



**Stop Indo-Israeli
military ties**

Introduction

The military-industrial-scientific complex of Israel includes intrinsically development and trade of products and services in the fields of 'conventional' arms, cyber technology and the technology, methodology and ideology of population control/repression within urban spaces. The border between 'civilian' and 'military' has long been broken down by those working in the sector, whether in Israel or globally. People, concepts and technologies are interchangeable and permeating each other.

While 'conventional' arms are largely used in wars, occupation and proxy wars in the global south, through concepts of population control and the militarisation of urban space, the techniques and technologies tested in these scenarios of war and occupation have found their way to metropolis around the globe, including to Western cities. Justified by so-called 'wars on terror', 'wars on drugs', etc, sophisticated mechanism of surveillance check, control, wall-in or wall-out populations in the urban spaces around the world. Walled-out populations are faced with police brutality, often by forces trained in Israel.

Within this framework, Israel as the global laboratory of (neo)colonial practices and war, is at the forefront of providing 'solutions' and makes literally a killing out of it. Not by chance Israel is one of the world's top exporters of conventional weapons as much as of ideology, methodology and technology of militarisation of urban spaces and societies.

The Israeli military and HS sector is not only composed of Israel's military, police and prison system but integrates as well almost 7 thousand public and private Israeli companies that produce for Israeli use and to a very large extent for export and Israeli universities that provide crucial research.

1) Indo-Israeli military ties

The earliest signs of military cooperation came during the 1962 Sino-Indian war, when Israel gave India military aid. India reciprocated during the Six-Day War in 1967 by providing Israel with spare parts for Mystere and Ouragan aircraft, as well as AX-13 tanks.¹ The culmination of this early partnership was Israel's supply of artillery shells during the Kargil war, when India faced a shortage².

After the start of diplomatic relations in 1992, India rose to become Israel's largest arms importer. According to Israel Defense Ministry reports, India accounted for 50 percent of Israel's military exports, surpassing Russia as the number one arms supplier to India in 2008. India has bought more than US\$ 10 billion weapons from Israel since 1999; not only is India the biggest customer, but it has also bought more arms than Israel's own armed forces. Some twenty major arms deals have tied India's military to Israel. All major Israeli arms companies – Israeli Aerospace Industries, Elbit Systems, Israeli Military Industries, Rafael – have gained several contracts with the Israeli army and have built joint ventures.

With the recent decision of India to raise the level of technology transfer and Indian participation in military projects, Israeli companies have all geared up to join the 'Made in India' hype. In February 2015, Bharat Forge subsidiary Kalyani group and Israel's Rafael Advanced Defence Systems have struck a joint venture to develop high-end technologies and weapon systems³. The

1 <http://web.stanford.edu/group/sjir/pdf/Israel.pdf>

2 <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/paradigm-shift-after-israels-aid-during-kargil/article6234801.ece>

3 <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/industry/2015/02/20/india-israel-kalyani-rafael-joint-venture-defense-investment-bharat/23730541/>

joint venture will be 51 percent owned by Kalyani and 49 percent by Rafael. The DRDO and IAI have teamed up to produce medium-range surface-to-air missiles⁴ and related systems. A \$2.5 million contract for the missiles is under negotiations⁵. (For more on the corruption scandal involved in this deal, see below.) Elbit Systems has as well expressed interest for more joint ventures in India.⁶ Already in 2013, Bharat Forge struck a joint venture with Elbit Systems of Israel, BF Elbit Advanced Ltd., which proposed to develop, assemble and manufacture defense systems, particularly artillery and mortar systems and ammunition⁷.

'Homeland security'

Israel provides India with technology and training to militarise its borders, Jammu and Kashmir and the northeastern region. This has only increased in recent years. Shortly after the Uri killings, home minister Rajnath Singh visited Israel to learn about technology and methods to 'secure' borders⁸ in an apparent attempt to copy more of Israel's apartheid Wall. However, already in 1994 India showed the first interest to apply Israeli technology in Kashmir⁹ and by 2007, Israeli commanders were surveilling Israeli equipment at the Indo-Pakistani border.¹⁰ In 2014, India has shown interest to apply in Kashmir technology developed for the siege on Gaza¹¹.

2014 was the year India signed the India-Israel Agreement on Cooperation in Homeland and Public Security was signed¹², which has made the country even more lucrative for Israeli military and security corporations.

Training of military and police special forces by Israel has been ongoing since long. Already by 2003, Israeli military and secret services had already trained thousands of Indian security personnel.¹³ In September 2008, Defense News reported that India and Israel were planning joint counterterrorism exercises between Israeli commando forces and Indian troops.¹⁴ Israeli training of Indian special forces has continued until today.¹⁵ High level coordination is institutionalised through a number of defense official visits and joint working groups.

Smart/Safe cities

Israel is working hard to reap profits from the Indian Smart City initiative¹⁶, introducing its technology of 'save cities'. The 'save city' concept has been developed by Marc Kahlberg, a South African- Israel, who after having learned the basics of repression in South Africa's apartheid military, moved to work with military and secret services in Israel¹⁷. During this time, Marc Kahlberg developed the 'save city' concept. Taking advantage of the methodology and technology acquired in that experience, he founded vital-int.com to market the know how developed in the oppression of the Palestinian people. Now, he and others open branches in India¹⁸.

4 <http://www.airforce-technology.com/projects/medium-range-surface-to-air-missile-mrsam/>

5 <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/india-israel-introducing-mr-sam-03461/>

6 http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/48877139.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst

7 <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/industry/2015/02/20/india-israel-kalyani-rafael-joint-venture-defense-investment-bharat/23730541/>

8 <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/uri-attack-israel-offers-expertise-to-secure-borders-india-3047331/>

9 <https://electronicintifada.net/content/india-employing-israeli-oppression-tactics-kashmir/8985>

10 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266439359_Indo-Israeli_Defense_Cooperation_in_the_Twenty-First_Century

11 <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/govt-mulls-israel-type-fencing-along-pakistan-border/>

12 https://www.indembassy.co.il/events.php?event_id=59

13 <https://electronicintifada.net/content/india-employing-israeli-oppression-tactics-kashmir/8985>

<https://rehmat2.wordpress.com/2010/08/20/israelis-in-occupied-kashmir/>

14 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266439359_Indo-Israeli_Defense_Cooperation_in_the_Twenty-First_Century

15 <http://www.deccanherald.com/content/492564/israel-share-indian-cops-anti.html>

16 <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/maharashtra-collaborates-with-israel-on-smart-cities/article7147338.ece>, <http://www.jpost.com/Business-and-Innovation/Tech/Tel-Aviv-to-help-India-build-smart-cities-435161>

17 <http://vital-int.com/team/>

18 <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/mumbai/news/Israeli-firm-to-set-up-cyber-security-academies-in-India/article14591140.ece>

Israeli IT and cyber 'security' companies, including Ceragon, Truphatek, CheckPoint, Magic Software, Ness Technologies, Amdocs and Verint, are having a bonanza in India's market of telecommunication and internet users. Only Amdocs, which provides communication and back office services for companies around the world, has about 1,000 employees at its office in Pune.¹⁹ Amdocs has been investigated in espionage cases even by unsuspected actors such as the US government agencies.²⁰

Security cooperation reaches the point that even the entire surveillance system of the Indian parliament is provided by Israel's Nice Systems (now owned by Elbit Systems).

The importation of surveillance technology in all aspects of Indian cities and society is not the only urban concept that comes from Israel. The BJP governments latest move to build Israel-style settlements for Kashmiri pandits has been celebrated in Israel²¹ and decried in India.

2) The Palestinian people: the laboratory of the Israeli military industry

Israel is only able to carry out brutal massacres and deliberately kill Palestinian civilians because of the willingness of governments, institutions and companies around the world to cooperate with Israel's military and weapons companies. Military exports from Israel totaled \$7.5bn in 2012 and Israel was the world's 8th largest arms exporter in 2014, especially remarkable given its relative size.

Israel's military industry depends on exports to foreign markets: up to 70% of Israel's military production is exported, mainly to the global South.

Military assaults on Palestinians are used by Israeli military companies to test and market new weapons and military technology. Israeli weapons companies market their weapons as "field-tested". Israeli arms companies have publicly boasted about the effectiveness of the new technologies trialled for the first time during the 2014 Gaza massacre. The share price of Elbit Systems - Israel's largest military company - rose sharply during Israel's 2014 attack on Gaza. This use of Israeli assaults and military operations to test and market military exports creates a powerful financial incentive for continued oppression and violence.

Further, Israeli military companies are key drivers in the proliferation of both drones, and a ruthless model of securitization and militarized repression to the world.

19 <http://www.timesofisrael.com/india-diplomat-we-want-to-embrace-israeli-tech/>

20 <https://bdsmovement.net/news/palestinian-report-scathing-south-africas-relations-israel>

21 <http://www.jpost.com/International/India-sparks-anger-with-Israel-style-settlement-policy-in-disputed-Kashmir-396719>

3) Negative effect of Indo-Israeli military ties on the Indian people

Exasperating militarization, repression, communalism and islamophobia

One of Israel's core propaganda messages is its willingness to help India in its war on its 'war on Muslim terror'. Israeli trainings, methodology and technology of surveillance and 'security' are based on racial profiling and Islamophobic discourse. The import of concepts from a society and military-industrial-scientific complex that bases its paradigm on the defense of one ethno-religious category against aspirations of justice of all the 'other', are necessarily reinforcing communal oppression and conflicts within Indian society.

Much of the money spent on Israeli 'security' is directly used in repression in Kashmir and the northeastern regions – just as in the case of Israeli repression of the Palestinian people – without any prospect of advancing justice, which would be the only way to achieve an end to the necessity of repression. It is simply fuelling Indian military spending and militarization.

Fuelling corruption

The Barak missiles deal is probably the best example: it was one of the biggest corruption scandals in the Indian military's history. In 2000, the first BJP led government signed a deal with Israeli Airspace Industries for the acquisition of seven Barak systems at a total cost \$199.50 million and 200 missiles at a cost of \$69.13 million. The deal went through, even against the recommendation of APJ Abdul Kalam, then heading the Defence Research Development Organization (DRDO). Already in 2001, the deal became part of a large scale anti-corruption investigation. A First Information Report in 2006 named IAI and its middlemen as well as several Indian military brass and politicians.

While investigations were still ongoing, the then Congress led government signed a second deal with IAI on February 2009 for the joint development of advanced air defense missiles. That deal is particularly remarkable considering that it did not only involve a company under ongoing investigation for corruption but forced the Indian DRDO to cooperate with IAI on a missile system including technology the latter was still developing all the while the DRDO had already developed a technologically superior missile system²². However, for IAI that mega deal was crucial in a moment the Israeli company was under heavy financial pressure. To close up this chapter of the story, an investigative report in one of India's major newspapers reported that the key Indian Air Force officer who took the decision on inducting Barak 8 missiles for the Air Force began to work for the Israeli company after his retirement. Currently a 2.5 million acquisition of the missiles is under negotiations and until today it is not clear whether intellectual property rights over the missiles are with India or with IAI.²³

Israeli Military Industries (IMI) has as well engaged in corrupt practices after bribes in the US\$ 260 million contract from the Ordnance Factory in Nalanda to produce ammunition for the Bofors guns have been discovered. IMI got finally blacklisted in 2012 for 10 years.

History of technical failures

22 <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/cpi-cpi-urge-manmohan-to-scrap-israel-missile-deal/article352458.ece>, [http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/CPI\(M\)+demands+CBI+probe+into+Barak+missile+deal/1/34341.html](http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/CPI(M)+demands+CBI+probe+into+Barak+missile+deal/1/34341.html)

23 <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/india-israel-introducing-mr-sam-03461/>

The principle beneficiary of India's UAV spending has been Israel, particularly IAI with the Heron and Searcher variants²⁴. The most surprising aspect is India's fondness of Israeli UAVs even though they have a history of failures. After India first bought Heron UAVs in 2002, two Indian Air Force and two Indian Army UAVs crashed, killing one Air Force handler. The first crash of the UAV happened soon after induction in 2003.

Even today, contracts with IAI continue. On September 14 2015, the Indian government approved the \$400 million purchase of 10 armed Heron TP UAVs from IAI. They join the fleet of 50 Heron MALE UAVs bought in 2005 and the 12 Heron-1 drones bought in the early 2000s. With 22.5% of all UAV imports over the 1985-2014 period, India has topped the list of unmanned aerial systems importers.

Other Israeli companies had similar experiences in India. The guns produced by Elbit System's subsidiary Soltam broke repeatedly during tests and tests were simply repeated in order for Soltam to change the guns and win the deal.

Relinquishing national sovereignty

As the Barak missile deal shows, not only in the case of arms imports from Israel but as well in the case of joint ventures, India faces difficulties in obtaining intellectual property rights of the technology that is produced or bought. At the same time, Indian national development of technology is either halted or tied to Israel.

As a result Israel achieves full control over the possibility of India to actually use the technology. With the army equipped with Israeli guns, the airforce and navy equipped with Israeli airplanes and missiles, Israeli communication systems and technology in all levels of the Indian defense system, Israel has absolute power to turn off or on Indian defense according to their interests.

4) Global action to end military relations with Israeli apartheid

In 2011, the Palestinian BDS National Committee issued a call for a comprehensive military embargo on Israel. The call urged: an end to military aid and weapons exports to Israel, ending the transfer of weapons and military technology to and from Israel, and ending all forms of military aid and research cooperation. The call for a military embargo is now supported by political parties, NGOs, trade unions and campaign groups across the world. Palestinian BDS National Committee member organisation Stop the Wall is leading an effective international campaign against Elbit Systems, Israel's largest military company.

Some of the key impacts of the campaign for a military embargo in Israel so far include²⁵:

- **Banks divest from Elbit Systems:** More than a dozen banks have announced that they have divested from Elbit Systems over its role in Israel's military violence, and the company has been blacklisted by many investment advice companies. UK bank Barclays divested after more than 1.7 million people signed a petition organised by Avaaz and campaigners have occupied and protested at bank branches across the UK.
- **Elbit loses deals:** Elbit's participation in a Brazilian drone development effort was terminated at the beginning of 2016. This followed a 2014 decision by the Rio Grande do Sul

²⁴ <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/israel-sells-heron-uavs-to-india-01476/>

²⁵ <https://bdsmovement.net/military-embargo#impact>

regional government to end a large-scale research collaboration project with Elbit Systems. Elbit factories across the world have been repeatedly blockaded by campaigners. Elbit has lost out on deals in Denmark and France following public campaigns.

- **Countries reduce or cut military trade with Israel:** South Africa has maintained in the last decade a de facto freeze in military ties. The Norwegian government has an official policy of not exporting weapons to Israel. In 2010, Norway even refused to allow the testing of a submarine that a German company was manufacturing for Israel in its waters.
- **Arms fairs protests:** Israeli participation in arms fairs has been contested across the globe – from the Netherlands, to France, to Brazil and the US.
- **Campaigns against police training:** Especially in Brazil and the US, movements of black and marginalised communities have teamed up with Palestine solidarity activists to stop Israeli police training that reinforce and exasperate police brutality, racism and repression.

5) What can we do in India

There are many reasons and many ways how Indian movements can stand up in support of the Palestinian call for Boycotts, Divestment and Sanctions, including a comprehensive military embargo, and strengthen with this their own struggles and demands. This includes:

Research

We still don't have the full picture of the myriad of ways in which Israeli military and 'homeland security' as well as cyber security companies and concepts are penetrating and influencing India, its people and movements. Freedom of Information questions at national, regional and local level on contracts and relations are fundamental.

We have model questions available.

Building support

We ask movements and organisations to open spaces to discuss Indo-Israeli military relations and its negative impact on the Palestinian people and India.

Targeting contracts

We ask movements, organisations and political parties to campaign for an end to contracts and cooperation with Israeli military and homeland security. Supporting Israeli apartheid makes nobody safer and undermines the respect for human rights as a universal value.

Ensure that institutions, regional governments stop contracting the Israeli military-industrial-scientific complex

As Israeli technology and methodology 'field-tested' against the Palestinian people is funnelled through hundreds of big and small corporations to military and civilian buyers, these products and services are at all levels.

Even if the federal government remains committed to maintaining these relations with Israeli apartheid, we can ensure institutions, local and regional governments avoid or cut ties with the Israeli military-industrial-scientific complex.