



Updated September 23, 2024

Israel and Lebanese Hezbollah: Current Violence and Potential Escalation

A day after Hamas (a U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organization, or FTO) led the October 7, 2023, attacks against Israel that began their ongoing war, Lebanese Hezbollah (another FTO) started shooting rockets and missiles across Lebanon's border into Israel in a show of solidarity with Hamas. Since then, Hezbollah and Israel have regularly exchanged fire across the border, in the latest phase of their adversarial history. Iran appears to regard Hezbollah as its most capable partner in its "axis of resistance" versus Israel. Debate persists about the degree to which Hezbollah acts independently or as Iran's proxy.

Since July 2024, Israel-Hezbollah violence has become more volatile than in the preceding nine months. Separate U.S.-supported efforts to pause or halt fighting in Gaza and at the Lebanon border have not produced those outcomes to date. September 2024 covert attacks attributed to, but not claimed by, Israel resulted in the explosion of electronic devices reportedly acquired by Hezbollah, causing major casualties (including to some civilians). Hezbollah vowed to retaliate.

Figure 1. Hezbollah's Rocket and Missile Arsenal

| Category | Model | Range | Diameter | Warheads | Arsenal |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|--|----------------|
| Short-Range Unguided Rockets | "Katyusha" | 4-40 km | 107-122 mm | 6-20 kg high explosive (HE) or submunitions | 40,000-80,000 |
| | Fajr-1 and Type 63 derivatives | 8-10 km | 107 mm | 8 kg HE fragmentation | |
| | Burkan | 10 km | _ | 100-500 kg HE | |
| | Falaq-1 | 10-11 km | 240 mm | 50 kg HE | |
| | Falaq-2 | 10-11 km | 333 mm | 120 kg HE | |
| | Shahin-1 | 13 km | 333 mm | 190 kg HE | |
| | Type 81 | 20.5 km | 122 mm | 39 submunitions | |
| Long-Range Unguided Rockets | Fajr-3 | 43 km | 240 mm | 45 km HE | 60,000-80,000 |
| | Fajr-5 | 75 km | 333 mm | 90 kg HE | |
| | Raad-2/Raad-3 Uragan-type | 60-70 km | 220 mm | 50 kg HE | |
| | Khaibar-1 | 100 km | 302 mm | 150 kg HE | |
| Short-Range Unguided Ballistic Missiles | Zelzal-1 | 125-160 km | 610 mm | 600 kg HE | 20,000-40,000 |
| | Zelzal-2 | 210 km | 610 mm | 600 kg HE | |
| | Fateh-110/M-600 | 250-300 km | 610 mm | 450-500 kg HE | |
| Intermediate-Range Unguided Ballistic Missiles | Scud-B/C/D | 300-500 km | 880 mm | 600-985 kg HE | 10-50 |
| Short-Range Guided Ballistic Missiles | Fateh-110/M-600 | 250-300 km | 610 mm | 450-500 kg HE | 150-400 |
| | | | | Total | 120,000-200,00 |

Source: Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 2024 (citing various sources).

Subsequent escalation has led both sides to declare that the fighting has reached a new phase. On September 20, Israeli leaders stated that an Israeli airstrike in Beirut killed several senior Hezbollah officials. In the following days, Israel carried out hundreds of airstrikes inside Lebanon, and Hezbollah fired missiles deeper into Israeli territory. Iranbacked groups in Iraq also reportedly fired projectiles at Israeli targets. As of September 23, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has stated Israel's intent to "change the security balance" by "eliminating senior figures, terrorists and missiles." Lebanese casualties rose by the hundreds as Israel's military said it called on Lebanese civilians to evacuate areas used by Hezbollah for military purposes. Hezbollah has said it refuses to stop firing at Israel until there is a cease-fire in Gaza. Hezbollah's large

arsenal of drones, rockets, and missiles (see **Figure 1**) could threaten Israeli strategic sites and population centers, and Israel could strike throughout Lebanon, imperiling its people and possibly exacerbating the country's serious political and economic challenges. Wider-scale war could prompt Israel to seek additional U.S. material support or direct military involvement, with major implications for U.S. national security interests in the region.

Even if Hezbollah were to agree to halt attacks, perhaps in connection with an Israel-Hamas cease-fire, Israeli leaders insist that Hezbollah's fighters must be kept back from the border to mitigate the threat of an October 7-style attack there. Violence to date has displaced some 60,000 Israeli and 110,000 Lebanese civilians from their homes near the border. In September, Israel's cabinet added the goal of returning evacuated Israelis to its official war objectives. While Israel retains conventional military superiority in the region, some Israeli and U.S. analysts have assessed that Hezbollah could be capable of overwhelming, depleting, or targeting Israeli air defense systems via massive projectile volleys—some of which may include precision guidance. Dismantling Hezbollah's military capacity in Lebanon may be more difficult than doing so against Hamas's forces in Gaza, partly due to Hezbollah's considerable defensive capabilities in Lebanon's varied terrain and the wider geographic dispersal of Hezbollah's assets and personnel.

Israel-Hezbollah: Selected Historical Events

Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and related U.S. and

French military involvement trigger resistance from

| | some factions in Lebanon's ongoing civil war. Elements from Lebanon's Shia community—including some responsible for fatal attacks on U.S. and French installations—establish Hezbollah with help from Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. |
|---------------|---|
| 1985 | Israeli military withdraws from central Lebanon, but maintains a zone of control in predominantly Shiapopulated southern Lebanon with a Lebanese partner force. Hezbollah becomes the main node of resistance to the Israeli presence. |
| 1992- 1994 | Hezbollah bombings of Israel's embassy (1992) and a Jewish community center (1994) in Argentina kill 29 and 85 people, respectively. |
| 1996 | Hezbollah attacks on Israel and Israeli forces trigger the 17-day Israeli "Operation Grapes of Wrath," which kills more than 200 Lebanese. |
| 2000 | Israel withdraws from southern Lebanon, leading Hezbollah to claim victory. Hezbollah maintains that Israel still occupies Lebanese territory in disputed parts of the tri-border (Israel-Lebanon-Syria) area. |

1982-

1985

2006 Israel and Hezbollah engage in a 34-day war after a fatal Hezbollah attack and hostage-taking on an Israeli military position. In the war, some 160 Israelis and 1,200 Lebanese are killed. After the war, UN Security Council Resolution 1701 calls for all non-Lebanese army forces to withdraw north of the Litani River; Hezbollah does not comply and starts to rearm.

2011- Hezbollah helps Iran defend regime of Bashar al Asad Present in the Syrian civil war. Territorial links from Iran to

Lebanon through Iraq and Syria facilitate greater Iranian weapons supply (including precision-guided missiles) to Hezbollah, provoking regular Israeli military strikes in Syria starting around 2012 to

prevent or delay these transfers.

2023- Hezbollah commences cross-border fire with Israel Present after outbreak of Israel-Hamas war; as of September

2024, more than 800 Lebanese and over 30 Israelis have reportedly been killed in various attacks.

Events Since July 2024

Israel-Hezbollah violence has intensified after a rocket fired from Lebanon on July 27 reportedly killed 12 young Druze people in the Golan Heights. U.S. and Israeli officials said Hezbollah was responsible despite the group's denial. On July 30, an Israeli drone strike in Beirut killed Hezbollah senior commander Fuad Shukr, whom Israel blamed for the Golan Heights attack. On August 25, as Hezbollah apparently prepared a retaliatory strike for Shukr's killing, Israel announced it had acted on intelligence to preempt the retaliatory attack by using over 100 aircraft to strike Hezbollah launchers in Lebanon. That same day, Hezbollah fired hundreds of rockets and drones into northern Israel. Hezbollah claimed its operation was successful in targeting Israeli bases, but Israel said no bases were damaged.

Both sides have taken steps to escalate the conflict in September. On September 17-18, thousands of pagers, walkie-talkies, and other electronic devices exploded across Lebanon, reportedly killing more than 30 people and injuring close to 3,000 (reportedly including some children and other civilians). While Israeli officials have not commented, sources suggest that Israeli operatives may have planted explosives in devices ordered for Hezbollah, and then triggered them. In light of the September 20 Israeli airstrike that reportedly killed senior Hezbollah leaders in Beirut, and the expanded geographical scope and intensity of ensuing cross-border fire, observers have speculated about the potential for further escalation through an possible Israeli ground offensive into Lebanon or actions by Hezbollah. Reportedly, Israel may be pressuring Hezbollah to drop its insistence on a cease-fire in Gaza as a precondition to a separate diplomatic deal. While stating U.S. support for Israel's defense of its people and territory against Hezbollah, one U.S. official has referenced U.S.-Israel disagreements on "tactics and how you measure escalation risk."

Strategic Considerations

Israel may consider how it can remove the threat of an October 7-style invasion from Hezbollah and return evacuees to the north; degrade Hezbollah's capabilities; overcome potential vulnerabilities in Israeli defenses; and maintain resources, personnel, and international support despite strains from war with Hamas.

Hezbollah may consider how it can target Israel—in concert with Iran and its other allies—without endangering its capabilities; and maintain its domestic military and political position.

Issues for Congress

Diplomacy and U.S. support for Lebanese forces. U.S. officials continue to seek an arrangement that would keep Hezbollah back from the border so that Israeli evacuees can return, and reduce chances of a broader war. Media reports suggest that U.S.-French diplomatic proposals envision the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF, which Congress has supported for many years with \$150 million annually) and the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) patrolling any Lebanese area from which Hezbollah withdraws. However, the LAF may not be willing or able to counter Hezbollah, raising questions about how Hezbollah can be kept from the border area. In June, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu stated that any diplomatic arrangement "will include the physical distancing of Hezbollah from the border, and we will need to enforce it."

On September 22, President Joe Biden said, "We're going to do everything we can to keep a wider war from breaking out," reiterating the Administration's oft-stated position as tensions continued to mount. Previously, open sources reported that Israel's leadership was considering a "massive strike" against Hezbollah shortly after Hamas's October 2023 attacks, but Prime Minister Netanyahu reportedly decided against it after U.S. officials urged him to stand down.

U.S.-Israel security cooperation and arms sales. For more than 50 years, the United States has been the main external source of political and material support for Israel's self-defense, with Congress enacting regular and supplemental appropriations (over \$12.6 billion in FY2024), and designating Israel as a major non-NATO ally. Since the outbreak of conflict in October 2023, Members of Congress have differed with one another and the Administration on the nature and timing of arms exports to Israel, with some Members advocating greater scrutiny or conditions, and others calling for the Administration to expedite Israeli requests given the country's security environment, in which threats could rapidly escalate.

Direct U.S. military involvement and protection of U.S. citizens. Various scenarios could lead to situations in which U.S. forces in the region authorized to assist with Israel's defense might become enmeshed in conflict with Hezbollah or Iran, either within or outside of Israeli sovereign space. Some observers comment on possible tension between Israel's insistence on maintaining independence of action and its appeal for U.S. help when it encounters certain threats. The two countries do not have a formal defense treaty. Congress might debate authorization of the use of military force and/or questions of strategy, operations, deployments, and appropriations, and whether U.S. actions to assist Israel's defense serve U.S. interests and comply with U.S. and international law. Additionally, reports indicate that the Administration has explored contingencies to evacuate tens of thousands of U.S. citizens in Lebanon. The State Department has urged U.S. citizens to depart Lebanon via commercial options while available.

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IF12770

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