

The relationship between Israel, countries of the Arab East and world powers in the context of solving the Palestinian issue at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries

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Abstract: the paper talks about dissertation paper dealing with the issues of solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict of the XX-XXI centuries. It talks about main methods, literatures sources, and contributions.

Keywords: Israel, Palestine, Jerusalem, occupation, seizure, annexation, Jewish settlements, refugees, "two states", diplomatic pressure, conflict, agreement, Palestinian-Israeli relations, territorial dispute, peaceful settlement, security, negotiations, aggression, terror

Introduction

The relevance of the research topic and the degree of knowledge of the problem. Global geostrategic shifts at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries led to a change in the international status of the Middle East. Modern international relations, even after the formal end of the era of bloc confrontation, are still characterized by a high level of conflict. The processes of globalization have led to the expansion of the range of participants in international disputes, in which not only neighboring countries are involved, but also the world powers that are geographically far from them.

The relevance of this work is determined by the fact that the relations of the region's states among themselves and, first, Israel with Arab countries, as well as between them and the main world actors in the 90s-2000s, have experienced a significant evolution. So, in the 90s. there was a sharp weakening of Russia's influence in the Arab East and the strengthening of the US

position as a leader in the Middle East settlement process, so that by the middle of the second decade of the 21st century the situation would change again towards the growth of authority of the Russian Federation in the Middle and Near East; the process of Israel's relations with the Palestinians and Arab countries in the context of the resolution of the Palestinian issue, from optimism in the early 1990s to a new deadlock at the beginning of the 21st century, was also ambiguous. At the present stage, a wide range of problems and contradictions characterizes relations in Middle Eastern countries.

The Middle East conflict is the longest of all the unresolved conflicts in the world, and the process of its peaceful settlement has remained the most relevant for the entire world community for more than a decade. In order to ease the tense situation in the region, the most influential states, as well as major international organizations, are trying with all their might to resolve the conflict by peaceful means. However, despite all these efforts, attempts at peacemaking did not lead to strong and long-lasting results, and in the degree of conflict potential of the region, the conflict has a pronounced tendency to increase.

The relevance of the topic of the dissertation research is also due to the need for a deeper understanding of the development of modern international relations in the Middle East region, which is one of the key areas of foreign policy of leading world and regional powers, including Israel. The study of this topic allows a more fully understanding of the content of the modern policy of the State of Israel, as well as reveal the internal springs and mechanisms for the formation of the foreign policy of the Jewish state.

In this respect, international relations in the Middle East and Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors, as well as with world and regional powers, including Palestinian issues, have always been the focus of scholars. Over the past 3 decades, a great deal of work has been done in covering Middle Eastern themes. In many countries of the world during this time, thousands of works have been published. Naturally, in the first place, international relations in the Arab East and, in particular, the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation constantly remain at the epicenter of the interests of Israeli politicians¹, diplomats²and international scholars³.

¹ מ. מפה חדשה יחסים אחרים. ספריית מעריב, שקמונה, חיפה, 1995; Peres S. Battling for Peace: A Memoir. New York, 1995; Peres S., Littell R., Gil A. For the Future of Israel. Baltimore, 1998; МерцГ. Мояжизнь. Чимкент, 1997; Sharon A., Chanoff D. Warrior: An autobiography. New York, 2001; Netanyahu B. A durable peace: Israel and its place among nations. NewYork, 2000, other.

The works of Arab authors⁴ and specialists from non-Arab countries of the region⁵ are also of major importance.

Among the works of authors from countries outside the Middle East, first has to be noted the world-famous work of Zbigniew Brzezinski “The Grand Chess Board”⁶. The book is a reflection on America’s geopolitical power and on the strategies by which this power can be achieved in the 21st century. Brzezinski focuses most of his attention on the US geopolitical strategy regarding Eurasia. He believed that the primacy on the Eurasian continent is in fact the primacy in the world, and considered one of the most important US strategic goals of their dominance in the Middle East. The dissertation also used other works by this analyst⁷. Another well-known American internationalist and Middle Eastern specialist, Henry Kissinger, also paid special attention to studying the situation in the Middle East in a number of his works⁸

²Голендер Д. Россия и Израиль. Стратегические партнеры, поющие одни и те же народные песни // Межд. жизнь, №12, 2010; Мустафа Фаед. Мирный процесс на Ближнем Востоке и его перспективы // Межд. жизнь, 2011, №8.

³Гейзель Зеэв. Политические структуры Государства Израиль. М., 2001; Штереншиц М. История государства Израиль. 1896-2002. Герцлия, 2005; כרמל. ניתוח פסיכולוגי-חברתי של החברה היהודית בישראל. בר-טל ד. לחיות עם הסכסוך – ניתוח פסיכולוגי-חברתי של החברה היהודית בישראל. כרמל. 2007; Чернин В. Ближневосточный фронт. Израильское поселенчество: история и современность. Иерусалим, 2010; א. אריק שרון ראש ממשלה – מבט אישי. הוצאת משכל, 2011; Rabinovich I. The Lingering Conflict. Israel, The Arabs, and the Middle East 1948-2011 // ASabanCenterattheBrookingsInstitutionBook, WashingtonDC, 2011; לביא, א. (עורך). יחסי צבא-חברה בישראל: השלכות על קבלת החלטות בנושאי ביטחון ושלום. מרכז תמי שטינמן למחקרי שלום, אוניברסיטת תל אביב, 2011; Шнеер А. Заметки пессимиста // Relații Internaționale Plus. Revistă științifico-practică. 2013, Nr.2. P. 181-190; Haritos G. Cyprus, Turkey and Israel: Changing Realities and Dilemmas. Tel Aviv University. Dayan Center. Tel Aviv Notes, Vol. 7, No. 7, April 10, 2013; Эпштейн А.Д. Ближайшие союзники? Подлинная история американо-израильских отношений. Т. 2. Эпоха дипломатии: сорок лет «борьбы за мир», 1974-2014. М., 2014 и др.

⁴اسرائيل... حمدان، جمال، فلسطينا ولا 2007; مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والبحوث، بيروت. التوجري، عبدالعزيز، العالم الاسلامي والغرب والتحديات المستقبل 2000; مكتبة مدبولي، القاهرة. Barrari H. The Middle East Peace by Piece: The Quest for a solution to the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Amman, 2009; Ganim A. Palestinian Politics after Arafat: A Failed National Movement // Indiana Series in Middle East Studies. Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2010; 2001-2011. لواديه، احمد، السياسه الخارجية الامريكيتجاه القضية الفلسطينية // 2013; Tuastad D. Hamas – PLO relations before and after the Arab spring // Middle East Policy. 2013. V. 20. Nr.3; ابو عرفه، خالد، المقاومة الفلسطينية للاحتلال الاسرائيلي في بيت المقدس 1987-2015. بيروت. 2017; مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والبحوث، بيروت. كيفة قاضيا اسرائيل. لدهشان، سعيد; 2017; مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والبحوث، بيروت.

⁵Барзегар Кайхан. Поворот в ближневосточной геополитике // Россия в глобальной политике, 2012, №2; Ганджи Акбар. Кто такой Али Хаменеи? // Россия в глобальной политике, 2013, №5; Барзегар Кайхан. Стратегическая необходимость // Россия в глобальной политике, 2014, №1; Sulaiman Rafik. Labirintsoffederalism: ThewayofKurdistan // Moldoscopie (Problemede analiză politică), 2018, Nr.4 (LXXXIII).

⁶Brzezinski Zb. The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives. Washington, 1997.

⁷Brzezinski Z. Power and Limits: Memoirs of National Security Advisor 1977-1981. N.Y., 1983; Brzezinski Zbigniew. From Hope to Audacity // Foreign Affairs, January-February 2010; Бжезинский Зб. От надежды к дерзости // Россия в глобальной политике, 2010, №1.

⁸Kissinger H. White House Years. Boston, 1979; Kissinger H. Years of Upheaval. Boston, Toronto, 1982; Kissinger H. Diplomacy. New York, 1994; Kissinger H. Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: Toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century. New York, 2002; Киссинджер Г. Понять Путина. Политика здравого смысла. М., 2014.

Among Russian researchers, first, it should be noted the work of a well-known specialist in Middle Eastern issues, academician Yevgeny Primakov⁹, Director of the Institute of the Middle East Yevgeny Satanovsky¹⁰, George Mirsky¹¹ and others. In Moldova, such researchers are engaged in the Middle East theme as Suceveanu Natalia, Grosu Ruslana, Victor Zhuk, Victor Moraru, Diana Benkech and some young researchers from Israel and neighboring countries, who defended their dissertations or are continuing their PhD studies in Moldova¹². This topic has not remained outside the attention of Romanian specialists¹³ as well.

⁹Примаков Е.М. Конфиденциально: Ближний Восток на сцене и за кулисами (вторая половина XX – начало XXI века) // http://www.globalaffairs.ru/book/n_7767/; Примаков Е. Ближний Восток: принуждение к миру // Россия в глобальной политике, 2002, №1; Примаков Е.М. «Исламское государство» – реальная опасность // Азия и Африка сегодня, 2015, №7.

¹⁰Сатановский Е.Я. Россия и Израиль в XXI веке // Международная жизнь. 1998, №3; Сатановский Е. Новый Ближний Восток // Россия в глобальной политике, 2005, №2; Сатановский Е. Пять лет войны за нефть и демократию // Межд. жизнь, 2008, №5; Сатановский Е. Революция и демократия в исламском мире // Россия в глобальной политике, 2011, №1; Сатановский Е. Между кризисом и катастрофой // Россия в глобальной политике, 2015, №6.

¹¹Мирский Г.И. Большой Ближний Восток – самый конфликтный регион мира // Безопасность Евразии. 2007, №2; Мирский Г. Израильско-палестинский узел Большого Ближнего Востока // Вестн. аналитики. 2010, №1; Мирский Г. Арабский мир: надоело, не верим, не боимся // Международные процессы, 2011. Т. 9, №1; Мирский Г.И. На Ближнем Востоке атмосфера накаляется // Север – Юг – Россия, 2010. Ежегодник. М., 2011; Мирский Г.И. Палестинский тупик // Север – Юг – Россия, 2012. Ежегодник. М., 2013; Мирский Г. «Арабская весна» – туман и тревога // Россия в глобальной политике, 2013, №2; Мирский Г.И. Израильско-палестинский тупик // Север – Юг – Россия, 2013. Ежегодник. М., 2014; Мирский Г. Драма Арабского Востока // МЭиМО, 2014, №11.

¹²Suceveanu Natalia. Diferendularabo-israelian ca situație de conflict îndreptul internațional. Teza de doctor îndrept. Chișinău, 2003; Grosu R. Ineficiența mecanismelor politico-militare în asigurarea securității în Orientul Mijlociu și perspectiva creării unui sistem regional complex bazat pe conceptul securității colective // Studia Securitatis. Revistă de studii de securitate. 2013, Nr.2; Grosu R. Transformările structural-sistemice din arealul islamic: studiu istoriografic // Revista de Filosofie, Sociologie și Științe Politice. 2014, Nr.2; Juc V. Grosu R. Subsistemele regionale din Orientul Mijlociu în abordările teoretico-metodologice din Federația Rusă // Relații Internaționale, Științe Politice și Studii de Securitate. Mater. conf. șt. int. Sibiu, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, 2014; Moraru Victor, Sulaiman Rafik. Labirintul de federalism: The way of Kurdistan // Moldoscopia (Probleme de analiză politică), 2018, Nr.4 (LXXXIII). P. 80-90; Abou Salem Essam Faisal Abdel Karim. Strategii internaționale contemporane de soluționare a conflictelor regionale (Cazul conflictului palestinian-israelian). Autorefer. altezei de doctor în științe politice. Chișinău, 2006 // <http://www.cnaa.md/thesis/20701/>; Абоу Салем Ессам. Перспективы регулирования палестинско-израильского конфликта // Moldoscopia (Probleme de analiză politică). Partea 2 (XXXIII). Chișinău, 2006. С. 145-157; Абоу Салем Ессам. Современные конфликты и способы их регулирования (на примере приднестровского и палестинско-израильского конфликтов). Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук. Кишинев, ГУ Молдовы, 2006 // <http://www.netess.ru/3istoriya/345176-1-sovremennye-konflikti-sposobi-uregulirovaniya-na-primere-pridnestrovskogo-palestino-izraelskogo-konfliktov.php>; Naamna Mohammad, Benchechi Diana. Palestinian civil society in Israel // Științe politice și societate în schimbare. Materialele conferinței științifice internaționale dedicate celei de-a 20-a aniversări a Facultății Relații Internaționale, Științe Politice și Administrative, Chișinău, 2015. P. 126-132; Naamna Mohammad. Political-electoral transformations in Israel in the contemporary period: historical and political approach // Moldoscopia (Probleme de analiză politică), 2018, Nr.4 (LXXXIII). P. 91-99; Naamna Mohammad. The Palestinian exodus – „nakba” // Moldoscopia (Probleme de analiză politică), 2016, Nr.1 (LXXXIII). P. 166-172; .

¹³Chican Dumitru. Primavara araba sau chipurile lui Ianus. Baia Mare, 2011; Rus Raluca. Între mit și realitate: Lupta pentru Țara Sfântă. Iași, Editura Lumen, 2009; Lucian Sanda. Conflictul israeliano-palestinian.

Working hypothesis: The Middle East conflict can only be resolved through political and diplomatic means, but every peace agreement is followed by a new confrontation.

We set ourselves the appropriate **goals and objectives** based on the relevance and degree of knowledge of the problem. The purpose of this work is to identify the role and significance of relations between Israel and the Palestinians, with the countries of the Arab East, with the world and regional non-Arab powers at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries and their influence on the prospects for solving the Palestinian issue.

The set goal made it necessary to solve the following *tasks*:

- characterize the perception of Israeli, Arab, Western, Russian, Moldavian and Romanian researchers, diplomats and representatives of political elites on the emergence, state and prospects of resolving the Palestinian issue, on the role of great world and Middle Eastern powers in this;

- reveal the theoretical and methodological basis of the question of the relationship of Israel with the Arab states, great powers and Palestinians;

- study the genesis of the Middle East confrontation, the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948-1982 and the subsequent evolution of relations between the State of Israel and its neighbors at the end of the 20th and early 21st centuries based on the entire available complex of sources;

- consider the nature and effectiveness of the regional strategy for finding allies by Israel;

- analyze the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, its causes, evolution and current state;

- investigate in this connection the question of the establishment of a Palestinian state, the status of Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees and Israeli settlements in the occupied (disputed) Arab territories;

- study and analyze the strategic partnership of Israel and the United States on the Palestinian issue, the dynamics of its manifestations in 1991-2018 and the prospects for cooperation;

- reveal the Israeli-Palestinian vector of foreign policy of European and regional powers;

- study the approaches of the regional neighbors of the Jewish state to the Palestinian settlement process in 1991-2018, the mechanism and effectiveness of the so-called “new peripheral strategy” of Israel;

Repere istorice și dimensiuni internaționale. București, 2011; Veliscu Viorel. Orientul Mijlociu – zonă a conflictelor interminabile?! // <http://www.arduph.ro/domenii/conducerea-ostilitatilor/orientul-mijlociu-zona-a-conflictelor-interminabile/>; Sandovici Dănuț-Florin. Dinamica arhitecturii de securitate a Orientului Mijlociu în contextul transformărilor regionale începute în anul 2011. București, 2015.

- consider the prospects of the Middle East settlement through the prism of documents and scientific literature of the end of the XX-th - the beginning of the XXI-th centuries.

Methodological base and research methods. The work is based on the following principles: historicism, which allows to bring out the laws of development of the foreign policy of Middle Eastern countries at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries; objectivity, which requires a comprehensive consideration of factors affecting foreign policy and its generating conditions; the unity of the logical and historical, requiring a combination of studying the history of the object (foreign policy of Middle Eastern countries) with the theory (ie, structure, functions and relations), as well as with the development prospects.

At the same time, this work also relies on scientific principles formulated in the framework of theories of political realism and neorealism¹⁴, allowing to understand the features of the functioning of interstate relations in general and the foreign policy of world powers, individual Middle Eastern states at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries, including Israel, in particular, and the Palestinian National Autonomy. The study of the topic is carried out based on a comprehensive analysis of documentary materials on the foreign policy of the states of the region with the establishment of cause-effect relationships in the chronological sequence of events and their concrete historical interpretation.

Various research methods such as descriptive, analytical, content analysis, institutional, comparative analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, retrospective and interpretative, etc. were used in disclosing this topic.

Scientific novelty of the work. For the first time in the Republic of Moldova, the present study comprehensively investigated the Palestinian problem and the international military-diplomatic struggle for its fair resolution at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries in all their versatility; the views of experts, diplomats and politicians from different countries on this issue are shown and analyzed; it reviewed the degree of knowledge of the problem and carried out an analysis of expert assessments of Arab-Israeli relations; foreign policy priorities of Israel and other states in the context of the Palestinian issue were further analyzed based on collections of documents and memoirs of participants of events published in different countries, of scientific

¹⁴ Morgenthau Hans. *Politics Among Nations*. New York, 1948; Aron R. *Paix et Guerre entre les nations*. Paris, 2006; Herz John. *International Politics in the Atomic Age*. New York, 1959; Waltz K. *Omnia, statum și războiul*. Buc., 2001; Guzzoni St. *Realism și relații internaționale*. Iași, 2000; Буриан А. *Теория международных отношений*. Т. 1. Кишинев, 2003. P. 123-140; *איחוד מוציאים לאור בע"מ*. 1968. פוליטיקה בין האומות: המאבק לשלטון ולשלום. (מהדורה רביעית). הוצאת יחידו, 1968.

literature published at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries; the state and evolution of the relations of the SI with the countries of the West, Russia, and Middle Eastern neighbors in the period 1991-2018 has been determined; the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, its genesis and current state, the strategic partnership of Israel and the United States on the Palestinian issue, the role of other world and regional powers in the Middle East settlement are revealed and analyzed. Special attention is paid to the analysis of the historiography of the last quarter of a century.

It is important to analyze the data that have been little studied in the research literature of the Republic of Moldova and the State of Israel and which are not well known to the general public, documents and scientific literature in English, Russian, Romanian, French, Arabic and Hebrew. They make it possible to more fully assess the motives of the Israeli leadership's domestic and foreign policy on the Palestinian issue, as well as to identify the main alternatives of domestic and international behavior discussed by the ruling circles and the public of the Israeli State in addressing this issue.

The theoretical value of the thesis consists in the development of a scientific study of the domestic and foreign policy actions of the State of Israel using the principles of inter-disciplinarity and pluri-disciplinarity.

Understanding that political science is in constant development, the author realizes the need for further study of this subject..

The applied value of the study consists in the following:

- provides the university academic environment of the RM and SI with relevant scientific materials on the role of Israel in the international arena and the place of the Palestinian perspective in its domestic and foreign policy;

- supplements the categorial apparatus of the political science of Moldova with the following concepts and expressions: “the state resilience of Israel”, “the foreign policy actions of Israel”, “the foreign policy system of Israel”;

- formulates some scientific and practical recommendations on the prospects for a Middle East settlement;

The results can be used as a basis for further research on foreign and domestic policy of the State of Israel, including the development of university disciplines for the countries of the Middle East.

The practical significance of the work consists in analyzing one of the important segments of international relations in the post-cold war period, which significantly influenced the situation in the Middle East region. The Palestinian-Israeli relations have been studied in detail and significant scientific and memoir literature has been analyzed on this topic. The conclusions of the author may have a certain value for politicians and workers of the foreign affairs agencies of Israel, Palestine and other countries interacting with them in the international arena. Materials of the work can be used to write monographs, textbooks, lecture courses on conflicts, international relations and modern history, as well as serve as supporting material for political scientists, historians, diplomats and other specialists in international affairs.

Source base. This study is based on sources that are diverse in nature and content. The foundation of the source base form the published documents. The author studied and synthesized a large amount of information contained in official documents and analytical materials. These are, first, documents of various state structures and international organizations, revealing the internal and international position of Israel and Palestine, some foreign policy documents and statements of officials of different countries on the issue under study, publications of international experts.

Of particular value in this regard are the collections of documents published, which allow an unbiased study and analysis of the issue under study: both the internal situation in the State of Israel and Palestine, the mood of the Arab and Jewish populations, and the international situation around the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation.

Sources from various international organizations were used in the thesis¹⁵, first of all the UN¹⁶. The significant role of Israel in the work of the United Nations has predetermined the need

¹⁵ Amnesty International, „Trial at Midnight: Secret, Summary, Unfair Trials in Gaza”. London, June 1995 // Journal of Palestine Studies: A Quarterly on Palestine Affairs and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Autumn 1995. V. 25, Nr.1; Amnesty International: Humanitarian Plan of Action 2003 for the Occupied Palestinian Territory. United Nations. New York and Geneva, November 2002; Middle East: Israel and the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Authority: Without distinction – attacks on civilians by Palestinian armed groups. AmnestyInternationalDocument, July 10, 2002; «Дорожная карта» продвижения к постоянному урегулированию палестино-израильского конфликта в соответствии с принципом сосуществования двух государств на основе оценки выполнения сторонами своих обязательств // <https://archive.is/20120919101437/www.un.org/russian/documen/scletters/2003/03-529.htm>, other.

¹⁶УставОрганизацииОбъединенныхНаций // <http://www.un.org/ru/charter-united-nations/index.html> 7; Report to the General Assembly by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. Geneva 31 st August 1947. L., 1947; Palestine Plan of Partition with Economic Union proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question. UNGAdocumentA/RES/181(II), AnnexA. 29.11.1947; Палестинская проблема: документы ООН, международных организаций и конференций. М., 1984; Международная конвенция о борьбе с бомбовым терроризмом (Принята резолюцией 52/164 Генеральной Ассамблеи от 16 декабря 1997 года. Открыта для

to use these documents in connection with the Arab-Jewish confrontation in the Middle East conflict and their impact on relations between the countries involved in the peace process.

The next group of sources includes conceptual materials relating to foreign and domestic policies of various powers¹⁷. Their data help identify key problems and foreign policy goals of the Israeli and other states, the state of bilateral and multilateral relations. In addition, they make it possible to better understand the essence of the discussed issues, the options for foreign policy decisions and the arguments of the participants in the discussion. In this regard, these documents make more understandable the technique of foreign policy decisions, the positions of various representatives of the leadership of different countries on various Middle Eastern problems in the period under study, including the Palestinian-Israeli issue.

The paper used documents and materials from the official websites of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹⁸ and the prime minister of Israel¹⁹. The website of the Israeli Foreign Ministry is an information base, which contains the texts of speeches by the Israeli Prime Minister, the

подписания 12 января 1998 года) // Супертерроризм: новый вызов нового века. М., 2002, С. 268-278;; Международная конвенция о борьбе с финансированием терроризма (принята резолюцией 54/109 Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН от 9 декабря 1999 года) // Супертерроризм: новый вызов нового века. С. 287-302; UN General Assembly Resolution; UN Security Council Resolution; UNGA Document; UN Security Council Document; Security Council Official Records, other.

¹⁷ Declaration of Establishment of State of Israel. May 14, 1948 // Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs // <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/declaration%20of%20establishment%20of%20state%20of%20israel.aspx>; Декларация независимости Израиля // <https://eleven.co.il/zionism/from-balfour-to-state/11392/>; Israel's National Security Strategy for 2030 // <https://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/node/35633>; The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. December 2017 55 P. // <http://www.worldinwar.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/National-Security-USA-2017.pdf>; National Security Strategy of the United States of America. 2010 // National Security Strategy Archive // <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf>; The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002 // National Security Strategy Archive // <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf>; The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. March 2006 // National Security Strategy Archive // <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2006.pdf>; Стратегия вовлеченности в международные дела и распространения демократии в мире (Стратегия национальной безопасности США) // США: ЭПИ. 1994, №11, С. 153-159; 1994, №12, С. 116-123; 1995, №1, С. 122-126; 1995, №2, С.112-126; Стратегия национальной безопасности США на 1996 год // НГ- сценарии. 1996, май, №2; Концепция внешней политики Российской Федерации // Межд. жизнь, №8, 2008 // <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/1582>; Концепция внешней политики Российской Федерации (утверждена Президентом Российской Федерации В.В. Путиным 30 ноября 2016 г.) // http://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2542248; Концепция национальной безопасности Российской Федерации // Внешняя политика и безопасность современной России. Том 2. С. 69-94; Концепция национальной безопасности Российской Федерации // Российская газета, 18.01.2000, other.

¹⁸ Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Official site: <http://mfa.gov.il/MFAHEB/Pages/SiteMap.aspx>; Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Israel's Foreign Policy. Historical Documents // http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MFADocuments/Pages/Documents_Foreign_Policy_Israel.aspx.

¹⁹ 8 Prime Minister's Office. PM of Israel. Official site: <http://www.pmo.gov.il/English/Pages/default.aspx>.



leading political and military figures of Israel, as well as all the treaties and documents that were necessary for the analysis of the issues studied.