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
MOU on Mutual Recognition and Exchange of Driving Licenses	Binding Agreement	Entered into force March 27, 2023
Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) Between the Government of the United Arab Emirates and the Government of the State of Israel	Binding Agreement	Entered into force April 1, 2023
Energy Cooperation Agreement	Binding Agreement	Entered into force February 17, 2025
MOU on Cooperation in Health and Medicine	Binding Agreement	Entered into force February 26, 2025
Agreement Between the Government of the United Arab Emirates and the Government of the State of Israel on Mutual Assistance in Customs Matters	Binding Agreement	Entered into force May 11, 2025
Joint Declaration on Financial Cooperation	Declaration	Signed October 20, 2020
MOU on Cooperation Between the Ministries of Finance	Implementing Arrangement	Signed October 20, 2020
MOU on Investment Cooperation Between the Ministries of Economy	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 27, 2020
MOU on Agriculture and Food Security	Implementing Arrangement	Signed July 13, 2021
MOU on Agriculture and the Environment	Implementing Arrangement	Signed March 17, 2022
MOU on Industrial Cooperation	Implementing Arrangement	Signed May 31, 2022
Letter of Intent Between the National Libraries	Declaration	Signed April 24, 2021 (expired April 24, 2024)
Exchange of Notes on the Opening of Diplomatic Missions	Treaty	Completed

#### KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN

The ties between the State of Israel and the Kingdom of Bahrain are of great significance for several reasons.

Bahrain, with a Shia Muslim majority, has long emphasized religious coexistence as embodied in the King Hamad Global Centre for Coexistence and Tolerance. Manama is home to a Jewish community whose members are citizens of Bahrain and even serve in the Bahraini parliament (Shura Council). Bahrain and Israel have highly complementary economies with great potential for cooperation in numerous fields from energy and water security to fintech and raw materials.

Bahrain–Israel relations are important from a regional security perspective as well. Bahrain is a key U.S. ally, serving as home to the U.S. Naval Forces Central Command, the U.S. Fifth Fleet, and the U.S.-led Combined Maritime Forces. Bahrain, like Israel, sees Iran as a strategic threat.

Bahrain–Israel relations developed gradually but steadily following the signing of The Abraham Accords and the Bahrain–Israel Declaration of Peace, Cooperation, and Constructive Diplomatic Relations on the White House lawn on September 15, 2020. The two countries quickly signed a series of agreements and MOUs in such fields as (among others) financial cooperation, agriculture, small business, tourism, and water. Bahrain's national carrier, Gulf Air, launched direct commercial flights to Israel in September 2021. Numerous high-level visits included visits by Israel's President, Prime Minister, and Foreign Minister to Bahrain and Bahrain's Foreign Minister and Commerce Minister to Israel.

Bahrain–Israel economic ties took longer to develop. The countries began negotiations on a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, although trade remained relatively low until 2024 when it rose sharply before returning to 2023 levels in the first half of 2025. At the same time, Israeli and Bahraini entrepreneurs and investors gradually became familiar with each other's business cultures, regulatory environments, expectations, and goals. Bahraini delegations focused on the financial sector and tourism visited Israel, and Israel's Startup Nation Central helped to organize a Connect2Innovate conference in Manama, bringing together hundreds of entrepreneurs and business leaders from both countries and the broader region.

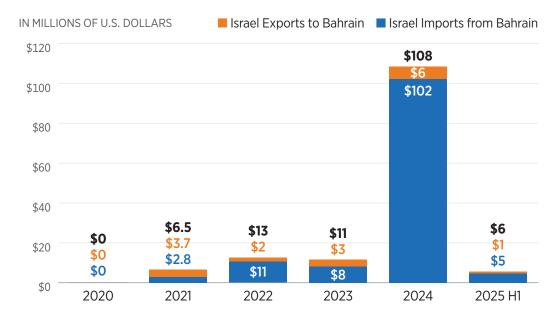
Bahrain also held religious services at Manama's House of the Ten Commandments Synagogue and events to mark International Holocaust Remembrance Day.

Following Hamas's October 7, 2023, attack on Israel, Bahrain's leadership was notably outspoken in its condemnation of Hamas's brutal attack. Speaking at the Manama Dialogue, Crown Prince Salman bin Hamad Al Khalifa described Hamas's attack as "barbaric, horrific, indiscriminate," noting that Hamas "killed women, children, elderly" and decrying the taking of hostages. At the same time, he also strongly condemned Israel's military response. Over the course of the war, Bahrain has played an important role in providing humanitarian aid to Gaza, capitalizing on existing relations of trust with Israeli authorities.

Since the onset of the war, Bahrain–Israel diplomatic, trade, and military ties have remained largely stable, although public expressions of warm peace and people-to-people interactions have sharply decreased, in significant part because of negative public opinion in Bahrain. Trade rose by 843 percent in 2024 but then declined in 2025.

Looking ahead, the potential for expanding Bahrain–Israel cooperation remains immense. Areas with particularly high potential include financial services and fintech, energy and energy efficiency, water security and desalination, agritech, cybersecurity, and critical infrastructure protection. Bahrain's history of religious tolerance provides a solid basis for cultivating Jewish–Muslim ties, but determined efforts will be required to create the political and societal space for rebuilding people-to-people ties. The importance of both Bahrain and Israel to U.S. security interests in the Middle East provides further fertile ground for trilateral and multilateral defense and security cooperation.

#### **Bahrain-Israel Trade**



**NOTE:** Trade data reflect goods only and do not include services (e.g., software and cyber), defense exports, natural gas, or water.

**SOURCE:** Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, "Foreign Trade Statistics Monthly," https://www.cbs.gov.il/en/cbsNewBrand/Pages/Foreign-Trade-Statistics-Monthly.aspx (accessed August 22, 2025).

#### Bahrain-Israel Official Agreements (2020-2025)

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
Abraham Accords: Declaration of Peace, Cooperation, and Constructive Diplomatic and Friendly Relations Between the State of Israel and the Kingdom of Bahrain	Binding Agreement	Entered into force December 10, 2020
Exchange of Notes on Opening Diplomatic Missions	Binding Agreement	Completed
Agreement on Exemption of Visa Requirements for Diplomatic/Special Passports	Binding Agreement	Entered into force January 7, 2021
MOU on Economic and Trade Cooperation	Binding Agreement	Entered into force August 12, 2021
MOU on Cooperation in the Field of Sport	Binding Agreement	Entered into force October 3, 2022
MOU on Bilateral R&D and Technological Innovation	Binding Agreement	Entered into force July 7, 2023
MOU on Consultations Between Foreign Ministries	Implementing Arrangement	Signed October 18, 2020
MOU on Financial Cooperation Between Finance Ministries	Implementing Arrangement	Signed October 18, 2020
MOU on Technical Cooperation in the Field of Standards	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 1, 2020
MOU on Small Business Cooperation	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 1, 2020

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
MOU on Tourism	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 1, 2020
MOU on Water Cooperation	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 2, 2020
MOU on Agriculture and Food Security	Implementing Arrangement	Signed October 17, 2022
MOU on Anti-Money Laundering Cooperation	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 18, 2022
Joint Declaration on Agriculture	Declaration	Signed October 18, 2020
Declaration of Intent on Innovation and Technology Exchange	Declaration	Signed December 1, 2020
Joint Declaration Between Foreign Ministries	Declaration	Signed September 13, 2021
Joint Declaration on Health Cooperation	Declaration	Signed March 8, 2022

## KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

On December 10, 2020, following a phone call with Morocco's King Mohammed VI, President Donald Trump announced that Morocco and Israel would establish full diplomatic relations.

On the same day, President Trump issued a proclamation recognizing Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara and endorsing Morocco's autonomy plan. Twelve days later, an Israeli delegation led by National Security Advisor Meir Ben Shabbat and an American delegation led by Senior Advisor to the President Jared Kushner arrived in Rabat for the signing of a U.S.–Morocco–Israel tripartite agreement. This normalization agreement built on the centuries-old ties between the Muslim and Jewish communities in Morocco and was particularly well-received by the hundreds of thousands of Israelis with Moroccan roots.

Normalization led to a flourishing of ties in diverse areas. Economic and business agreements were signed in fields critical to both countries' economies and societies, such as desalination, water management, smart agriculture, green hydrogen, and AI. Numerous ministers and senior military officers from each country exchanged visits, and Israel transitioned from observer status to active participation in AFRICOM's U.S.-led African Lio' military exercises, which were hosted in Morocco. In July 2023, Israel recognized Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara in a move appreciated by Rabat.

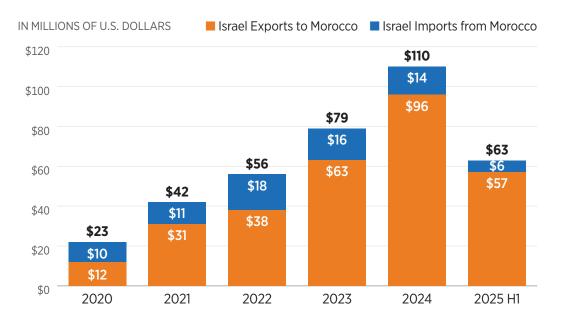
Of The Abraham Accords members, Morocco saw the most extensive civil society cooperation with Israel following normalization. Numerous youth delegations traveled in both directions, music festivals showcased Moroccan and Israeli artists, and rabbis and imams gathered in Morocco to advance interfaith dialogue. Moroccan students began to study at Israeli universities. In May 2023, nearly 100 female business leaders from Israel, Morocco, and other countries across Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and North America gathered in Marrakech for the Women Connect to Innovate summit co-organized by Israel's Startup Nation Central and Morocco's Consensus Public Relations.

Since Hamas's October 7, 2023, attack on Israel, anti-normalization protests have taken place in several cities across Morocco. Nevertheless, the government has been steadfast in maintaining its relations with Israel, keeping the head of its Liaison Office in Tel Aviv in place, allowing Israel's Transportation Minister to attend a February 2025 conference in Marrakech, and advancing several large-scale military deals. Bilateral trade between the countries continued to grow year over year in 2024 compared to 2023 and the first half of 2025 compared to the first half of 2024. In addition, throughout the war, Moroccan youth delegations have continued to visit Israel and express their support for the fight against Hamas despite facing attacks by anti-normalization forces back home.

Nevertheless, as with other countries, many of the expressions of warm and public peace froze following October 7. Although business ties continued below the surface, few public business meetings or events took place. Like the UAE and Bahrain, Morocco leveraged its strong relationships with Israel to play an important role in delivering humanitarian aid to Gaza.

It is likely that, following a period of calm in Gaza, Morocco–Israel ties can be rebuilt given the deep historic and cultural bonds between the countries, the great mutual benefit to be derived from bilateral cooperation, and the common security threats that both countries face. Reestablishing direct flights, increasing the number of delegations traveling between the two countries, and completing bilateral agreements between the governments to facilitate business, economic, and tech collaboration will be critical, as will the role of the United States in promoting Israel–Morocco ties and supporting Moroccan sovereignty in Western Sahara.

#### **Morocco-Israel Trade**



NOTE: Trade data reflect goods only and do not include services (e.g., software and cyber), defense exports, natural gas, or water.

SOURCE: Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, "Foreign Trade Statistics Monthly," https://www.cbs.gov.il/en/cbsNewBrand/Pages/Foreign-Trade-Statistics-Monthly.aspx (accessed August 22, 2025).

#### Morocco-Israel Official Agreements (2020-2025)

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
Joint Declaration Between the United States of America, the Kingdom of Morocco and the State of Israel	Binding Agreement	Entered into force December 22, 2020
Exchange of Notes Which Constitute an Agreement on Re-Opening Liaison Offices	Binding Agreement	Entered into force January 2021
Agreement on Mutual Exemption of Visa Requirements for Holders of Official Passports	Binding Agreement	Entered into force March 28, 2022
MOU on Water Cooperation	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 22, 2020
MOU on Financial and Investment Cooperation	Implementing Arrangement	Signed December 22, 2020
MOU on Consultations Between Foreign Ministries	Implementing Arrangement	Signed August 11, 2021
MOU Between Transportation Ministries and Road-Safety Authorities	Implementing Arrangement	Signed May 29, 2023
MOU Between the National Libraries	Implementing Arrangement	Signed July 26, 2023
Joint Declaration Between Ministries of Justice	Declaration	Signed July 26, 2022
Joint Declaration in the Field of Health	Declaration	Signed June 16, 2023
Joint Declaration in the Field of Agriculture	Declaration	Signed September 29, 2023

## REPUBLIC OF SUDAN

The announcement by President Trump that Sudan would join The Abraham Accords marked a dramatic shift for a nation that had hosted the 1967 Arab League summit that infamously resulted in the "Three No's": no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, and no negotiations with Israel.

In the years leading up to this shift, Sudan had even served as a smuggling conduit for Iranian weapons bound for Hamas in Gaza.

On October 23, 2020, following a phone call among President Trump, Prime Minister Netanyahu, Sudan's Sovereignty Council Head General Abdel Fattah al Burhan, and Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok, President Trump announced that "[t]he State of Israel and the Republic of Sudan have agreed to make peace." This breakthrough built on earlier diplomacy, notably Netanyahu's February 3, 2020, meeting with Burhan in Uganda, and subsequent U.S. discussions—led by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo—regarding Sudan's removal from the U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism.

The October call was a moment of great hope. Burhan declared that the emerging agreement would "strengthen our relations and serve the interests of local and regional security, peace and stability." Hamdok described it as "a new chapter in the history of Sudan." On January 6, 2021, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Steven Mnuchin and Sudanese Justice Minister Nasredeen Abdelbari signed The Abraham Accords Declaration in Khartoum. In the same month, Israel's Intelligence Minister Eli Cohen led a delegation to Khartoum to advance diplomatic, security, and economic cooperation.

Due to the transitional nature of the Sudanese government, a full normalization treaty was never signed. Nevertheless, Israeli entrepreneurs and institutions began to explore ways to assist Sudan in such areas as water management, precision agriculture, health care, and security. Institutions like The Abraham Accords Peace Institute advanced initiatives to harness multilateral cooperation among Accords member countries to improve lives and livelihoods in Sudan.

However, Sudan's internal political instability disrupted progress. After the October 25, 2021, military coup that dissolved the Sovereign Council, the Biden Administration suspended approximately \$700 million in aid and pressured Israel not to upgrade ties with Sudan in the absence of a civilian-led transition. On April 15, 2023, a brutal civil war erupted between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF)—led by Burhan—and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) under Mohamed "Hemedti" Dagalo. The U.S. responded by sanctioning leaders on both sides, including Burhan and Hemedti.

The war has devastated Sudan: Millions have been displaced, mass atrocities have been committed that some allege rise to the level of genocide, and an estimated 25 million Sudanese are facing acute food insecurity. Meanwhile, in the wake of Western disengagement, Iran has reestablished ties with Burhan's SAF and reportedly has supplied drones and other military support. U.S. leadership remains pivotal both to restoring stability in Sudan—strategically located on the Red Sea and in the Sahel—and to preventing further drift toward Iran.

Once peace returns, the prospects for Sudan–Israel cooperation—and for multilateral Abraham Accords—backed initiatives—are immense. Sudan has expansive arable land but low agricultural output; Israel excels in desert agriculture and irrigation. Sudan enjoys abundant solar potential but suffers from chronic electricity shortages; Israel can offer advanced solar technologies and grid integration expertise. Sudan could emerge as a supplier of raw materials, agricultural goods, and livestock to Israel; Israeli and Accords partners could help to modernize logistics, transportation, and health care. Scholarships and joint innovation hubs could help to cultivate a new generation of Sudanese leaders.

Supporting Sudan's return to peace, stability, and economic growth—and securing its place within The Abraham Accords—must be a strategic priority. The Khartoum of the future should stand not for the "Three No's" of 1967, but for a new vision of "Three Yes's": yes to peace, yes to normalization, and yes to prosperity.

## **Sudan-Israel Official Agreements (2020-2025)**

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
Abraham Accords Declaration (signed by Sudanese Justice Minister Nasredeen Abdelbari and U.S. Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin)	Declaration	Signed January 6, 2021

#### REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO

On September 4, 2020, in the framework of U.S.-brokered Kosovo-Serbia economic normalization talks, Kosovo and Israel agreed to mutual recognition.

Kosovo went one step further and committed to opening its embassy in Jerusalem, becoming the first European country and the first Muslim-majority country to do so. In establishing its embassy in Israel's capital, Kosovo followed the example of the United States, which moved its embassy to Jerusalem in 2018.

Since mutual recognition and the establishment of formal diplomatic relations in February 2021, Israel-Kosovo ties have grown at a steady pace. Numerous ministerial visits have taken place, including visits by Kosovo's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs to Jerusalem and by Israel's Tourism, Interior, and Regional Cooperation ministers to Pristina. The countries have signed a visa waiver agreement and other agreements in the fields of science, education, tourism, culture, and even film production.

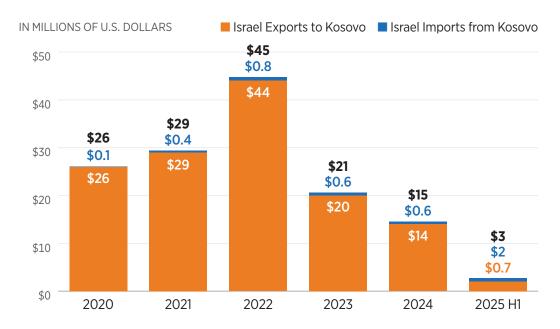
Cooperation has developed in many other fields as well, including law enforcement, renewable energy, youth, and students. The Kosovo-Israel Chamber of Commerce, established as a nonprofit in Kosovo by Kosovar, Israeli, and American companies, has been notably active in building bridges between business and innovation communities.

Importantly, Holocaust education and the shared fight against antisemitism have played an important role in Kosovo-Israel ties, building on the legacy of Kosovo's historic Jewish community and the Kosovar Righteous Among the Nations who saved Jews during the Holocaust. This cooperation found expression in an agreement and subsequent joint initiatives between Kosovo's Ministry of Education and Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust Remembrance Center, as well as in Kosovo's adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance working definition of antisemitism.

Following Hamas's October 7 massacre, Kosovo's leadership took a clear and uncompromising stance in condemning Hamas and expressing support for Israel. Kosovo's Chargé d'Affaires Ines Demiri was one of the first foreign diplomats to visit the areas in Israel's South that were impacted by the Hamas attack, expressing support for the victims and demanding the release of the hostages. Business and diplomatic ties continued despite the ongoing war, and the bilateral visa waiver agreement came into force.

Looking to the future, Kosovo and Israel are still at the outset of developing what promises to be a relationship of great mutual benefit. This relationship is built on the solid foundations of history, culture, and shared economic interests. There is significant potential to expand cooperation in such fields as precision agriculture, health care, education, and manufacturing. Challenges to be overcome include a lack of direct flights, relatively small domestic markets, and a lack of familiarity between the business ecosystems. Given Kosovo's courageous step in opening its embassy in Jerusalem in line with the policy of the United States, strengthening and expanding Kosovo-Israel ties should be a key priority in the years ahead.

#### **Kosovo-Israel Trade**



SOURCE: Kosovo Agency of Statistics, "Export and Import by Partner Country, 2010-2024," https://askdata.rks-gov.net/pxweb/en/ASKdata/ASKdata\_\_External%20trade\_\_Yearly%20indicators/tab02.px/ (accessed August 22, 2025).

#### **Kosovo-Israel Official Agreements (2020-2025)**

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
Joint Communique: Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the State of Israel and the Republic of Kosovo	Binding Agreement	Entered into force February 1, 2021.
Agreement on Cooperation in the Fields of Culture, Education and Science	Binding Agreement	Signed May 9, 2022
Agreement on Film Co-Production	Binding Agreement	Signed May 9, 2022
Visa-Waiver Agreement	Binding Agreement	Entered into force September 19, 2024
MOU on Political Consultations (MFA Israel–MFA Kosovo)	Implementing Arrangement	Signed February 1, 2021
MOU on Countering Money Laundering	Implementing Arrangement	Signed June 2024
MOU on Development Cooperation (MASHAV-MFA Kosovo)	Declaration	Signed February 8, 2021
MOU Between National Library of Kosovo and National Library of Israel	Declaration	Signed May 5, 2021
Joint Declaration on Cooperation in Tourism	Declaration	Signed September 11 2023

# ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

The Arab Republic of Egypt became Israel's first Middle Eastern peace partner when President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin courageously signed a peace treaty brokered by President Jimmy Carter in March 1979 on the White House lawn.

Since the peace agreement, Egypt–Israel security cooperation has become a central element of both countries' national security. Bilateral trade has grown, including through the U.S.-sponsored Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZ) program, established in 2004, which allows goods manufactured in designated zones in Egypt with a required share of Israeli inputs to enter the U.S. market duty-free. Israeli tourists have visited Egypt in large numbers, primarily to enjoy vacation spots in the Sinai Peninsula.

Nevertheless, a warm peace has not developed, and people-to-people ties remain limited. Anti-normalization sentiment—and at times, antisemitic tropes—continue to appear in segments of Egypt's media, educational system, and public discourse.

Two parallel developments in 2020 generated a more positive dynamic in Egypt–Israel relations. The first was the signing of The Abraham Accords, which granted greater legitimacy to open cooperation with Israel and created high-level frameworks, such as the Negev Forum, within which that cooperation could be expressed.

The second was the evolution of Egypt and Israel's strategic interdependence in the field of natural gas. Following the start of production from Israel's Leviathan gas field in 2019, Israel began large-scale gas exports to Egypt in January 2020. Egypt uses Israeli gas both to meet domestic demand and to feed its Idku and Damietta liquefied natural gas (LNG) plants for re-export to Europe and Asia. This partnership has been strengthened through frameworks like the East Mediterranean Gas Forum (established in 2019 and headquartered in Cairo) and trilateral cooperation with the EU.

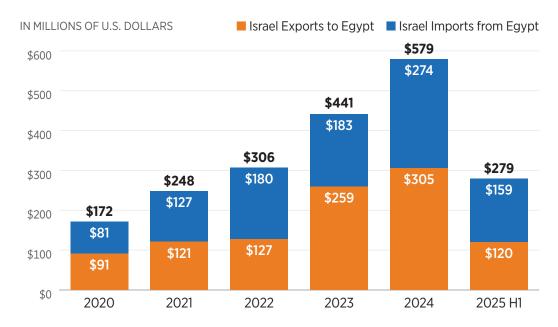
As a result, 2020–2023 saw growth not only in Egypt–Israel trade and energy cooperation, but also in high-level visits and meetings between senior officials, including meetings of Israel's Prime Minister and President with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. In a highly notable gesture, President El-Sisi publicly and warmly greeted Israel's Energy Minister Karine Elharrar at the February 2022 Egypt Petroleum Show. While several business and innovation delegations and meetings took place—particularly around the November 2022 COP27 U.N. climate change conference hosted by Egypt in Sharm el-Sheikh—people-to-people ties remained minimal.

Hamas's October 7, 2023, attack and the subsequent war in Gaza led to heightened tensions between Egypt and Israel and increased coordination on issues such as ceasefire negotiations, hostage releases, humanitarian aid, and the Rafah crossing. Egypt–Israel trade nonetheless continued to grow, increasing by 31 percent year over year in 2024 compared to 2023 and by 13 percent in the first half of 2025 compared to the same period in 2024. Several significant agreements and deals in the natural gas sector were announced during this period, including a major long-term export agreement that was announced in August 2025.

There are numerous areas in which Egypt–Israel ties can deepen and expand, delivering substantial mutual benefits in sectors of high national priority. The pace of this expansion will be strongly influenced by developments in Gaza. However, certain critical steps can be taken even before a long-term ceasefire, including the upgrading of the Egypt–Israel Nitzana/El Ouga border crossing, in line with Israeli Government Decision 1522 of May 2022, and the expedited advancement of energy infrastructure projects.

Given America's strategic relationships with both Jerusalem and Cairo, Washington can play an important role in encouraging Egypt's leadership to create political space for people-to-people engagement in such fields as innovation, agriculture, investment, and interfaith dialogue. In light of growing Emirati investment in Egypt, there is also significant potential for trilateral UAE-Egypt-Israel economic cooperation. Once the situation in Sudan stabilizes, Egypt could become a key facilitator of Sudan-Israel trade. As Israel, Jordan, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) advance the IMEC initiative, it will be important that preservation of Egypt's vital interests is ensured.

#### **Egypt-Israel Trade**



NOTE: Trade data reflect goods only and do not include services (e.g., software and cyber), defense exports, natural

**SOURCE:** Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, "Foreign Trade Statistics Monthly," https://www.cbs.gov.il/en/cbsNewBrand/Pages/Foreign-Trade-Statistics-Monthly.aspx (accessed August 22, 2025).

#### Egypt-Israel Official Agreements (2020-2025)

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
Arrangement Enabling Direct Tel Aviv-Sharm el-Sheikh Flights	Implementing Arrangement	Signed March 16, 2022
MOU on Energy Cooperation (study of construction and operation of gas pipeline)	Declaration	Signed November 25, 2021
EU-Egypt-Israel MOU on Natural Gas	Declaration	Signed June 15, 2022

## HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

Israel and Jordan signed a peace agreement under American auspices in 1994. The agreement enabled close security cooperation between the countries, and Israel's border with Jordan became one of its quietest.

Trade between the countries grew, and Israel, a world leader in water technologies, became a critical supplier of fresh water to the Hashemite Kingdom. Starting in 2020, Israel also became an important source of natural gas for Jordan. Nevertheless, public opinion toward Israel in Jordan remained largely hostile, and people-to-people ties remained minimal.

The signing of The Abraham Accords in 2020 helped to facilitate the growth of Jordan–Israel ties along several dimensions. Under the sponsorship of the UAE and the U.S., Israel and Jordan agreed to launch the Prosperity Green & Blue" project, a groundbreaking regional initiative under which the UAE's Masdar would develop in Jordan a 600-megawatt solar photovoltaic project to export electricity to Israel, and Israel would expand desalination capacity to supply up to 200 million cubic meters of water per year to Jordan. Jordan's King Abdullah II hosted Israel's President, Prime Minister, Defense Minister, and Foreign Minister in Amman for discussions, and the two countries signed an important aviation agreement to facilitate overflights. While trade grew, however, underdeveloped and insufficient cross-border infrastructure, particularly at the Jordan–Israel Jordan River/ Sheikh Hussein crossing, created bottlenecks.

In September 2023, at the G20 Summit in India, the U.S., the EU, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, India, France, Germany, and Italy signed the India–Middle East–Europe Economic Corridor MOU, which envisions a corridor of trade, energy, and communications connecting India to Europe via the GCC, Jordan, and Israel. While Jordan and Israel were not signatories to the 2023 MOU, they are key nodes in the planned overland trade and transport corridor. In order to realize this vision, Jordan will need a modern rail network, and Jerusalem and Amman will need to increase their cross-border coordination.

Despite the importance of Jordan–Israel ties for both countries, there has been little progress over the past three decades in building people-to-people cooperation. Anti-normalization and anti-Israel sentiment ran high in Jordan even before Hamas's October 7 attack, fueled both by the Kingdom's large Palestinian population and by elements in Jordan affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.

Hamas's October 7 attack and the subsequent war led to a decline in Jordan–Israel ties. Jordan recalled its ambassador from Israel and informed the Israeli ambassador, who had left for security reasons, that he was not welcome to return. Jordan also declared that it was suspending activity on the Prosperity Green & Blue project.

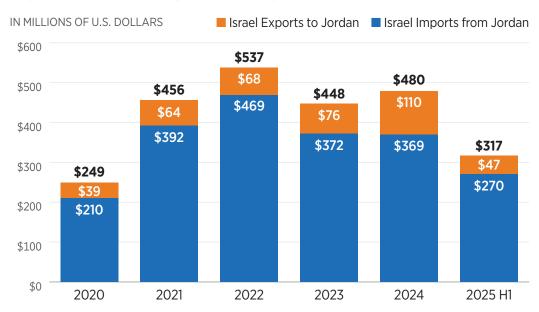
At the same time, Israel–Jordan coordination on the delivery of humanitarian aid to Gaza increased. Security cooperation also grew around fears of attempts by Iran and Muslim Brotherhood elements to destabilize the monarchy and launch attacks against Israel from Jordan. During Iran's April 2024 attack on Israel, Jordan intercepted aerial objects in its airspace, declaring that it would not allow its airspace to be violated by the warring parties.

Israel–Jordan trade continued to climb during this period, rising 7 percent year over year in 2024 compared to 2023 and by 47 percent in the first half of 2025 compared to the same period in 2024. Jordan remains highly dependent on Israeli water exports.

Progress in advancing large-scale regional projects such as IMEC and the Middle East Strategic Alliance that have the potential to reshape the Middle East will require the restoration and enhancement of ties between Jordan and Israel. Prosperity Green & Blue, if successful, can provide a paradigm for the shared benefits of regional

cooperation. Both Jordan and Israel are essential to U.S. interests and security in the Middle East. Following the attainment of calm in Gaza, the U.S. should work with both Jordan and Israel to encourage a gradual but sustained warming and expansion of ties in the spirit of The Abraham Accords.

#### **Jordan-Israel Trade**



**NOTE:** Trade data reflect goods only and do not include services (e.g., software and cyber), defense exports, natural gas, or water.

**SOURCE:** Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, "Foreign Trade Statistics Monthly," https://www.cbs.gov.il/en/cbsNewBrand/Pages/Foreign-Trade-Statistics-Monthly.aspx (accessed August 22, 2025).

#### Jordan-Israel Official Agreements (2020-2025)

TITLE	TYPE	STATUS
Israel-Jordan Airspace/Overflight Agreement	Binding Agreement	Entered into force October 8, 2020
Technical Water Agreement for Jordan to Purchase Additional 50 mcm of Water	Implementing Arrangement	Entered into force October 12, 2021
World Cup Overflight Implementing Arrangement (allowing Overflights to/from Qatar; Israel announced deal with Jordanian and European aviation authorities allowing overflights to/from Qatar During 2022 FIFA World Cup)	Implementing Arrangement	Signed June 15, 2022
Renewal/Extension of 2021 Additional-Water Arrangement	Implementing Arrangement	Signed May 16, 2024 (renewed for six months)
Agreement on Water and Exports (Israel to sell Jordan an additional 50 million m³ of water beyond treaty quotas and raise ceiling for Jordanian exports to West Bank to about \$700 million)	Declaration	Signed Jul. 8, 2021 (implemented through October 12, 2021, technical agreement)
Declaration of Intent on Prosperity: Green & Blue Water-Energy Cooperation Project	Declaration	Signed November 22, 2021
MOU to Advance Project Prosperity Following Feasibility Work	Declaration	Signed November 8, 2022
Joint Declaration on Jordan River Rehabilitation (COP27)	Declaration	Signed November 17, 2022

#### **▼ STATE OF ISRAEL**

In Israel's Declaration of Independence, proclaimed on May 14, 1948, the newborn Jewish state declared its willingness to "extend our hand to all neighboring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighborliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help."

But over the coming decades, Israel faced repeated wars and terrorism from its Arab neighbors as it fought for survival in a hostile region.

The first breakthrough toward peace was achieved on March 26, 1979, when Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat signed a peace treaty in a ceremony presided over by U.S. President Jimmy Carter. On October 26, 1994, a second peace treaty was signed, this time between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Jordan's King Hussein, under the auspices of U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Nevertheless, despite the importance of these two treaties, the peace between Israel on one side and Jordan and Egypt on the other remained a cold peace. Peace was established between governments and security forces, and some trade developed, but people-to-people ties remained minimal. For the next 26 years, despite repeated efforts by American Administrations, Middle East peace remained elusive.

In the interim, despite having signed the Oslo Accords with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993, Israel faced waves of Palestinian terrorist attacks that reached their height during the Second Intifada. Israeli overtures for a comprehensive peace deal with the newly created Palestinian Authority (PA) were rebuffed. Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007 led to multiple rounds of fighting between Israel and Gaza-based terrorist groups. Nevertheless, many argued that normalization between Israel and additional Arab states could not and should not be advanced until the PA agreed to a final settlement with Israel. According to this convention, Ramallah should and would maintain a veto over progress toward regional peace.

President Donald J. Trump viewed the region differently. In August 2020, President Trump, together with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and then-Abu Dhabi Crown Prince and current United Arab Emirates President Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, shocked the world by announcing an historic agreement to establish full peace and warm relations between the two countries. In his remarks following the announcement, President Trump made clear that this would be a different type of peace, declaring that the two countries would "begin cooperation across the board and on a broad range of areas, including tourism, education, healthcare, trade, and security." Over the next several months, under the leadership of the Trump Administration, peace and normalization between Israel and Bahrain, Sudan, Morocco, and Kosovo would follow.

From Israel's perspective, The Abraham Accords did not just open new possibilities in countless fields from trade and tourism to innovation and investment; they represented the realization of the dream of genuine peace, mutual acceptance, and a shared effort to counter common enemies and shape a brighter future for the Middle East. Millions of Israeli visitors traveled to the countries of The Abraham Accords in order to experience their cultures and attractions and build new ties of friendship and partnership.

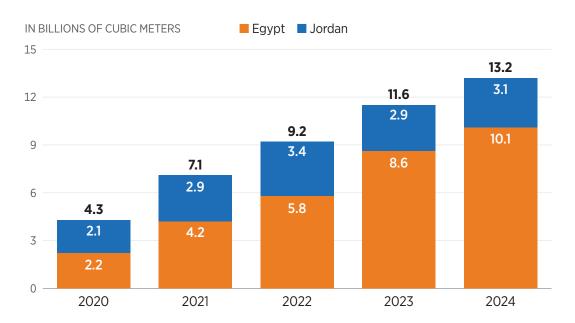
The Accords also represented a transformation toward a mindset in which Israel, in addition to being the Start-Up Nation, would be a key regional hub integrated into the broader Middle East / North Africa (MENA) region. Israel would now have the opportunity to play a central role in solving the region's greatest challenges and advancing its development.

Hamas's October 7, 2023, massacre and attack on Israel and the multifront war that ensued forced the Jewish state to focus on countering the existential threats posed by the Iranian ayatollah regime and Muslim Brotherhoodaffiliated terrorist groups. The lengthy and complex war created geopolitical tensions while also highlighting the

potential for cooperation in such areas as air defense and humanitarian aid. Despite the regional tensions, Israel remained committed to preserving its ties with its Abraham Accords partners.

Following Israel's success in weakening terrorist organizations like Hezbollah and Hamas and, together with the United States, setting back Iran's nuclear and ballistic missile programs, there is now an opportunity to reshape the region in the spirit of The Abraham Accords. From Israel's perspective, The Abraham Accords, built on acceptance, moderation, and win-win cooperation, can provide a model for regional stability and a viable peace with all of its Arab and Muslim neighbors. Despite the ongoing war, it is of critical importance that, to the extent possible, Israel dedicate itself to strengthening existing ties, overcoming barriers to full cooperation, fully integrating into new regional frameworks, and laying the groundwork for future expansion of the circle of peace.

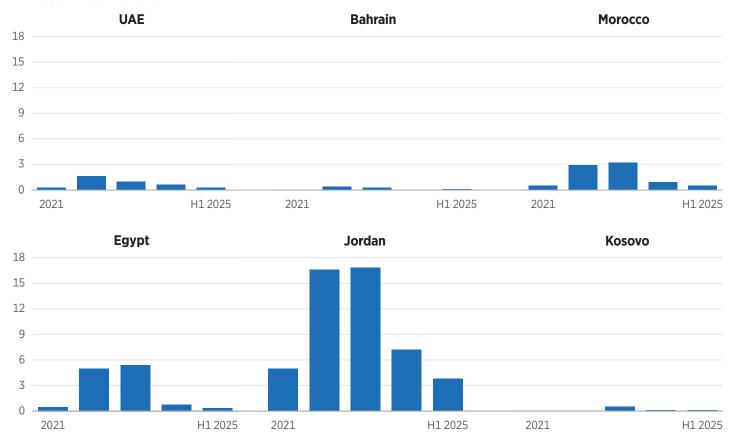
#### Israeli Exports of Natural Gas to Regional Partners



**SOURCE:** Government of Israel, Knesset Research and Information Center, "Connecting Consumers to Natural Gas — Transmission, Distribution, and End Users," June 9, 2025, https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/a6ec28dd-5a41-f011-a85f-005056aa9911\_21\_20962.pdf (accessed August 25, 2025).

## Numbers of Incoming Visitors to Israel from Abraham Accords and Partner Countries

IN THOUSANDS OF VISITORS\*



**NOTE:** Years with fewer than 100 visitors are shown as 0. Sudan recorded fewer than 100 visitors each year and is therefore not displayed. **SOURCE:** Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, "Tourism to Israel," August 8, 2025, https://www.gov.il/he/pages/visitors-and-tourists-2025 (accessed August 25, 2025).



Building
an America
where freedom,
opportunity,
prosperity,
and civil society
flourish.

