

Weapons, Walls & Oppression

THE EU/UK/ISRAEL MILITARY RELATIONSHIP

April 2019

TIPPING POINT NORTH SOUTH

A co-operative that supports and initiates creative, campaign-driven projects that advance the global social justice agenda

MILITARY SPENDING: A HIDDEN DRIVER OF CLIMATE CHANGE

The global military is a major driver of climate change. At UN level it is exempt from reporting its carbon emissions despite some countries' militaries being among the largest consumers of fossil fuels in the world. It is a scandal that needs exposing.

Runaway global military spending fuels this state of affairs and impedes development in myriad ways: *as a matter of urgency* it must be put centre-stage as an international development, environment and human safety concern.

All current *Green New Deal* economic thinking (in the UK, Europe, the USA and elsewhere) must take account of the links between these closely linked issues: military spending and climate change.

WEAPONS, WALLS AND OPPRESSION: THE EU/UK/ISRAEL MILITARY RELATIONSHIP is one of Tipping Point North South's *Five Percent Proposal* series of reports and briefings that offer a framework and a formula for progressively converting military spending into funding for development, strengthening human safety, and averting climate catastrophe.

This briefing is also pertinent to Tipping Point North South's *Green New Deal Plus*, designed to complement all current variations of Green New Deal economic proposals. (See Context)

The *Five Percent Proposal* project is funded by Polden-Puckham Charitable Foundation and is a project of Tipping Point North South.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Report researched by Dr. Ho-Chih Lin and written by Dr. Ho-Chih Lin and Deborah Burton

Tipping Point North South is a 'for the benefit of community' co-operative, supporting and initiating creative, campaign-driven projects that advance the global social justice agenda.

CONTACT US

T: +44 (0) 20 8847 0377 E: info@tippingpointnorthsouth.org

W: <https://tippingpointnorthsouth.org/> and <https://thefivepercentcampaign.org>

Contents

Context	3
The growing call for a Green New Deal	3
Tipping Point North South's <i>Green New Deal Plus</i> – a Green New Deal that addresses GLOBAL military spending.....	3
What is the Green New Deal Plus?.....	3
About this briefing	5
Introduction	5
Israeli defence industry and 'the Lab' - the Occupied Palestinian Territories	6
The importance of the international market for Israeli arms industry	8
The complicity of the West	10
Israeli arms industry's participation in the EU's research programmes: FP7 & Horizon 2020	13
The militarisation of the European Union	15
Globalising Israel's weaponry <i>and</i> security strategies	16
UK and EU foreign policy & military interests appeased by aid	18
Conclusion	19

CONTEXT

THE GROWING CALL FOR A GREEN NEW DEAL

Across the UK/Europe and USA there is a growing call for a 'Green New Deal', taking the term from President Roosevelt's successful 1930s New Deal where investment in public works was key to reinvigorating the USA economy during the Great Depression. It was a concept revisited with the Green New Deal Group's proposal for a '*Green New Deal*' published by the New Economics Foundation in 2008¹ and their follow up 'Plan' in 2013². Today, a Green New Deal is a central plank in the Democratic Party's election offer to the American people; here in the UK it is coming to the fore of Labour Party policy-thinking and is being revived by the Green Party who first adopted it as policy in 2008. There is also now a call for a progressive EU-wide Green New Deal, following in the footsteps of Green Parties across Europe.

The 21st century Green New Deal comprises primarily a set of government funded social and economic reforms and public works projects with renewable energy, resource efficiency and decarbonisation at their heart, and deliverable through a massive programme of investment in clean-energy jobs and infrastructure.

However, notably absent in all Green New Deal thinking is awareness of the role of the world's militaries and their significant (and profoundly under-reported, if not concealed) contribution to climate breakdown.

TIPPING POINT NORTH SOUTH'S GREEN NEW DEAL PLUS – A GREEN NEW DEAL THAT ADDRESSES GLOBAL MILITARY SPENDING

Through its **Five Percent Proposal**³, [Tipping Point North South](https://tippingpointnorthsouth.org/)⁴ (TPNS) has been building the case that global runaway spending is of profound relevance to international development, the global green economy and, increasingly, climate change. It argues that runaway military spending should therefore be of much more serious concern than at present to those working in the international and development sectors, both NGOs and politicians alike, and calls for them to make a much greater effort to engage with it.

Historically, military spending has been central to re-enforcing power, poverty, unjust distribution of resources, economic and environmental collapse. Peace and green prosperity will remain elusive as long as the military-oil industry relationship remains intact and all powerful. We need a very different starting point to consider and address the annual almost \$2 trillion global military spend and it should be *sustainable human safety*. Only if we can lay *that* as the foundation stone, can the human family create and sustain peaceful prosperity in a green economy working in harmony with the natural world.

WHAT IS THE GREEN NEW DEAL PLUS?

¹ *A Green New Deal*, New Economics Foundation, 2008. <https://neweconomics.org/2008/07/green-new-deal>

² *2013 Press Release*, The Green New Deal Group. http://www.greennewdealgroup.org/?page_id=200

³ The Five Percent Campaign website. <https://thefivepercentcampaign.org/>

⁴ Tipping Point North South website. <https://tippingpointnorthsouth.org/>

Tipping Point North South's **Green New Deal Plus**⁵ argues that unless or until we include the issue of military spending and its impact on our climate in current Green New Deal thinking, the economic, social and environmental gains of such a deal will only ever be partial. *Peace* must accompany – indeed enable – prosperity.

In brief, it comprises three calls:

- **The break-up of the military-oil industry relationship and complete decarbonisation of the world's militaries.**

NB A decarbonised military, defence and security sector is not about delivering 'greener ways to conduct war': weaponry and war will always kill living beings, will always destroy and pollute environments. Rather, this idea is the starting point for much needed if challenging discussion, one that can lead us to a paradigm shift in national and international defence and security policy-making for a carbon-neutral world.

- **Open up debate about what kind of 'defence' policy is fit for the 21st century.**

We need a decarbonised, *sustainable*, global military with a *transformed and transformative doctrine* fit for purpose in this century of climate breakdown – one based on revisiting and updating earlier work on the concept of *non-offensive defence*⁶ and prioritising funds for *sustainable human safety* through peacekeeping, peacebuilding, disaster risk reduction, and investment in social, economic and environmental justice. Primarily, national self-interest should be replaced with sustainable human safety.

- **Implementation of TPNS's *Five Percent Formula* to progressively cut runaway global military spending and emissions in order to fund human safety, address international development needs and the impact of climate change, and meet global green economy needs.**

-

A key element of the **Green New Deal Plus** is TPNS's ***Five Percent Proposal*** to halve global military spending over 10 years, followed by a 5% threshold formula designed to rein-in military spending thereafter.⁷

⁵ The full GND Plus briefing can be found at <https://thefivepercentcampaign.org/>

⁶ <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/2855683>

⁷ <https://thefivepercentcampaign.org/full-report-the-five-percent-campaign/the-5-formula-what-is-it/>



ABOUT THIS BRIEFING

WEAPONS, WALLS AND OPPRESSION: THE EU/UK/ISRAEL MILITARY RELATIONSHIP is one of Tipping Point North South's *Five Percent Proposal* series of reports and briefings that offer a framework and a formula for progressively converting military spending into funding for development, strengthening human safety, and averting climate catastrophe. This briefing is also pertinent to Tipping Point North South's *Green New Deal Plus*, designed to complement all current variations of Green New Deal economic proposals.

Israel's occupation is all too often framed and reported as a regional Middle East concern but this is a partial description. Israel aspires to be and is becoming a major player in the global arms trade while its occupation of Palestinian territories has produced, by any definition, one of the world's worst, longest standing human development catastrophes of the 20th and 21st century. However, Israel's close economic, diplomatic and military relations with EU and USA has not prevented the global BDS movement successfully placing the Palestinian struggle for freedom and justice in the wider, global context of other historic civil rights movements. Both in the USA and South Africa, land ownership, economic development, civil rights and self determination were at the heart of struggles which, in the end, won.

Weapons, walls and oppression – in the end – are always defeated, thanks to global civil society's vital role in bringing it about.

INTRODUCTION

Anthropologist, writer, activist and founder of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, Jeff Halper argued in his book, *'War Against the People'*, that the Occupied Territories had become the laboratory within which the R&D and production of Israeli surveillance 'weaponry' had been developed and from which the state benefitted from economically, along with accompanying strategies now being exported to governments around the world.

'Israel has diplomatic relations with 157 countries, and virtually all the agreements and protocols Israel has signed with them contain military and security components...'⁸

Between the two periods of 2008-2012 and 2013-2017, Israel increased its arms exports by 55 percent — the largest increase in the world.⁹ According to SIBAT, the military exports unit of the Defense Ministry, Israeli companies in 2017 exported missile systems and aerial defense

⁸ *War Against the People*, Jeff Halper, Pluto Press, 2015

⁹ https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2018-03/fssipri_at2017_0.pdf



systems (17% and 3%, respectively), communications systems (9%), observation and optics (8%), UAVs (2%), marine systems (1%), satellites and space (1%). 58% of Israeli defense exports was to Asia Pacific, followed by Europe with 21%, North America with 14%, Africa with 5% and Latin America at 2%.¹⁰

What accounts for Israel's success at rising up the ranks of arms manufacturers and securing high-end defence and security EU /UK contracts? The ugly, if obvious (though largely unreported) truth is that it is inextricably linked to its military occupation of the Palestinian people.

As strategies develop for an EU army and both the EU and the UK push for ever greater military spending budget, what does it mean that one of their key security and defence partners (and recipients of R&D funds), Israel, is ever more regarded as a pariah state - one applying ever more draconian apartheid policies upon the Palestinians in a 70 year occupation that sees no end?

How does this sit with UK/EU efforts to act as an honest broker in the effort to secure peace? And beyond Palestine, what is the influence of Israel's exporting of its own occupation strategies to other states - north or south- as they develop their own strategies to control civilian unrest?

Although, for some, any critical eye cast upon Israeli government activity is increasingly a no-go area, this paper raises questions about the morality of the UK and EU's ever closer security and defence relationships with a nation whose brutal occupation has been laid bare for all to see.

ISRAELI DEFENCE INDUSTRY AND 'THE LAB' - THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

Acting as the Chair of The United Nations Independent Commission of Inquiry on the "Great March of Return and the Breaking of the Siege" protests in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Santiago Canton stated, "The Commission has reasonable grounds to believe that during the Great March of Return, Israeli soldiers committed violations of international human rights and humanitarian law. Some of those violations may constitute war crimes or crimes against humanity, and must be immediately investigated by Israel."¹¹ According to the Commission, More than 6,000 unarmed demonstrators were shot by military snipers, week after week at the protest sites by the separation fence. The Israeli Security Forces injured 6,106 Palestinians with

¹⁰ <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Israel-rises-in-world-defense-spending-ranking-565987>

¹¹ <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=24226&LangID=E>

live ammunition at the protest sites during the period between 30 March 2018 and 31 December 2018. Another 3,098 Palestinians were injured by bullet fragmentation, rubber-coated metal bullets or by hits from tear gas canisters. 122 people have had a limb amputated since 30 March last year. Twenty of these amputees are children. The Commission found reasonable grounds to believe that Israeli snipers shot at journalists, health workers, children and persons with disabilities, knowing they were clearly recognizable as such.

Four Israeli soldiers were injured at the demonstrations. Four Israeli soldiers were injured at the demonstrations. One Israeli soldier was killed on a protest day but outside the protest sites.

Israel's devastating wars on the besieged Gaza Strip caused thousands of deaths among Palestinian civilians and the wide spread destruction of houses and infrastructures. Yet, for Israel, these wars represent a transnational marketing event for its "battle-tested" new military products. According to an investigation by human rights groups following "Operation Protective Edge," thirty-seven percent of those killed died in drone attacks.¹² Strikingly, Elbit which produces eighty-five percent of Israeli drones, saw a 6.1 percent increase in value, "bringing the company close to an all-time high set in 2010."¹³ As affirmed by the military correspondent, Amir Rapaport, "from a business point of view, the operation was an outstanding thing for the defense industries."¹⁴

Dr. Tariq Dana, 2017¹⁵

This atrocity inflicted on the Palestinian people in Gaza is not new. It followed notably from the 2014 Gaza war (Operation Protective Edge), in which more than 2000 Gazans were killed and 10,000 were wounded¹⁶, estimated 65% of which were civilians¹⁷; the 2008-2009 Gaza war (Operation Cast Lead), in which 1391 Gazans were killed including 759 civilians; among other Israel-Gaza conflicts since 2006¹⁸. Israeli journalist Yotam Feldman showed in his documentary film, "The Lab," exactly how such military operations are used as a marketing opportunity for Israeli arms industries, showcasing Israel's 'battle-tested' weaponry to the world's militaries.¹⁹ As one Israel Weapons Industries (IWI) executive said in 2014, "After every operation of the kind we see today in Gaza, we see an increase in the number of foreign clients. We market aggressively abroad as it is, but the IDF's actions definitely effect our work."²⁰ In her seminal book '*The Shock Doctrine*,' Naomi Klein showed that most of Israel's economic growth can be attributed to their huge defence industry, which has become Israel's main export industry (\$9.2 billion sales in 2017²¹). In addition, she claimed that " human rights activists have often compared Gaza and the West Bank to open-air prisons... it strikes me that they are something

¹² <https://corporatewatch.org/product/gaza-life-beneath-the-drones/>

¹³ https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/nze3jz/how-the-military-tech-israel-uses-in-gaza-will-be-exported-around-the-world

¹⁴ https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/nze3jz/how-the-military-tech-israel-uses-in-gaza-will-be-exported-around-the-world

¹⁵ <http://www.politicaleconomyproject.org/pepblog/israels-big-business-of-war-tariq-dana>

¹⁶ <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=751290>

¹⁷ http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/CoIGaza/A_HRC_CRP_4.doc

¹⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza%E2%80%93Israel_conflict

¹⁹ <http://www.gumfilms.com/projects/lab>

²⁰ <https://www.themarket.com/markerweek/1.2400337>

²¹ <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/israel-s-defense-export-sales-exceed-record-9-billion-1.6052046>

else too: laboratories where the terrifying tools of our security states are being field-tested. Palestinians - whether living in the West Bank or what the Israeli politicians are already calling Hamastan - are no longer just targets. They are guinea pigs."²²

Israeli military operations in Gaza in the past decade have been especially profitable for the country's military industries... Both private companies and the Israeli government alike use Gaza as an opportunity to test new weapons, technologies and methods to be marketed based on their new operational success... the Great March of Return provided an opportunity for Israel to present its advanced UAV technology in a new setting... a new tear gas drone, 'Sea of Tears', named after a famous hit song, was introduced. It has been reportedly designed specifically for use in Gaza... use of drones fits into a worldwide pattern. Though today aimed primarily against Palestinians, similar technology will likely be marketed and sold to oppress others worldwide." Coalition of Women for Peace (CWP), 2018²³

According to the human rights NGO B'Tselem²⁴, between 2000 and January 2019, 9,456 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli security forces – with western complicity, compared with 1,237 Israeli security force personnel and civilians killed by Palestinians. Of the Palestinian fatalities, 2,025 were children. Other estimates put the Palestinian death toll over the same period at up to 9,730.²⁵ And yet as the slaughter continues, EU arms sales to Israel continues and particularly British defence contractors are selling record amounts of arms to Israel - at £221m in 2017.²⁶

Israel Weapon Industries (IWI) is among the world's top five firearms manufacturers and supplies the Israeli army with Uzi machine guns, Tavor assault rifles and Negev machine guns. The Israeli army is one of its biggest customers. When a new weapon is developed, it is given to the military just as soon as the internal testing phase is complete so that it can be tried out on the battlefield. Soldiers then report back to IWI's technicians in order to help them improve the weapons. "We have vast experience," says Gil Wainman, IWI's marketing director. "Real combat experience. And we are using it in our development effort."²⁷

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET FOR ISRAELI ARMS INDUSTRY

Exports have grown to the point that supplying Israel's army only makes up a small part of the country's defense industry. For example, Israel Weapon Industries (IWI) exports about 90 percent of the products it produces. The situation is similar for other Israeli defense companies,

²² <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/jun/16/israel.comment1>

²³ <https://enhamushim.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/report-with-covers1.pdf>

²⁴ <https://www.btselem.org/statistics/fatalities/after-cast-lead/by-date-of-event>

²⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/10/saudi-arabia-israel-civilians-britain-yemen-palestinian-arms>

²⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/27/british-arms-exports-israel-new-record>

²⁷ <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/defense-industry-the-business-of-war-in-israel-a-988245.html>



with an export ratio of 75 percent or more being standard.²⁸ Israel has consistently ranked at the first place on the Bonn International Center for Conversion's (BICC) Global Militarization Index, which measures the degree of militarisation of a country.²⁹ 30% of all research and development in Israel has a military focus, in stark contrast to say 2% for German, 5% for Chinese, 10% for British and 17% for US R&D.³⁰ It was estimated that around 25% of the

Israeli's labour force is absorbed in military and related in industries, while about half of the labour force is involved indirectly in various private and public military-related projects.³¹ The Israeli state was forced in 2013 to reveal that some 6,800 Israelis were actively engaged in exporting arms.³²

Between the two periods of 2008-2012 and 2013-2017, Israel increased its arms exports by 55 percent — the largest increase in the world.³³ Israel spent 4.7% of its GDP on military spending in 2017 (SIPRI), placed itself among the top with the highest military burden in the world. In terms of military spending per capita, Israel is ranked among the world top two in 2017 (SIPRI), at \$1981 per person, behind only Saudi Arabia and ahead of USA.³⁴ According to SIBAT, the military exports unit of the Defense Ministry, Israeli companies in 2017 exported missile systems and aerial defense systems (17% and 3%, respectively), communications systems (9%), observation and optics (8%), UAVs (2%), marine systems (1%), satellites and space (1%). 58% of Israeli defense exports was to Asia Pacific, followed by Europe with 21%, North America with 14%, Africa with 5% and Latin America at 2%.³⁵

The so called “start-up nation” that relies on hi-tech innovation is in fact deeply propelled by Israel’s military spending on research and development. Former high-ranking army officers and officials commonly utilize their previous military service for private profit in these industries. Some of the well-known Israeli security companies established by former army officials are, Audiocodes and MetaLink, Elbeit, Comverse, Checkpoint, and Nice Systems. Neve Gordon calls this phenomenon an “experience economy,” which involves the packing and selling of Israel’s military experience to foreign customers.³⁶

Besides developing advanced military technologies, many of these private companies are concentrated on “homeland security,” specialized in integrating military-civilian security control by developing surveillance equipment; an industry that boomed after the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent global “war on terror.”

²⁸ <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/defense-industry-the-business-of-war-in-israel-a-988245.html>

²⁹ https://www.bicc.de/uploads/tx_bicctools/BICC_GMI_2018_e.pdf

³⁰ http://ifsh.de/pdf/aktuelles/india_brzoska.pdf

³¹ A Mintz, "The military - industrial complex: The Israeli case," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 6, no. 3 (1983), 103-127, 111.

³² <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-6-800-arms-exporters-working-in-israel-state-documents-reveal-1.5295639>

³³ https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2018-03/fssipri_at2017_0.pdf

³⁴ <https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex>

³⁵ <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Israel-rises-in-world-defense-spending-ranking-565987>

³⁶ N. Gordon, “Working Paper III: The Political Economy of Israel's Homeland Security/ Surveillance Industry,” *The New Transparency* (April 28, 2009)

Israel has a long history of selling arms to regimes with terrible human rights records. As Chilean-born Israeli who said in an interview with *Haaretz*: "All the weapons of the Chilean police and army were Israeli... The Chilean army greatly admired the Israeli army. When Pinochet wanted to visit Israel, he threatened that if he were not received here he would cancel a large arms deal. No dictator in the world, however bad he may be, can exist without international support. The dictatorship in Chile lasted as long as it did because there were countries that supported it, and Israel was one of them."³⁸ Israel sold weapons to South Africa during apartheid; it sold arms to the murderous Salvadoran military regime during the Salvadoran civil war; and there is evidence that it sold weapons to the Hutu government during the Rwandan genocide against the Tutsi.³⁹ There were also arms sales during the civil war in Sri Lanka, where tens of thousands of civilians were murdered by planes and ships made in Israel.⁴⁰ Recently, Israel has continuously sold weapons, military training, homeland security and surveillance technology to South Sudan since its independence in 2011, despite evidence of them being used by South Sudanese government forces to commit war crimes and potential crimes against humanity.⁴¹ Between 2014 and 2018, the biggest importer of Israeli arms is India, under Narendra Modi's Hindu ultra-nationalist government.⁴²

In a recent interview with *Haaretz*, Itay Mack [an attorney and expert on the Israeli arms industry] described how Israel is now filling in the gap that the United States and Europe left behind:

"We know Israel is selling arms to Azerbaijan, South Sudan and Rwanda. Israel is training units guarding presidential regimes in African states. According to reports, this is happening in Cameroon, Togo and Equatorial Guinea – nondemocratic states, some of them dictatorships, that kill, plunder and oppress their citizens. "

Israel's competitive advantage in the arms trade is that it can sell combat-tested weapons, and military know-how, due to the fact that it has been holding a civilian population under military rule for almost 50 years. Or as Mack puts it: "The generals in Guatemala grasped that their confrontation with the [local] Indian population is very similar to the situation in Israel."

Edo Konrad, +972 Magazine, 2015⁴³

THE COMPLICITY OF THE WEST

³⁷ <http://www.politiceconomyproject.org/pepblog/israels-big-business-of-war-tariq-dana>

³⁸ <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-i-won-t-stop-until-israel-admits-its-ties-with-the-pinochet-regime-1.5417955>

³⁹ <https://972mag.com/who-will-stop-the-flow-of-israeli-arms-to-dictatorships/114080/>

⁴⁰ <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israel-advises-sri-lanka-slow-motion-genocide/12644>

⁴¹ <https://972mag.com/the-untold-story-of-israeli-military-exports-to-south-sudan/107137/>

⁴² <https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-sipri-israel-worlds-8th-largest-weapons-exporter-1001277570>

⁴³ <https://972mag.com/who-will-stop-the-flow-of-israeli-arms-to-dictatorships/114080/>

The USA and EU are both complicit in Israel's aggression and occupation in the West Bank and the Gaza strip. Israel's militarisation of its economy and over-dominance of its arms trade is enabled by the West's support. The USA provides more military aid to Israel than to any other state.⁴⁴ To date, the United States has provided Israel \$134.7 billion (current, or non-inflation-adjusted, dollars) in bilateral assistance and missile defense funding. Almost all U.S. bilateral aid to Israel is in the form of military assistance, although in the past Israel also received significant economic assistance.⁴⁵ In 2016 under the Obama administration, a Memorandum of



Understanding was signed to provide Israel with \$38bn military assistance over a 10-year period, which has now been codified into law by the US Congress.⁴⁶

Now, with President Trump in office, this relationship has taken a new turn, with the plans to build a border wall.

Elta North America, an Israeli-owned defense manufacturer with US headquarters in Maryland, was one of four companies chosen to build a prototype for the border wall between the United States and Mexico.

The company is a subsidiary of Israel Aerospace Industries. Some 200 companies vied for the tenders, which will provide a \$300,000 to \$500,000 grant to develop a model. In total, eight companies are building prototypes for the nearly 2,000-mile-long wall. Four will be concrete and four will have see-through or “smart” walls. Elta was chosen to work on the see-through wall project.

The final project could cost up to \$25 billion.

Elta manufactures radar systems and components for branches of the American military. It also provides radar components for the Israeli military, which purchases them using US military aid and must be spent in the United States. In its Israeli headquarters, Elta manufactures radar systems for Arrow missiles, the Iron Dome anti-missile system, espionage and fighter jets, according to Ynet.

US President Donald Trump has praised Israel for its southern border wall meant to stop African migrants from illegally entering the country.

The Times of Israel, 2017⁴⁷



As for European states, Israel is a major military partner of most EU member states, trading most notably with Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Finland. In the context of security research, Israel enjoyed the status of the main non-EU

[http://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-firm-chosen-to-build-prototype-of-us-border-wall-with-mexico/](#)

⁴⁵ <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL33222.html>

⁴⁶ <https://thearabweekly.com/us-congress-approves-38-billion-pledge-military-aid-israel>

⁴⁷ <http://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-firm-chosen-to-build-prototype-of-us-border-wall-with-mexico/>

participant in the European Security Research Program (2007-2013), which supported projects worth 393.6 million euros to develop Israeli drone technology.⁴⁸ Recently, the European Union approved 162 projects with Israeli participation within the Horizon 2020 research cycle, to a total value of 452.3 million euros which aim to provide a means of funding Israeli military and security companies.⁴⁹

The occupied territories are crucial as a laboratory not just in terms of Israel's internal security, but because they have allowed Israel to become pivotal to the global homeland security industry.

Other states need Israel's expertise, and that ensures its place at the table with the big players. It gives Israel international influence way out of keeping with its size. In turn, the hegemonic states exert no real pressure on Israel to give up the occupied territories because of their mutually reinforcing interests...

[Niche-filling:] The United States, for example, knows better than anyone how to attack other countries, as it did with Iraq and Afghanistan. Israel can't teach it much on that score. But the US doesn't have much idea what to do after the attack, how to pacify the population. That is where Israel steps in and offers its expertise.

*Jeff Halper, anthropologist and former head of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHN)*⁵⁰

"While certain countries in Europe or Asia condemned us for attacking civilians, they sent their officers here, and I briefed generals from 10 countries. There's a lot of hypocrisy: they condemn you politically, while they ask you what your trick is, you Israelis, for turning blood into money."
*Yoav Galant, head of the Israeli army's southern command during Cast Lead*⁵¹

In 2016 and 2017, while Theresa May has been prime minister, the UK sold £402m (\$512m) worth of military goods to Israel, including components for combat aircraft, tanks, drones and military communications. As Prince William visited Israel in late June, the UK approved export licences for 34 types of military-related equipment...

The UK's military relationship with Israel is extensive, covering areas such as naval cooperation and the provision of components for Israeli nuclear-armed submarines. But the lack of journalistic investigations means that few details have emerged on many programmes.

In September, the government revealed that it was providing military training to Israel. This followed news in 2016 that British military pilots were due to be trained by a company owned by Israeli arms firm Elbit Systems. Training is longstanding: in 2011, it was revealed that British soldiers were being trained in Israel in the use of drones that had been "field-tested on Palestinians" during the 2009 war in Gaza.

⁴⁸ Jeff Halper, *War Against the People: Israel, the Palestinians and Global Pacification* (Pluto Press, 2015).

⁴⁹ <http://www.politiceconomyproject.org/pepblog/israels-big-business-of-war-tariq-dana>

⁵⁰ <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/08/201381410565517125.html>

⁵¹ <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/08/201381410565517125.html>

The contracts keep coming. Earlier this year, the UK's Ministry of Defence agreed to a contract worth up to \$52m to purchase a battlefield management application from Elbit Systems UK, while Israel's armour specialist, Plasan, was selected by the UK Ministry of Defence to design and produce armour protection for Britain's new Type 26 frigates being built by BAE Systems in Glasgow...

Similarly, Liam Fox told Netanyahu last week: "I am looking forward to an enhanced and even more ambitious trade and investment relationship with Israel as we work closer together going forward into the future."

Netanyahu replied: "Britain is in fact our largest trade partner in Europe ... we value the friendship, we value the prospects for the future."

Fox and Williamson are continuing the strategy of their boss, Theresa May, who has said of Israel: "I want to build the strongest and deepest possible relationship between our two countries."

Mark Curtis, Middle East Eye⁵²

ISRAELI ARMS INDUSTRY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EU'S RESEARCH PROGRAMMES: FP7 & HORIZON 2020

Israel joined the European Research Area in 1995 under EC "association agreement" and participates in the framework programmes on the same footing as EU member states. Few states have been as successful in landing EU grants as Israel (which is thus a net recipient of EU research funds) and the EU is now second only to the Israeli Science Foundation in Jerusalem as a source of domestic research funding.⁵³

The EU's framework research programme is the biggest single R&D budget in the world. The "FP7" programme for 2007-2013 had a budget of €51 billion; the current programme "Horizon 2020" for 2014-2020 has around €80 billion.⁵⁴ An open letter by a group of 154 European organisations calling for 'no EU money to the Israeli arms industry' stated: "Although the EU claims that research funds have gone only to projects with civilian applications, many of the projects approved are of dual-use nature serving military interests as well. Many others serve policies that curb or violate refugees' rights and militarise our societies."⁵⁵



⁵² <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/colluding-war-crimes-britains-unreported-military-alliance-israel>

⁵³ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/how-eu-subsidises-israels-military-industrial-complex/>

⁵⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/research/horizon2020/pdf/press/fact_sheet_on_horizon2020_budget.pdf

⁵⁵ <http://www.eccpalestine.org/no-eu-money-to-the-israeli-arms-industry-a-call-to-stop-the-eus-role-in-militarisation-and-profiteering-from-human-rights-violations-in-the-occupied-palestinian-territory/>

Since the EU launched the dedicated “security research” component of the FP7 programme, funding has poured directly into Israel’s defence and homeland security sectors. As FP7 draws to a close having already funded over 200 security research projects, one in five contracts includes an Israeli security partner.⁵⁶ The overall EU budget for security research has tripled from €1.4 billion under FP7, to €3.8 billion under Horizon 2020.⁵⁷

Since the launch of the specific component 'security research' within FP7, the EU-money flows straight to Israeli defense and national security sectors – 26 million euros in 49 projects. There are 23 Israeli companies that are involved in one or several European security research projects. Five of them are arms companies: Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI), Elbit Systems, Elbit Security Systems, Aeronautics Defence Systems and Opgal Optronics Industries. There are dozens of EU-sponsored drone projects. Previous research revealed that IAI, the biggest Israeli arms company and one of the world market leaders in the production of drones, managed to obtain at least 69 research funds since Israel joined the European research area. Verint Systems, one of the biggest security companies in the world is managing a project to export 'the total security of airports' to Europe. The consortium Verint Systems comprises 'Elbit Systems', another gigantic defense company that helped build the Israeli apartheid wall and that maintains it today.⁵⁸

According to Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during the 20 years of partnership in the EU framework programme since 1996, "overall Israeli investment reached €1.375 billion, and the return to Israeli entities reached €1.7 billion, presenting a 21% success rate in the program. Over the years, 21,300 Israeli entities submitted proposals, of which 3,080 projects were approved, with 4,435 participants. Of these, 2,450 were academic researchers, 1,270 were industrial researchers, and 715 were researchers from other sectors."⁵⁹

Israeli companies are actively participating in the EU's efforts in 'securing' its borders and hence benefiting from the refugee crisis. Capitalising on their involvement in Israeli border security, including the Separation wall on the West Bank and the fence on the border with Egypt, Israeli arms and security companies' products and technology are internationally acclaimed because they are considered 'battlefield proven'.⁶⁰

In 2015, Elta, a subsidiary of the state-owned Israel Aerospace Industries, was in contact with several European governments on its 'Virtual Border Patrol'-system, based on social media monitoring and intercepting mobile phone communications.⁶¹ Magal Security Systems, which build a smart border fence, with camera, detectors and sensors, around the Gaza Strip, has already done border security projects in Spain, on the border between Bulgaria and Serbia and on the border between Slovakia and Ukraine. In its Annual Activity Report 2016, Frontex, the EU border guard agency, that it made first steps in its relation with Israel, focused on strategic

⁵⁶ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/how-eu-subsidises-israels-military-industrial-complex/>

⁵⁷ <https://www.tni.org/en/publication/market-forces-the-development-of-the-eu-security-industrial-complex>

⁵⁸ <https://www.vrede.be/nieuws/european-commission-confirms-millions-eu-research-money-flows-israeli-arms-industry>

⁵⁹ <https://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/index.cfm?pg=israel>

⁶⁰ <https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/border-wars-report-web1207.pdf>

⁶¹ <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Europe-in-talks-with-IAI-to-find-border-security-solution-438251>

cooperation. In 2018, Frontex trialled two military UAVs (drones) for maritime border surveillance in the Mediterranean Sea: the Heron from Israeli Aerospace Industries (IAI), which has been extensively used by Israel against the Palestinians, and the Falco from Italian arms giant Leonardo (formerly Finmeccanica).⁶² In 2015 Switzerland decided to buy six unarmed surveillance Hermes 900 drones, first used by Israel in the 2014 Gaza War, from Elbit, at a cost of approximately €230 million.⁶³

THE MILITARISATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

The militarisation of the European Union and its funding is accelerating. Although military R&D has received EU funding before, this has always happened through the 'back door' of a civilian security research programme. In 2016 the EU took the unprecedented step of setting up a €90m military research programme, the so-called Preparatory Action on Defence Research (PADR), over the 3 years to 2020.⁶⁴ And for the next 10 years, the European Commission proposed a €40bn European Defence Fund for the research and development of weapons.⁶⁵ Specifically, spending on military research, development and related activities would increase to at least €1.5bn per year from 2021 onwards – 50 times the current level.⁶⁶ Notably, this funding is *additional* to the large budgets already provided by national governments in Europe for military R&D. These initiatives signify a fundamental change of the European project from peace-building to readiness for (defensive) war.⁶⁷

The case for an EU-funded defence programme was made last year by the German, French and Italian governments, as well as a so-called "group of personalities" which includes politicians and representatives from defence companies including Saab, Indra, and BAE Systems.

Their view is that, with Europe facing a range of threats on its borders and lagging behind other major powers on defence spending, the funding has become a matter of necessity.

Only five of the EU's 28 members meet NATO's target of spending two per cent of national income on defence, and a number of US officials have loudly implored the EU to invest more money in military hardware – the kind that, in the past has helped spawn new technologies, such as the internet and GPS. There is an appetite for more EU coordination on defence, to cut down on costs...

Outside of activism from NGOs such as the European Network Against Arms Trade and the International Peace Bureau, and some members of the European Parliament, efforts to block, or even debate, the move into military defence have been limited.

In member states, there is some hand-wringing over increased defence cooperation generally, but virtually no conversations on the EU's defence R&D push...

⁶² <http://stopwapenhandel.org/node/2124>

⁶³ <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-israeli-arms-makers-refugee-crisis-ups-demand-for-intel-systems-1.5396564>

⁶⁴ [https://www.eda.europa.eu/info-hub/publications/publication-details/pub/factsheet-preparatory-action-\(pa\)-on-csdp-related-research](https://www.eda.europa.eu/info-hub/publications/publication-details/pub/factsheet-preparatory-action-(pa)-on-csdp-related-research)

⁶⁵ http://www.sgr.org.uk/resources/eu-moves-military-science-and-technology#_edn1

⁶⁶ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-1508_en.htm

⁶⁷ <https://www.researchersforpeace.eu/researchers-peace>

Defence spending, “will increase at the cost of all those areas of academic research such as philosophy, literary studies, which have been traditionally focused on alternative ways of thinking,” said Cornelis van der Haven, an assistant professor at Ghent University in early modern Dutch literature.

This fear, although of lesser importance for researchers opposed to military investment on ethical grounds, is widely held. Financing the defence pilot has led the Commission to redirect millions of euros from energy and environmental research allocations.⁶⁸

According to the European Defence Agency, the national governments in the EU spend in total around €8.8bn a year on military R&D.⁶⁹ However, Eurostat, the EU's statistical agency, estimated a much lower figure, around €4.6bn a year.⁷⁰ Arguably, the Eurostat figure is more reliable, not least because the military-industrial complex tends to over-state its economic importance.⁷¹

Country	Military R&D spending (million euros)	Military R&D spending (% of public R&D spending)
United Kingdom	2,293	16.4%
France	1,017	7.2%
Germany	827	3.1%
Other EU countries	505	1.2%
EU (all 28 countries) <i>(total national spending)</i>	4,642	4.8%

Military R&D spending of selected European countries, as compiled by Eurostat (2015 data)⁷²

Currently, UK spends around €2bn a year on military R&D whereas France and Germany spend around €1bn a year each. Nevertheless, the UK is the most militarily focussed with more than 16% of its public R&D spending related to military. With both Preparatory Action on Defence Research and European Defence Fund, the EU is set to become one of the top 2 investors in defence industry research - countries such as Israel will further benefit from this militarisation of the EU's public research.

GLOBALISING ISRAEL'S WEAPONRY AND SECURITY STRATEGIES

In 2015 US born anthropologist, writer, activist and founder of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions Israeli, Jeff Halper, published his book *'War Against the People'* (Pluto Press).

⁶⁸ <https://sciencebusiness.net/news/scientists-step-opposition-eu-funding-military-research>

⁶⁹ <https://www.eda.europa.eu/info-hub/publications/publication-details/pub/defence-data-2014>

⁷⁰ http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=gba_nabsfin07&lang=en

⁷¹ http://www.sgr.org.uk/resources/eu-moves-military-science-and-technology#_edn8

⁷² Eurostat (2017). Total GBAORD by NABS 2007 socio-economic objectives.

http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=gba_nabsfin07&lang=en

He argues that the integration of militarized systems such as databases tracking civilian activity, automated targeting systems, unmanned drones have become a part of everyday life and that this is now the *raison-d'être* of the occupation. The Occupied Territories is the laboratory within which this has been developed and it is not just the R&D and production of surveillance 'weaponry' that the state of Israel benefits from economically, it is accompanying the strategies also now being exported to governments around the world.

Israel has diplomatic relations with 157 countries, and "virtually all the agreements and protocols Israel has signed with them contain military and security components... from these tiny threads, it dawned on me that when military relations are mixed into the diplomatic stew, new, surprising and seemingly impossible constellations emerge".

Halper further argues that the Occupied Palestinian Territories do not pose a financial burden on Israel or an unwanted source of insecurity and conflict. Indeed, the opposite is the case. "Without an occupation and an interminable conflict, how could Israel sustain its international standing? The Occupation represents a resource for Israel in two senses: economically, it provides a testing ground for the development of weapons, security systems, models of



population control and tactics without which Israel would be unable to compete in the international arms and security markets, but no less important, being a major military power serving other militaries and security services the world over lends Israel an international status among the global hegemony it would not have otherwise... Israel is a small country scrambling to carve out a niche in the transnational military-industrial complex. Where would it be without the Occupation and the regional conflict it generates?"

Based on extensive research, could Jeff Halper's assertion be correct – or even part-way correct – in saying many governments around the world today *are* waging a “war against their people”, or at least moving in that direction? And if this is the case, are they able to do this, in part because of Israel's contribution to global sales of high-tech weaponry and refining of surveillance techniques and methods of pacification, all perfected on the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories?

If the answer is even partially ‘yes’, this throws a spotlight on a difficult, complex and worrying component of EU /Israel relations. It is yet one more conflict zone where foreign, security/defence policies and human rights/international development collide.

UK AND EU FOREIGN POLICY & MILITARY INTERESTS APPEASED BY AID

In March 2019 British Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt made clear that the UK will oppose all resolutions brought to the UN Human Rights Council that condemn Israeli abuses in the occupied Palestinian territories because the UNHRC had a "disproportionate and discriminatory" focus on Israel.⁷³ In the same month, the Foreign Office refused to endorse a UN-mandated commission of inquiry report into 187 deaths in Gaza that placed responsibility in almost all cases on the Israel defence forces. At a meeting of the UN human rights council in Geneva, the Foreign Office abstained, saying it could not support an investigation or a resolution that failed to investigate the role of non-state actors, and in particular Hamas.⁷⁴

'This is not about unfairness, it is a dangerous politicisation of human rights to curry favour with the US'
Rohan Talbot, Medical Aid For Palestinians⁷⁵



So as the UK turns it back on international condemnation of Israel's actions in Gaza, it consolidates its military and security relationship with Israel.

This is happening at the same time as DFID giving desperately needed humanitarian aid to the Palestinian people precisely to mitigate the consequences of Israel's dehumanising, brutal, apartheid occupation. In July 2018, the UK government announced that it was to double its aid package to the occupied Palestinian territory. The new package would provide up to £38m over five years to support "economic activity" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.⁷⁶

⁷³ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/uk-oppose-anti-israel-resolutions-un-human-rights-council>

⁷⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/22/charities-condemn-uk-over-refusal-to-endorse-gaza-deaths-report>

⁷⁵ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/uk-oppose-anti-israel-resolutions-un-human-rights-council>

⁷⁶ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-to-double-support-for-palestinian-economy-to-advance-peace-with-israel>

In September 2018, to compensate for US decision to cut aid funding to Palestine, the UK gave an extra £7m to UNWRA and in December 2018, provided £5m emergency food relief.⁷⁷ This is the description of the situation from DFID's own press release: 'Refugees in Gaza are extremely vulnerable following recurrent bouts of conflict, restrictions on access and movement, high poverty rates, high unemployment levels and rising costs of living. According to the UN, around 80 per cent of Gazan households are dependent on food aid.'⁷⁸

Minister for the Middle East Alistair Burt said: 'I am deeply concerned about the worsening situation in the Gaza strip, and once again UK aid gives a message to the people of Gaza that we have not forgotten them or their plight...It is right that we act to make sure that refugees in Gaza know where their next meal will come from and improve the dignity of their lives.'⁷⁹

This £5m food aid was for UNWRA's emergency Gaza Appeal. It was additional to £60.5m of UK aid given to UNRWA to support vulnerable Palestinian refugees in Gaza, the West Bank, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon as a result of the Syria crisis. The European Union - a long-standing partner and funder to Israeli defence and security industry and its dual use (for both civil and military purposes) software and technology development - has long been the largest and most reliable donor to UNWRA. Overall, the European Commission contribution to UNRWA's activities in 2018 was €146 million. For the past three years (2016, 2017 and 2018) the total contribution of the EU and its Member States combined has reached approximately €1.2 billion.⁸⁰

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees created in 1949. **It is still there, 70 years on.** Israel's military power, however, goes from strength to strength.

CONCLUSION

Human rights groups and economic justice groups have long campaigned against those EU policies that condone or support aspects of Israel's activity such as the imprisonment of children to the boycott of illegal settlement produce. The BDS movement is gathering ever apace; the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mícheál Mac Donncha, has shown a lead in calling for Ireland to boycott next year's Eurovision song contest in Israel, as an act of solidarity with the Palestinian people. "The horrific ordeal of the Palestinian people needs to be highlighted," he stated.⁸¹

The time has now come to add this military and security aspect of the EU/UK/Israel relationship to our understanding of the occupation. It is deeply immoral for the EU to actively helping the Israeli defence and security industry to perfect technologies used to consolidate apartheid policies upon the Palestinian people and to then, additionally, export that technology around the world – technologies and strategies developed because of occupation.

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," said Martin Luther King Jr. The Five Percent Campaign recognises that sustainable human safety is the foundation for our collective

⁷⁷ <https://www.ft.com/content/8f3e1ffc-b053-11e8-8d14-6f049d06439c>

⁷⁸ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-aid-to-provide-emergency-food-to-62000-palestinian-refugees-in-gaza>

⁷⁹ *ibid*

⁸⁰ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-18-5911_en.htm

⁸¹ <https://bdsmovement.net/news/dublin-lord-mayor-calls-boycott-next-years-eurovision-israel>

sustainable prosperity. Israel's brutal occupation of the Palestinian territories is a case in point of where national self-interest trumps (no pun intended) the interest of sustainable human safety. It dehumanises Palestinian people, causes their immense suffering, heightens the instability of the Middle East, advances automated killing technology (drones and AI) and weapons systems contributing to climate change and environmental pollution.

The complicity of our governments and defence industries in sustaining this grave injustice must end. As Ryvka Barnard, senior campaigns officer on militarism and security at War on Want, writes 'UK aid to Gaza is absurd while it sells guns to Israel'. Her conclusion is hard to disagree with.

*'If the UK wants its aid to be effective, it must address the root causes of the poverty in the occupied Palestinian territory, and use all of its available tools to push for an end to Israel's military occupation and blockade. No amount of aid will make up for - or cancel out - the damage being done so long as the UK continues to trade in arms with Israel, and to protect Israel from facing international accountability. If the UK actually wants to boost the Palestinian economy, it will suspend its arms trade with Israel, and stop enabling the illegal occupation and blockade that keep the Palestinian economy choked.'*⁸²

EU countries, including the UK, must acknowledge that:

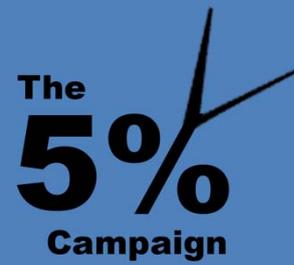
- If we consider it hypocrisy for the UK /EU to send aid to Yemen whilst selling arms to Saudi Arabia, **then the same accusation has to be levelled at the UK government** in its delivery of UK (and EU) humanitarian support to Palestinians (especially Gaza at present) while buying from and selling weapons to the very nation responsible for the suffering of those Palestinian people – Israel.

Civil Society

- The time has come for us all to support the call to *stop arming Israel*. War on Want and other NGOs are calling out this hypocrisy with the call for the UK to stop arming Israel. From tear gas grenades to rubber-coated bullets and live ammunition; from mass arrests, house demolitions to extrajudicial executions, the tools and methodologies implemented by Israel in its occupation are ever-evolving.
- Support Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS). Israel's occupation is all too often seen as a regional concern yet Israel aspires to be and is becoming a major player in the global arms trade while its occupation of Palestinian territories has seen Israel responsible for one of the worst, longest standing development catastrophes of the 20th and 21st century. The BDS movement has successfully placed the Palestinian struggle for freedom and justice in the wider context of other historic civil rights movements in the USA and South Africa.

⁸² <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/uk-aid-gaza-absurd-while-it-sells-guns-israel>

The Five Percent project is funded by Polden-Puckham Charitable Foundation and is a project of Tipping Point North South, a 'for the benefit of community' co-operative, supporting and initiating creative, campaign-driven projects that advance the global social justice agenda.



 @_5percent

 facebook.com/thefivepercentcampaign/

 thefivepercentcampaign.org

 tippingpointnorthsouth.org