

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the center of the Israeli expansion and Normalization Strategy



D. Hamdis Makboula
University Blida 2- Algeria - hamdismakboula@mail.com

Received date: 30/04/2023

Accepted date: 02/05/2023

Publication date 01/06/2023

Abstract:

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict remains controversial between the objective and realistic vision of the military strategists and the ideological vision of the political class in Israel, and there is no alternative strategy for these two visions, which explains the power relationship that 'Israel applies in the occupied Palestinian territories, through an expansionist strategy thanks to its strong army in order to protect its people and its survival, but also through other aspects of its internal and external security strategy. But, today' the strategic situation in occupied Palestine has shifted in favor of Palestinian popular and armed resistance, rendering the current Israeli security strategy obsolete. It would be necessary for the Israeli strategists to find the alternative to get out of the Palestinian mire.

Keywords: Israeli security, Palestinian resistance, Pro-Israel lobby, Arab Spring, Arab-Israeli Peace Accords.

Résumé :

Le conflit israélo-palestinien reste controversé entre la vision objective et réaliste des stratèges militaires et la vision idéologique de la classe politique en Israël, et il n'y a pas de stratégie alternative pour ces deux vision, ce qui explique la relation de pouvoir qu'Israël applique dans les territoires palestiniens occupés à travers une stratégie expansionniste grâce à sa forte armée afin de protéger son peuple et Sa survie, mais aussi à travers d'autres aspects de sa stratégie de sécurité au niveau interne et externe. Mais, aujourd'hui la donne stratégique en Palestine occupée a changé en faveur de la résistance populaire et armée palestinienne, rendant la stratégie sécuritaire israélienne actuelle obsolète. Il faudrait pour les stratèges israéliens de trouver l'alternative pour sortir du bourbier palestinien.

Mots clés : Sécurité d'Israël, Résistance palestinienne, Lobby pro-israélien, Printemps arabes, Accords de paix israélo-arabes.

* D. Hamdis Makboula

University Blida 2- Algeria - hamdismakboula@mail.com



Introduction:

Today, Palestine lives under the murderous fire of successive Israeli military operations that causes casualties among civilians, including women and children. Denying the warnings of non-governmental organizations like the Amnesty International report of 2022, accusing it of practicing apartheid on the Palestinian population, Israel continues to commit war crimes on the people of Gaza and the occupied Palestinian territories.

The last aggression of July 2023, which lasted only two days, confirmed the ineffectiveness of the Israeli security and defense strategy established since the creation of the "State of Israel" in 1948. Thus, as we have already published in previous research, this strategy has become obsolete in front of popular and armed Palestinian resistance.

No renewal in the Israeli security strategy, on the other hand, the Palestinian resistance has evolved a lot and it has demonstrated its effectiveness against the Zionist colonizer. As a result, the balance of power between the occupier and the Palestinians has shifted in favor of resistance.

Nevertheless, we will briefly review the essential points of the security and defense strategy of the Zionist entity. It ranges from expansionist wars, and settlements, to the segregationist wall, without forgetting the reconfiguration of the Middle East, passing through the so-called "Arab revolts", until the normalization of relations with the Arab states, favorable to peace with Israel to the detriment of the Palestinian cause.

Finally, we are going to review the evolution of the Palestinian popular and armed resistance, but also the Lebanese resistance, concretized by Hezbollah which has not ceased to challenge the Zionist entity since its creation. So we are faced with the following problem:

- What is the alternative in the security and defense strategy of the Zionist entity that has become obsolete in front of the Palestinian resistance?

In addition, other questions arise such as:

- Has the Israeli security strategy achieved its objectives since the creation of the Zionist entity in 1948?

- How far can Israel withstand the performance of the Palestinian resistance?

In order to find answers to these questions, two hypotheses were considered:

- The Israeli security strategy can no longer meet the security needs of the Zionist entity.

- The Popular resistance and armed struggle is the only path to the liberation of Palestine.

For this, an Analytical Approach dividing the research into two essential parts treated the subject; the first part was devoted to the failure of the Israeli security and defense strategy in



the occupied Palestinian territories, and the second part deals with the evolution of the Palestinian and Lebanese popular and armed resistance movement.

1 - The failure of the Israeli security and defense strategy in the occupied Palestinian territories

The independent "State of Israel" constitutes a challenge and a stratagem at the same time. The Jewish survivor of the Holocaust must at the same time be the occupying soldier in order to be able to maintain the security of this State. To achieve this objective, the young "Jewish State" has moved towards a policy of unlimited armament in order to face the multiple internal and external threats that endanger the survival of "The State of Israel" and its population.

1.1- From expansionist wars to the fight against terrorism

The IDF (Israel Defense Forces) has compiled a list of potential military threats to Israel, threats emanating from countries, regional forces, strategic plan, nuclear threat and terrorism. This necessitates the need for defensible borders to ensure Israel's security. Additionally, there is the threat of terrorism that affects the entire Arab world region.

Before (1967), Israel was so narrow and vulnerable, with only (12km) separating the towns from the Israeli coast to the West Bank, constantly exposing it to the risk of enemy invasion. Consequently, Zionist leaders sought new border arrangements to enable their country to defend itself and establish defensible borders for national security. (Ouzy Dayan, 2012, p. 22)

"Since its independence until today, Israel has acted according to a security doctrine where military effectiveness contradicts political objectives. If Israelis prioritize military security, it reduces their chances of achieving political recognition." This analysis of Israeli security strategy was put forth by French intellectual R. Aron, who, in 1976, observed the contradiction between Israel's military power and the lack of political results it enabled them to attain. The Israelis won battles that did not bring them closer to their political goals but rather pushed them further away. (Pascal, 2013, p. 183)

Today, Israel boasts of having carried out over 19 operations and wars as part of the implementation of its security strategy since its independence in 1948. The Israeli Army (IDF) is considered one of the best in the world, it generates admiration, criticism, debates, and controversies in the Middle East region, and worldwide, which is undergoing significant geopolitical changes. During the Gaza War (2008-2009), Israelis and their allies praised the IDF for avoiding large-scale crimes. The IDF did not choose a policy of terror, destruction, or massive atrocities. The security forces were able to decrease "terrorist attacks" without resorting to the methods used by the French army in Algeria or the Russians in Chechnya. (Dieckoff Alain, 2010, pp. 1,2/6)

Regarding the fight against terrorism, the IDF has established a list distinguishing terrorist organization foreign to that of "Palestinian terrorism". The Islamic State (IS), Hezbollah, the Muslim brotherhood and IHH (IHH: Insani Yardim Vakfi, group Islamist



charity based in Istanbul is considered by Israel to be a terrorist for its links with Hamas) which are among the foreign terrorist organizations. As for "Palestinian terrorism", the major terrorist organizations are: Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Brigade of the Martyrs of El Aqsa, Popular Resistance Committee, FDLP, FPLP, PLO, FPLP-CG and Harakat Al Sabirine. Palestinian Authority leader Y. Arafat was considered a terrorist as well as Khallil El Wazir called; Abou Dhihad. (IDF, 2015)

As part of the fight against terrorism, Israel has designed a global defense strategy. This includes thirteen units of Israeli Special Forces that have conducted military operations against terrorism targeting Israel on all fronts. Israel has also enacted anti-terrorism legislation, such as Law 5762 - 2002, which regulates the incarceration of illegal combatants, and Ordinance No. 33 of September 23, 1948, on the prevention of terrorism, which has undergone three amendments (1980, 1986, and 1993).

Additionally, Israel has published a list of military operations carried out within the framework of the fight against terrorism. This includes targeted assassinations of "terrorists" according to Israel, seizure of illegal weapons, destruction of tunnels in Gaza, and the blockade on the occupied Palestinian territories. Furthermore, international cooperation against terrorism, particularly with the United States, is vital and strategic. The two countries maintain specific relations aimed at preserving common interests in the region. Since the September 11, 2001 attacks, Israel has shared its experience in fighting terrorism with the USA, and this cooperation continues to this day. (IDF, 2015)

1.2- Settlements, the Separation Wall, Pro-Israeli intelligence and lobbies

The construction of the colonies and the usurpation of the Palestinian lands had started well before the six-day war (1967), the colonial policy of the Zionist leaders was oriented towards the colonization of the West Bank and Gaza, day after day the colonies fragment the last islets, after each demolition of Palestinian houses there is reconstruction of dwellings for settlers, colonization is the major obstacle to peace, despite the condemnation of the United Nations and the international community the construction continues until day in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

But, Jewish settlements on Palestinian lands are illegal, because the Israeli authorities use a multitude of complex legislative and bureaucratic mechanisms to achieve control of the land, but, under international law, the seizure of land as practiced by the Israeli authorities is illegal, the latter are not entitled as the occupying force to make these lands an exclusive use which ignores the needs of the occupied population, the latter not having access, an illusion of legality has been created despite internal provisions of international law. (Capucine Valbon, 2015, p. 2)

As for the Racial Segregation Wall, it is necessary to protect the Israeli population, because between (2000 and 2005) hundreds of suicide bombings and terrorist attacks killed around a hundred civilians and injured thousands of others, the security barrier at proximity



to the green line aims to block the infiltration of "Palestinian terrorists". (Bard, 2016, pp. 1,2/6)

According to the Israelis, the Wall responds to the basic need for security and the separation constitutes a measure of self-defence. For the Palestinians, the Wall confiscates their land expropriates them, complaints are regularly filed before the Israeli Supreme Court by the Palestinians and rarely has the latter invalidated the initial route of the Wall, given the security aspect put forward by the authorities, once the Wall completed, (274000) Palestinians will be enclaved and (400000) separated from their fields and their work, schools, Hospitals, paradoxically, (26000) Palestinians participate in the construction of the Wall. (Novosseloff, 2008)

Regarding the legality of the Wall, the ICJ in a press release declared the construction of the Wall by Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory contrary to international law, the advisory opinion of the ICJ issued unanimously by (14) vote against one, asks Israel to put an end to the construction of this Wall, and to repair the damage caused by this illegal fence, and asks the States not to recognize the situation created by the Wall. (CIJ, 2004)

Note that suicide bombings have increased in the past three years, they have struck in the heart of Tel Aviv, so the Wall and its protection are a real failure.

As far as the intelligence services and the pro-Israeli lobbies are concerned, Israel could easily be wiped off the map, the Zionist leaders know this and to avoid this fate, they must know as soon as possible what its enemies are preparing for it, and above all be able to nullify the development of their armed forces so that these threats never see the light of day. According to Israel, terrorist groups such as Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad or the Iranian nuclear, are real threats and the Zionist leaders must choose the shield (the intelligence) which will face all these threats to ensure the survival of Israel. (Eric Denécé, 2015, p. 1/5)

The Israeli intelligence services are composed of three main services, the Mossad: (institute for intelligence and special affairs), the Shin Beth (Shabak) responsible for the internal security of the country, the fight against internal and external terrorism, deals with counterintelligence and military security, and finally the AMAN (Israeli military intelligence.) (Eric Denécé, 2015, p. 2/5)

But, the most important thing is the Cooperation between the Israeli-American intelligence services which is very specific between the Israeli and American secret services and without this cooperation, the operations of the Israeli secret services will not all be able to experience the success that has qualified them as the best intelligence services in the world. (Eric Denécé D. E., 2014, pp. 20,24)

Note also the helplessness of these "best intelligence services in the world" in the face of solitary suicide attacks in the middle of Jerusalem "Israel's capital" and in Tel Aviv.



As for the pro-Israeli lobby, since the war of (1967), the policy of the United States towards Israel has taken a particular turn, the constant political, military and economic support has no equal with any other nation up to the point to compromise not only the security of the United States, but also of other countries in the rest of the world. The absolute support is explained by the pressure of the pro-Israeli Jewish lobbies, and the pro-Israeli lobbies on the institutions of the State as well than on the American people themselves.

At the head of these pressure groups, AIPAC (AIPAC: American Israel Public Affairs Committee is a lobby created in 1951 in the United States aimed at supporting Israel and the Zionist ideology), the most powerful and influential organization on American politics, its main role is to support the policy of the "Hebrew State" whatever it is on the right or on the left, then, takes care of the USA to raise funds for the American candidates with regard to Israel, without forgetting to mobilize against the candidates who would have been hostile or their support would have been considered too lukewarm towards Israel. (Boniface, 2005, p. 81)

1.3- From Camp David to the Abraham Accords: An illicit and imposed Israeli peace.

The long-term project of the United States and Israel is to get rid of recalcitrant regimes that threaten their security, the operation in Iraq (2003) would have the Domino effect in order to renew the region in a way where Israel would secure, (the GMO was unveiled a year later). The occupation of Iraq where he promised democracy, peace and prosperity to the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa is actually an American peace "Pax Americana", whose goal is to crush all opposition to Israeli-American domination. This strategy was developed with a view to extracting concessionary advantages from the Arabs, because peace must be achieved on the terms of the United States and Israel and needs the break-up of the Arab countries and their leaders, because the criteria for the democratization of the Arab world are those of the recognition of Israel and the acceptance of its supremacy. (Bellaloufi, 2008, pp. 81-83)

During the Arab revolutions known as the "Arab Spring" and even well after in 2018 when it was a question of the return of this "Arab Spring", surprisingly in countries where there is Islamist militancy and a clear anti-Israeli feeling, no anti-Israeli did not appear during the demonstrations, it is the index of a well framed revolution, therefore these Arab revolts are only military coups taking on the face of spontaneous democratic movements. (Eric Denecé, p. 4/6)

Long before the announcement of the Greater Middle East Plan (GMO) by President G.W. Bush, the US administration created "The Middle East Partnership Initiative" known by the acronym (MEPI) in (2002), it is a program that empowers citizens of the Middle East and North Africa to develop participatory and prosperous plural societies. Since its creation MEPI has become a flexible tool for direct support to indigenous people, this support is integrated directly into American diplomacy.



Today the MEB "The Middle East Briefing" confirms the involvement of the White House in the Arab revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa through Non-Governmental Organizations, the subversion is financed by the American embassies which manage to through their program application agents (MEPI) and who are in direct contact with these NGOs, which is why many governments are reluctant to install these NGOs on their territories. This being said that the Arab spring are far from being spontaneous movements, but rather a reconfiguration thought out and orchestrated by the American Administration for the benefit of Israel. (Sonia Baker, 2014.)

Thus, Israel has taken advantage and continues to take advantage of each destabilization of an Arab or Muslim country through protest movements on the degrading socio-economic or political situation from which the populations of these countries suffer.

But the most effective solution in the Israeli security strategy are peace agreements with yesterday's enemy who has become today's friend, even if it is an imposed peace, an illicit peace, because how can we barter peace with the return of stolen land?

The Israeli-Egyptian peace of Camp David (1979) against the restitution of Egyptian Sinai, Peace with Jordan of Oued Araba (1994) against 400 km² of Jordanian land and the sharing of the Jordan River, but the most catastrophic peace is that of Oslo (1993), a peace with the Palestinians against all the Land of Palestine, but, President Y. Arafat cannot carry out the orders of the Zionist colonizer, he had to be poisoned with polonium in order to replace by the architect of the Oslo Accords in order to achieve the objectives previously designed between the two parties.

As for the Abraham Accords, barter is legal, common interests between the concordant, it remains to be seen who benefits most from these accords.

It is true that today we are faced with the accomplished fact of the normalization of Arab-Israeli relations on a large scale to the detriment of the freedom not only of Palestine, but also of all the Arab peoples, but this normalization remains binding to the mutual interests of both parties.

2 – Palestinian and Lebanese resistance movements not in favor of normalizing relations with Israel.

The main element of the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause is that it is a cause of national liberation, the Palestinian people having been victims of a colonization which opened the way to settlement and substitution colonization, expressions are used on a daily basis to define the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in order to divert and usurp the reality of the problem, such as "dispute of territory occupied since 1967", going so far as to modify university teaching programs, (more serious again until they are removed) in the Arab world in order to remove everything that can qualify Israel as a colonizer. (Bichara, 2018.)

The Oslo Accords of 1993 stipulated the establishment of Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza against the PLO's recognition of Israel's right to live in peace and security without any reference to the Palestinian right to a state. (Alain Gresh, 2010, p. 512)



The reality is the legitimacy of any movement of resistance to this colonialism whether armed or in the form of popular resistance in Palestine and in any occupied Arab territory.

2.1- Hamas and Islamic Jihad: The Pivot of the Palestinian Armed Resistance.

No one can doubt the legitimacy of these two-armed movements in their fight against the Israeli occupier, the legal foundations of this fight are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the organization through the principle of self-determination of peoples, the principle of self-defense and the right of return of Palestinian refugees.

These two movements could not escape the instrumentalization of their status as terrorist/resistant by the great powers, terrorists for Israel and the United States, and for the West, it is only their armed branches which are considered as such, and not the case for Russia and China, and without forgetting the demonization of these two movements by the Western media.

The operation carried out by Hamas in May 2021 against Israel with a more military aspect, Hamas presented itself as the only defense instrument against the Israeli army and as a Palestinian spokesman. This operation has recomposed the Geostrategic aspect in the Middle East in favor of armed resistance.

With regard to the Arab-Israeli standardization process, Hamas spokesman said it was a political sin, because the Israeli occupation exploits all standardization agreements to accentuate his aggressive policy against Palestinians and increase his intrusion into establishments. He also encourages the continuation to refuse the rights of the Palestinian people. (Ismail, 2020)

The Breaking Dawn operation took place on August 5, 2022, when the Israeli army struck in Gaza to eliminate the military leader of the Islamic movement of jihad in Palestine. The attack killed 46 Palestinians, but the reprisals of the movement were very strong. The replica against Israel was made with the sending of hundreds of projectiles from Gaza, Rockets and Mortar Shells, which injured two Israelis. On August 7, a cease-fire negotiated under the auspices of Egypt came into force, because Israel cannot fight against Islamic missiles in jihad for more than three days.

2.2- Hezbollah, the perpetual enemy of Israel

Hezbollah resists the Israeli-American front which is part of a regional framework and an alliance with Iran and Syria, and is very supportive of the Palestinians and the Hamas movement. (Alain Gresh, 2010, p. 336). Also, its commitment in Syria has made it evolve to become a regional actor representing a bulwark against the terrorist threat, in addition to the experience acquired alongside the Russian armies in Syria. (Passot, 2020, p. 04)

Hezbollah's ballistic arsenal is 150,000 projectiles, adding that of Iran, the strategic depth of the small Israeli territory is threatened until Israel is wiped off the map, and it is well aware of the gravity of this threat. For Hezbollah, the priority must go to the fight against “the



Western project” of reshaping the region, that is to say normalization with Israel, while four Arab countries have recently embarked on this path. The presence of the Shiite party, also an armed militia, de facto places Lebanon in the Iranian orbit, even if many voices oppose it in the country. However, these do not go so far as to advocate normalization with Israel, an issue that remains a taboo in Lebanon. (Rabih, 2021.)

2.3- Popular resistance in the occupied Palestinian territories.

Gaza is today the symbol of popular resistance, subject to an Israeli-Egyptian embargo but also of the entire Western world since the victory of Hamas in 2005 in the elections, despite being democratically elected. Gaza has also been the scene of Tsahal military operations, repeated attacks in order to destroy all resistance to Israel (2008, 2012, 2014, 2021, 2022), the blockade of Gaza makes it possible to confine undesirables in very difficult conditions, limited water and energy supply, very high unemployment rate and despite this, in 2018 Gaza gave rise to demonstrations in the border sector to denounce the land and sea blockade, but also to demand the return of refugees expelled from their land. Aggravating the disastrous situation in Gaza, D. Trump, then President of the United States, decided to refuse the American subsidy to UNRWA intended for the education and health of Palestinian refugees. (Michel Nazet et Alain Nonjon J.-F. S., 2018, pp. 14,15). And despite all this, the people of Gaza are resisting every day as no people have done before them.

In the West Bank, repression and occupation breed resistance but also violence and hatred, and from the first Intifada until today, the Palestinian people are more determined than ever not to abdicate before the Zionist occupier. Created on its land and which usurps its lands every day by building colonies for its Jewish settlers, destroying Palestinian homes and olive groves with bulldozers, building the Racial Segregation Wall and the daily suffering of Palestinians in front of the Check-points.

The consequences of this repression is the popular uprising (Intifada 1 and 2) which broke out in 1988 and 2000, for the first Intifada the people chose stone, and for the second the suicide attacks, the third intifada or the war of knives was the response to the land usurpation on a daily basis, until this day, the resistance continues since the military operation of Hamas against Israel in 2021 following the aggressions against the population of Jerusalem.

Recently, the Israeli army ended its operations in Jenin on July 5, 2023 after forty-eight hours. For the Israeli daily “Ha'Aretz”, the assessment of the most important operation carried out in the West Bank for twenty years is very relative. Despite the death of 12 Palestinians and a hundred wounded, including 20 seriously, one soldier lost his life on the Israeli side.

Considered the largest carried out by the Tsahal in the West Bank – occupied by Israel since 1967 – for nearly twenty years, given the human and material, land and air resources mobilized, this operation lasted forty-eight hours flat. According to Amos Harel, the security columnist for the Israeli daily Ha'Aretz, it will have enabled the Jewish state to “achieve some operational success”.



Never in more than twenty years had the Israeli army deployed so many means to enter Jenin, the Palestinian city of 50,000 inhabitants, under the theoretical control of the Palestinian Authority. The equivalent of a brigade, or 2,000 men, was engaged in the operation which began overnight from Sunday to Monday. Thanks to the ground incursion of the armed forces - 1,000 men mobilized - and aerial bombardments using drones, the army says it has neutralized Palestinian fighters as well as workshops for the manufacture of explosive devices belonging to factions' armies like the Jenin Brigades in the Palestinian refugee camp in the city. (Euronews, 2023)

This time, Israel could not resist more than 48 hours in the occupied territories under its control, not in Gaza, the Israeli security situation is deteriorating more and more leaving the choice to the settlers either to leave Palestine, or to end their lives buried in shelters.

Conclusion:

After more than seven decades of the existence of the Zionist entity on the despoiled land of Palestine, the failure of its Israeli security and defense strategy is visible through its defeat in the war against terrorism by wanting to impose the status from terrorists to members of the Palestinian resistance. In addition, another failure is that of the Greater Middle East and the Arab revolts to break up Arab regimes that are reluctant to normalize with Israel.

Without forgetting the failure of Israeli intelligence in front of attacks perpetrated by resistance fighters and loners who are not allied to any resistance movement. Ostensibly, the extent of the normalization process with the Zionist entity remains unstable in the face of Saudi Arabia's reluctance to join "the Abraham Accords".

Thus, faced with the successive victories of the armed branches of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah against Israel, armed struggle and popular resistance remain the only hope for the inevitable disappearance of the Zionist entity.

For this, the only alternative to the current Israeli security strategy is the deportation of the Palestinian people to the Arab countries neighboring Israel and partners in the peace treaties since 1979 until the "Accords of Abraham".

References :

Alain Gresh, D. V. (2010). les 100 clés du Proche-Orient . Paris: Pluriel.

*Bard, M. G. (2016, 02). Cloture Ovest security Bank: contexte et vue d'ensemble. Consulté le 05 30, 2016, sur Jewish Virtual Library:
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Peace/fence.html>*

Bellaloufi, H. (2008). Grand Moyen-Orient, Guerre ou paix ? Plaidoyer pour une nouvelle révolution arabe. Alger: Lazhar Labter éditions.



Bichara, A. (2018, Mai 12). « Soixante Dix ans après la Nakba palestinienne : la mémoire et l'histoire ». Consulté le 02 11, 2022, sur Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha : www.carep-paris.org

Boniface, P. (2005). *Vers la 4e Guerre mondiale*. Paris: éditions Armand –colin.

Capucine Valbon. (2015, 02). *Droit international et colonisation israélienne*. Consulté le 05 01, 2016, sur Institut des relations Internationales Stratégiques, Observatoire des mutations politiques dans le Monde Arabe, .

CIJ. (2004, 07 09). *couverture des réunions et communiqués de presse, CIJ/636*. Consulté le 05 20, 2016, sur Cour Internationale de Justice: <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/home.htm>

Dieckoff Alain, C. S. (2010, Mai). *Israël et son armée, Société et stratégie à l'heure des ruptures*,. Consulté le 03 23, 2016, sur L'Institut de Recherche Stratégique de l'Ecole Militaire, Etudes de IRSEM N°3, <http://www.defense.gouv.fr/irsem/publications/etudes/etude-de-l-irsem-n-3>

Eric Denécé. (2015, Hivers). *Le renseignement clé de voute de la sécurité d'Israël*. *Politique internationale (Revue N°146)*.

Eric Denecé. (s.d.). *Les révolutions arabes ne sont que des coups d'Etat militaires masqués, Propos recueillis par Valerie Segond*, Consulté le 12 23, 2019, sur [latribune](http://latribune.fr): www.latribune.fr

Eric Denécé, D. E. (2014). *Les services secrets israéliens, AMAN, MOSSAD, Shin Beth : Les meilleurs services du monde ?*. Paris: éditions Tallandier.

Euronews. (2023, 07 03). *À Jénine, l'armée d'Israël lance une opération massive jamais vu depuis vingt ans*. Consulté le 07 17, 2023, sur Euronews: <https://fr.euronews.com/video/2023/07/03/a-jenine-larmee-disrael-lance-une-operation-massive-jamais-vu-depuis-vingt-ans>

IDF. (2015). *menaces militaires potentiels*,. Consulté le 04 20, 2016, sur Jewish Virtual Library.: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsoc/Society_&_Culture/IDFtoc.html

Ismail, M. (2020, 12 11). *La normalisation du Maroc avec Israël est un péché politique*. Consulté le 02 11, 2022, sur Agence Anadolu: www.aa.com.tr

Michel Nazet et Alain Nonjon, J.-F. S. (2018). *Atlas des 160 lieux stratégiques du monde, Géopolitique*. Paris: ellipses éditions.

Michel Nazet et Alain Nonjon, J.-F. S. (2018). *Atlas des 160 lieux stratégiques du monde, Géopolitique*,. Paris: ellipses éditions.

Novosseloff, A. (2008, 08 13). *La construction du Mur :De la protection à la séparation*. Consulté le 05 07, 2016, sur *Question N°28, la documentation française*: <http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/dossiers/israel-60-ans/construction-mur.shtml>

Ouzy Dayan, R. e. (2012, 04). *frontières défendables pour l'avenir de la sécurité d'Israël, les revendications légitimes de l'Etat d'Israël pour une paix juste et viable*. Consulté le 04 20, 2016, sur Center for public affairs (JCPA): cpa-lecape.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/frontieredefendables.pdf



Pascal, B. (2013). De la guerre des étoiles aux printemps arabes. Paris: Armand Colin, IRIS éditions.

Passot, C. O. (2020, Janvier 28). La stratégie d'Israël face au renforcement du Hezbollah, La centralité du renseignement,. (P. note de recherche N°87, Éd.) Consulté le 01 15, 2022, sur IRSEM.

Rabih, M. (2021., Mars 08). La normalisation avec Israël reste un sujet tabou, mai.... Consulté le 02 15, 2022, sur L'Orient-Le jour: <https://www.lorientlejour.com>

Sonia Baker, L. d. (2014. , Juin 13). Consulté le 04 24, 2016, sur <http://www.legrandsoir.info/baker-sonia.html>

