

heteroglossia



QUADERNI DI LINGUAGGI E INTERDISCIPLINARITÀ.
DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE POLITICHE, DELLA
COMUNICAZIONE E DELLE RELAZIONI INTERNAZIONALI.



Heteroglossia n. 15

Percezione ed esperienza del confine

a cura di Hans-Georg Grüning e Mathilde Anquetil

eum

Università degli Studi di Macerata

Heteroglossia n. 15

Quaderni di Linguaggi e Interdisciplinarietà. Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche, della Comunicazione e delle Relazioni Internazionali.

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Hans-Georg Grüning

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ISSN: 2037-7037

isbn 978-88-6056-504-4

Prima edizione: dicembre 2017

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Centro Direzionale, Via Carducci snc – 62100 Macerata

info.ceum@unimc.it

<http://eum.unimc.it>

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Simona Epasto

Israel, “Land of Border” without Borders. Is the indeterminacy a point of strength or weakness?

Abstract

In the context of the traditional characteristics of the State-Nation, as well as categorized by Political Geography, Israel has unique characteristics in the global panorama. In fact, the ethnic, demographic and geographic peculiarities are accompanied by the vocation of a State which politically, geopolitically and culturally, is situated on the “border” between East and West. To this is added the indeterminacy of its geographical boundaries, which many perceive as a synonym of uncertainty and as a cause of isolation.

The aim of this paper is to highlight how the indeterminateness of geographical, ideological, political and geopolitical borders, far from being a weakness or even a possible cause of the end of the Jewish State, is the true strength of the only democracy existing in the Middle East.

Riassunto

Nell’ambito delle tradizionali caratteristiche dello Stato-Nazione, così come categorizzate dalla Geografia Politica, Israele presenta caratteristiche uniche nel panorama globale. Alle peculiarità etniche, demografiche e geografiche, si affianca, infatti, la vocazione di uno Stato che sotto il profilo politico, geopolitico e culturale, si trova al “confine” tra Occidente ed Oriente. A ciò si aggiunge l’indeterminatezza dei suoi confini geografici, da molti vista come sinonimo di incertezza e causa di isolamento.

Lo scopo di questo lavoro è quello di evidenziare come l’indeterminatezza dei confini geografici, ideologici, politici e geopolitici, lungi dall’essere una debolezza o addirittura una possibile causa della fine dello Stato ebraico, è la vera forza della sola democrazia esistente in Medio Oriente.

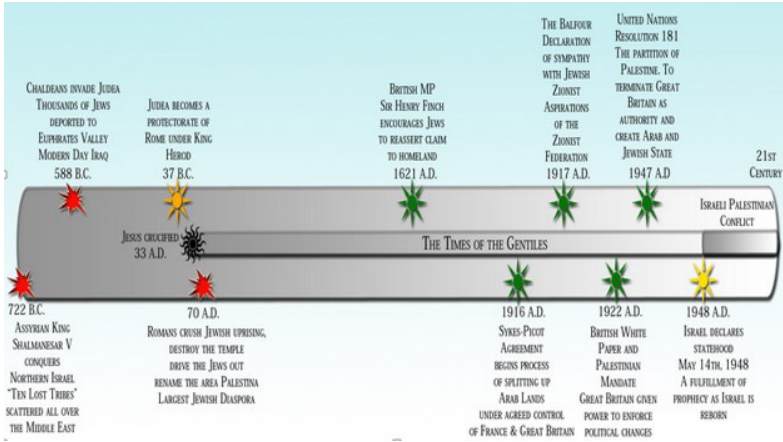


Fig. 1. *The Jewish Diaspora and Restoration (722 b.C.-21st Century)*.
Source: Eddolls G.B. (2013).

Introduction: Peculiarities of the State of Israel

Following the essential elements of the State-Nation, Israel presents unique peculiarities in the global geopolitical survey as well as in the traditional categorizations of Political Geography.

Firstly, it definitely represents a *sui generis* State due to the ethnic, geographic and demographic peculiarities that characterize it; at the same time, from a political and geopolitical point of view it appears to be “spiritually” and economically Americanist and liberalist, culturally Orientalist and geopolitically Occidental¹.

Founded by David Ben Gurion and Chaim Weizmann, Israel is an autonomous state, which is not only based on history and religion but also on the rights of a persecuted population tied to a specific land.

The Jewish diaspora is an example of the mass dispersion of an entire population caused by the persecution and expulsions that have occurred since the kingdom of Babylon and under the Roman Empire which ended nearly two millennia later with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 (Fig. 1).

¹ Caracciolo 2013, pp. 5-19.

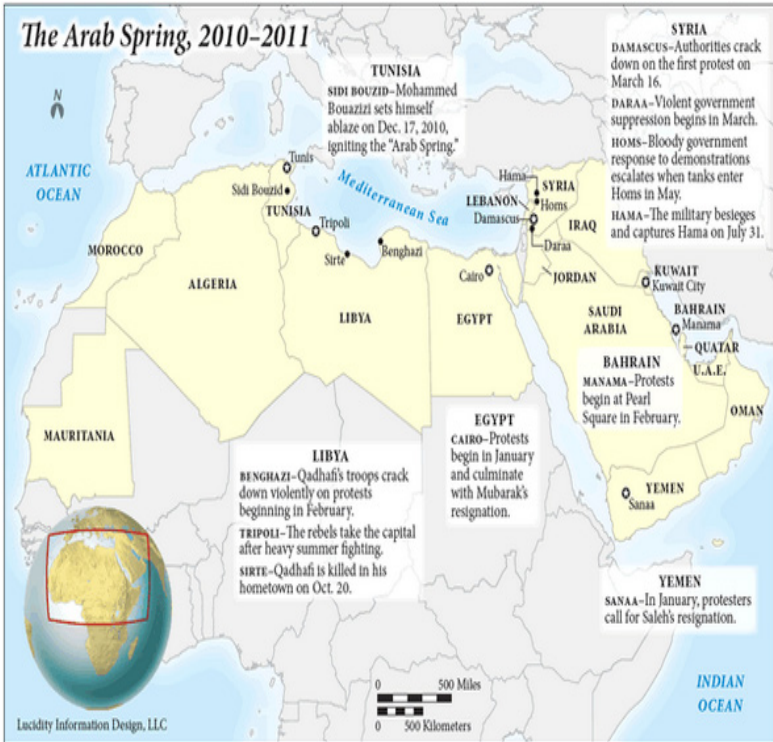


Fig. 2. *The Arab Spring, 2010-2011.*

Source: Foreign Policy Association, Jan 13, 2012, <http://www.fpa.org/features/index.cfm?act=feature&announcement_id=113>.

The persistence of a collective ideal, of peculiar religious and cultural traditions, the commonality of language and lifestyle, have maintained for millennia the unity and individuality of the Jewish people "dispersed" across the five continents and their attachment to a motherland, rebuilt in modern times, that has no equal in history. Following the end of the British mandate in Palestine and the creation of the State of Israel, millions of Jews returned to the "Promised Land" of the Old Testament, and even if those who reside in foreign territories are politically, culturally and socially well integrated, they are never treated as

such; the consciousness of a unique collective identity remains at the base of the Jewish communities that still retain a common way of life that no other people maintain².

Israel's security problems

Israel is a legitimate State, which, for very complex historical and geographical circumstances, is at the centre of a multilateral and ideological attack by Islamic fundamentalism that has nothing to do with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The recent attacks made by Syrian jihadist troops on the northern border of Israel are further proof of this phenomenon.

The recent events of the Arab Spring or the second Arab awakening which was triggered in Tunisia and propagated like wildfire across the Maghreb and the Middle East, fueled by the claims of the middle classes, the tribal militias and economic interests that revolve around energy resources, have aroused considerable concern, not only for how they unfold and their immediate geopolitical and geo-economic consequences in the Mediterranean, but also, and above all, for the possible outcomes (Fig. 2).

In this regard, analysts and scholars are divided between those who see the awakening of the masses as an opportunity for democratizing the Arab world, in the wake of Fukujama's ideas and against Huntington's ideology who supported the incompatibility of Islam with Western democracies, and who, by contrast, right on the heels of the thought of the American statesman, considers this unrest to be prodromal to the establishment of new authoritarian regimes, since Islam is incompatible with democracy, pluralism and multi-ethnicity³.

In this "Clash of Civilizations" as defined by Huntington, Judaism as a religion and Israel as a State are placed in peculiar position; the Jews, persecuted, discriminated, expelled and killed ever since the dawn of time, still remain a close-knit community strongly linked by traditions, language and culture that

² Dagradi 2006; Epasto 2012; Lizza 2008.

³ Epasto 2012; Jean 2011, pp. 57-67.



Fig. 3. *The Separation Wall.*

Source: <<http://terrasol.home.igc.org/mideast/wall-map.gif>>.



Fig. 4. *Israel- Egypt border fence.*

Source: <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/11/israel-fence-egypt>>.

have been kept alive for thousands of years in every corner of the world⁴.

Moreover, following the creation of the State of Israel, the “Jewish problem” is still one of the main components of Arab-Islamic nationalism and one of the sore points concerning geopolitical equilibrium in the Middle East. The birth of an economically and culturally developed Western State, which is politically strong and geopolitically linked to the Western World – and not only –, in the heart of the Arabic world has increased the growing tension between the West and Islam. Yet, beyond assessments of political nature, the example of the development of an egalitarian state that has transformed a poor area into one of the most developed economies in half a century cannot be underestimated.

The situation is indeed paradoxical regarding security threats; although it is the largest military power in the area due to the

⁴ Epasto 2012; Huntington 1996.



Fig 5. Security barrier along the Jordanian border.

Source: <<http://deltascientific.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/israel-300x258.jpg>>.

motivation and the rigorous training of its armed forces, it is constantly on the alert, not only for the risks associated with terrorism, but also for the persistent hostility towards the people of Israel and the existence of the State.

Historically the most significant example is Egypt, which for many years was Israel's greatest enemy in the region and responsible for every act of war between Arabs and Israelis until the signing of the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. Only after four lost wars (1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973) the Egyptians accepted the fact that Israel would not be wiped out.

In reference to the most recent events, Hamas has gained the approval of the people of Gaza. However, is consensus shoot suspected collaborators? In my opinion, it is Hamas who is holding its people as hostages.

The tests of strength in Lebanon against Hezbollah and in the Gaza Strip against Hamas, confirmed Israel's military strength and efficiency.

Territorial boundaries delimited by walls and barriers

In order to prevent any kind of attack, a harshly criticized wall was built in 2003 in order to separate Israel from the Palestinian territories followed by the announcement of the construction of a new barrier along the Jordan River in 2013, which will begin following the completion of the Israel-Egypt separation wall (Fig. 3; Fig. 4).

In January 2013, the main section of the Israel–Egypt border fence barrier was completed while the final section was completed in December 2013.

In June 2014, the Prime Minister also announced that Israel would build a security barrier along the Jordanian border, which would stretch all the way from Eilat to the Golan Heights. In fact, the relationships with its neighbouring States (mainly all the Palestinian territories and Syria) are still Israel's main problem but other issues have arisen since 2011 due to the widespread instability on its borders as a result of the "Arab Spring" (Fig. 5).

«Our first challenge is to protect our borders. Extremist Islamic forces are knocking on our doors in the north and south and we've set up obstacles against them, except for in one sector»⁵, Netanyahu stated during a conference at Tel Aviv University.

The official announcement of the construction of the security barrier was made on the day of the recent elections. After years of discussions, the army is requesting the construction of a barrier on the Jordan border. The barrier will be erected to protect the new airport in Timna, which Israel is building two hundred meters from the Jordanian border. The purpose of the barrier is to prevent jihadist infiltration from Jordan and the Islamic state penetration.

⁵ Somfalvi 2014.

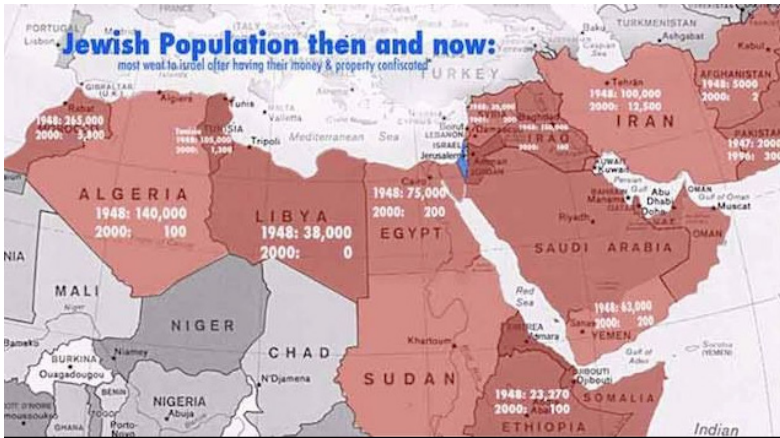


Fig. 6. *Jewish Population then and now.*

Source: <http://sonofeliyahu.com/Israel_07.htm>.

Indeterminacy of Israeli borders

From a geographical and geopolitical point of view there is another peculiarity regarding the state of Israel which is the indeterminacy of its borders. Although this characteristic may appear to be synonymous with uncertainty and “non-normality” from a Geostrategic profile, as well as being the cause of isolation and even condemnation by other States or other geopolitical players, in actual fact it represents its real strength.

One of the most formidable cliché in public and scientific discourse on international relations is the increasing irrelevance of borders which is commonplace due to the presumed decline of spatial material attributable to globalization; in actual fact the deep technological innovations of the last 30 years, while still allowing partial forms of ubiquity, have to coexist with the conditionings of territoriality⁶.

The indeterminacy of the geographical, ideological, political and geopolitical borders of Israel is actually the true strength of the only existing democracy in the Middle East rather than be-

⁶ Fiamingo, Giunchi 2009.

ing a weakness or even a possible cause of the end of the Jewish State.

Israel is the only world state that does not want to determine its borders, since the indeterminacy of its borders is the true essence of a State that represents a "shelter" for all Jews. Israel is an extraordinary, which is neither ordinary nor "normal" (Fig. 6).

The uncertainty principle and the indeterminacy of the boundaries are inscribed in its origins from "Der Judenstaat" by Theodor Herzl (1896)⁷, to the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel (May 14, 1948)⁸, which was read out in Tel-Aviv by David Ben-Gurion beneath Herzl's portrait.

From a geostrategic point of view, at least three fundamental principles can be derived from what has been said above; Israel cultivates its alliances yet retains the right to defend itself from any enemy that threatens its existence by any means. Today Iran is the only enemy that can actually destroy it; there will never be a real Palestinian state between the Mediterranean and Jordan because Israel cannot accept an armed state within its boundaries and because the Arabs do not want Israel as a neighbouring state; they want the death of Israel. This is proved by the events of 2008 when the Israeli right wing led by Ehud Olmert was willing to concede almost all the "occupied territories" and to



Fig. 7. Armistice Line 1949-1967.
Source: <<http://israelbehindtheneeds.com/rights-spelled-clear/9086/>>.

⁷ Herzl 1896.

⁸ Provisional Government of Israel 1948, p. 1.



Fig. 8. *The Green Line.*

Source: <<http://www.southjerusalem.com/2013/07/europe>>.

renounce Israel's sovereignty over the Temple Mount but Abu Mazen refused the offer.

The territory generally recognized internationally as Israeli, which lies within "the green line borders" delineated by the 1949 ceasefire, is formed by two larger regions in the north (Galilee and the coast) and in the south (southern Judea and the Negev desert); these are connected by a coastal strip that narrows up to 20 km in the northern area of Tel Aviv and curves inwards towards Jerusalem (Fig. 8).

The beginning of a phase of repeated conflicts (1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973) modified in the course of 25 years not only the

Relationships between wars and borders

The day after the establishment of the State, Israel was attacked by the nations belonging to the Arab League that clearly and openly intended to destroy the newly founded state. At the end of the war, Israel controlled more territory than before it declared independence. Egypt controlled Gaza, Jordan controlled Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) while Western Jerusalem was in Israeli territory, and Eastern Jerusalem in Jordan (Fig. 7).

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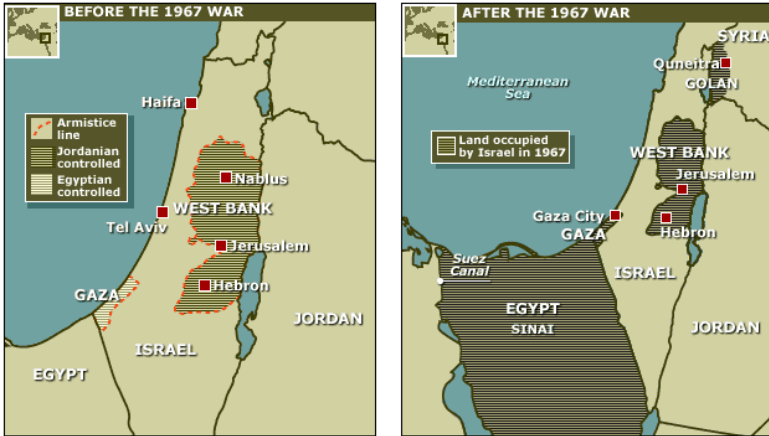


Fig. 9. Borders of Israel before and after the 1967 war.

Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_israel_palestinians/maps/html/six_day_war.stm>.

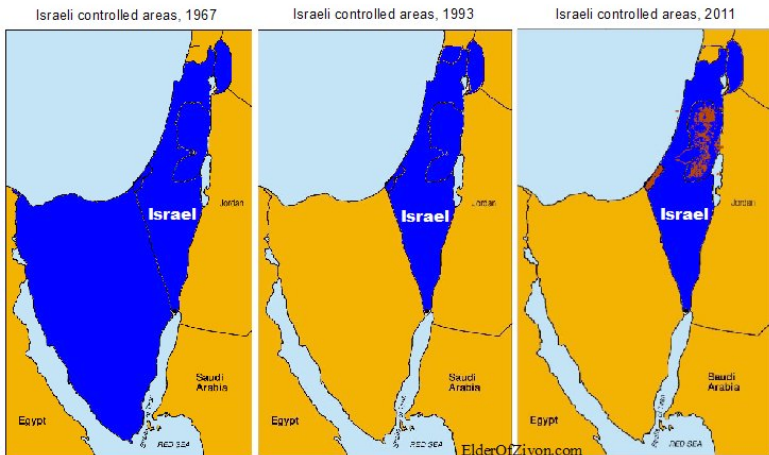


Fig. 10. Israel's Land Concession for peace, 1967-2011.

Source: <<https://dabrownstein.files.wordpress.com/2013/11/israeli-land-concessions.jpg>>.

geographical boundaries of the state (Fig. 9; Fig. 10) but also the political and geopolitical equilibrium in the Middle East⁹.

Therefore, these wars repeatedly moved Israel's boundaries. During the Six Day War (1967) and the Camp David Accords (1978), Israeli territory reached its maximum expansion, which can be seen in the Israeli map of that time (Fig. 11).

Recent Government crisis and redefinition of the State's identity

The Israeli Prime Minister sacked two ministers and caused a government crisis in order to hold early elections in March 17, 2015. Netanyahu started a government crisis because he wants to redefine the state's identity. This time, it is impossible to do anything about the dilemma of war and peace, the "dialogue" with the Palestinians and the threat of infiltration of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's menacing Islamic State into Gaza. Israel is not divided on security issues: on the contrary, it is united. In fact, most of the nation does not perceive the comparison-clash with the Palestinians to be an important issue requiring debate. The problem simply does not exist, except in terms of public policy. The government crisis was not born in Gaza before or after the "third war" or in the wake of the strategic decisions to be made during the inexistent negotiations with the Palestinian National Authority of Mahmoud Abbas.

An affirmation of identity that from ideology becomes a constituent element of the "new" State of Israel.

At the center of the crisis is the idea of how Israel should be: identity characteristics, the relationship between sacred and secular and between "Eretz Israel" (Land of Israel) and "Medinat Israel" (the State of Israel). Therefore, it is no coincidence that the day of reckoning within the executive took place following the fiery internal debate that led – against the vote of seven ministers – to the approval of a draft law, that defines Israel as the State of the Jewish Nation¹⁰.

⁹ Treccani Atlante Geopolitico 2015, pp. 520-529.

¹⁰ De Giovannangeli 2014.

According to Tzipi Livni (Minister of Justice) and Yair Lapid (Minister of Finance), it is a forced approval that threatens to split the country, especially as regards to the 20% of the population (more than 1.3 million people) who are Israeli Arabs and not Israeli Jews.

This time the difference lies in the clash between the two visions of Israel, between two ideas of State.

A definition that does not really concern providing support (or not) to the "Jewish settlement" of the Territories and peace based on the solution of "two states"; since distinctions do exist regarding yet not enough to justify a government crisis. Of course, Netanyahu knows that there are no rivals in the left wing and that the center is divided concerning leadership rather than the programs. However, these calculations belong to the tactical dimension of politics. In this case, the clash involves the sphere of ideology as never before, the sense of self and the "mission" of a Population.

Israel has reached a crossroads. However this time it must come to terms with itself since the campaign is underway and the decisions made will not solve the Palestinian issue, but they will decide the orientation of the 'Israeli issue'.

Benjamin Netanyahu wants to give to the Israeli population a 'head', a unifying ideology and a direction of the Israeli 'State of the Jewish Nation'.

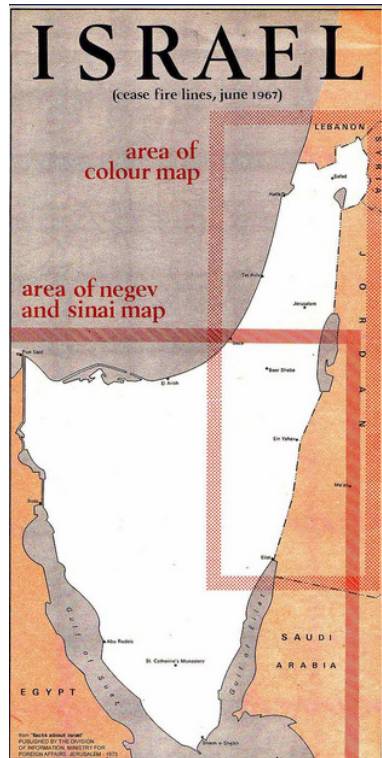


Fig. 11. *Cease fire Lines, June 1967.*

Source: Division of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem.

It is for this reason that he is criticized both in Israel and abroad. Some speak of a theocratic vision of Israel; others speak of a nationalist-messianic vision that holds together the expansionist right and the ultra-Orthodox. Some even speak of the “Torah which becomes State” (the writer Meir Shalev) or of “fanaticism that becomes State” (Zahava Gal On, the president of the Meretz, the Zionist left)¹¹.

Yet the draft law entitled “Israel, the nation state of the Jewish people”¹², approved by the Israeli cabinet on November 23 with 14 votes in favor and 7 against has been widely criticized worldwide.

However, the elections that took place on March 17 showed that Netanyahu’s gamble has paid off; Netanyahu, by focusing on fear, distrust, and the pride of being alone against all and against everything has managed to win the elections and to continue the mission of defending Eretz Israel, the Holy Land of Israel. In this respect, he was undoubtedly a master and this victory is his political masterpiece¹³.

The criticisms made concerning the State of Israel and its policies are certainly not new; and the Premier Netanyahu has certainly not benefited from good publicity abroad. Yet in my opinion, the world press shows an absolute lack of objectivity when reporting news on Israel. The Western media report the wrong news repeatedly, using two weights and two measures, they exaggerate and refer to numerous sources, they use ridiculous and senseless analogies, carry out tendentious interviews and make significant omissions. These defects stem from a sense of solidarity with the “oppressed” by adopting a narrative that makes the Palestinians victims due to widespread criticism and conflicting voices within Israel and anti-Semitism.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Knesset 2014.

¹³ De Giovannangeli 2015.

Wars and terrorism: an inseparable combination against Israeli territory

This discussion leads to another topic related to the notion of "war". The British General Sir Rupert Anthony Smith coined the statement "wars among the people"¹⁴. "War does not exist anymore": "with these words Smith does not mean that there will be no more wars but that there will no longer be wars as we knew them until a few decades ago and armies will no longer fight each other in the open field. Those wars have been replaced by what he calls "wars among the people." In his opinion, the streets and houses are now the battlefields, and the wars are fought, above all, by the civilian population, which is what is occurring in the Middle East. Civilians have now become targets to hit, hostages to be taken and exploited and human shields to use unscrupulously. Therefore a new "paradigm" of war, which has undermined the possibility of using force effectively. That is why the military is no longer able to obtain the results that politicians expect from them. They are, in fact, terrorist organizations that fight in the most "updated" way.

The task of the democratic nations is therefore to respond to this challenge, the most menacing of our time. Terrorism, which began with the French revolution, has always existed but it is important to note that international terrorism first appeared in the Sixties and Seventies with the Palestinians (just think of the aircraft hijackings and the infamous Black September action during the Olympic Games in Monaco in 1972). But with the end of the Cold War, religious and fundamentalist terrorism was added for political purposes is added while political terrorism was reluctant to kill too many innocent people as it did not want to lose support. Religious fundamentalists have no limits, the observant terrorists are lined up on one side and the infidels are lined up on the other¹⁵.

Therefore, it is impossible to resort to the traditional patterns of war, which has led us to talk of "Hybrid Warfare", a term

¹⁴ Smith 2007.

¹⁵ Laqueur 1999; Laqueur 2001; Juegensmeyer 2003.

coined by F.G. Hoffman¹⁶; every contemporary war would be hybrid as necessarily characterized by a mixture of regular and irregular elements, conventional and unconventional tactics, and employing such things as guerrilla warfare and terrorism. This theory is processed as a result of the experience in 2006 of the State of Israel in Lebanon against Hezbollah.

There are numerous notions concerning the “new wars”. The most famous is the distinction made by Mary Kaldor between old and new wars with which I disagree¹⁷.

The sunset of the established relationship between territory, state sovereignty and monopoly of violence has certainly led to a renewal of conflicts and wars, which is however characterized by the persistence of the same logic of power. In this perspective, war proves to be extremely capable of adapting to the new system characterized by the interaction between geopolitics, which is the relationship between space, power and globalization. In my opinion, this does not imply that there is no possibility of continuity with the past, but only an adaptive evolution that ensures its survival like biological phenomena. For these reasons, I disagree with the idea that the end of bipolarity has led to the emergence of new wars but if I were obliged to provide a definition, I would prefer to call them “renewed wars”.

Beyond terminological definitions, the “wars” of the twenty-first Century (new, hybrid, among the people, renewed, etc.) represent a new challenge for all democracies. The State of Israel is now one of the few states that is concretely responding to new emergencies and to Islamic terrorism; and it responds not only with words, like the European Union or the United States of Obama, but with facts, actions and laws.

Political and geopolitical boundaries: the old and new partnerships of Israel

Israel has become in recent decades the number one ally of the most powerful state in the world: the United States. This was

¹⁶ Hoffman 2009, pp. 34-48.

¹⁷ Kaldor 2012.

before Obama's arrival and although initially it seemed that the alliance had remained although not as strongly as before, the latest developments in world politics and the openly hostile attitude of the current US President, suggest that the alliance between the two nations has failed especially in relation to two key issues: the Israeli settlements on the West Bank and the Iranian nuclear issue. According to some, Israel's coldness with the US, combined with regional isolationism, could have serious consequences for the nation. However, even if Israel appears to be isolated from the surrounding regions, this has never really been true. Israel and Turkey have generally enjoyed a good relationship throughout history before the Islamic revolution with Iran. Today common interests leads Israel to enjoy good relations with Teheran's enemies: Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the Gulf Cooperation Council and Qatar. In April, the "hawk" Lieberman, the Foreign Minister, revealed to newspaper Yediot Ahronot the existence of confidential talks in progress with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in order to discuss common threats: Iran's nuclear program, jihadism and Hezbollah. Beyond the denials made by the two countries concerned, the community of interest is undeniable. During the war last summer, even the now ex Minister Lapid had indicated these partners as subjects to involve in the reconstruction of Gaza together with the Europeans and Americans. Beyond the projects of his ministers, Netanyahu has clearly chosen to avail these regional coalitions, when he focused on the negotiated settlement of the war on Egypt's al-Sisi and put Kerry and the Americans aside, he was guilty of wanting to involve the regional enemies of Turkey and Qatar.

The Gaza War and the exclusion of American mediation have inflicted the final blow to Israeli-American relations, because just at the critical moment of the conflict, the White House agreed to decide case by case which and how many weapons should be supplied to Israel. In addition, as if that is not enough, for years the relations between Israel and Russia have been constantly improving and the Russia's renewed role in Egypt can only favor them. If we add the growing hostility between Putin and Obama to this, may not be difficult to pave the way for a future geopolitical equilibrium.

Conclusion and reflections

Israel is located at the crossroads between Europe, Asia and Africa, although geographically it is part of the Asian continent.

Israel is an entirely legitimate state, which, for historical and geographical reasons is at the center of a concentric attack of Islamic fundamentalism, which has nothing to do with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Even if a territorial solution between Palestinians and Israelis can be found the two States were enclosed within their borders to live next to each other, I challenge anyone to say and prove that there will be never again be attacks by the Palestinians, Hamas, Hezbollah, Syria or Iran.

Israel and the Jews are the focus of an ideological attack matched only by what they have suffered on the eve of World War II, when they were accused by Hitler of being the cause of wars. In addition, they are used to justify the Islamic conquest of the world and as a way of creating more and more proselytes and converts and an even larger and more organized front. Yet Israel is only the most advanced front of this war, because the war is against us and “Israel is us”¹⁸ since the same fanatics attack us.

Centuries earlier, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, highlighted the uniqueness of the Jews’ situation:

The Jews present us with us an outstanding spectacle: the laws of Numa, Lycurgus, and Solon are dead; the far more ancient ones of Moses are still alive. Athens, Sparta, and Rome have perished and all their people have vanished from the earth; though destroyed, Zion has not lost her children. They mingle with all nations but are never lost among them; they no longer have leaders, yet they are still a nation; they no longer have a country and yet they are still citizens¹⁹.

We live in a time of intense geopolitical and geoeconomical change. The great “isms” of the past centuries are crumbling into dust yet Zionism has endured triumphantly.

The secularization and the laicization of “Western” societies has left a vacuum of ethics and morality. The risk is that the economic crisis will turn into a crisis of existential sustain-

¹⁸ Nirenstein 2007.

¹⁹ Netanyahu 2000, p. 14; Encyclopaedia Judaica 1971, pp. 352-353.

ability. This cannot happen in Israel, because there is a perfect equilibrium between tradition and innovation, which means "resilience".

Israel is one of the great success stories of our times. The Jews of Israel were the first people to bless the world with monotheism and are now the only people to have blessed the Middle East with democracy. Maybe they deserve a totally different consideration from what they have received up to now, also because their enemies are also ours and they are on the front line, which now lacks borders and boundaries.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. *The Jewish Diaspora and Restoration*, 722 b.C.–21st Century (Source: Eddolls G.B., 2013).

- Fig. 2. *The Arab Spring*, 2010-2011 (Source: Foreign Policy Association, Jan 13, 2012, <http://www.fpa.org/features/index.cfm?act=feature&announcement_id=113>).
- Fig. 3. *The Separation Wall* (Source: <<http://terrasol.home.igc.org/mideast/wall-map.gif>>).
- Fig. 4. *Israel-Egypt Border Fence* (Source: <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/11/israel-fence-egypt>>).
- Fig. 5. *Security barrier along the Jordanian border* (Source: <<http://deltascientific.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/israel-300x258.jpg>>).
- Fig. 6. *Jewish Population then and now* (Source: <http://sonofeliyahu.com/Israel_07.htm>).
- Fig. 7. *Armistice Line 1949-1967* (Source: <<http://israelbehindthenews.com/rights-spelled-clear/9086/>>).
- Fig. 8. *The Green Line* (Source: <<http://www.southjerusalem.com/2013/07/europe-draws-the-green-line/>>).
- Fig. 9. *Borders of Israel before and after the 1967 war* (Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_israel_palestinians/maps/html/six_day_war.stm>).
- Fig. 10. *Israel's Land Concession for peace, 1967-2011* (Source: <<https://dabrownstein.files.wordpress.com/2013/11/israeli-land-concessions.jpg>>).
- Fig. 11. *Cease fire Lines*, June 1967 (Source: Division of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem).

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ISBN 978-88-6056-504-4