THESSISMUN

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SECURITY COUNCIL (SC)

Topic Area

The situation in the Middle East

United Nations Security Council

STUDY GUIDE

Topic Area:

"The Situation in the Middle East"

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1. Welcoming Letter

Distinguished delegates,

It is our utmost pleasure to officially welcome you all to the United Nations Security Council of ThessISMUN 2023! This is an Edition full of celebration since the Conference marks its 20th anniversary, thus it is going to be remarkable!

After last year's dynamic revival, following three years of absence due to the COVID-19 pandemic, ThessISMUN is once again returning to reclaim its glory and offer to all participants a once in a lifetime experience

We, as your board members, will ensure that this is going to be an unforgettable experience for all of you, with passionate and productive debates of high academic quality, in an amicable and collaborative environment. During our sessions, you are called to tackle complicated and multifaceted situations and issues on the topic of the Situation in the Middle East, an ongoing shadow threat of international peace and stability that pervades the regional level.

This Study Guide is advised to be used as a compass that indicates how to organize and conduct your research for the topic and assist you with your overall preparations. You should, however, bear in mind that the information that this Study Guide is going to provide you with, is only an overview of this complex and challenging topic area. Therefore, we strongly encourage you to do your personal research both on the topic and on your personal country's position.

We are certain that you will provide us with structured, well written position papers and a constructive debate during the conference. We do anticipate delegates being respectful, devoted, and eager to make the most out of their experience, but most importantly, we want you to enjoy yourselves and share our passion, knowledge and love for debating. During your whole experience, we will be at your disposal for any possible remarks and inquiries that may arise. If this experience is a game of strategy, negotiation, cooperation and preparation, we are ready to give you the necessary instructions and inspire you for your next steps.

We wish you all good luck and cannot wait to meet you in person, in Thessaloniki!

Kind regards,
Andreas Papaiosif, Chair
Eliza Pervanidi, Co-Chair

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2. Mandate of the United Nations Security Council

The Security Council is the UN body entrusted with the primary aim of maintaining international peace and security.

It consists of 15 UN Member States, 5 of which (the United States, Russian Federation, China, the United Kingdom and France) are permanent members of the body. The other non-permanent 10 members are elected by the UN General Assembly for a term of two years. The criteria for election are i) the ability of a UN Member State to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and other UN purposes, ii) the equitable geographic distribution, so that the interests and opinion of each geographic area are represented within the Council (Article 23 of the UN Charter)[1]. Its decisions (commonly referred to as "resolutions") are binding for all UN Member States, regardless of whether they are addressees of the particular resolution[2].

In pursuing its mission to maintain international peace and security, when the Council receives a complaint regarding a threat to peace, its first action is usually to suggest that the parties attempt to reach agreement by peaceful means. The Council may introduce principles for such an agreement, launch investigation and mediation, send a mission, designate special envoys or ask the Secretary-General to use their good offices to reach a peaceful settlement of the dispute[3].

When a conflict results in hostilities, the Council aims primarily to dissolve them as soon as possible. In such a case, the Council may put out ceasefire directives enabling the prevention of an escalation of the conflict, send a peacekeeping force or military

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[1] United Nations. "Chapter V: the Security Council (Articles 23-32)." United Nations, 1945. https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-5. Last retrieved: January 2nd, 2023.
[2] Öberg, Marko Divac. "The Legal Effects of Resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly in the Jurisprudence of the ICJ." The European Journal of International Law 16, no. 5 (2006): 879–906.
[3] United Nations. "What Is the Security Council? | United Nations Security Council." Un.org, 2015. https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/what-security-council. Last retrieved: January 2nd, 2023.

observers to contribute to the mitigation of tensions, keep opposing forces apart and create conditions that facilitate the examination of an amicable resolution. Apart from that, the Council may undertake enforcement measures, such as economic sanctions, financial penalties and restrictions, travel bans and arm embargoes, blockade, severance of diplomatic relations or even collective military activity. A main concern, however, is to direct actions on those responsible for practices or policies denounced by the international community, while restricting the impact of the measures on other parts of the population and economy[4].

3. Introduction to the Topic Area

If someone goes back over the modern history of the Middle East, they can see that a crucial destabilization factor, among others, is the so-called "Iran – Israel Shadow War"[5]. The clash between the State of Israel and the Islamic Republic of Iran started after the 1979 establishment of the Iranian Revolution and the political shift of Tehran towards Israel[6], by declaring it as a "Zionist Regime" and "Palestinian oppressor", under the context of the long rivalry between Israel and the Arab world regarding, at first, the Palestinian Question[7].

For the opposite direction, Israel is accusing Iran for a variety of reasons[8]. At first, Jerusalem believes that Tehran is trying to build a 'road of terrorism' between the two

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[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Schiff, Ze'ev. "Israel's War with Iran." *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 6 (2006): 23–31. https://doi.org/10.2307/20032140.

[6] Tarzi, A. (2009). (rep.). *The Iranian Puzzle Peace - Understanding Iran in the Global Context* (pp. 71–82). Quantico, Virginia: Marine Corps University Press. https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a534959.pdf

[7] Kaye, Dalia Dassa, Alireza Nader, and Parisa Roshan. "Iranian Perceptions of and Policies Toward Israel." In *Israel and Iran: A Dangerous Rivalry*, 55–80. RAND Corporation, 2011. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg1143osd.9

[8] Kaye, Dalia Dassa, Alireza Nader, and Parisa Roshan. "Israeli Perceptions of and Policies Toward Iran." In *Israel and Iran: A Dangerous Rivalry*, 19–54. RAND Corporation, 2011. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg1143osd.8.

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States, by constructing a sphere of influence in Lebanon, Iraq, and Syria[9] via the continuous abetting of terrorism[10]. This situation has been characterized by Israeli officials as a major strategic threat. Last, but not least, the possibility of the existence of a military Iranian Nuclear Program, follows as a crucial destabilization factor according to the Israeli point of view, not only for the Middle East, but for the entire world[11].

The road of the "Israeli – Iranian Cold War", after a long history of events, is coming into a turning point. Taking under consideration the current conflicts, issues, new dynamics and alliances in the Middle East, one can see that the topic under discussion is out of paramount importance for international peace and security. In this Study Guide, we will try to provide you with a rounded view of the topic, by analyzing major aspects of the issue, such as why and how these two States are rivaling each other; which is the impact of the conflict both regionally and internationally, alongside the involvement of regional and international actors and, last but not least, the negative contingencies of the topic. All the aforementioned facts and questions will take place in order to highlight the necessity for a multifaceted and assertive dialogue among the Member States of the United Nations Security Council.

[9] Sharif, O. A. (2017, June 13). *Tehran's land corridor through Syria, a reality*. Jordan Times. Retrieved January 4, 2023, from http://jordantimes.com/opinion/osama-al-sharif/tehran%E2%80%99s-land-corridor-through-syria-reality

[10] U.S. Department of State. (2021, December 16). *Iran - united states department of state*. U.S. Department of State. Retrieved January 4, 2023, from https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2020/iran/

[11] Ben-Meir, Alon. "ISRAEL'S RESPONSE TO A NUCLEAR IRAN." *International Journal on World Peace* 27, no. 1 (2010): 61–78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20752917.

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4. Definition of Key Terms

Since there is widespread confusion on the terminology that has been used in State practice and by various scholars, it is necessary to provide below the definition of several key terms in this present chapter.

proxy war: this is a form of conflict where the two opposing parties (usually States) are using substitutes to actively participate in the ongoing armed conflict, instead of engaging themselves in a direct armed conflict between them. This practically means that the powerful State (or group of States) will provide training, financial and military aid to the proxy group or State, in order for the latter to combat the proxy of the opponent State.

In this vein, former Israeli Prime Minister, Naftali Bennet, expressed in a speech he delivered, the **octopus doctrine**. More specifically, according to him Iran was acting like an octopus, where it would use proxies as its tentacles, while it remained safe as the octopus' head, and is why Israel was ought to change its strategy, "*aim*[ing] *at the head of the octopus and not its tentacles*"[12].

Shadow War: this term refers to the state of the bilateral relations between Israel and Iran, where there is an ongoing covert (armed) conflict. This conflict affects the region of the Middle East, and profoundly Lebanon, Syria and Palestine where the results of this rivalry are more intense and evident. The Shadow War between Israel and Iran has been driven by a number of factors, which will be further examined below, including Iran's nuclear program, its support for various militant groups across the Middle East and Israel's desire to maintain its regional dominance and security.

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[12] Keinon, Herb. "Cyberwarfare and the 'Octopus Doctrine' - Analysis." The Jerusalem Post . The Jerusalem Post, May 20, 2020. https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/cyberwarfare-and-the-octopus-doctrine-analysis-628737. [accessed 8 March 2023]

Periphery Doctrine: this foreign policy strategy has been implemented by Israel from its very early years. This doctrine understands that Israel cannot rely on its Arab neighbors, and therefore must look for alliances on the periphery of the Middle East[13].

First Strike Doctrine: according to this doctrine, also known as "*Begin Doctrine*" (named after former Israeli Prime Minister Benin), Israel considers that it is allowed to strike preemptively against enemy states or groups that pose a potential existential threat to it. One of the biggest existential threats for Israel is considered the acquisition of Mass Destruction Weapons that can be used against it. The first time such a doctrine was implemented was in the bombing of the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq in 1981[14].

principle of non-intervention: this principle was a part of international customary law[15], which was later adopted and indirectly codified by the UN Charter (Article 2(7)). According to this principle a State should not interfere with the domestic affairs of other States. The principle of non-intervention can be applied in many different contexts, including military interventions, economic sanctions, and diplomatic pressure. It is intended to prevent countries from using their power to interfere in the affairs of weaker states, and to promote peaceful coexistence and cooperation between States[16].

terrorism: is the use of violence or the threat of violence by individuals or groups to intimidate, coerce, or further political or ideological goals. Practically, these individuals or groups are using various forms of violence such as bombings, assassinations,

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[13] Hadar, Leon. "The Collapse of Israel's 'Periphery Doctrine.'" Foreign Policy. Foreign Policy, June 26, 2010. https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/06/26/the-collapse-of-israels-periphery-doctrine/. [accessed 11 March 2023]

[14] Katz, Yaakov. "Is the 'Begin Doctrine' Still Relevant for Israel against Iran?" The Jerusalem Post | JPost.com. The Jerusalem Post, 2022. https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/iran-news/article-702840 [accessed 11 March 2023]

[15] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America). Merits, Judgment*. I.C.J. Reports 1986, p. 14, p.98, par. 185.

[16] United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 2625 (XXV), *Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations* (1970) https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/docs/A_RES_2625-Eng.pdf

hijackings, kidnappings, and cyber-attacks. The perpetrators may be influenced by various reasons, including religious, political and ethnic grounds. Terrorists aim to create fear, panic, and a sense of insecurity among the general population in order to force the government to meet their conditions and demands. However, there is no international agreement universally accepted that defines what terrorism is exactly. Therefore, it falls within the very wide margin of appreciation of States to give a specific meaning to this term.

5. Historical Background

It is commonly recognised that the chronic clash between Israel and Iran is characterized by fierce ideological, political, strategic, and existential differences. From one side, there is the Iranian struggle for regional dominance and its campaign in order to eradicate the "Western" influence and the existence of Israel over the Middle East. On the other side, Israel is trying to protect itself not only from the direct Iranian aggressive policies, but also from the dissemination of Tehran's influential backing of terrorism and aggression against Israel.

For one to fully understand the total spectrum of the issue, it is of paramount importance to analyze the historical background between the two States. The bilateral relations of Iran and Israel were not always hostile as they are today. Before the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, the connection of the two States was stable, cooperative, and positive adjacent[17]. In the Shah's point of view, Israel was a collaborator in his vision of a modern and secular Iran, while at the same time, for Tel Aviv, Iran was a top actor for the continuation of Ben Gurion's "*Periphery Doctrine*"[18]. So, after the

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[17] Alpher, J. (2015). In *Periphery: Israel's search for Middle East Allies* (pp. 3–9). essay, Rowman & Littlefield.

[18] Khushnam, P. N. (n.d.). *A pragmatic reset of Israel's "periphery doctrine" can ensure its security and lasting peace in West Asia*. Diplomatist. Retrieved January 7, 2023, from https://diplomatist.com/2020/05/06/a-pragmatic-reset-of-israels-periphery-doctrine-can-ensure-its-security-and-lasting-peace-in-west-asia/

establishment of Khomeini's Revolution, their relations came to an absolute end. For the newly established Islamic Republic of Iran, anti – Zionism was an integral part of its "*Velayat e-faqih*" (Governance of the Jurist) doctrine[19].

This new *status quo* was determined by the discontinuation of any diplomatic relations and the Iranian characterization of Israel as the "*Little Satan*", blaming the Jewish State for delivering 'American' and 'Non Islamic' propaganda in the Middle East, as well as declaring them as occupiers of the Palestinian lands. For Tel Aviv, Iran was and still consists as a major existential threat[20]. Thus, their relations came into a temporary turnaround when the Iraqi invasion of Iran in 1980[21] took place. During the Eight Years War (1980-1988), Israel provided Iran with extensive military support, via a US mediation, to tackle Saddam Hussein's ambitions for regional dominance. In exchange to the US mediation, Tehran gave money that they used against the Contra Rebels in Nicaragua[22].

One of the cornerstone events of the issue, took place in the events of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon[23]. After the destruction of the military forces of the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization)[24] in Southern Lebanon, Iran took its chance by gathering the Shia Muslim population of the country[25] under the creation of Hezbollah

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[19] Aarabi, Kasra. "What Is Velayat-e Faqih?" Institute for Global Change. Institute for Global Change, March 20, 2019. https://institute.global/policy/what-velayat-e-faqih.

[20] Trita Parsi. "Israel and the Origins of Iran's Arab Option: Dissection of a Strategy Misunderstood." *Middle East Journal* 60, no. 3 (2006): 493–512. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4330283.

[21] Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Directors of. "Iran-Iraq War." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., November 29, 2022. https://www.britannica.com/event/Iran-Iraq-War.

[22] Karsh, Efraim. "Geopolitical Determinism: The Origins of the Iran-Iraq War." *Middle East Journal* 44, no. 2 (1990): 256–68. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4328101.

[23] "War in Lebanon." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed January 7, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/place/Israel/War-in-Lebanon.

[24] "Palestine Liberation Organization." State of Palestine Mission to the United Nations. State of Palestine Mission to the United Nations. Accessed January 9, 2023. https://palestineun.org/about-palestine/palestine-liberation-organization/.

[25] Zisser, Eyal. "The Maronites, Lebanon and the State of Israel: Early Contacts." *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 4 (1995): 889–918. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4283765.

(Party of God)[26]. The meaning of Hezbollah, in the early years of existence, was to end the Israeli military presence in Southern Lebanon[27]. After these events and after years of skirmishes between the two, the Israeli withdrawal from the 'Southern Lebanon – Northern Israel' Security Zone in 2000, led into the Second Lebanon War of 2006[28].

In the aftermath of Hezbollah's victory in the Second Lebanon War, Iran was in a positive position, because through Hezbollah, Tehran has gained more and more economic and political influence over Lebanon, making it an atypical 'satellite' State[29]. This strategic victory was the beginning of an Iranian multiscale planning of actions towards the support of terrorist organizations, as it has been accused by external actors and influence of Arab States[30].

Next, another major development in the Iranian – Israeli 'Cold War', was the 2010s strategic advance of Iran in the Levant[31]. Tehran, to achieve its ideal regional hegemony, took the advantage to build up a sphere of influence alongside Iraq[32], Syria[33], and Lebanon. The Syrian Civil War and the battle against ISIS in Iraq and Syria were crucial regional destabilization factors, were Iran capitalized on[34], via the

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[26] Childs, Steven. "From Identity to Militancy: The Shīʿa of Hezbollah." In *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, edited by Muhammad Afzal Upal and Carole M. Cusack, 445–57. Brill, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1v7zbv8.26.

[27] Halliday, Fred. "Iran and the Middle East: Foreign Policy and Domestic Change." *Middle East Report*, no. 220 (2001): 42–47. https://doi.org/10.2307/1559410.

[28] Swift, John. "2006 Lebanon War." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed January 7, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/event/2006-Lebanon-War.

[29] Shabb, Basem. "Lebanon under Iranian Influence: Little Peace and No Prosperity." Hoover Institution. Hoover Institution, December 13, 2022. https://www.hoover.org/research/lebanon-under-iranian-influence-little-peace-and-no-prosperity.

[30] Shanahan, Rodger. "Iranian Foreign Policy under Rouhani." Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10162.

[31] VAKIL, Sanam. "Understanding Tehran's Long Game in the Levant." *Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations* 15, no. 60 (2018): 105–20. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26605038.

[32] Litvak, Meir, Emily B. Landau, and Ephraim Kam, eds. "Iran in Iraq: An Area of Strategic Influence." *Iran in a Changing Strategic Environment*. Institute for National Security Studies, 2018. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep17021.7.

[33] PLETKA, DANIELLE. "Tehran Stands Atop the Syria-Iran Alliance." Atlantic Council, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep16812.

[34] Crosston, Matthew D. "Cold War and Ayatollah Residues: Syria as a Chessboard for Russia, Iran, and the United States." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (2014): 94–111. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26270818.

increased political influence in Damascus and Baghdad, as well as its military entrenchment by the establishment of the IRGC (Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps)[35] and several other militias[36]. This development found Israel feeling surrounded, not only from the Iranian proxies in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip, but also from official Iranian forces in the Syrian – Israeli borders. This was unacceptable for Israel, which launched an open campaign in order to prevent the total military and influential expansion of Iran in the Levant. Between 2012 and 2017 Israel operated major air raids and several airstrikes against Iranian positions[37].

Furthermore, 2015 was also an important year for the Israeli – Iranian 'Shadow War', because of the Russian involvement in the Syrian Civil War[38]. As Moscow and Tehran saw each other as a circumstantial partner in the combating against ISIS and the Syrian opposition, Israel viewed the Russian presence in Syria as a containment factor for the Iranian maneuvers[39]. Thus, Israel quickly saw that this prediction was totally unrealistic. This fact came up because of the Russian necessity to maintain the Iranian ground forces in Syria, to keep the desired *status quo* of the Assad regime. From the Russian perspective, a low density pressure towards Iran to reduce hostilities and aggressive actions against Israel was a necessity[40], as their desired achievement was the reduction of the US influence and the combating of radical Islam[41].

[35] (NRM), Nordic Resistance Movement. "IRGC (Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps)." Counter Extremism Project, April 10, 2021. https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/irgc-islamic-revolutionary-guard-corps.

[36] Pollack, Kenneth M. "Facing the Iranian Challenge in the Middle East: The Role of Iranian-Backed Militias." American Enterprise Institute, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep03297.

[37] Furlan, Marta. "Israeli-Iranian Relations: Past Friendship, Current Hostility." Taylor & Francis. Taylor & Francis, February 18, 2022. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13537121.2022.2041304.

[38] Pronk, Danny. "Lessons Learned in the Levant: Russia's Arms in the Syrian Conflict." Clingendael Institute, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24649.

[39] Behravesh, M., & Cafiero, G. (2019). Can Russian-Iranian alignment in Syria last? *Middle East Institute*. https://www.mei.edu/publications/can-russian-iranian-alignment-syria-last

[40] Magen, Zvi, Udi Dekel, and Sima Shine. "Russia in Syria: Between Iran and Israel." Institute for National Security Studies, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep08685.

[41] Dmitri, Trenin, "Russia in the Middle East: Moscow's objectives,priorities, and policy drivers." The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2016, https://carnegieendowment.org/files/03-25-16_Trenin_Middle_East_Moscow_clean.pdf

Simultaneously, the first and most crucial priority for the Israeli doctrine is the so-called Iranian Nuclear Program[42]. Since the late 1980s, during the Iraqi – Iranian War, Tehran relaunched its efforts for the continuation of its Nuclear Program. This development made Israel claim that Iran is trying to possess a nuclear arsenal for its 'imperialistic' ambitions, while at the same time, Iran insists that its program is under development only for energy purposes[43]. So, after several decades of nuclear development in Tehran, various reports of IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) revealed the suspicion of the usage of this nuclear program for military purposes[44]. Under this spectrum, the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) has adopted the 1737 Resolution of 2006, which was calling Iran to comply under the international conventions regarding uranium enrichment for military purposes via the implementation of a series of sanctions[45]. These sanctions were relieved in 2015, by the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1737, stating that the UNSC is welcoming the efforts of the JCPOA members towards the diplomatic dissolvement of the Iranian nuclear program dispute[46]. Also, in 2011 the US Administration under President Obama, placed sanctions against Iran in the purpose of containing its nuclear expansion and capabilities[47]. Two years later, in 2013, an agreement took place, known as the Joint Plan of Action (JPOA). Discussions among Iran and the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and China made a fruitful outcome where a seven billion sanctions relief would be given in the exchange of the reduction of the Iranian nuclear

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[42] Robinson, Kali. "What Is the Iran Nuclear Deal?" Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations, July 2020. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-iran-nuclear-deal.

[43] Reardon, Robert J. "Iran's Nuclear Program: Past, Present, and Future." In *Containing Iran: Strategies for Addressing the Iranian Nuclear Challenge*, 9–64. RAND Corporation, 2012. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/j.ctt1q60rb.10.

[44] "Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran". International Atomic Energy Agency. February 4, 2006. https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/gov2006-15.pdf

[45] Resolution 1737. United Nations Security Council. December 23, 2006. https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/681/42/PDF/N0668142.pdf?OpenElement

[46] Resolution 2231. United Nations Security Council. July 20, 2015. https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N15/225/27/PDF/N1522527.pdf?OpenElement

[47] Sen, Ashish Kumar. "A Brief History of Sanctions on Iran." Atlantic Council. Atlantic Council, May 8, 2018. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/a-brief-history-of-sanctions-on-iran/.

activities[48]. Also, after two years of further negotiations between those States, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) was signed in 2015[49].

These developments came as a negative outcome for the Israeli Government, whose goal was, and still is to annihilate any nuclear prospect of the Islamic Republic. In the next two years, after several attempts from the Israeli side, the US administration under President Trump withdrew from the JCPOA. Since then and until today, the rivalry of the two States came into a more complex theater of actions[50].

6. Legal Framework

6.1 UN Charter

The United Nations Charter was adopted in 1945[51], by the victorious States of the Second World War, and established the Organisation of the United Nations. The main goals of the organization are the maintenance of international peace and security, the prohibition of the threat or use of force in the international relations of the States, the development of friendly relations between the States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the promotion of human rights.

The United Nations Charter codified the prohibition of the threat or use of force in the international relations of the States in Article 2(4) of the Charter as it calls all Member States to "*refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against*

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[48] Ofek, Raphael. "2014-2016: The West's Affair with Iran." *Iran's Nuclear Program: Where Is It Going?* Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep38774.7.

[49] Khan, Sanaa, and Mieke Eoyang. "JCPOA: Evaluating Issues Since Implementation." Third Way, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02528.

[50] Hengel Andrew Small, Joshua Kirschenbaum, Douglas, Andrew Small, and Joshua Kirschenbaum. "Three Views on U.S. Withdrawal from Iran Deal, and Europe and China's Response." GMF. GMF. Accessed January 7, 2023. https://www.gmfus.org/news/three-views-us-withdrawal-iran-deal-and-europe-and-chinas-response.

[51] United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, 1 UNTS XVI, available at: https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/docs/charter-all-lang.pdf [accessed 3 March 2023].

the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations"[52]. To this rule, which is recognized as a peremptory norm of public international law (*jus cogens*)[53], there are only two exceptions, namely: a) when a state acts under its inherent right to self-defense under Article 51 of the Charter, or b), when the Security Council has authorized - through a Resolution- such use of force. In case where a State is acting under Article 51 of the Charter, the use of force is lawful only when the State is a victim of an armed attack, and the force used is necessary and proportionate[54]. In the case where a State is using force in the context of an authorisation from the Security Council, it is necessary for the State to use its force proportionately and within the limits of the authorisation from the relevant Resolution[55].

6.2 Security Council Resolutions

6.2.1 Resolution 487

The Security Council, in 1981, unanimously adopted Resolution 487, condemning Israel strike to a Iraqi nuclear reactor, also recognising that every State is entitled to a inalienable sovereign right to choose to establish programmes of technological and nuclear development to develop their economy and industry for peaceful purposes[56]. Through this Resolution, it is understood that the United Nations Security Council

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[52] *Ibid.*, art. 2(4).

[53] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America). Merits, Judgment*. I.C.J. Reports 1986, p. 14, p. 90, par. 190.

[54] Nolte, Georg and Albrecht Randelzhofer "Ch.VII Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression, Article 51." In *The Charter of the United Nations (3rd Edition): A Commentary, Volume II,* edited by Bruno Simma, Daniel-Erasmus Khan, Georg Nolte, Andreas Paulus, and Nikolai Wessendor.. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

[55] Bruno Simma *et al.*, ed., *The Charter of the United Nations: A Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 221.

[56] United Nations Security Council, Resolution 487 (1981).

effectively and officially rejected an expansive interpretation of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which codifies the inherent right of States to self-defense[57].

6.2.2 Resolution 1737

The Security Council, in 2006, adopted Resolution 1737, according to which the Council established a sanctions committee and imposed sanctions on Iran, as it failed to comply with previous Resolutions demanding the ceasing of its nuclear program. More specifically, according to this Resolution, all Member States of the United Nations should refrain from aiding, providing technology, financing or in any other way helping the uranium enrichment program of Iran[58].

6.2.3 Resolution 2231

The Security Council adopted in 2015 Resolution 2231, where it endorsed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action[59], also known as JCPOA, concluded on 14 July 2015, and where it annexed the text of the agreement between Iran, Russia, China, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and Germany. The main provisions of the JCPOA concerned the recognition from Iran that its nuclear program is used only for peaceful purposes, the reduction of stockpiled uranium followed by terms stricter than the Non-Proliferation Treaty and Iran's responsibility to allow monitoring by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Members of the Security Council, also with the European Union and Germany, undertook from their respective side, the responsibility to end the sanctions regime which was introduced by Resolution 1737

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[57]Yaroslav Shiryaev, "The Right of Armed Self-Defense in International Law and Self-Defense Arguments Used in the Second Lebanon War," *ACTA SOCIETATIS MARTENSIS* 3 (2007): pp. 80-97.
[58] United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1737 (2006). https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/681/42/PDF/N0668142.pdf?OpenElement
[59] United Nations Security Council, Resolution 2231 (2015). https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N15/225/27/PDF/N1522527.pdf?OpenElement

(2006). This effectively means that with this Resolution, the sanctions regime imposed on Iran was over.

While there has been considerable debate on whether the JCPOA is *per se* legally binding, or whether it is simply a political commitment of the Parties involved, Resolution 2231 is binding for all Member States of the United Nations, which means that since the JCPOA is annexed to the fist, it is mandatory for all States to oblige to its provisions.

It must be noted that according to a provision of the JCPOA, this agreement will expire ten years after the Adoption Day of the JCPOA. After the Adoption Day, the United States in 2018 decided to withdraw from the Agreement. Talks concerning a new agreement started in 2021 and are still pending[60].

6.3 General Assembly Resolutions

6.3.1 Resolution 2625

The General Assembly adopted Resolution 2625 (XXV) in 1970. The Resolution is named *Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations* and its provisions are codifying customary international law[61]. This Declaration reiterates several fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter, such as the sovereign

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[60] France 24. "Iran Says Agreed with EU on Brussels Nuclear Talks 'in Days.'" France 24. France 24, October 14, 2021. https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20211014-iran-says-agreed-with-eu-on-brussels-nuclear-talks-in-days. [accessed 8 March 2023].

[61] Armed Activities on the Territory of the Congo (Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Uganda), Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2005, p. 168, p. 227, par. 162.

equality, the principle of non-intervention, prohibition of the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes[62].

6.3.2 Resolution 3314

The General Assembly adopted Resolution 3314 (XXIX) in 1974. This Resolution attempts to provide a definition of acts of aggression. According to this Resolution, an aggression is committed when an invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof occurs, when a State bombards with its armed forces against the territory of another State or uses any weapons against the territory of another State or its land, sea, air forces, or marine or air fleets; when a State blockades the ports or coasts of another State with its armed forces; when it uses armed force. It is noteworthy that the Assembly recognised that an aggression might occur even if a State sends armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, to carry out acts of armed force against another State that reaches the threshold of an armed attack. The definition provided by the General Assembly is not exhaustive and the Security Council can recognise additional acts that might be considered acts of aggression[63].

6.4 Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

The Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, commonly known as Non Proliferation Treaty, was signed on 1 July 1968 and entered into force on 5 March

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[62] United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 2625 (XXV), *Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations* (1970) https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/docs/A_RES_2625-Eng.pdf
[63] United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 3314 (XXIX), Definition of Aggression (1974). https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/739/16/IMG/NR073916.pdf?OpenElement

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1970[64]. This multilateral treaty aims at the prevention of dissemination of nuclear weapons to more states, as such a scenario would increase dramatically the chances of a nuclear war. For this end, all States with nuclear weapons undertook the responsibility to make sure that they will finance or help in any other way any other State to acquire these weapons. This obligation follows that all non nuclear weapon States shall not attempt to acquire nuclear weapons, but can still conclude bilateral defense agreements with nuclear weapons States, where the latter undertake the responsibility to provide military assistance (including nuclear weapons) when an armed attack occurs against the non nuclear weapons State.

Furthermore, all States maintain their right to conduct research on or use nuclear energy for other peaceful causes. Lastly, in light of the spirit of the cessation of nuclear arms race and promotion of nuclear disarmament, the contracting states to the Non Proliferation Treaty have undertaken the obligation to conduct negotiations in order to meet these goals, responsibility which was reaffirmed by the International Court of Justice in its infamous Advisory Opinion on the *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*[65]. It is noted that while Iran is a contracting party to the Non Proliferation Treaty, Israel is not.

Eventually, in 2017 the General Assembly passed Resolution 71/258[66] and effectively introduced the Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons. This treaty, even if it has not yet been signed by any nuclear weapon state, has entered into force since 22 January of 2021.

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[64]Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 1970, 729 UNTS 161.

[65] Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1996, p. 226, p. 264, par. 99-100.

[66] Un.org. "Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons – UNODA," 2017. https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/tpnw/. [accessed 8 March 2023].

7. The causes of the Conflict

As previously mentioned, the combat between Israel and Iran, or commonly said 'The Iranian - Israeli Shadow/Cold War', is one of the oldest and most important issues of Middle Eastern affairs. So, in this chapter, the routes of this conflict will be stated and the viewpoints of the two nations will be explained.

If one sees the two states separately, one can view the geopolitical similarities that contribute to their former 'alliance' and their current rivalry. Two non–Shia and non–Arab countries, which are facing common threats. The first one (Israel), a non – Muslim state, surrounded by a variety of States that desire its elimination and the second one (Iran) a Shiite state, under a revolutionary Government, trying to accomplish its policies amongst the Middle East. As previously explained, the 1979 Iranian revolution was the founding reason for the beginning of their conflict. So, these characteristics, before 1979, were evaluated as 'advantages' of friendship. Now they are contributing as 'disadvantages' for their regional policies[67]. So, their clash has a twofold face, the 'religious' from the Iranian side and the political.

7.1 The Israeli Perspective

From the beginning of its existence, Israel, as a geographically small State with most of the territory being plain and a small amount of population, is placing itself in a position where it must preserve its own existence at all costs against its neighbors. This point of view is expressed under the term "*Deep Securitization*"[68]. Of course, this existential preservation, is coming from the fact that the neighboring Arab states desire its dissolution and the foundation of a Palestinian state. So, Israel, after the Six Day

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[67] Kefala, Paraskevi, Charalambos Tsardanidis. *Iran: Politics, Economy, International and Regional Relations*. Institute of International and Economic Relations, 2014.

[68] Abulof, Uriel. "Deep Securitization and Israel's 'Demographic Demon.'" Academic.oup.com. International Political Sociology, December 18, 2014. https://academic.oup.com/ips/article/8/4/396/1792686.

War[69] and the Yom Kippur War[70], in order to defend itself, due to its lack of strategic depth, small population and its difficulties on provision of vital resources in case of conflict, has adopted the "First Strike Doctrine" which refers to the combination of an offensive political and circumstantial military stance according to Israel's regional rivals[71], as long as, the previously mentioned, "Peripheral Doctrine", although, it must be mentioned that the United Nations Security Council has adopted a negative stance towards the Israeli doctrines according to the Resolution 242 of 1967 (S/RES/242). This framework is a military and diplomatic/political combination of initiatives, which provides Israel stability and military protection against its regional opponents.

In this state of affairs, Iran consists of the top priority threat for the Israeli policymakers for specific reasons. Except for the aforementioned facts, as the 2010 Arab Spring took place in the Middle East and further destabilized the Arab states in the region, Israel saw that Iran would take its chance, and indeed tried, to expand its influence in the Levant region. So if Tehran had a total success in this operation, it would be a catastrophic condition for Israel. For this reason, in their current National Security Doctrine, Israel describes the reasons for combating Iran. Firstly, *"Iran consists of a state with a declared intention to destroy Israel"*[72]. Secondly, *"Iran has extent its activities as distant as the Mediterranean sea, using Lebanon as a client state"*[73]. Thirdly, *"Iran contains military presence in the Israeli – Syrian borders and its willing is to harm Israel"*[74]. Lastly, *"Iran continuous its financial and military support towards terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah"*[75].

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[69]   Editors, History.com. "Six-Day War." History.com. A&E Television Networks, May 11, 2018. https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/six-day-war.

[70]   Editors, History.com. "Yom Kippur War." History.com. A&E Television Networks, November 9, 2009. https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/yom-kippur-war.

[71]   Sharon, Ariel. "The Sharon Doctrine." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 11, no. 3 (1982): 167–72. https://doi.org/10.2307/2536086.

[72] Amidror, Yaakov. "Israel's National Security Doctrine." JISS. The Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security , August 1, 2021. https://jiss.org.il/en/amidror-israels-national-security-doctrine/.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Ibid.*

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Nevertheless, Israel seems to be trying to combine its political disputes concerning Iran, with the famous nuclear dispute. The 2013 Joint Plan of Action, brought skepticism among the Israeli policymakers, regarding the stance towards the solvency of the Iranian side concerning the Agreement[76]. Then, the continuation of the 'Nuclear Pact' through the 2015 JCPOA has a negative and hostile sign for the Israeli side. Indicatively, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called it a "*Stunning Historic Mistake*"[77]. Israel's reaction to the JCPOA expressed that this Agreement, was a 'legitimation' of Tehran's nuclear ambitions, as well as, a non decisive solution on the decreasing of Iranian nuclear capabilities[78]. Until today, the permanent position of Israel points the direct elimination of Nuclear capabilities in Iran, through the internationalization of the issue[79].

7.2 The Iranian Perspective

The Islamic Republic of Iran, is included as a major regional actor in Middle Eastern affairs. Since the 1979 political turnaround and the conversion into a religious - oriented State, one of the most important issues in both internal and external policies, is the elimination of the State of Israel.

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[76] Kaye, Dalia Dassa and Jeffrey Martini, The Days After a Deal with Iran: Regional Responses to a Final Nuclear Agreement. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2014. https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE122.html.

[77] "Iran Nuclear Deal: A Stunning, Historic Mistake Says Netanyahu." euronews. euronews, July 14, 2015.https://www.euronews.com/2015/07/14/iran-nuclear-deal-a-stunning-historic-mistake-says-netanyahu.

[78] Ravid, Barak. "Netanyahu: Iran Nuclear Deal Makes World Much More Dangerous, Israel Not Bound by It." Haaretz.com. Haaretz, July 14, 2015. https://www.haaretz.com/2015-07-14/ty-article/netanyahu-israel-not-bound-by-iran-deal/0000017f-db1d-db5a-a57f-db7f36360000.

[79] Kaye, Dalia Dassa. "Israel's Iran Policies after the Nuclear Deal." RAND Corporation. RAND Corporation, August 29, 2016. https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE207.html.

For the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Zionism, and Israel in extension, constitutes a major threat for the Muslim world in general[80]. The root reasons for this hostility comes from the facts that Iran sees Israel as an ally of the United States and a carrier of anti muslim and western influence trends in the region. Also, for Iran, Israel has illegitimately annexed the Palestinian lands and acts as an oppressor to the muslims inside its territory, and to the territory under its occupation. But if one sees the Iranian perspective in depth, can come to the upshot that Israel stands as a deterrent actor against Tehran's ambitions for regional dominance and the consolidation of 'Anti - US/western' influence[81].

Since the outbreak of the Arab Spring, one can see an increasing Iranian intention to further antagonize Israel in order to achieve its own regional interests. In order to achieve this goal Tehran used the 'struggle and surrounding' pillar which refers to the Iranian strategy of cooperation with regional actors, who are opposing Israel, such as Hezbollah and Hamas, as long as the coordination of proxy and direct militant forces in the Levant region[82]. Also, another major pillar of this intention was the direct diplomatic influence of States such as Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, in order to build up a political and operational foothold that surrounds Israel. The exhaustion comes as the result of the previously mentioned strategy[83].

In Israel's accusations towards the Iranian Nuclear Program, Tehran responds that the program is about energy and not about weaponization. Thus, regarding the Iranian point of view in the regional affairs of their rivalry, Tehran materializes the JCPOA

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[80] Jaspal, Rusi. "Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in Iran: The Role of Identity Processes." De Montfort University. De Montfort University, Leicester, UK. Accessed January 16, 2023. https://irep.ntu.ac.uk/id/eprint/39653/1/1315810_Jaspal.pdf.

[81] Tanios, Saimon. "Iran, Israel, the Persian Gulf, and the United States: A Conflict Resolution Perspective." Effectivecooperation. Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation , July 26, 2021. https://effectivecooperation.org/content/simon-tanios-iran-israel-persian-gulf-and-united-states-conflict-resolution-perspective.

[82] Zamir, Eyal. "Countering Iran's Regional Policy". The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, May 2022, https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/media/5536?disposition=inline

[83] Yaari, Ehud. "Iran's Ambitions in the Levant." Foreign Affairs. Foreign Affairs, October 6, 2022. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/iran/irans-ambitions-levant.

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Agreement to debate the Israeli rhetoric and shows its compliance and legitimacy of its cause, when at the same time, uses the dispute as an inhibitory factor towards the "Periphery Doctrine" of Israel[84].

8. The impact of the Shadow War in the Middle East

The present chapter of the Study Guide is dedicated to the presentation of how the Shadow War between Israel and Iran has affected several countries in the region.

8.1 Palestine

The question of Palestine is one of the first disputes that the United Nations have attempted to resolve through a variety of diplomatic methods, so far without much success to its permanent resolution. Among the many reasons that render the resolution of this question so difficult is the number of relevant actors.

In the present case, the directly interested stakeholders are Israel on one hand, and Palestine on the other. The first problem, though, that arises is the fact that Palestine is not in itself a Member State of the United Nations. Another problem with the identification of who represents "Palestine" is the number of organizations that actively participate in the national-liberation fight against Israel, the occupying Power in the territory. From one hand, it is officially recognised that Palestine is represented by the PLO but there is also Hamas, a designated terrorist organization that is highly influential, especially in the Gaza Strip Area, created by the Muslim Brotherhood[85]. A third (and smaller that Hamas) actor that yields great political support is the Islamic

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[84] Kerr, Paul K. "Iran's Nuclear Program: Tehran's Compliance with International Obligations." Congressional Research Service. Congressional Research Service Reports, December 2, 2022. https://sgp.fas.org/crs/nuke/R40094.pdf.

[85] Abu-Amr, Ziad. "Hamas: A Historical and Political Background." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 4 (1993): 5–19. https://doi.org/10.2307/2538077.

Jihad[86]. The two latter are proven to be heavily supported, both financially and militarily, by Iran[87], which has caused friction to their relation with the PLO[88]. It is with this support that Hamas and the Islamic Jihad have been making attempts to strike against Israel.

Apart from the military response by the Israeli Defense Forces to such actions, Israel has also, on a political level, openly accused Iran of supporting and inciting terrorism against Israeli civilians and has carried out airstrikes against Iranian-backed targets in Syria and elsewhere[89]. These attacks have occasionally spilled over into the Gaza Strip, where Hamas and other militant groups have launched rocket attacks against Israel in retaliation. To these moves, Israel responds with a new round of, usually disproportionate, use of force. The last example is the attack on the village Huwara, where Smotrich, administrator of the Occupied West Bank and finance minister of Israel, was caught on tape saying that: "*I think the village of Huwara needs to be wiped out. I think the state of Israel should do it*"[90].

Lastly, a very interesting detail in the results of the Shadow War between Israel and Palestine in relation to the implications to Palestine, is that Iran has been, in full contrast with its military presence in the region, notably absent from international efforts within the framework of the United Nations. In fact it is notably absent from both the written

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[86]   Bbc.co.uk.   "BBC   NEWS | Middle   East | Who   Are   Islamic   Jihad?,"   2023. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1658443.stm. [accessed 11 March 2023]

[87] Reuters. "Iran Leader Urges Muslim States to Back Palestinians Militarily, Financially." Reuters. Reuters, May 21, 2021. https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/iran-hails-palestinian-victory-warns-deadly-blows-against-israel-2021-05-21/. [accessed 11 March 2023]

[88]Reuters. "Hamas Training Diplomats, Challenging PLO Monopoly Abroad." U.S., September 5, 2012. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-hamas-diplomats-idUSBRE88412220120905 [accessed 11 March 2023]

[89] See indicatively: News, BBC. "Israel Accuses Iran over Deadly Oil Tanker Attack." BBC News. BBC News, July 30, 2021. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-57977702 [accessed 11 March 2023]; Arab News "Israel Accuses Iran of 'Environmental Terrorism' after Oil Spill." Arab News. Arabnews, March 3, 2021. https://www.arabnews.com/node/1819286/middle-east [accessed 11 March 2023]; and McKernan, Bethan. "Israel to Take Punitive Steps against Palestinians after Deadly Attacks." the Guardian. The Guardian, January 29, 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/29/israel-to-take-punitive-steps-against-palestinians-after-deadly-attacks [accessed 11 March 2023].

[90] Al Jazeera. "'Repugnant': US Rebukes Israeli Remark on Palestinian Village." Aljazeera.com. Al Jazeera, March 2023. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/1/repugnant-us-rebukes-israeli-remark-on-palestinian-village [accessed 12 March 2023].

and oral proceedings of the International Court of Justice's Advisory Opinion on the *Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*, as well as in the sponsorship of Resolution 77/247 of the United Nations General Assembly[91], that requested a new Advisory Opinion from the International Court of Justice on the *Legal Consequences of Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem*, where several other muslim countries sponsored the Resolution alongside Palestine.

8.2 Lebanon

The Shadow War between Israel and Iran has had a significant impact on Lebanon. Both countries have been engaging in proxy warfare in Lebanon, using local militias and political groups as their proxies[92].

One of the main ways that the conflict has impacted Lebanon is through the ongoing presence of Hezbollah, a Lebanese Shia Islamist political party and militant group, designated by the United States as a terrorist organization[93]. Hezbollah has strong ties

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[91] United Nations General Assembly Resolution 77/247, *Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem*, A/C.4/77/L.12/Rev.1 (10 November 2022), available at https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3993908?ln=en; See also: United Nations General Assembly Resolution 77/247, *Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem*, A/RES/77/247 (9 January 2023), available at https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N23/004/68/PDF/N2300468.pdf?OpenElement.

[92] Irani, George Emile. Review of *The Lebanese War Revisited: The Long Road from Breakup to Reconciliation: Review Article*, by Farid El-Khazen, Gladys Mouro, and Carole H. Dagher. *Middle East Journal* 55, no. 2 (2001): 320–22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4329620.

[93] United States Department of State. "Foreign Terrorist Organizations - United States Department of State," October 11, 2022. https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/. [accessed 11 March 2023].

to Iran and has been accused of carrying out attacks on behalf of Iran in the region[94]. Israel, in turn, has carried out a series of airstrikes in Lebanon targeting Hezbollah[95].

The conflict has also contributed to political instability in Lebanon, which has been stricken by economic and political crises in recent years, especially after the 2020 Beirut explosion[96]. The ongoing conflict has further strained the country's fragile political system.

Moreover, the conflict has also had a humanitarian impact on the people of Lebanon, with many civilians caught in the crossfire of the ongoing conflict. The conflict has led to displacement, destruction of infrastructure, and loss of life[97].

Overall, the shadow war between Israel and Iran has had a profound impact on Lebanon, contributing to political instability and exacerbating humanitarian concerns in an already fragile region.

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[94] Council on Foreign Relations. "What Is Hezbollah?," 2020. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-hezbollah [accessed 11 March 2023].

[95] See indicatively: Murphy, Matt. "Israel Shoots down Hezbollah Drones Heading for Gas Rig." BBC News. BBC News, July 2, 2022. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-62022452 [ccessed 11 March 2023]; Hendrix, Steve, and Shira Rubin. "Tensions Flare between Israel and Hezbollah over Disputed Gas Fields." Washington Post. The Washington Post, August 13, 2022. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/08/13/israel-lebanon-border-threat/ [accessed 11 March 2023]; and Lieber, Dov, and Nazih Osseiran. "Israeli Military Strikes Targets in Lebanon after Hezbollah Rocket Attack." WSJ. The Wall Street Journal, August 6, 2021. https://www.wsj.com/articles/israeli-military-strikes-targets-in-lebanon-after-hezbollah-rocket-attack-11628259944 [accessed 11 March 2023].

[96] Chulov, Martin. "Beirut Explosion Inquiry in Chaos as Judges Row and Suspects Released." the Guardian. The Guardian, January 25, 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/25/beirut-port-blast-probe-in-chaos-as-judges-row-and-suspects-released [accessed 11 March 2023]..

[97] UN News. "As Global Food and Fuel Crisis Deepens, Lebanon's Crisis Is Affecting 'Everyone, Everywhere,'" July 2022. https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/07/1121812 [accessed 11 March 2023].

8.3 Syria

The shadow war between Israel and Iran has had numerous and multilayered implications for Syria, on a political and humanitarian dimension.

First of all, Syria is a clear example of proxy war, as there are many oppositional groups, supported both by the West and by Israel, that are fighting the Syrian government, which is heavily reliant in Russia and in Iran, after the initiation of the numerous and overlapping armed conflicts in the territory of Syria[98]. Both Iran and Israel wish to advance their interests in the region, as it is mentioned in the previous chapter, the first is in the quest for regional dominance and the latter is working towards the establishment of its national security. It is needless to state that this intervention, which violates fundamental rules of international law, by both states has a negative impact on the sovereignty that the Syrian government enjoys within its territory. This follows that this intervention may lead to further escalation of violence in the country[99], rendering the resolution of the armed conflict between the Government and opposition non-state actors in the country even harder than what it is already.

On a humanitarian level, the conflict has led to a humanitarian crisis in Syria, with millions of people displaced and in need. The ongoing conflict between Israel and Iran only adds to the suffering of the Syrian people, where according to the World Food Program 12.1 million are food insecure and 2.5 are severely food insecure[100], and the price of fuel following the current inflation crisis has only worsened the living conditions of the most vulnerable[101].

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[98] Bremmer, Ian. "These 5 Proxy Battles Are Making Syria's Civil War Increasingly Complicated." Time. Time, February 16, 2018. https://time.com/5162409/syria-civil-war-proxy-battles/ [accessed 12 March 2023].

[99] Center for Preventive Action. "Conflict in Syria | Global Conflict Tracker," 2023. https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/conflict-syria [accessed 12 March 2023].

[100] Wfp.org. "Syrian Arab Republic | World Food Programme," March 31, 2022. https://www.wfp.org/countries/syrian-arab-republic [accessed 12 March 2023].

[101] *Ibid.*

8.4 Iraq

The shadow war between Israel and Iran has had numerous and multilayered implications for Iraq, on a political and humanitarian dimension.

After the US-led intervention in 2003 Iraq, the country has been left with a power void, eventually being led to chaos[102]. This has led to sectarian clashes between the Sunni and Shia Muslim populations of the country where such tensions are easily inflamed by the presence of Israeli and Iranian military forces in the country, further destabilizing Iraq. It goes without saying that the conflict between Israel and Iran in Iraq could potentially escalate and spread to other countries in the region, as it leaves room for terrorist organizations such as the Islamic State of Syria and the Levant[103] not to form and also to perform their operations in Syria, in Iraq and in many other States outside the region, like France[104] and Belgium[105]. This means that the Shadow War between Israel and Iran, who accuse each other of inciting threats to one another through the territory of Iraq[106], effectively undermines Iraqi sovereignty.

Proceeding to the humanitarian side of the implications, the conflict has led to a humanitarian crisis in Iraq, with millions of refugees, thousands of people displaced and in need[107]. The ongoing conflict between Israel and Iran, that has brought even more violence to the country, only adds to the suffering of the Iraqi people.

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[102] Reuters. "U.S.-Led Iraq War Ushered in Years of Chaos and Conflict." Reuters. Reuters, March 9, 2023. https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/us-led-iraq-war-ushered-years-chaos-conflict-2023-03-09/ [accessed 12 March 2023].

[103] Al Jazeera. "The Rise and Fall of ISIL Explained." Aljazeera.com. Al Jazeera, June 20, 2017. https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/6/20/the-rise-and-fall-of-isil-explained [accessed 12 March 2023].

[104] Ray, M.. "Paris attacks of 2015." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, November 6, 2022. https://www.britannica.com/event/Paris-attacks-of-2015 [accessed 12 March 2023].

[105] Franceinfo. "Attentats de Bruxelles - Actualité, Infos et Vidéos En Direct," 2015. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/europe/attentats-de-bruxelles/ [accessed 12 March 2023]

[106] Motamedi, Maziar. "Iran Says It Won't Tolerate Threats Emanating from Iraqi Soil." Aljazeera.com. Al Jazeera, March 14, 2022. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/14/iran-says-wont-tolerate-threats-from-iraqi-soil-after-missile-at [accessed 12 March 2023].

[107] Unrefugees.org. "Iraq Refugee Crisis: Aid, Statistics and News | USA for UNHCR," 2019. https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/iraq/ [accessed 12 March 2023].

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8.5 Gulf States

The shadow war between Israel and Iran has several significant implications for the Gulf States, including security concerns, a proxy war, economic impacts, sectarian tensions, regional instability, and diplomatic challenges.

The conflict between Israel and Iran creates security concerns for the Gulf States, especially those with close ties to the United States, like Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. They fear that they could be drawn into the conflict, either as a target or as a potential ally of one of the parties[108], especially after several Gulf States have signed the Abraham Accords. In reality, the Gulf States are afraid that they will find themselves in the middle of a proxy war between Israel and Iran. This could lead to increased tensions between the Gulf States and Iran, as well as with other regional players like Turkey and Qatar[109].

Such tensions might provoke a shocking response to the global markets, and as the Gulf States are major players in the global oil market, any disruption to the flow of oil could have significant economic implications. The conflict between Israel and Iran could potentially disrupt oil shipments through the Strait of Hormuz, which would affect global oil prices[110].

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[108] Mundy, Sam. "Gulf States and Israel Should Form Rapid Response Force Modeled on NATO." Foreign Policy. Foreign Policy, September 5, 2022. https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/09/05/israel-gcc-uae-gulf-arab-states-iran-rapid-response-force-military-defense-nato-security/ [accessed 12 March 2023].

[109] Ecfr.eu. "Middle East Battle Lines," 2018. https://ecfr.eu/special/battle_lines/ [accessed 12 March 2023].

[110] Kemp, John. "COLUMN-Strait of Hormuz and the Risk of Uncontrolled Escalation: Kemp." U.S., June 13, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/mideast-tanker-kemp-idUSL8N23K5FC [accessed 12 March 2023].

It must also not be forgotten that the Gulf States have significant Sunni and Shia populations, and the conflict between Israel and Iran could heighten sectarian tensions within these countries, as Israel might be willing to provide assistance to the Sunni Muslims and Iran, as a Shia Muslim State, to provide to the Shia sect financial and military support.

Lastly, the Gulf States have close ties with both the United States and Iran, and the conflict between the latter and Israel could make it difficult for the Gulf States to maintain these relationships, as they have found themselves before the need to have to choose a side. An additional rivalry in the area is not making in any way easier for the Gulf States to strike a balance between the United States, a country that brings huge investments and security in the area, and Iran[111]. This is why, it has been proposed that a potential mediator between the two could be a Gulf State[112].

8.6 Egypt

The shadow war between Israel and Iran has significant implications for Egypt, including increased regional tensions, security concerns, sectarian tensions, diplomatic challenges, and the potential for a refugee crisis.

The conflict between Israel and Iran could heighten tensions in the region and affect Egypt's relations with both countries, as already from 1978 Egypt and Israel had started

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[111] Bloomberg. "US, Gulf States Pledge Increased Cooperation against Iranian Threat." Gulfnews.com. Gulf News, February 17, 2023. https://gulfnews.com/world/gulf/yemen/us-gulf-states-pledge-increased-cooperation-against-iranian-threat-1.93910258 [accessed 12 March 2023]; compared with Atlantic Council. "Experts React: Iran and Saudi Arabia Just Agreed to Restore Relations, with Help from China. Here's What That Means for the Middle East and the World." Atlantic Council, March 10, 2023. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/experts-react/experts-react-iran-and-saudi-arabia-just-agreed-to-restore-relations-with-help-from-china-heres-what-that-means-for-the-middle-east-and-the-world/ [accessed 12 March 2023].

[112] Dagres, Holly. "Israel and Iran Need to Turn down the Heat. The UAE Could Be the Best Choice as Conduit." Atlantic Council, March 21, 2022. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/iransource/israel-and-iran-need-to-turn-down-the-heat-the-uae-could-be-the-best-choice-as-conduit-%EF%BF%BC/ [accessed 12 March 2023].

the normalization of their bilateral relations[113], and Iran in 2011, after 30 years had sent an Ambassador to Cairo[114]. Egypt has historically been a mediator in regional conflicts, and the escalation of the shadow war could limit its ability to play this role.

Any escalation of the conflict, especially if the theater of operations will be the Gaza Strip, could lead to a swiping refugee crisis, with thousands of people fleeing the conflict and seeking refuge in Egypt. This could put a strain on the country's resources and infrastructure.

Lastly, Egypt has a significant Shia population,[115] and the conflict between Israel and Iran could heighten sectarian tensions within the country, which has many doctrines worshiped across the country and it is very easy for religious "wars" to happen.

9. The International impact of the Shadow War

The present chapter of the Study Guide is dedicated to the presentation of how relevant stakeholders understand the Shadow War between Israel and Iran and how it has affected the region and themselves.

9.1 United States of America

While the conflict is primarily between Israel and Iran, the United States has a significant interest, especially in the maintenance of the stability in the region and has been impacted by the conflict in several ways. The main focus of the United States is

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[113] "Camp David Accords | Summary, History, & Facts | Britannica." In *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/event/Camp-David-Accords [accessed 12 March 2023].

[114] Reuters. "Iran Appoints Ambassador to Egypt, First in 30 Years." U.S., April 19, 2011. https://www.reuters.com/article/ozatp-iran-egypt-ambassador-20110419-idAFJOE73I00420110419 [accessed 12 March 2023].

[115] The Economist. "Egypt's Shia Come out of Hiding." The Economist. The Economist, September 30, 2017. https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/09/30/egypts-shia-come-out-of-hiding [accessed 12 March 2023].

to make sure that its strategic partner in the area is well supported[116], but also that there will be no further escalation of the tension in the area[117].

The United States has military presence in the region, indirectly in response to the conflict, which has significant political, financial and strategic costs. This can divert resources and attention away from other priorities, such as the situation in Ukraine and the mitigation of the threat that China poses, and exacerbate tensions with Iran, in a period that the United States is negotiating the new terms for the nuclear program of Iran[118].

It goes without saying that the shadow war could potentially escalate into a wider conflict which might draw military action from the United States. This would have significant consequences for the region and the world and could lead to a prolonged and costly new war in the region.

Lastly, as the conflict can radically impact oil prices, the United States fear the potential economic consequences for the United States, its economy and the global economy. Instability in the region can lead to supply disruptions, which can drive up prices and harm consumers and businesses in the United States[119].

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[116] Walt, Stephen and John J. Mearsheimer. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy." KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP06-011, March 2006.

[117] Reuters. "U.S. Sees Urgent Need for De-Escalation in Israel, West Bank -White House." Reuters. Reuters, January 27, 2023. https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/us-sees-urgent-need-de-escalation-israel-west-bank-white-house-2023-01-27/ [accessed 14 March 2023].

[118] The New York Times. "Will a Renewed Iran Nuclear Deal Mean Cheaper Energy?," 2023. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/01/world/europe/iran-nuclear-deal-energy-prices.htmln [accessed 14 March 2023]; see also The New York Times. "Biden and Netanyahu Gear up for a Complicated New Era," 2023. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/us/politics/biden-netanyahu.html [accessed 14 March 2023].

[119] Hafezi, Parisa. "Analysis: Exclusive: Rising Oil Prices Buy Iran Time in Nuclear Talks, Officials Say." Reuters. Reuters, May 5, 2022. https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/rising-oil-prices-buy-iran-time-nuclear-talks-officials-say-2022-05-05/ [accessed 14 March 2023].

9.2 Russian Federation

The impact of the shadow war between Israel and Iran on Russia is complex and multifaceted. While the conflict presents challenges for Russia, it also provides opportunities for Russia to politically enhance its role in the region and increase its influence on the regional stage, especially in this period, where Russia is trying to find new allies in the world scene in the aftermath of its aggression against Ukraine.

Russia maintains good diplomatic relations with both Iran and Israel, and the shadow war creates challenges for Russia in balancing its relations with both countries. Russia has sought to play a mediating role in the conflict[120], but this can be difficult given the deep-seated animosity between Iran and Israel.

The shadow war can have implications for the broader geopolitical landscape in the Middle East, which can impact Russia's strategic interests in the region. Russia has a military presence in Syria and has been involved in the Syrian conflict, which is closely tied to the Israel-Iran conflict. The conflict can also provide Russia with opportunities to increase its influence in the region as it has already established itself as a key player in Syria and an excellent opportunity to promote its regional agenda for the management of the spread of terrorism and extremism in the area[121].

Simultaneously, Russia is a major player in the global energy market and an oil producing country, and any disruption to the oil market caused by the conflict can impact Russia's economy. If oil prices rise due to supply disruptions in the region, Russia could highly benefit. However, if the conflict escalates and leads to wider instability in the region, there can be real potential that the conflict could harm Russia's interests.

[120] Goldenberg, Tia. "EXPLAINER: Why Israel Is Mediating between Russia, Ukraine." AP NEWS. Associated Press, March 6, 2022. https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-vladimir-putin-iran-israel-syria-f9344bcaffbf69446c671400536a166d [accessed 14 March 2023].
[121] Dmitri, Trenin, "Russia in the Middle East: Moscow's objectives,priorities, and policy drivers." The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2016, https://carnegieendowment.org/files/03-25-16_Trenin_Middle_East_Moscow_clean.pdf

9.3 United Kingdom

The shadow war between Israel and Iran has the potential to impact the United Kingdom's security, economic interests, and military involvement in the region.

The United Kingdom has a significant interest in maintaining stability and security in the Middle East, especially under the threat of terrorism. The conflict between Israel and Iran could potentially lead to increased violence and instability in the region, which could have security implications for the United Kingdom that has been facing legal difficulties[122] to the provision of military aid to the Saudi Arabian army and its military effort in the non-international armed conflict between the government and the Houthis, supported by Iran. Therefore, it is understood that a new conflict in the area will have a negative effect on the interests of the United Kingdom in the area.

In this vein, the United Kingdom has significant economic interests in the region, particularly in the areas of trade (including arms trade), energy, and finance. An international armed conflict between Israel and Iran could potentially impact these interests, particularly if it leads to disruptions in trade or energy supplies[123].

Lastly, while the United Kingdom has not been directly involved in this rivalry, it has supported efforts in the region to combat ISIS, who, as established earlier, might find room for regrowth as there is instability in the Middle East due to the shadow war. In

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[122] Human Rights Watch. "UK: Court to Rule on Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia," January 31, 2023. https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/01/31/uk-court-rule-arms-sales-saudi-arabia [accessed 14 march 2023].

[123] Parliament.uk. "House of Lords - the Middle East: Time for New Realism - Select Committee on International Relations," 2016. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201617/ldselect/ldintrel/159/15906.htm [accessed 14 March 2023].

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order to demonstrate such support, the United Kingdom has a military presence in the region[124].

9.4 France

The shadow war between Israel and Iran has the potential to impact France's security, economic interests, military involvement, and its role in the nuclear deal.

The conflict between Israel and Iran could potentially lead to increased violence and instability in the Middle East, which could have security implications for France. France has an added interest in maintaining stability in the region, particularly concerning the action of terrorist groups, given the attacks it has received in the last decade.

On an economic level, France has significant economic interests in the region, particularly in the areas of trade and investment, with traditional links especially with Lebanon. Therefore the conflict, as it affects Lebanon too, could potentially impact these interests, particularly if it leads to disruptions in trade or investment flows[125].

France, alongside with the United Kingdom and Germany (all three participated in the negotiation process and in adoption of the relevant United Nations Security Council resolution on the JCPOA) has a keen interest in the progress (or lack thereof)[126] of the talks for a new deal with Iran, concerning its nuclear program which is a friction point

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[124] Louisa Brooke-Holland, *UK forces in the Middle East region*, House of Commons Library, Briefing Paper, 14 January 2020, available at https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8794/CBP-8794.pdf.

[125] "Why France and the Middle East Have Such a Deep and Lingering Past." RFI. RFI, December 3, 2021. https://www.rfi.fr/en/international/20211203-why-france-and-the-middle-east-have-such-a-deep-and-lingering-past [accessed 14 March 2023].

[126] Reuters. "France's Macron Does Not See Room for Progress on Iran Nuclear Deal Right Now." Reuters. Reuters, November 14, 2022. https://www.reuters.com/world/frances-macron-need-find-new-framework-over-iran-nuclear-deal-2022-11-14/ [accessed 14 March 2023].

with Israel, especially after they deplored in a joint declaration with the European Union the decision of the United States to exit the JCPOA[127].

9.5 People's Republic of China

The ongoing "shadow war" between Israel and Iran has the potential to impact China in a number of ways, especially in the realm of its economy.

Firstly, China is the world's largest importer of oil, and any conflict in the Middle East that disrupts oil supplies could have a significant impact on China's economy. Iran is one of China's major oil suppliers[128], so if the conflict were to escalate and disrupt oil supplies from Iran, China will be affected.

China has strong economic ties with many countries in the Middle East, including Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia. Any escalation of the conflict could destabilize the region, which could in turn have an impact on China's economic and strategic interests, as they are unveiled through its Belt and Road Initiative[129].

At the diplomatic level, China has been trying to position itself as a mediator in the conflict between Israel and Palestine[130], and has also been trying to improve its relations

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[127]"Joint Statement by France, the UK and Germany on the Iran Nuclear Deal (02.11.18)." France Diplomacy - Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs. France Diplomacy, 2019. https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/iran/news/article/joint-statement-by-france-the-uk-and-germany-on-the-iran-nuclear-deal-02-11-18 [accessed 14 March 2023].

[128] Srinivas Mazumdaru, and Nik Martin. "How Iran Is Boosting Oil Exports despite US Sanctions." dw.com. Deutsche Welle, February 2023. https://www.dw.com/en/how-iran-is-boosting-oil-exports-despite-us-sanctions/a-64562167 [accessed 14 March 2023].

[129] Council on Foreign Relations. "Countries in China's Belt and Road Initiative: Who's in and Who's Out," 2021. https://www.cfr.org/blog/countries-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-whos-and-whos-out [accessed 14 March 2023].

[130] Dagres, Holly. "Do China and Russia Want to Replace the US as Mediators in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?" Atlantic Council, May 26, 2021. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/do-china-and-russia-want-to-replace-the-us-as-mediators-in-the-israeli-palestinian-conflict/ [accessed 14 March 2023].

with Iran, with visible signs of progress as it recently managed to mediate for the normalization of the bilateral relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia[131].

Lastly, China is concerned about the potential terrorism and extremist ideology, that might spread in case of an armed conflict between Israel and Iran, from the Middle East to China's Xinjiang province, where there are Uighurs, a Muslim minority population, that has strained relations with the central government of China[132].

10. Current Situation - Conclusion

Nowadays, as the Middle East faces an era of strategic changes, new challenges are also appearing in the topic under discussion. In the spectrum of transition in a 'post - Arab Spring' and a 'post ISIS' era, one can see that the rivalry between Iran and Israel is of paramount importance for the balance and stability of the region.

In the context of the partial integration of the so called "US pivot to Asia"[133], and the "Russian withdrawal from Syria"[134], a major monitoring gap has appeared in the regional affairs. For this reason one can see that the Israeli - Iranian tensions have escalated to a point of importance, where the two states are struggling not only to fill this gap, but also to eliminate the doctrinal ambitions of the other. Examples such as

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[131] The New York Times. "Chinese-Brokered Deal Upends Mideast Diplomacy and Challenges U.S.," 2023. https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/11/us/politics/saudi-arabia-iran-china-biden.html [accessed 14 March 2023].

[132] Murphy, Matt. "Uyghurs: China May Have Committed Crimes against Humanity in Xinjiang - UN." BBC News. BBC News, August 31, 2022. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-62744522 [accessed 14 March 2023].

[133] Blackwill, Robert D. "The U.S. Pivot to Asia and American Grand Strategy." Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations. Accessed January 18, 2023. https://www.cfr.org/project/us-pivot-asia-and-american-grand-strategy.

[134] Shehri, Ahmad Al. "Russia's Syria Withdrawal a Boon for Iran's Regional Project." Arab News. Arab News, June 4, 2022. https://www.arabnews.com/node/2096641.

the summer of 2022 "Istanbul incident"[135], captivity of "Israel Mossad cells" in Tehran[136] and the negative impact of the US - Iranian talks in Qatar[137] showing that the already increasing tensions will be even higher.

As the 'Nuclear talks' keep failing and the United States are continuing the 'blockade' of the "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action"[138] since 2018 and the two sides (Iran and Israel) are stimulating their efforts of combating, there is an increasing possibility that Israel and Iran might convert their current "Shadow War" into a full scale international armed conflict [139].

To conclude, the further examination of the topic at hand is an obvious necessity towards the de-escalation of the conflict between Israel and Iran. The United Nations Security Council, under its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security, carries the obligation to further elaborate on finding the roads which lead to peace, security and stability not only among the two countries involved in this shadow war, but in the whole region of the Middle East.

11. Points to be Addressed

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[135] "Turkey Foils Alleged Iran Plot to Kill Israelis in Istanbul." News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, June 23, 2022.https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/6/23/turkey-foiled-iranian-plot-to-kill-israelis-in-istanbul-fm.

[136] Al Jazeera. "Iran Says It Foiled Israel-Linked Attacks on 'Sensitive' Sites." Politics News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, July 23, 2022. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/7/23/iran-says-it-foiled-israel-linked-attacks-on-sensitive-sites

[137] Al Jazeera. "US, Iran Indirect Nuclear Talks Conclude without Progress." News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, June 30, 2022. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/6/29/us-iran-indirect-talks-to-revive-2015-nuclear-pact-conclude-eu.

[138] Motamedi, Maziar. "What You Need to Know about the Iran-US Nuclear Talks in Qatar." News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, June 28, 2022. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/6/28/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-iran-us-nuclear-talks-in-qatar.

[139] Falk, Thomas. "Analysis: Increased Israel-Iran Confrontations Risk War." Nuclear Weapons News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, July 26, 2022. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/7/26/analysis-increased-israel-iran-confrontations-risk-war.

After the completion of the analysis of the topic under discussion, it is fruitful to point out a variety of questions that need to be addressed during the committee debate. These points are following as:

1. *Is there a basis in the conflict between Israel and Iran?*

2. *Which are the previous frameworks in the context of tackling the issue?*

3. *How does the "Shadow War" affect the regional affairs of the Middle East?*

4. *What is the impact of the "Shadow War" on international peace and security? How could the Security Council deal with it in order to maintain international as well as regional peace and security?*

5. *How the regional and international involvement in the issue can be evaluated and what is the role of these actors?*

6. *How can the future of the Iranian Nuclear Program affect the dispute?*

7. *Does the prospect of a direct international armed conflict between Israel and Iran threaten or disrupt international peace and security? If so, what are the measures that the Security Council can adopt in order to restore peace and security in the area?*

8. *Which is the role of the United Nations Security Council in the de-escalation of the conflict?*

9. *What measures should be taken in order to prevent any further destabilization in the Middle East in the context of the Iran - Israel 'Cold War'?*

10. *Is there any necessity for a direct dialogue between the two States? If so, should it be held under a bilateral or a regional/international level?*

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