

**POST 9/11 INDO-ISRAEL RELATIONS:
IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN**

T07512

GHASHIA OBED KAYANI
Reg # 3-FSS/MSPSIR/F07

Supervisor

PROFESSOR DR. M. NAZRUL ISLAM



Department of Politics and International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University, Islamabad

Accession No TH 7512

MS
327.117
KAP

- 1- September 11 Terrorist Attacks, 2001
- 2- Terrorism - political aspects - Pakistan.
- 3- " - International relations.

D.E

3-7-11

**POST 9/11 INDO-ISRAEL RELATIONS:
IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN**

**GHASHIA OBED KAYANI
Reg # 3-FSS/MSPSIR/F07**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
degree of Masters of Philosophy in discipline Politics and International
Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic
University, Islamabad**

Supervisor

Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam

Certification

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "**Post 9/11 Indo Israel Relations: Implications for Pakistan**" submitted by **Ghashia Obed Kayani Reg. No. 3-FSS/MS/PSIR/F07** have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of M.S Politics and International Relations.

Supervisor




Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam
Department of Politics and International Relations
International Islamic University,
Islamabad.

Internal Examiner



Dr. Noman Omer Sattar
Head,
Department of Nuclear Politics & Stability Studies,
National Defense University,
Islamabad

External Examiner



Professor Dr. Muhammad Islam
Area Study Centre,
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad


06.01.11
Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam
Head Department of Politics & International Relations

&

Dean,
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University Islamabad.

DEDICATED TO

**Almighty Allah for his uncountable blessings, Panjtan Pak & Aima –e-
Karam which are always been a source of motivation for me and my
most beloved family for their unprecedented efforts and sacrifices to
fulfill my dreams...**

CONTENTS

	Pages:
❖ <i>Abstract</i>	<i>I</i>
❖ <i>Acknowledgement</i>	<i>II</i>
❖ <i>Maps</i>	<i>IV</i>
❖ <i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>VII</i>
Chapter 1: Introduction	
1: I Statement of the Study	01
1: II Theoretical Framework.....	03
1: III Literature Review	13
1: IV Objective of the Study.....	16
1: V Related Questions.....	17
1: VI Hypothesis	17
1: VII Justification of the Study	17
1: VIII Research Methodology	18
1: IX Organization of the Study	18
1: X Periodization	19
Chapter 2: Background History	
2: I An Overview	20
2: II Background History of India	23
2: III Birth of Israel	25
2: IV Factors that Kept Apart Both States Before 1992.....	27
2: V Role of Indian Leadership in Indo-Israel Relations till 1992.....	33
2: VI Commonalities Between the Two States.....	45
2: VII India and Israel from 1950-2001.....	50

Chapter 3: Areas of Cooperation since 2001

3: I	Introduction	58
3: II	Political Cooperation	60
3: III	Economic Cooperation	62
3: III (a)	Agriculture	69
3: III (b)	Transfer of Technology	71
3: IV	Strategic Cooperation	74
3: IV (a)	Deepening Military Ties	76
3: IV (b)	Cooperation between RAW and Mossad	82
3: IV (c)	War against Terrorism	86
3: V	Cultural Ties	89

Chapter 4: Strategic Implications for Pakistan

4: I	An Overview	92
4: II	Strategic Implications of Indo-Israel Nexus on Pakistan	94
4: III	Pakistan's Concerns	100

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5: I	Findings	106
5: II	Recommendations	109
❖	Bibliography	113
❖	Appendices	119

ABSTRACT

Right from the post-independence days, India has been maintaining a strong pro-Arab policy and despite ever changing scenario of international relations and their consequent domestic and global compulsions India's relations with the Arab World are symmetrical. The continuity of India's pro-Arab policy rests largely on the relevance of West Asian oil for industrial development, security interests in the northern frontiers and India Ocean, and the sensitivities of India's large Muslim population. India has been consistent and currently appears to be so in its position with regard to the issue of Palestine that no aggressor state should be allowed to enjoy the fruits of its aggression and that the principles of natural justice should not be compromised for the sake of expediency. It has, thus, shown a remarkable compatibility with majority Arab opinion. Israel was shocked when India voted against its admission to the UN on 11 May 1949. However India accorded de facto recognition to Israel in September 1950 but did not establish diplomatic relations with it. An assertive, dominant and glaring shift devoid of moral turpitude was noticed in India's policy stance since December 1991 vote in the UN recalling the resolution equating Zionism with racism. It was as astonishing and blatant scrapping of India's record of unflinching support to Arab cause on almost all international issue. Arab envoys in the UN also took strong note of this new change in India's policy on Arab World as an opportunity to make a break. India's attitude of warmth was dwindling in favor of Israel, under domestic compulsions of coalition government and their policies, changing geo political considerations and equations and priorities of New Delhi. End of the Cold War paved the way for India to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. Both states cooperated in every sphere of public policy but in the post 9/11 scenario the relations between the two states became stronger; as both considered the threat of terrorism to them mainly. The hypothesis of research states that unlike the major actors in international political system, developing nations with the inherent weaknesses of their political systems have more limitations in the free exercise of their foreign policies. In the background of swift developments in the post 9/11 scenario this study has been carried out with a view to explore and analyze the changing pattern of India's towards Israel policy and its implications on Pakistan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to pay my humblest gratitude to Almighty Allah for his never ending blessings. It would not have been possible for me to accomplish this task without His support. Thanks a lot my dear "Allah Mian" for your blessings which were more than I deserve.

I would like to thanks Panjtan Pak, Aima-e-Karam, Shahuda-e-Karbala, Wali and Buzurg that are always been a source of motivation for me. Whenever, I felt difficulty in achieving this task, I always prayed to God that please sorts out my all worries for the sake of Panjtan Pak and with in no time all my worries disappeared and everything became easy for me. I always thank them as their lives are an example to follow in order to achieve the commitments.

Teachers enlighten our lives and take us out of darkness of ignorance. I am thankful to all my teachers who started teaching me from the scratch and tried their best to make me able to learn. Here I would not miss the opportunity to mention my gratitude to my esteemed teacher and Supervisor Dr. Muhammad Nazar ul Islam. Without his support I would not able to complete the work. I would also like to thank respected and praiseworthy Dr. Syed Qandeel Abbas who has been supportive throughout the work. Besides that, I would not miss the opportunity to pay my gratitude to my honorable teacher Dr. Ejaz Shaffi Gillani who is always been prominent in order to enhance our learning.

Parents are the most special blessing of Allah for all the human beings. Whatever I am today is just because of their unconditional love and prayers. I always found them standing beside me .I do not have words to say thanks to my most loving Abu , Sultan Obed ur Rehman Kayani and Ami, Sohaila Begum. Both of them are really the best.

Almighty Allah has blessed me with the most loving grandmothers "Nano" and "Bibi" who had always been there to guide me about the right path and pray for my success in each and every aspect of life. Besides that, I am really thankful to my friends grandmother which is also my grandmother as well "Aman Kundan Bibi". Thanks a lot Amanwaddi for your love and prays.

Another auspicious gift of Allah to me is my loving and Caring Sisters and Brothers. I would like to thank my dear Sisters Rumi Baji, Gurya Baji, Saba, Asifa and Kulsoom for their prayers and support. Just like loving Sisters Allah has blessed me with loving brothers as well. I would pay my thanks to my dear brothers Ali, Ziad Waqas, Tahir bhai and Mazhar Bhai. I really tank you all for your prayers.

I would also thanks to my nieces, Esha, Shirza, Eshal and Marva and my nephew Hasnain as well.

Special words of thanks to my Chahu family especially Chachu, Aunty Shamim, Noshi Phupho, Rabia, Hammad, Amna, Ayesha and Balaj who encouraged me a lot in achieving this task.

I would like to say special thanks to my dear Shahnaz Appi, Kausar Baji, Rabab, Nazia and Sakina bibi for their support and love. Besides that, I would also thank my dear Madiha, Narjis, Massoma, Nazreen, Rabia Anwar, Fazeela, Javaria, Anum, Seemab,

Adeela, Noureen, Ayesha, Sadia, Tatheer, Shagufta, Asia, Rabia Mushtaq, Riffi, and Uzma for being so kind. I would never forget the time we spent together.

I would also thank Khizar Abbass for his kind efforts throughout the thesis, as without his support this thesis would not have seen the light of the day.

Special Words of thanks to Syed Mansoor Shah and Sajid Raza who cooperated a lot in achieving this task.

I would like to express thanks to respected Sir Muhammad Yaqub, Bakre Najmideen, Sir Atique ur Rehman, Nasir bhai, Zaheer Bhai, Sir Riaz and all those who remained cooperative in order to achieve this goal. I would also like to thank the staff of National library for being so kind and supportive.

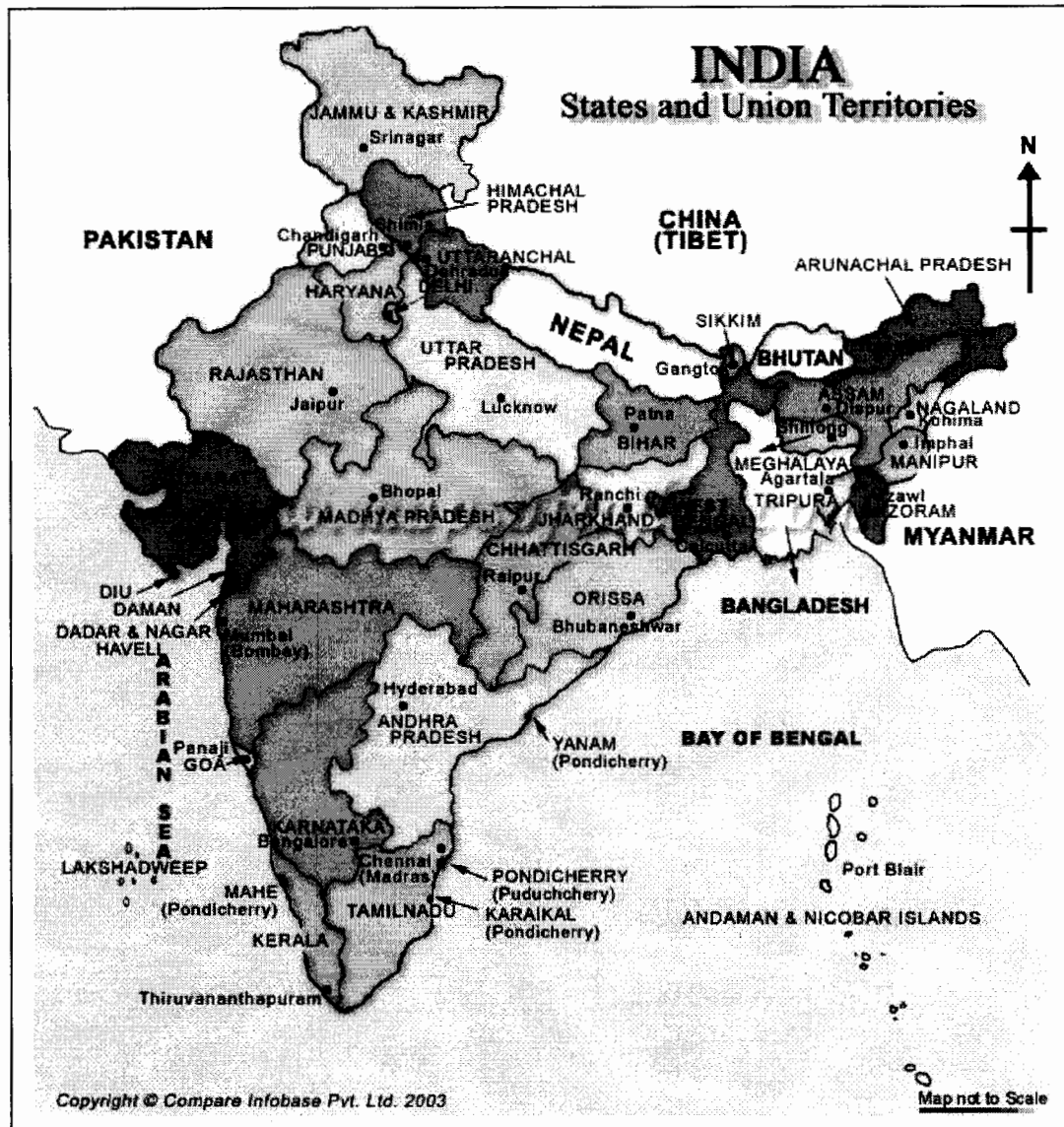
Last but not least I would thank my (Late) Grandfather Raja Khurshid Ahmed Kayani for his encouragement and prayers that made me able to complete my thesis. I would not forget my Deeday "Sultan Begum" and "Nani Sarwar" for being a great source of inspiration for me.

I want to specially thank Nadia Tasleem for her greatest and unforgettable contribution in achieving this task.

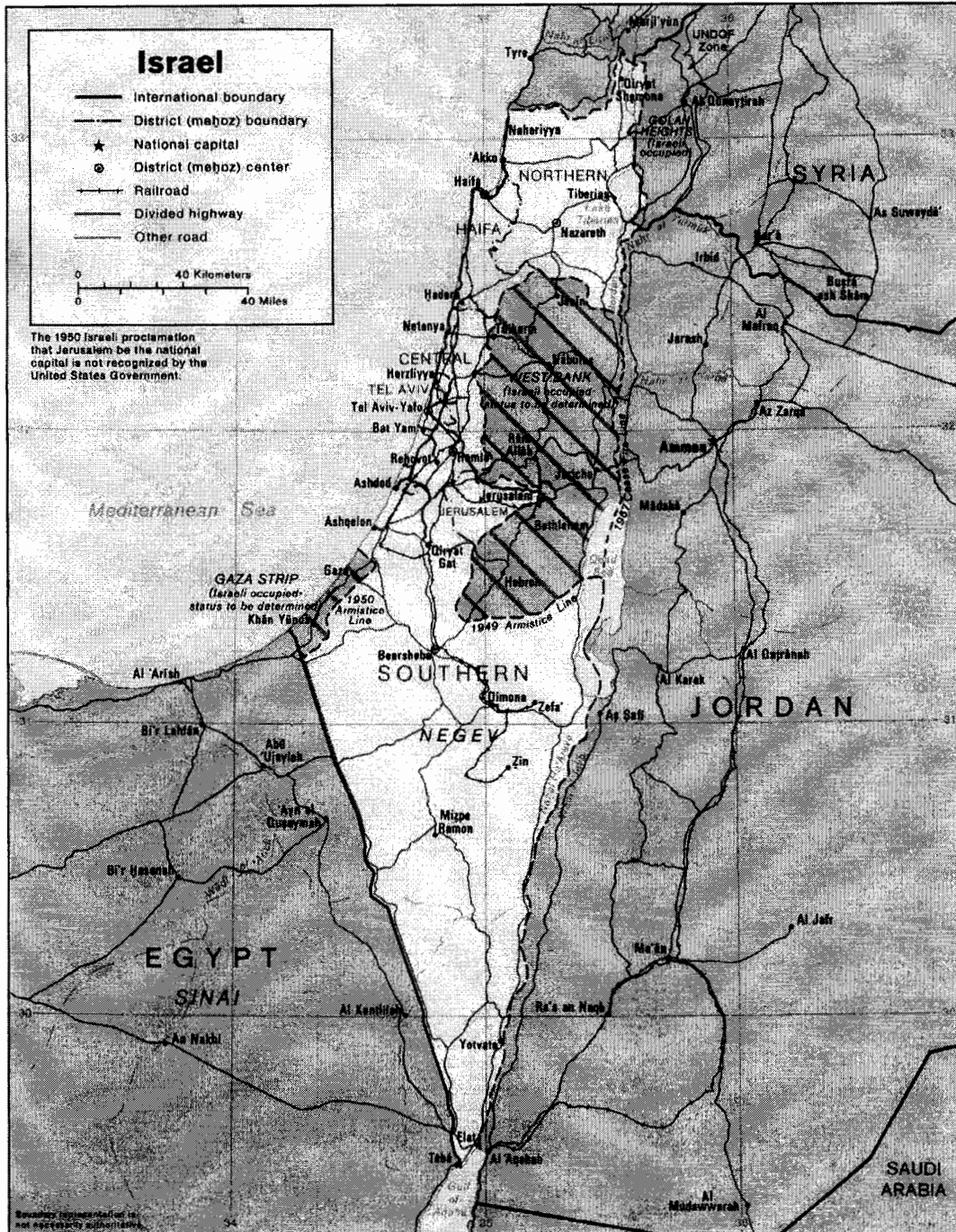
To sum up, I would like to thank every single person who has made even a slightest contribution in my life.

Ghashia Obed Kayani

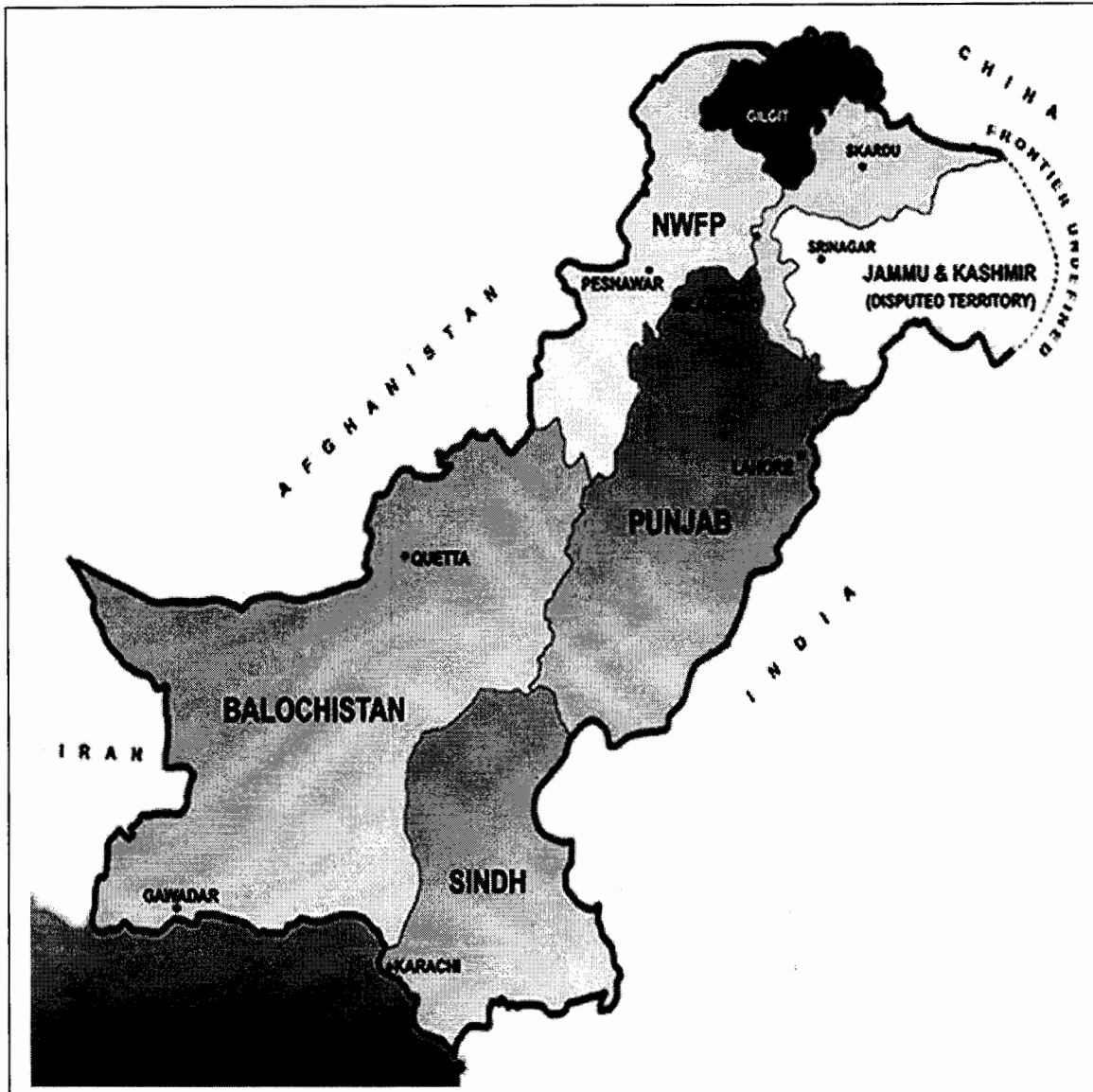
Political Map of India



Political Map of Israel



Political Map of Pakistan



ABBREVIATIONS

AMAN	Hebrew abbreviation for Israel Defense Forces
ALH	Advanced Light Helicopter
AWACS	Airborne Early Warning and Control System
ADE	Aeronautical Development Establishment
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
B.C.	Before Christ
CECA	Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement
EU	European Union
ELTA	A group and subsidiary of Israel Aero space Industries
FM	Foreign Minister
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FP	Foreign Policy
GC	Gulf Countries
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GITA	Global Innovation and Technology Alliance
HAL	Hindustan Aeronautical Limited
IRDI	Industrial Research and Development Initiative
IDRDL	Indian Defense Research and Development Laboratory
IMI	Israel Military Industries

IAI	Israel Aircraft Industry
JCSS	Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
NAM	Non Aligned Movement
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OCA	Olympic Council of Asia
OIC	Organization of Islamic Countries
OFB	Ordnance Factory Board
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
RISAT-2	A Satellite launched by India
RAW	Research Analysis Wing
R&D	Research and Development
S&T	Space and Technology
SU	Soviet Union
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SHIN BET	Internal Security Service of Israel
S&T	Science and Technology
TEcSAR	A Spy Satellite
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UAV	Unmanned Air Vehicle

USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
USA	United States of America
UN	United Nations
WTC	World Trade Centre
WW I	World War One
WW II	World War Two

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Study

Since Independence, relations between Pakistan and India have been characterized by rivalry and suspicion and the relations between Pakistan and Israel had never been normal because of the Palestine cause. Therefore, India's growing relations with Israel are a matter of concern for Pakistan, as Pakistan has not recognized Israel yet. India and Israel both represent primordial civilizations. If India is the torch bearer of Indus Civilization, Israel is the flag bearer of magnificent Semitic heritage. Both were born out of Afro-Asian continent after the World War II. Despite these similarities, India is three hundred times that of Israel's size and almost two hundreds time of its population. Even several cities of India have more population than the entire state of Israel. If one is the heart of Asia, than the other is a bridge between West and East. They are on the opposite ends of the Asian Continent. India aspires to be a global power in the next decade, while the Israel's desire to become regional power in the Middle East region is now an open secret.

Despite a number of commonalities it has been more than forty years that diplomatic relations, strategic cooperation and cooperation in the field of trade has been established. The End of the Cold War in 1990, no doubt, played a potent role in bringing them closer. The downfall of Soviet Union led to the reassessment of Indian foreign policy as a result of which Indian economy was liberalized and moved closer to the US. As a result India gave new direction to its Israel policy by over viewing diplomatic benefits that it could not derive because of weak relations with Israel.

One of the reasons why the diplomatic relations were not established by India towards Israel was the Arab stance towards Palestine and Israel and India had more interests in the Arab world rather than Israel. With the normalization steps of Arab-Israel relations and the peace process started in the Middle East in 1990's, India got the benefit and moved further by giving its foreign policy (FP) new direction towards Israel by establishing full diplomatic relations and taking advantage of the peace process of the Middle East.

The incident of 9/11 changed the world politics and helped states to come closer. This act of terror reshaped states' relations in terms of their perception about terrorists and shared interest to combat terrorism. At that point in time, India and Israel also got a chance to further boost their bilateral ties. Both countries claim to be victim of terrorism by their perceived common enemy i.e. Muslims; Pakistanis for India and Arabs for Palestine. Consequently both Indo- Israel used the US launched war against terrorism as a mean to win sympathy from the whole world. This also led both of them to enhance their defense and strategic ties hence their relations got entered into another phase. The thesis seeks to discuss the Indo-Israel relations and strategic implications for Pakistan. It will elaborate the policy options for Pakistan regarding Israel in current scenario.

The basis of the argument states the consideration on part of both India and Israel regarding the significant areas of their common interest is bringing them closer in different spheres. The increasing cooperation between the two states specifically strategic cooperation will have serious impact on Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan is in dire need of reevaluating and reassessing its policy regarding Israel.

1.II Theoretical Framework

In the World politics there is a power struggle between the states, every state tries its best to make the use of its national interest in the more appropriate way. Such a system leads to an order called balance of power, in which every state tries to achieve more power so that none of could be dominated.¹ This notion leads us to an enquiry into some basic but very recurrent concepts of 'national interest, power and prevention against foreign dominance-sovereignty'. Contributions by neo-realist in security studies have had a significant impact on policy community. Both defensive and offensive neo-realists claim that the competition and uncertainty remains in the world due to which power politics dominate the policy paradigm which makes the structure of international system, the main issue which is being faced is that everyone is trying to understand the contemporary world politics, plenty material need to be looked for explaining the important political processes.

The study of foreign policy as a concept has been gaining attention in the academic world. Indeed, the writers who address it in one way or the other may be divided into two broad groups. First, those who treat international politics and foreign policy as an undifferentiated, single field of study. To this group belong most of the post-World War writers on international relations. Second, those few who recognize foreign policy as a source rather than a substance of International politics. They bring it under study of a subject in its own right. Among the notable works on the principal elements of foreign policy, Hans Morgenthau seems to have covered the most ground.² Without theory, we cannot explain the relationships we 'discover' and we can

¹ Steve Smith and John Baylis, *Introduction in The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 4.

² H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Knof, 1973)

only make predictions from empirical trends, not upon a profound understanding of foreign behavior.³

In other words, a policy has to be chalked out that is beyond the immediately available options and takes into account the probable reaction of the other group. The first move is, therefore, the hardest to make in foreign policy since it sets off a chain reaction of action and counter-action. Over a period of time, the interaction yields a reliable diplomatic method in inter-group cooperation as well as conflict. The self-help itself leads towards the emergence of diplomatic method and international law.⁴The lid of national interest was placed even more firmly over the values and the processes that produced foreign policy.⁵ Hans J. Morgenthau and some others have argued strongly to establish that the enhancement of national capability is the mainspring of foreign policy. This realist school has helped to enhance the comprehension of the realpolitik aspect of world politics and Morgenthau's contribution is widely recognized. Struggle for increased capability by individual states is a valid theoretical contribution by Morgenthau to foreign policy.⁶ Foreign policy creates international relations and international organizations and is created by the feedback from them. Foreign policy is supposed to find ways and means to preserve and to promote these vital interests of the state and have them recognized by other states.⁷ Policy is the organized pursuit of what is regarded as the group's common interest; interest of the state in the modern state system. Power is achieved and exercised in order to establish the primacy of certain goals and objectives over others as constituting common or

³ Patrick J. McGowan and Howard B. Shapiro, *The comparative study of foreign policy: A survey of scientific finding* (Beverly hills: Sage publications,1973), 213-214

⁴ Mohammad Yunus , *Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Introduction* (Karachi :Oxford university Press,2003), 8

⁵ *Ibid.*, 68

⁶ *Ibid.*, 69

⁷ *Ibid.*, 70

national interest. Policy is formulated after power has been secured.⁸ The explanation of the foreign policy as a concept at the base of national interest in the context of international cooperation and conflict remains consistently valid even if one introduces into the explanation the continuing concern of foreign policy not only with survival and security but also with vital domestic interests like national progress, economic and social welfare, social and political orientation of the state.⁹ The concepts of the state and its interest, *raison d'état* are central to the theory of foreign policy. The modern nation-state is the basis of both unity as well as diversity in global affairs. For that reason, it has to be given a central place in any contemporary discussion of foreign policy inseparable from the modern concept of the nation-state is the unquestionable and sanctified character of its existence or its vital principle (*raison d'état*) which has both an internal as well as an external focus, that leads to the formulation of domestic policy and foreign policy respectively.¹⁰ Modern foreign policy has evolved far beyond Machiavellism, but it is by no means completely free of the impact of *raison d'état* in its evolved form. Indeed, the vital principle (*raison d'état*) has evolved into what is now called national interest which it is the responsibility of foreign policymakers to protect and to promote.¹¹ Bodin, despite his juridical stance, supported Machiavelli's view:

Nothing appears shameful which is connected with
the welfare of the State.¹²

Writers who made attempts to develop theoretical basis for national interest and foreign policy included Morgenthau in America and Frankel in Britain. Morgenthau, like Beard before him, followed the earlier spirit of German traditional thought fairly closely:

⁸ *Ibid.*, 70

⁹ *Ibid.*, 72

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 78

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 80

¹² Jean Bodin , *Six book of Common wealth* (Oxford: Basill Blackwell,1576), 78

It may be well said that a foreign policy guided by universal moral principles, by definition relegating the national interest to the background, is under contemporary conditions of foreign policy and warfare a policy of national suicide.¹³

Reminding one of the hey-day of *raison d'état* reached in Ranke's thought, Morgenthau declared:

It is a political necessity for the individual members of the international society to take care of their national interests there can be no moral duty to neglect them. Self-preservation both for individual and societies is, however, not only a biological and psychological necessity but, in the absence of an overriding moral obligation, a moral duty as well.¹⁴

Frankel, however, recognized that:

National interest is the most comprehensive description of the whole value complex of foreign policy.¹⁵

The fact that a state's objectives are related to its foreign policy through its capability and power, or that policy is formulated in such a way that it could be achieved by emphasizing on the importance of acquiring and enhancing the global circumstances or the external environment in which power is exercised, on the other.

A strategic equation cannot be changed at a given moment though it can be changed over time. To bring about desired change in strategic equations is the subsisting challenge for the formulation of foreign policy, particularly as all states are caught in the same dynamic situation.¹⁶ In the actual world of international relations, capability gives rise to perceptions of

¹³H.J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Knof, 1973), 117-118

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 38

¹⁵Joseph Frankel, *National Interest* (New York: Praeger publications, 1970), 26

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 121

power and their role in foreign policy and strategic planning. Consequently, to increase national capability irrespective of the hurdles and obstacles placed by other states becomes an objective in its own right. Within the framework of generally acceptable rules of international conduct, the pursuit of the objective of preserving and enhancing one's own capability creates a direct link between foreign and domestic policies and gives rise to what Miller calls the dynamics of sovereign equality.¹⁷ A comprehensive theory of foreign policy should examine foreign policy constraints to limit power of the state in evolving global political environment. The environment is created by all states together and is yet independent of each one of them. The belief that state sovereignty provides the basis of foreign policy does not even begin to address the complexity of actual international relations.¹⁸ This nature of global political environment necessitates the pursuit of one's own national interest.¹⁹ Foreign policy is the formulation and assertion of national interest reflecting the vital principle of the state in its dealings with other states. Capability is internal to the country. Power is external to it. The former is looked after by domestic policy, the latter by foreign policy. In this perspective the meaning of Morgenthau's 'struggle for power' becomes explicit. There is no such phenomenon as a general struggle for power if power is defined as a function of capability. Struggle for power can occur only in an area between contestants where it is a specific struggle in which the issue is power. But there is always a general struggle among states to enhance capability which goes on all the time and which Morgenthau perceived.²⁰ World politics is quite literally the external environment of foreign policy. Situation to situation paradigm of the relationship between world politics and foreign policy relates to the degree of involvement of a country in a situation i.e., the more

¹⁷Lynn H. Miller, *Global Order: Value and Power in International Politics* (Boulder: West View Press, 1998), 27

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 126

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*, 132-133

involved the country in a situation, the greater the input from that situation into its foreign policy and the lesser the involvement, the lesser the input.²¹ The fundamental aspect of the external environment is provided by the existence of other states together with their efforts to achieve their own national objectives. Foreign policy options designed to achieve national objectives must fit into the international system of sovereign states and its requirements. Indeed, foreign policy choice depends upon the chosen option being viable given the external environment of the moment. Wendzel has discussed at length both the structural or systemic constraints on foreign policy making.²² In pursuing their own interests, states enter into relations of cooperation or conflict with each other. These two patterns of interstate behavior give rise to the subsisting aspects of the external environment of individual foreign policies.²³ Strategic planning and building armed strength remained a fundamental aspect of national interest and consequently of foreign policy throughout and despite the on-going negotiations on disarmament.²⁴ Writing on the crisis of the inter-war period, Edward Hallett Carr had criticized Wilsonian idealism that had shaped the still-born collective security regime of League of Nations as utopian. In a widely acclaimed theoretical study of international relations, Carr had argued that it was 'no longer possible to deduce virtue from right reasoning' and that 'the clash of interest is the real and inevitable; and the whole nature of the problem is distorted by an attempt to disguise it'.²⁵ Foreign policy, he advocated, had to be based on the reality of clash of national interests, not on the utopia of the harmony of those interests.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 155

²² Robert L. Wendzel, *International Relations: A policymaker focus* (New York: Wiley John and sons publishers, 1977), 1-34

²³ *Ibid.*, 156.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 164.

²⁵ E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crises* (London: Printice Hall, 1939), 62 -64

Although most of the realists have consent on the five important principles of international relations. The most important and central issue among them is relevant to causes and conditions for war and peace. International system is considered as important by them. From the classical realists point of view, the main reason of emergence of security issue in the self help system is due to the absence of central authority that could resolve the disputes among the states. According to them the nation's search for security leads to the arms race. Consequently another crucial factor is relative capability. Efforts are being made to cope with the elements of international system. Those who fail to do so they cannot survive. Classical realists consider conflict as natural rather than the product of historical circumstances and bad leadership etc. third premise on which they unite is that they give importance to the geographically based groups and consider them as major actors in international system. Fourthly, they consider the state behavior as justified. They assume that whatever state performs it is in order to achieve the national interest. Although, the interest varies from time to time. The nation develops relations with one another in order to pursue the national interest so ideological preferences could be achieved.²⁶

Finally, they called the state as a unitary actor and state actions are in response to the external forces.

According to Stephen Krasner, for example,

The state can be treated as an autonomous actor pursuing goals associated with power and the general interest of the society.²⁷

²⁶ H.J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Knof, 1973), 5-6

²⁷ Stephen Krasner, *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investment and U. S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 33

In view of the Classical realists, they consider that sometimes the domestic politics to be the reason of the irrational behavior of the state.

In international relations realism is considered to be the dominant model from the last sixty years. It provided the useful framework in order to understand the international order after (WWI) World War I, (WWII) World War II and Cold War. The classical realists received criticism. Scholars were of the view that the theories lacked precision.

It is considered that Classical realism is stucked in the negative theory of human nature. Modern realists explained the structure of international system so state behavior could be explained for the sake of diverting attention from human nature.²⁸ Though classical realists looked at history and Political science to get the evidence but in case of modern realists, for greater precision they often choose economics and many concepts have been borrowed by modern realists like game theory, bargaining theory etc.

Kenneth Waltz became prominent by developing a model based on structural realism. In one of his book the Rosseau's position was built up by him in which he was of the view that system level called as third image should be included in war theories beside the first two theories relevant to the nature of human being and the image of state attributes. According to him the war could not be prevented in the system.²⁹

Theories of microeconomics and International relations are similar to each other. Markets and Firms are similar to International politics and foreign policy. In order to enlighten the interdependence option in the self help system a theory is used that is called as Oligopoly theory. Attention was restricted to the structural theory of international system by Walts so that it could

²⁸ Robert Jervis , *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 59

²⁹ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hills,1979), 105

not be linked with the foreign policy's theory.³⁰ Many system level analysts had been charged by him due to their various errors including reductionism. He had doubt that they will merge the two different theories into one theory; that is why he was critical about them. Besides that, the system which is defined in form of its qualities and the way units interact with each other is called as Reductionism. On the bases of these, to avoid reductionism Waltz explained his theory on the basis of three different assumptions so that the structure of international system could be defined. According to his first assumption he explained the principles on the basis of which system could be ordered. According to him there is anarchical system instead of hierarchical. Second is about the character of the states. Anarchical system is composed of sovereign states and they perform in a similar way. Finally the capabilities are distributed among states in the system. Though capabilities are state level attributes but its distribution is considered as a concept of system level.³¹ The whole system or its structure would be changed if the change will occur in any of these. The first element is quasi constant which rarely changes. While the element regarded as second could not be analyzed because till the anarchic system the functions of states remains same. Third element is considered as central in Waltz model which is related to the distribution of the capabilities.

Waltz uses his theory in order to find out the attributes of international relations. There are some non obvious assumptions regarding the prevailing system. Regarding his view about the stability of system, he believed that the bipolar system is better than other alternate structure. Besides that

³⁰ Kenneth Waltz, "International Politics is Not Foreign Policy," *Security Studies* 6, Autumn (1996): 54-57.

³¹ *Opcit.*, 82-101

he is of the view that interdependence has declined in the twentieth century and also argued that proliferation of nuclear weapons will lead to the destruction of system's stability.³²

A lot of research has been done by Waltz to bring rigor in realism but he was not able to avoid himself from criticism.³³

The main five assumptions of the modern realism are shared by Robert Gilpin which is based on sociological and economic theories. According to him the first assumption is that the international system is in static form that is called as equilibrium state. Secondly states will try to change this situation if the states will gain any benefit from it. Thirdly, he believed that in case the states succeed in expansion which is in form of political, economic and territorial than the cost of economy which is required to maintain status quo will change and expenditures would be raised that are the actual need. Fourthly when the powerful states do not believe that change in system could give them the more benefits in that way equilibrium would be maintained. Finally if the equilibrium which was maintained ended up but the wrong redistribution of power recourses will lead to the establishment of relative capability.³⁴

Gilpin is of the view that in order to explain the change he includes state level processes. According to him the differential economic growth rate played an important role in the rise and decline of great powers which is considered as structural systemic level variable. The Gilpin's model includes different economic perspective like structural changes in economy.³⁵

³² Kenneth Waltz, "The Myth of National Interdependence," in *The International Corporation: A Symposium*, ed. Charles P. Kindleberger (Cambridge, MA, 1970), 205-23

³³ Robert Keohane, *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: McGraw Hills, 1986), 87

³⁴ Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 10-11

³⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 4

1.III Literature Review

Indo-Israel diplomatic relations could not attract large number of researchers. The Lack of material poses the main hurdle in this study. The whole material directly related to Indo-Israel relations is consisting of articles and probably few books which basically deals with the historical perspective i.e. 1992 to 2000. A very little work has been done on Indo-Israel relation in post 9/11 context so far. Study is conducted in order to analyze the nature of relations between two ideological opponents of Pakistan in new strategic environment. Few of the books and articles that have been read and reviewed in this perspective, are discussed below.

Nuclear myths and realities: India dilemma (1981) of K. Subrahanyam. In this book the nuclear program of various states is discussed. He discussed the nuclear program of Israel on the bases of Mordechal Vanunu and Lark Duckett report of CIA and discussed the foreign contribution in nuclear program of Israel. South Africa, France and USA provided basic help. He explained the basic objective was to prevent nuclear efforts of Arabs in Middle East.

Richard Edmund ward's book India's Pro-Arab policy: a study in continuity considers the India's policy which is in favor of Arab to be the main cause of its non-cooperation with Israel. This book stresses on the point that India wanted to have the support of Arab countries on Kashmir issue. This widened the gap between India and Israel. This book gives the detailed pre-2001 account of the historical background of indo-Israel relations.

India and Israel: Evolving Security Partnership by P.R Kumarswamy discusses the shift in the Indian policy towards Israel. It regards security issue to be the most important area that led to strategic alliance between India and Israel. This book stresses on a point that with the end of USSR, India needed a strong ally in order to get military aid. India found Israel in this regard. This thing brought them together.

India and Israel Towards Strategic Partnership by Krishan gopal and sabajit Sharma discusses the India's pro Arab policy in general and Israel in particular. It further explains the problems and issues of creation of Israel and later on formulation of its foreign policy and relations.

Apart from these books many articles have also been written on this issue. In this regard, an article entitled as Beyond the Veil: Israel-Pakistan Relations by P. R. Kumaraswamy published by Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (JCSS), paper is divided into eight sections. In the first two sections the commonalities between the two states are discussed. The third and fourth section explains the Pakistan stance on Arab Israel conflict and nature of Pakistan relations with Israel since it got independence. Fifth section deals with the nuclear issue. It has been discussed that which measures should be adopted by both the states to accommodate the security issue. In the sixth part the domestic conditions of Pakistan are explained on the bases of observation made from the debates in Pakistan regarding recognition of Israel have been observed. Another section deals with the obstacles regarding Pakistan establishing relations with Israel. Finally the options confronting Pakistan are discussed.

Similarly, another article, Indo-Israeli military ties enter next stage by P. R. Kumaraswamy discusses that the defense project between India and Israel gave a new direction to their relations. It further explains that the Indian decision to develop surface to air missile with the help of Israel is considered to be more important in deepening the relations of two countries. Counter-terrorism and border management techniques figure prominently in these regular deliberations.

In another article, entitled as The India-Israel Imperative by Martin Sherman published by Pragati explains that the significance of Indo-Israel nexus. It is discussed that growing Indo-Israeli nexus is particularly significant due to the realization that commonalities exist between the Jews and the Brahmins. It further discusses that both states consider themselves as superior

race and had bitter experience in past from the Muslims and they will not allow to happen this in future again. Beside that it explains different areas of cooperation between them.

Another article, Defense Industries and Dependency: Current and Future Trends in the Global Defense Sector by Dr. Stephanie Neuman explains that in international system the defense industry is considered important for the power stratification. It further explains the role of United States in the defense sector and discussed that how military industry was restructured in the post Cold War period. Paper is divided into different parts. Part one explains the trends due to which need was felt to restructure the military industry. Second portion is about the role played by the United States in promoting military industry. Thirdly it explains the availability of options for the world less advanced defense industries and speculated at growing defense industrial system. Finally it explains the political implications of the global military industrial structure. It further explains that the defense sector is always used as carrot and stick by United States.

Similarly in another article, Indo-Israeli Relations: Key Security Implications by Ronak D. Desai, Xenia Dormandy published by Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs discusses that after establishing diplomatic relations both the states moved towards strategic partnership. It further explains that both the states are working on every sphere of public policy and finally explains the growing relation between the two states have some implications on the United States as well.

Another article, Increasing Indo-Israel Strategic Partnership by Noor ul Haq published by Islamabad policy research institute which explains the relations of both countries at different levels which includes military, economy, defense, anti-terror partnership and solid strategic partnership.

In another article *Indo-Israeli Alliance Affects Regional Players* by Mathew Riemer, discusses the impact of indo-Israel alliance on the other states including Pakistan. It highlights the growing relations between these two states are point of concern for Pakistan and Arab states.

Similarly, another article, *Israel, India and the United States: A New Partnership against Terrorism* published in *vital speeches of the day* by Thomas Neumann, points out terrorism to be the main cause of the Indo-Israel nexus. Writer gives significant importance to the role of the US regarding growing friendship of India and Israel. On 11 September 2001, USA became victim of terrorism, since then it waged war against terrorism. In this war USA urged whole the international community to extend support. In this regard, India and Israel gave full support to USA. In fact both India and Israel think themselves to be the victim of the terrorism. In strengthening the relation between two states feelings has played an important role.

The text of available books and articles provide sufficient material that is relevant to the topic. It's highly beneficial for understanding the relationship in current scenario and as well historically. It helps in understanding the changing pattern of relationship between two states. Yet there is not enough data on Indo-Israel implications regarding Pakistan. Therefore this thesis will be an attempt to fill the gaps that have been left behind in area of research.

1.IV Objective of the Study

The basic aim is to evaluate Indo-Israel relations in post 9/11 scenario and to highlight changing pattern of their relationship. The study will also reflect the similarities and differences in the context of their relationship and the impact of transformation on the region particularly Pakistan. Moreover it would be analyzed that in interdependence relationship how the costly reciprocal effects of transaction among the actors affect them. For this purpose bilateral relations would be

examined both from historical and contemporary perspective. By historically tracing their relations will enable to analyze the post 9/11 strategic partnership of these states and strategic implications on Pakistan. On the basis of this research suggestions would be made regarding the recognition of Israel and policy options for Pakistan.

1.V Related Questions

The following questions will be addressed in the study: what are the dynamics of relationship between India and Israel? What are the factors that brought two states more closer or brought the change in bilateral relations? What are the areas where cooperation between them is most likely? To what extent USA is playing its role in their relations? What would be the Balance of Power situation in the region? What would be the impact on Pakistan and what are the policy options for Pakistan.

1.VI Hypothesis

Unlike the major actors in international political system, developing nations with the inherent weaknesses of their political systems have more limitations in the free exercise of their foreign policies.

1.VII Justification of the Study

From the literature which has been reviewed it has been realized that all the work done so far is in the historical perspective but after the 9/11 it is essential to work in a new international order to find out the implications of Indo-Israel relations on Pakistan. The growing friendship of India and Israel holds immense significance for Pakistan as well as for regional peace and security.

The increasing strategic cooperation will surely affect strategic balance of the region. That's why the issue needs proper consideration, so, it would be analyzed in various dimensions.

1.VIII Research Methodology

Study covers three basic components of research, i.e. description, analysis and prescription. Research is conducted in an historical and contemporary perspective. All the issues related to the subject would be analyzed to evaluate the dynamics of Indo-Israel relations. In order to understand the key questions on empirical ground will have to undertake the study through detailed analysis, review and interpretation of various sources. The data being utilized for this will include both primary and secondary sources. Government publications, official documents, statements, debates in the Parliament, various Commissions Reports etc will form as the primary source materials. The Secondary source material will include books, scholarly research, journal articles, and literature available on net and accessible official documents.

1.IX Organization of Study

For better understanding and comprehensive analysis, the study will be divided into five Chapters including Chapter on Conclusion.

Chapter one is an introduction to the study. It focuses on the significance and objective of the subject. Key questions are also addressed in the chapter. Theoretical framework is analyzed in detail. It also comprises the literature review and layout plan of the study.

Chapter two entitled Historical background will discuss the history of Indo-Israel relations in detail. This chapter will help in analyzing the nature of Indo-Israel relations since the very beginning and to highlight the factors that have shaped the relations. It will also focus on the

difference that kept them apart and as well as the similarities that had been there between the two, even in history.

Chapter three will give a detailed account of major areas of cooperation between India and Israel in post 9/11 scenario. It would be discussed in terms of political, strategic, economic and cultural partnership. The aim is to analyze the relations in every aspect of life.

Chapter four will analyze the strategic implications of Indo-Israel relations on Pakistan.

Chapter five will be conclusion, in which whole research work will be analyzed and recommendations would be given to counter Indo-Israel nexus.

1.X Periodization of Study

In general the study will cover the various historical aspects of Indo-Israel relations but it will particularly emphasis upon their strategic partnership in the post 9/11 scenario till 2010.

Chapter 2: BACKGROUND HISTORY

2.1 An Overview

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the British faced growing challenges to their global empire from the restless native populations. Their policy was to devise strategies by which the imperial era could be prolonged. The Second World War exhausted Great Britain and it was realized that the process of Empire's disintegration would get accelerated. By and large, this realization led to the grant of independence to colonies, the largest project of its kind being the independence of India. The British expectation was that a friendly India and friendly Pakistan would perpetuate its influence in the key strategic area of the Indian Ocean. In the case of the Middle East, Britain opted for implementing the Balfour Declaration in the shape of new State of Israel. From the very beginning, Israel was designed to be a Western outpost in the Muslim heartland.³⁶

Both India and Israel emerged as independent nation state on the world map. On 15 August 1947, India got independence from the British rule and as a result of United Nation resolution by General Assembly (UNGA) on 14 May 1948, Israel was declared as nation state. Both had been sharing some common attributes e.g. both are the democratic states. Besides that, both the states are surviving in heavily militarized security environment. Many wars have been fought by both the states since their emergence. Internal and external security threats are being faced by both the states either in form of freedom movement or terrorism.³⁷

³⁶ "Foreign relations of India," *Wikipedia*,
http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_relations_of_India#cite_note-204

³⁷ Subhash Kapila, "India-Israel Relations: The Imperatives for Enhanced Strategic Cooperation," *South Asia Analysis Group*, (2001).

While considering the issue that why India and Israel could not develop friendship among them there are no solid reasons behind this issue. Though both the states possess common attributes including histories of their respective civilizations, got independence at about the same time period from the same colonial powers, both experienced the partition on the religious grounds and finally both went for the democratic form of government in their respective continents. Regardless of the similar attributes, India and Israel never became good friends at official level in the beginning. Though the diplomatic relations were not established but it did not mean that there were no contacts in the past. In ancient times Indians had experiences of contacts with West Asian region in general and even with Palestine/ Israel in particular. In North India, the Arabs came as conquerors, but in South India, Jews came as travelers and merchants. This made their relations with the Indian rulers peaceful and cordial.

India and Israel were kept apart due to the Nehru's policies. A constant policy was adopted by India based on sympathies towards Palestinian people with reference to the Crises at that time in West Asia, which led to the birth of new Jewish state, which was endorsed by the UN resolution and did not create much reaction in the Indian official circle. Though, UN membership of Israel was opposed by India in 1949 but on the other hand in 1950, Israel was given de jure recognition on the bases of which Israeli consulate was allowed to function in Bombay.³⁸

In 1960's and 1970's India fought wars with China and Pakistan respectively. Israel gave military support to India during those wars.³⁹ In this way change in Indo-Israel relations took place but India followed covert policy regarding Israel till 1992. The major reason of India's

<http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/papers2/paper131.html>

³⁸ Schechtman B. Joseph and Verinder Grover, *West Asia and India's Foreign Policy*. ed. (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1992), 475.

³⁹ *Daily Times*, "Budding Israel-India relationship bad for Pakistan," May 21, 2003.

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_21-5-2003_pg3_1

covert policy was its policy of appeasement towards the Arabs. India wanted to have support of Arab states on Kashmir issue. Another reason of India's covert relations with Israel was Cold War. Although India was member of non-aligned movement (NAM), it had close relations with Soviet Union (SU) and was getting huge military aid from it. Besides that, in the cold war period Israel was member of the other group. Therefore, it was not possible for both the states to establish diplomatic relations till end of Cold War.

In 1990 Cold War ended by disintegrating Soviet Union. As a result, Russia emerged as comparatively weak state. Therefore India could no longer depend upon Russia for military aid. Parallel to this Mohan Singh took the step to bring a major change in Indian economic system. It moved India away from the socialist economic system and led it towards the capitalist system. As a result, India developed inclinations towards the USA instead of Russia. These changes brought convergence of Indo-Israeli interests. As Israel, has been following a system closer to that of the US and has been its main ally. It was obviously a great partner to be considered by India. Since then, India has opened diplomatic relations with Israel.

The relations between the two states are getting stronger. Both states are cooperating in various spheres of public policy, including; military, economy, culture, technology and security. The main interest of Israel lies in economic areas while India's major concern is related to military technology and security issues. The nature of Indo-Israel relations cannot be understood without analyzing the circumstances in which India got independence and Israel was born.

2.II Background History of India

In 1498 Vasco da Gama, the first European who entered in India in search of spice trade paved the way for European traders to enter in this region through Indian shores.⁴⁰ In 1757 British established East India Company after defeating Bengal's Nawab in battle of Plassey.⁴¹

British Raj was established in India by establishing East India Company. In 1765, Battle of Buxar ended due to which East India Company got the chance to control the administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In 1839, Mahraja Ranjit Singh died, by taking advantage of his death British rule annexed Punjab in 1849 after having two Anglo-Sikh Wars from 1845-49. By getting the control of the conquered provinces British parliament planned to introduce new laws to handle the provinces, this approach gave superiority to the British rule.⁴²

In 1857-58 there was rebellion in India which led to uprising in central and northern India against the Britishers and the reason being was presence of various factors. The conflicts emerged due to the conditions were imposed for the service in the East India Company's army and cantonments that became matter of dispute with the religious beliefs and prejudices with the soldiers. It became the turning point in the modern Indian history. By the end of the rebellion, East India Company was abolished and was replaced by direct British rule which was ruled by the British crown. The Viceroy was the representative of the Crown. In the new direct rule policy Queen Victoria claimed the equal treatment of all the people under the British law but the Indian people had no trust on British rule and their mistrust became the legacy of 1857 rebellion.⁴³

⁴⁰ Please see, *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed., "Vasco da Gama," (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008)

⁴¹ Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*. 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 180.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 180

⁴³ Clare Anderson, *Indian Uprising of 1857-8: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellion* (New York: Anthem Press, 2007), 217.

In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded on the suggestions made by A.O. Hume, a retired British civil servant. Initially Congress had no ideology and had few resources which were required for the political organization. With the start it worked as debating society which used to meet annually and showed their loyalty to the British rule and issues which were discussed were about the job opportunities in government.⁴⁴

By 1900, Congress emerged as an all-India political organization but it failed to attract the Muslims who considered their representation in the government was not adequate due to which its achievement was undermined. As a result, in 1906 Muslims established their own political party named as All India Muslim League whose purpose was to protect the political rights of Indian Muslims. Though Muslim League became the representative of Muslims and Congress for Hindus.

Initially, these parties wanted to get representation in the administrative affairs, Congress was asking for the status of Domain while Muslim league was trying to get the right of Separate electorate for Muslims. Later on their demand changed and they all advocated independence. Though the basic objective of all of them was to get independence from the British yet Muslim League started claiming for partition of the sub-continent in to two independent states on the basis of Two Nation Theory. The idea was severely condemned by the Hindus as well as Congress. They extremely tried to prevent the division of sub-continent.

Independence movement ended with the partition of sub-continent in to two independent states, i.e. Pakistan and India. The division of sub-continent was extremely painful for Congress, so

⁴⁴ Frederick Marion De Mello, *The Indian National Congress: An Historical Sketch* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 5.

they did not accept it, rather considered it to be illegal as was carried out on the basis of religious claims of Muslims.

2.III Birth of Israel

Jews were dispersed and wished to return to the Land of Israel but in Judaism if human effort would be used for achieving such an aim is considered to be matter of dispute. Hope and yearning is an important theme of Jewish belief system which was articulated in Bible. In 1492, Jews settled in Holy land after being expelled from Spain. Some Jewish communities settled in different Holy cities.⁴⁵

The immigration of large number of Jews to the holy Land started in 1881 after being brutally killed in violent riots in Eastern Europe. At that time the Zionist movement was existing theoretically with an intention of establishing a state for Jews in the holy Land of Israel by raising the issue in front of international community. From 1904 to 1914 second wave of immigration started when anti Jewish riot started in Bessarabia, province of Russian Empire, currently it's the capital of Moldova. About 40,000 Jews were settled in Palestine at that time but half of them left. The migrants were mostly Orthodox Jews who migrated in the first and second wave of immigration. The Balfour Declaration was issued in 1914 by proposing the Palestine as a home for Jews. In 1922, similar to the terms of Balfour declaration the mandate over Palestine was granted to United Kingdom by League of Nations. At that time Jews were 11 % of total population.

In the years 1919 to 1923 the Jews migrated in a large number and from 1924-1929 about 10,000 Jews migrated to Palestine. Quarter of million of Jews migrated to Palestine with the rise of

⁴⁵ BBC, "The birth of Israel," April 27, 1998.
<http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/78601.stm>

Nazism in 1930's. The Jews immigration to Palestine in large number led to the Arab revolt from 1936-1939 and demanded British to restrict immigration. From all over the world the Jews fled to Palestine to run away from Holocaust and when World War II ended the population of Jews increased to about 33% of whole population.

After 1945, British found itself in and first year's fierce conflicts with the local people, all the Jews from Europe were taking shelter in Palestine; many of the Jews were sent back which were imprisoned. This entire situation compelled the British government to withdraw from the Palestine mandate and stated that it was not able to find any solution for both the Arabs and the Jews. On 29 November, 1947 The United Nations which was newly created organization approved the UN partition plan which divided the countries into Arab and Jewish state. By giving recognition to Jewish state Jerusalem was designated as an international city.

Arab Community did not accept this plan but Jews accepted the plan. 14 May, 1948 was the expiry date of the British Mandate, before its expiry Jewish agent announced independence by declaring Israel as a country name. The day when Jews announced independence has a historical significance. At that day three events occurred one was announcement of Israel's independence, secondly at that day British Mandate ended and thirdly Arab Armies prepared to invade Palestine- Israel.⁴⁶

By analyzing the cases of India and Israel it can be assumed that both India and Israel got independence which led to the change in the map of South Asia and Middle East respectively. India got independence by the division of sub-continent into Pakistan and India while, Israel

⁴⁶ *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, "UN General Assembly Resolution 181: Partition Plan," November 29, 1947. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/UN+General+Assembly+Resolution+181.htm>. For details see Appendix I.

came into being by the division of Palestine. The division of these regions is considered as the major point of conflict between India and Israel.

2.IV Factors that Kept India and Israel Apart Before 1992

As far as the factors are concerned which played a potent role in keeping India and Israel apart before establishing diplomatic ties in 1992, An important factor is that the warm relations could not develop due to the Ideological clash with Jews. Although Indians had sympathies for Jews who had been suffering the suppression for centuries but still they were not able to support them in getting home in Palestine.⁴⁷ It could be considered that Indians were against of any idea that lead to the division of any place based on religious claims of a specific community, hence opposed the illegal birth of Israel.

India's perception of Zionism, as opposed to the Jews during India's independence movement, greatly shaped India's policy after independence. The most respected Indian leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who let the Indian masses against the colonial power till the attainment of independence, much respected by the Jewish community, had a close contact with the Jews. Few of the eminent Leaders of India have been sympathetic with them yet they never appreciated the Jews ideological claims over Palestine. In Africa Mahatma Gandhi once said that he had sympathies with Jews and he had close contacts with Jews and some of Jews became his companions. He said he is aware of the maltreatment which has been done with the Jews. He was of the view that the Jews and untouchables were treated similarly by Christian and Hindus. He said beside all these sympathies he could not forget the requirements of Justice.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ P.R. Kumaraswamy, "Indo-Israel Relations: Humble Beginning, A Bright Future," *The American Jewish Community* (2002).

<http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=ijITI2PHKoG&b=838459&ct=875903>

⁴⁸ *The Harijan*, "The Jews in Palestine," November 26, 1938. For details please see Appendix II.

Source: <http://www.countercurrents.org/pa-gandhi170903.htm>

He never denied the sufferings of the Jews. While, identifying the sufferings of Jews, he even stated:

... I do believe that Jews have been cruelly wronged by the world. No wonder that my sympathies go out to the Jews in their unenviable sad plight. But, one would have thought, adversity would teach them lessons of peace. Why should they depend on American money or British arms for forcing themselves on a welcome land? If the Jews were to adopt the matchless weapon of non-violence, whose use their best Prophets have taught and which Jesus the Jew, who gladly wore the crown of thrones, bequeathed to a groaning world, their case would be the world's, and I have no doubt that among the many things that they have given to the world. This would be the best and the brightest. It is twice blessed. It will make them happy and rich in true sense of the world and it will be a soothing balm to the itching world.⁴⁹

Gandhi even went further to express his view on the concept of the "promised Land" which is in the Bible. Gandhi never condemned Jews' affiliation with their sacred places, yet he was totally against the way they adopted to get back their holy places. He said,

The Palestine of the Biblical concept is not a geographical tract. It's in their hearts. But if they must look to the Palestine of the geography as their homeland, it's wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun... they can settle in Palestine only by the good will of the Arabs.⁵⁰

Besides his sympathy for Jews, he never supported them in terms of their claim over the territory of Palestine. Two of the very close friends of Gandhi, during his twenty years of stay in South

⁴⁹ Maqsdul Hasan Nuri, "The Indo-Israeli Nexus," *Regional Studies*, Vol.XII, No.3, Summer (1994): 4.

⁵⁰ Dinanath G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Volume 4, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, (1969), 314.

Africa , were Mermann Kallenbach, wealthy and genorous, idealist and Henry S.L. Polak, a successful journalist, were lifelong Zionists, yet they ould not convert Gandhi to Zionism, and he remained anti-Zionist though out his life time.⁵¹ He said:

The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for which it is sought in the Bible and tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after a return to Palestine. why should they not, like other people's of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livlihood? Palestine belongs to the Arabs; it's wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs... the noble course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews where they were born.⁵²

Infact, he never considered their claim over Palestine to be a legitimate claim rather he wanted them to stay in the areas where they were born as he said:

... If I were born a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livlihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest gentile German might, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment... if one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the Perscription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy...⁵³

It can be stated that Gandhi considered the claim of Jews to be an impearalistic claim, being supported by Imperial power, i.e. Britain. Beside Gandhi, Jwahar Lal Nehru also supported

⁵¹ Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, " The Indo-Israeli Nexus," *Regional Studies*, Vol.XII, No.3, Summer (1994): 3.

⁵² Krishan Gopal and Sarbjit Sherma, *India and Israel: towards strategic partnership* (New Delhi: Author Press, 2007), 111.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

TH 75/12

Arab's stance in this issue. He severely condemned the conflict between Arabs and Jews, which could be exploited by the Britisher's. Hence both of these nations should cooperate with one another,

It is a tragedy that two oppresses peoples- the Arabs and the Jews – should have come into conflict with each other. Everyone must have the sympathies for the Jews in the terrible trials they are passing through in Europe, where vast number of them have become homeless wanderers, unwanted in any country. One can understand them being attracted to Palestine. And it is the fact that Jews immigrants there have improved the country, introduced industries and raised standard of living. But we must remember that Palestine is essentially an Arab country and must remain so and the Arabs must not be crushed and suppressed in their own homeland. The two people,s could wel cooperate together in a free Palestine without encroaching on each other's ligitimate interests, and help in building up a progressive country.

Unfortunately, Palestine, being on the sea and air routes to India and the East, is a vital factor in a British imperial scheme, and Jews and Arabs have bth been exploited to further this scheme. It is certain, however, that Arab nationalism in Palestine will not be crushed and the future of the country can only be built up on the stable foundation of Arab-Jew cooperation and elimination of imperialism.⁵⁴

He even considered Balfour Declaration to be in the interest of the Britisher, which is evident from his following remarks:

This declaration (the Balfour Declaration) was made to win the good will of International jury, this was important from the money point of view ...

⁵⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpse of World History* (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1988), 767.

... Palestine was not a wilderness, or an empty, uninhabited place. It was already somebody else's home. So that this generous gesture of the British government was really at the expense of the people including Arabs, non-Arabs, Muslims, Christian, and, infact, everybody who was not a Jew protested vigorously at the declaration.⁵⁵

It can be concluded from the above statements that the idea for creating separate state in Palestine was never been supported by India. The basic reason of anti-Zionist stance of the Congress was the ideological clash. In fact, Muslims in the sub-continent were demanding their separate homeland and Congress rejected their idea and called it to be the sole representative of all communities in the sub-continent. Just like Muslims, Jews claim over the Palestine was also based on the religious grounds. Beside the ideological clash Congress supported the Idea of Arab nationalism, when Ottoman Empire was disintegrated by Britishers, Muslims started agitation against the British and Congress supported the Khilafat Movement by launching the civil disobedience against the British rule.

Another factor which kept India away from Israel before and after independence was the presence of Muslims as a largest community in the sub-continent and India as well. Before Independence Congress being the representative of the both Hindus and Muslims had members from both communities. The presence of Muslims was remarkable in Congress due to which it was not possible for Congress to take any decision against the will of the Muslims who had great concerns for their Palestinian brothers.

Similarly when India became an independent state, Muslims became the largest minority of India. The propagation of India as a democratic state led to increase in Muslim population. In

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*,763.

such condition Muslim vote Bank have to be considered by the ruling parties. As Muslims are the largest minority, so there are considered in government policies, even after independence.

Another factor which is considered to be an important one is that a common cause was forged by the Indian nationalists with the Arabs of Palestine against the British imperialism at the start of twentieth century. The Indian had a strong anti-imperial stance. They had been struggling for getting independence from their masters but in case of Jews, they got recognition with the support of Britishers and other imperial powers. Mahatma Gandhi said in this regard:

Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that
England belongs to English and France to French.⁵⁶

Mahatma Gandhi aptly summed up this Indian position,

It is wrong to enter it under the shadow of British
gun, a religious act cannot be performed with the
aid of bayonet or a bomb.⁵⁷

Another factor which also played an important role was the National Interest. After Indian independence, for both India and Pakistan Kashmir became the matter of dispute. So in order to get strong political position at international level India preferred Arab countries than Israel, being stronger. India did not want Pakistan to make an Islamic bloc with Arab countries which would be harmful. In Countering the Arabs support to Pakistan, from the very beginning India preferred Palestinian cause.

Beside the political objective, India was concerned about the economic gains, as Middle East is full of Natural resources so India wanted to take full advantage of it and do not want to loose the ultimate benefits by establishing ties with comparatively weak state like Israel.

⁵⁶ Dinanath G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Volume 4, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, (1969), 314.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

On the basis of all these factors India declared anti-Zionist stance, even before the independence of India. In this regard India refuted Balfour Declaration in 1917. Soon after the birth of Israel question of recognition raised but India refused and gave full support to Arabs. India did not revise its policy towards Israel till 1950 but on 17 September, 1950 the de jure recognition to the state of Israel was given.⁵⁸ But still after giving Israel the recognition the major factors like Ideological clash which was anti-Zionism, anti- imperialist stance, presence of Mulims and National interest of India did not allow them to become closer.

The above mentioned factors explained the complexities involved in Indo-Israel relations.

2.V Role of Indian Leadership in Indo-Israel Relations till 1992

Leading personality is always been important in shaping the State's foreign policy. According to Roseanu, personal traits of authorative leader create impact on making of foreign policy. The foreign policy of state is being influenced by beliefs, perceptions and personal likings of a strong and authoritative leader.⁵⁹ Hence an important role has been played by Indian leadership in Indian foreign policy making, particularly the way it shaped the relationship of India and Israel. To understand the role of Indian leadership in foreign policy making towards Israel, the policies of eminent Indian leaders from Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajiv Gandhi would be discussed in detail. Jawaharlal Nehru was active member of Independence movement and authoritative leader of India. He was mentor of Gandhi, He became the first Indian Prime Minister and remained till 1964. So it can be assumed that Indian foreign policy was formulated by Nehru. He played an important role in making Indian foreign policy with every states including Israel.

⁵⁸P.R. Kumaraswamy, "Indo-Israel Relations: Humble Beginning, A Bright Future," *The American Jewish Community* (2002).

<http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=ijITI2PHKoG&b=838459&ct=875903>

⁵⁹ James N. Roseanu, *The Scientific Study of Foreign policy* (New York: Free Press, 1971), 95.

Arab-Jewish conflict was perceived as part of larger anti-imperialism by Jawaharlal Nehru. He rejected the past claims of Jews regarding Palestine. He said:

Palestine is essentially an Arab country and no decision can be made without the consent of the Arabs.⁶⁰

In spite of the attempts made by Zionists in 1930's they did not succeed in attaining the Indian nationalists support.

Nehru's anti-imperialist rhetoric explains that India did not support the objective of Jews. When the Arab-Jewish conflict strengthened it overlapped the rivalry of Congress and Muslim league and spread out into the Middle East where in form of Islamic agenda the Palestine question was presented. Jewish claims were seen from the Islamic point of view by Indian leaders. The Indian lack of sympathy towards Jews promoted the pro-Arab orientation by the nationalists of India.⁶¹

India wanted to express internationally its independent position in 1947 and the events in Palestine were being influenced by India at the time the issue was presented to United Nations. India supported the Arab cause in Palestine by rejecting the Zionist demand while representing Asia at UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee on Palestine) which was composed of 11 members. A minority plan was proposed by the then Yugoslavia which suggested that to make Palestine as a federal and it should be made autonomous over Jews. It was also supported by Iran and India. Seven members advocated the partition of Palestine and on 29 November 1947 majority plan was approved whereas the partition of Palestine was opposed by India.⁶²

⁶⁰ Krishan Gopal and Sarbjit Sherma, *India and Israel: towards strategic partnership* (New Delhi: Author Press, 2007), 111.

⁶¹ P.R. Kumaraswamy, " India-Israel Relations: Seeking Balance and Realism," *Israel Affairs*, (2004): 258 http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/919226_778682928_714040039.pdf

⁶² United Nations special Committee on Palestine, *Report to General Assembly* , Volume 1, New York 1947 Source: <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/07175de9fa2de563852568d3006e10f3>

Meanwhile, new political realities of Middle East and the Israel recognition as an independent state compelled India to respond. Different factors like persuasion from Israel and domestic pressure led India to grant de jure recognition to new Jewish state on September 18, 1950.⁶³

After giving de jure recognition Israeli trade office was opened in India which later became a Consular mission and in the first Consul of Israel assumed office in India in June 1953, though Israel had inclination towards opening of resident mission but India did not support it by citing as financial constraints.⁶⁴

It became important to examine different aspects regarding recognizing Israel. After declaring the independence Israel was recognized by many states. Two different dates were given to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and request was made to recognize Israel as a state. It is evident from his speech to the Constituent Assembly in August 1948. He said:

A telegram was received in the middle of June 1948 from Monsieur Moshe Shertok [later Sharett] Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of the State of Israel, containing a request for recognition of the Jewish State.⁶⁵

This was considered accurate but afterwards in 1985 letters were published which were written by Nehru to the Chief Ministers which became the evidence that request was made earlier to recognize Israel as a State. Later on Nehru acknowledged that his government received a letter which had a request to recognize Israel.

⁶³ K.P. Misra, "India's policy of recognition of states and governments," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol.55, No.2,(April 1961): 405.

Source: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2196125?seq=8>

⁶⁴ P.R. Kumaraswamy, "India and Israel evolving strategic partnership," *Mideast Security and Policy Studies*, No.40, (September 1998) :1.

Source: <http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/publications/40pub.html>

⁶⁵ P.R. Kumaraswamy, "India's Recognition of Israel," *Middle Eastern studies*, Vo.31, No.1,(1995): 124

When India recognized Israel as a state, by that time the Arab states which had confrontation with Israel signed a peace agreement which means the understood recognition of Israel as a state by Arabs.⁶⁶ Following recognition of Israel, there were few factors which led to the de jure recognition of Israel.

One of the factor due to which India gave recognition to Israel was that the state criteria was fulfilled and had showed potential to honor international law. Therefore to recognize Israel became a rational decision but it just declared recognition on theoretical bases.⁶⁷

Secondly, Israel was recognized by many states and even those states also recognized Israel which co-sponsored the federal plan in (UNSCOP) along with India. These states recognized Israel before India gave recognition. Besides that Israel became the member of United Nations. On this occasion Prime Minister Nehru remarked:

Our policy is to recognize any country that was an independent functioning country represented in the United Nations.⁶⁸

Nehru's close friend, V.K. Krishna Menon stated that:

I have always taken the view that whatever country is recognized by the UN should be recognized by us. Moreover, while membership of a number of countries such as Albania and Jordan was blocked, the request of Israel evoked a rare consensus among the rival blocs of the Cold War. Indian recognition, hence, was an obvious step.⁶⁹

Thirdly, the recognition of Communist China by India became an important factor. India was of the view that the criteria for non-recognition of new states would never be the type of

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 130

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

government. With regard to this in Constituent Assembly a debate started in which criteria for recognizing the state was discussed and different attitudes were observed by India which placed it at contradictory situation with reference to the question of Israel's recognition.⁷⁰

Fourthly, India had interest in resolving the Arab- Israel conflict by playing the role of mediator. The official spokesman while explaining the decision of recognizing Israel stated in such a way:

Continuing non-recognition is not only inconsistent with the overall relations but even limits the effectiveness of Government of India's role as a possible intermediary between Israel and the Arab States.⁷¹

Nehru was aware that his attitude should be balanced while opposing the membership of Israel in United Nations. In May 1949 he wrote that:

It is about time that we made some of these Arab countries feel that we are not going to follow them in everything in spite of what they do.⁷²

The fifth factor which played an important role was the public pressure. A lot of people were in favor of recognizing Israel rapidly due to which in Constituent Assembly issue was raised and it was not possible for government to decide differently to the public pressure. On the other hand, the well known Indians who were living abroad they started campaigning for the recognition of Israel.

Sixth factor was the strong lobby. The lobby was done by the Israeli's supporters living in the west and Israel itself. Israel did not remain silent in its attempt to influence India and US factor is important in a sense that all the efforts were carried out there. Regular contacts were

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

established by Israeli's with the Indian diplomats and United Nations delegates. One of the US congressmen Emanuel Celler is considered important in playing a key role in Nehru-Elath meeting in 1949.

According to Elath :

He, (Nehru) arrived at the conclusion recognition cannot be postponed much longer. Here he turned to Celler saying it would be unwise to grant Israel recognition during his (Nehru's) stay in the US because this is liable to be interpreted as American pressure.⁷³

Lastly, budding Pak-Arab relationship played an important role due to which it became possible for India to recognize Israel. The biographer Gopal stated that:

The vote cast by Farouk's Egypt against India on the Hyderabad issue in the United Nations disposed Nehru towards accepting the fact of Israel.⁷⁴

The above mentioned factors played an important role in giving Israel de jure recognition. Now, beside this a question raises in the mind that what could be the elements that became an obstacle for India in establishing diplomatic ties with Israel till 1992. These factors will be analyzed in detail.

In delaying the Israel recognition the Arab factor is acknowledged by Nehru. On 1 October 1950 it was written by Nehru that:

We would have done recognition of Israel long ago, because Israel is a fact. We refrained because of our desire not to offend the sentiments of our friends in the Arab countries.⁷⁵

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 129-132.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 129

Following Israel's recognition, diplomatic exchanges were ruled out by Nehru, the reason being was financial constraints and government unwillingness to make commitments with the other states. By citing the financial constraints, the establishment of diplomatic relations was postponed, although India had inclination of opening a resident mission in Israel. With the passage of two years it was declared by India that:

Owing mainly to the existing financial stringency it has not been found possible to establish missions in these countries [i.e., Israel, Saudi Arabia and Yemen] so far.⁷⁶

The intention of India for establishing resident mission in Israel was established in such a way that could not be doubted. It is stated by Gopal:

In March 1952 Nehru informed the Israeli government i.e. when Israeli Foreign Ministry Director General Walter Eytan met him in New Delhi that there was no major objection to the exchange of diplomatic representatives, but it might be better to wait for the formation of a new government after the elections.⁷⁷

The domestic opposition was faced by Nehru when he assured Israel about the normalization of relations in 1952. The presence of Indian Muslims and apprehension of India over Arab stance on Kashmir issue led towards consolidating pro-Arab policy. Beside that, the diplomatic efforts made by Pakistan in order to create Islamic bloc became as a matter of concern for India.⁷⁸

It was never admitted officially that for the diplomatic influence in the Middle East the policy of India towards Israel became hostage for Pakistan's rivalry. The rivalry between Muslim League

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 133

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Krishan Gopal and Sarbjit Sherma, *India and Israel: towards strategic partnership* (New Delhi: Author Press, 2007), 137

and Congress before independence led Congress to adopt partly unsympathetic attitude towards Zionist's but in the post independence period the Israel's policy is shaped up due to India rivalry with Pakistan.⁷⁹

Due to the progress in the region and evolution of new drifts in international scenario kept both the states apart due to which interaction could not developed among the two states. Criticism was drawn in both India and abroad due to the absence of ties between the two states. President of Egypt, Gamal Abdul Nasser and Nehru had close relations which became as a defining moment in India's relation with Israel. Gamal Abdul Nasser was seen as representative and leader of Arab nationalism and anti-colonial struggle in the Middle Eastern region by Nehru. Nehru appreciated Gamal Abdul Nasser due to his commitment to Secularism and Socialism. Besides that, Nasser also opposed the military alliance which was backed by the United States and that was also respected by Nehru. The collaboration of Israel with the colonial powers and in 1956 Israel's invasion of Sinai in 1956 made Nehru furious due to which the diplomatic ties were ruled out by claiming that:

Time is not yet ripe.

Since then, this claim became the reason for India in order to avoid justification for not establishing diplomatic ties.⁸⁰

It had been realized by Nehru that at the time when Israel was recognized India should have established diplomatic relations. In 1963 the Indian government declared that India will not establish its Consulate in Israel because there is not such work to be done there. Beside that India was of the view that formal relations would not be developed with Israel because it got

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ P.R. Kumaraswamy, "India's Recognition of Israel," *Middle Eastern studies*, Vo.31, No.1,(1995): 134

independence on the name of religion and secondly wrong policies have been adopted by Israel towards the Palestinians and the Arabs.⁸¹

In nutshell, it is asserted that during Nehru's era India maintained status quo towards Israel. Though India gave de jure recognition but did not form any diplomatic relations towards Israel and always show unfriendly attitude towards the newly born Jewish state and always had a pro-Arab stance. Nehru died on May 27, 1964 and in June Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister of India.

Nehru was the authoritative Prime Minister of India and had full control on the domestic and foreign affairs. He was the Foreign Minister of his time. The contour of Indian foreign Policy was drawn by him. No institution was strong enough to challenge his authority. When Shastri came into power he stressed on the process of institutionalization and Ministry of external Affairs (MEA) got the authority. So the major changes could not be associated with him.

Shastri along his MEA continued anti-Israel policy. From his policy it can be assumed that Shastri policy was more rigid. Shastri's first official visit took him to United Arab Republics, where he showed his support for Palestine cause and Arabs claim to Jordan waters.⁸²

Indian minister of information announced the international film festival which was banned for South Africa, Israel and Portugal.⁸³

In December 1964, India warmly welcome newly established Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), July 1965, official recognition was extended to Arab League by India, which was working in India since 1961.⁸⁴

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Op.cit.*, 156

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 480.

From the whole above discussion it could be analyzed that Shastri tenure stood for anti-Israel policies. He remained Prime Minister for very short time period but showed no interest in improving Indo-Israel relations. He did not have any good relations with Arabs like Nehru and did not even fully formulated the foreign policy. So it could be said that he followed the Nehruvian policy. In Shastri's tenure Pakistan-India war of 1965 was fought and in that war Israel gave military assistance to India and Arabs whole heartedly supported Pakistan on the bases of Muslim state. Hindu extremist felt hatred for Arabs. Yet the policies of the government remained the same as Shastri died on midnight 10 and 11 January 1966, if he could stay the relations between India and Israel could become better.

After the death of Shastri, Indra Gandhi the daughter of Nehru, became the Head of the government. Indra followed the same policies which were been followed in the past. During her first tenure her foreign Minister Sarwan singh asked her to review her policy, at that time she strictly refused to do so. During the era of Indra Gandhi, on 25 January, 1975 PLO was considered as sole representative for the Palestinians.⁸⁵

In Indra Gandhi tenure three important events took place which was two Arab-Israel wars in 1967 and 1973 respectively and 1971 Indo -Pakistan war. In the two Arab- Israel wars India gave full support to Arabs and Israel fully supported India with her war with Pakistan in 1971. In 1973 Egypt and Syria initiated the war but still India supported India and criticized Israel for its rigid policies.

It is asserted that during Indra Gandhi tenure she had a pro-Arab stance and due to this the Indo-Israel relations deteriorated. The pro-Arab policy was the lure of petrodollars, most of the Indian

⁸⁵P.R. Kumaraswamy, "Indo-Israel Relations: Humble Beginning, A Bright Future," *The American Jewish Community*, (2002):75.
<http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=ijlTI2PHKoG&b=838459&ct=875903>

workers were in Gulf countries (GC) and the fact the PLO and Arab countries had support of the then super power, former Soviet Union.⁸⁶

In 1977, victory of Janta party under the leadership of Moraji desai came. Since independence it was first time that Congress could not win and replaced by Jana Singh. The political party which came to power in 1977, decided to follow the policies prepared by Nehru and further strengthened by his daughter regarding Middle East. Though, during that time Israel's Foreign Minister, Moshe Dayan, paid the secret visit but it became more controversial and not especially fruitful. Beside their deep edge to deviate the party could not change the policy due to economic and domestic reasons.⁸⁷

Janta party could not retain the power longer and the assemblies were dissolved in 1979. Charan Singh became the care taker Prime Minister till 1980, afterwards again Congress under the leadership of Indra Gandhi came back into power.

Palestinian mission was upgraded with the return of Indra Gandhi in power in 1980. At the same time the consul of Israel weakened which was in Bombay. The then Israeli Consul statesman criticized India in an interview by stating that India is competing with Pakistan for the sake of gaining Arab favor. Due to this statement the minimal representation was cut off by India and Yossef Haseen who gave an interview was declared as persona non grata. Israel was excluded from the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) and visas to Israelis were denied by India so that they could not participate in international conferences.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, "The Indo-Israeli Nexus," *Regional Studies*, Vol.XII, No.3, Summer (1994): 7.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ P.R. Kumaraswamy, "Indo-Israel Relations: Humble Beginning, A Bright Future," *The American Jewish Community* (2002):77

<http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=ijITI2PHKoG&b=838459&ct=875903>

In October, 1984 the government of Indra Gandhi ended with her death by her body guard . In 1984, the son of Indra Gandhi became the Prime Minister. Rajiv Gandhi indicated rift in the relations of India and Israel. Rajiv wanted to make India technologically advance state. The socialist traditions of Congress party were abandoned by him. He started by liberalizing economy and did not adopt the foreign policy in ideological way. His approach towards freshness had an impact on the relationship of India and Israel. The changed international climate also helped Rajiv in favoring Israel. Before the Palestinian intifada in 1987, the time period of 1980's remained less unfriendly towards Israel. Many Communist states renewed their relations with Israel. It was also followed by the third world states as they reexamined their ties with Israel. In spite of Egypt Peace with Israel it entered into Islamic and Arab blocks. On the other hand, China and Soviet Union also started low level contacts with Israel.⁸⁹

Rajiv Gandhi initiated significant moves towards Israel in order to normalize the relations. He openly met the Israeli officials and did not adopt the previous policies. A full Israeli consul was restored in Bombay. Beside that relaxation in visa policies towards Israeli's were made and ban on sports contacts were removed.⁹⁰

However, there were other factors as well due to which it was not possible for India to fully normalize its relations with Israel. That includes the intifada occurred due to which the gains made by Israel in 1980's were eroded. Beside that domestic problems were also faced by Rajiv Gandhi in which allegations were made with reference to bribery in arms deal due to which his maneuverability was reduced. Rajiv Gandhi remained in power from 1984 to 1989. Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated during an election campaign. In 1991 Narasmiha Rao became the Prime

⁸⁹P.R. Kumaraswamy, "India and Israel: Emerging Partnership," *Journal of strategic studies* (2002): 196, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402390412331302915>

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*,197.

Minister and followed the policies of his predecessors. The economic crises at that time led him to liberalize the economy and the need of modernizing and improving foreign policy was recognized. On 16 December 1991, India repealed the General Assembly resolution that associated Zionism with racism which was really supported by India. A new approach was signaled by Rao towards Israel. A lot of criticism was received by Rao but he continued the normalization path towards Israel. On 29 January 1992, logical conclusion was given to the pursued path by announcing establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel by India.⁹¹

It could be said that India and Israel have passed through different phases before establishing full fledged diplomatic relations. Though Israel always wanted to develop ties with India but India always preferred its own conceived national interest. So from there relations it can be asserted that states relations on the basis of national interest are always based on cost and benefit analysis like in case of India pro-Arab policy before establishing diplomatic relation with Israel and India relations with Israel in a diplomatic context.

2.VI Commonalities Between the Two States

India and Israel possess some commonalities between them. Hinduism and Judaism are two of the immense cultures which have wrought the history of the mankind. They both possess the political, cultural and social and to some extent religious similarities as well.

In order to discuss the similarities between the two states it's essential to would be to understand the pattern of relationship between them. According to Shekhar Gupta the two genuine democracies in the Asian landmass stretching from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Bengal, both are partitioned states faced with enemies bent upon their annihilation. Both have got nuclear

⁹¹ *Ibid.*,197.

technology which is not verified in case of Israel. Above all, till the cold war ended support of the Super power was enjoyed by both states. Soviet Union backed India and Israel had support of USA.⁹²

Beside these commonalities, in the world atlas India could be easily pointed as a one of the largest states, on the other hand, Israel could be hardly pointed out while being a small state but they have the striking commonality which is India dreams of the Akhand Bharat and Israel reverie of Greater Israel. Indian historical scriptures include present day Pakistan, Srilanka, Southeast Asia and as well most of the area of Afghanistan, with today's India to fulfill the dream of Akhand Bharat. Similarly, the Zionist also believed that their land must spread from Nile to Euphrates in what they dream of as Greater Israel.⁹³

Religious commonality was an important factor; the largest number of followers in the world belongs to both the religions. There are many holy sites in both the countries which are holiest for their followers. The holiest sites of Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism exist in India as they were generated from Hinduism. Islam and Christianity emerged from Judaism. The presence of the holiest sites of Islam and Christianity makes Israel important for both. Though in Saudi Arabia Islam was established but the presence of some of its holiest sites in Israel makes it important for Muslims. The other religions like Bahai and Druze has their holy sites as well in Israel. According to their opponents both Hindus and Jews share similar attributes like usury, money lending, racial discrimination, complicated rituals, religious literalism and lately adoption of racial ideologies.⁹⁴

⁹² Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, "The Indo-Israeli Nexus," *Regional Studies*, Vol.XII, No.3, Summer (1994): 19.

⁹³ *Ibid.*,38.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

Christianity and Buddhism which spawned in these countries and became the known religion in the world by possessing a large number of followers are considered as a minority in these states. For instance in Israel Christianity is considered to be minority having 2 % followers and in India Buddhism is same like Christianity in Israel. The followers are less number in the land of their birth comparatively to the outer world. The largest minority in both the states is Islam. Holiest sites of Hinduism and Judaism in India and Israel are now replaced by Muslim mosques. Both the religions which are dominant in India and Israel are considered to be 5000 years old and establishment of other religions are being influenced by them. According to the believers human culture is being supported by both these religions, these are the only great religions and these religions are never been forced on others. Besides that, while being multi-ethnic religions there are a lot of differences among their followers with in different communities. While being the differences, due to problems with the neighboring states a national philosophy has been established this got its boost.

Hindus are divided into caste systems. There are four main castes which include Brahmins, Kiashtriya, Veish and Shudra. Brahmins being the priests and most intelligent and respectable and are elitist caste. A Brahmin is considered to be the notable that can never commit a mistake. Same is the belief of Talmudists; believer of Talmud that is Jew, about them. They think them to be the superior and it's their right to rule. One can only be Brahmin or Talmud by birth only and no one can enter into their religion. This is the remarkable similarity.⁹⁵ Hindus are the believer of Ramyana, their religious epic and Jews follow Turah their religious book.

Beside these religious similarities Indian leaders had close ties with Jews before the independence of India and birth of Israel. In this respect the two eminent Indian leaders, Nehru

⁹⁵ Ghani Jafar, "Soul Mates Come Together," *Regional Studies*, Spring, Vol.XX, No.2 (2002): 15

and Gandhi. They both had sympathetic feelings for Jews and they considered them as stateless and offered them their own homeland to live in.⁹⁶

As far as the geographical conditions are concerned, these lands are always been conquered by the foreigners who claimed the land to be theirs. The reason of fascination for conquerors was spices and holy sites in India and Israel respectively. The conquerors arrived from the different parts of the world in histories of both these countries. Both the states were under British rule before they got independence. Both India and Israel had freedom fighters which were divided into two groups and had political rivalry among them. After independence, when management of both the countries were received by the freedom fighters they then tried to suppress the other group. When World War II ended, India and Israel were established and democratic system was adopted by them. At the time of independence, people were leaving and arriving in these countries like Muslims from India left it and came to Pakistan while Sikhs and Hindus arrived in India. In case of Israel, Jews from all over the world arrived in Israel and Muslims left Israel. Besides that both the states had wars with their neighbors like India with Pakistan and China and Israel fought wars with its neighbors i.e. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan due to the border disputes which are not yet clear. When India got independence, Pakistan had flanked on both its sides and in Israel's case Palestinian entity has flanked on its both sides. India and Israel considered them as insecure due to presence of Muslim states in their respective regions.⁹⁷

In case of Indo-Israel relations, the stance of Indian government was quite different from Opposition. The Indian government denied the UN resolutions which favored Israel. Large number of community in India did not support the government step and protested against India and passed the resolution against this act of government, the resolution states that the steps

⁹⁶*Op.cit.*, 4

⁹⁷Ghani Jafar, "Soul Mates Come Together," *Regional Studies*, Spring, Vol.XX, No.2 (2002): 35.

should be immediately be taken for recognition of Israel and building up intimate relationships with the people of state.⁹⁸

Likewise many Newspapers also condemned the attitude of Indian government towards Israel. The Nation of Calcutta insisted that India should unhesitatingly recognize Israel as Communist government in China has been recognized by India.⁹⁹ In fact, a faction in India wanted to make relations with Israel on the basis of reciprocity. Arabs always had a neutral stance on Kashmir issue and there was dissatisfaction among the Indian people about the Pro-government Middle Eastern policy. They were of the opinion that India could get more by developing ties with Israel instead of Arabs.

In the 1971 Indo-Pak war Arab attitude was flagrant, same in the case of Oil crises in 1970's in which India was major sufferer but Arab attitude was not up to mark, beside that, India always had a pro-Arab stance towards Arab-Israel wars.

In fact, leading journalists, scholars and politicians had marked sympathy for Jews. According to Micheal Brecher:

Leading organs of the Indian press openly calls for exchange of envoys with Israel. So the leading politicians.¹⁰⁰

Nirad C. Choudhary, after visiting Israel in April 1967, was profoundly impressed and full of admiration for the people of Israel and their achievements.¹⁰¹

Along with Leadership, Press, Hindu extremist, the Israeli consulate played an important role in winning sympathies of Indians. Israeli consulate in Bombay successfully acquired the base of

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, "The Indo-Israeli Nexus," *Regional Studies*, Vol.XII, No.3, Summer (1994): 17.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

operations for quite efforts to reach key political personalities and opinion leaders. In this way they were able to create pro-Israeli lobby in India.¹⁰²

Beside these all, another important factor is the presence of Jews in India which enhanced the relations. They had historical links with India as they came here centuries ago. Historians claim that the first Jews arrived in India in 973 B.C. there were three major Jewish communities in India, i.e. the Cochin Jews, the Beni Jews and the Arab speaking Jews.¹⁰³

After the return home policy many Jews wished to go their homelands and many were called by Israeli government but still more than 5000 Jews are living in India working actively in different fields.¹⁰⁴

Israel, since its birth tried to establish relations with India on the basis of these similarities but these commonalities did not pave the way for both states to start diplomatic relations with their independence. India overlooked Israel in order to take gain from pro-Arab policy but due to above discussed factors India gave de jure recognition to Israel in 1950 and diplomatic relations were started with Israel in 1992.

2.VII India and Israel from 1950-2001

Establishment of diplomatic relations in 1992 between the two states paved the way for more Collaboration among each other. The relations between the two did not develop before nineties due to several reasons. The first reason being India's strong relation with the Soviet Union and same was in Israel's case that was more prone towards United States.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

Secondly Palestinian cause supported by India. India proposed the Federal Palestine having autonomous status over the Jewish population. India is considered as a trustworthy by both parties. Before establishing diplomatic relations Israeli Consulate in Mumbai was operational since 1953. With the establishment of diplomatic relations, Israeli embassy was opened in New Delhi and the Consulate which was set since 1953 was transformed into Consulate-General. Besides that in Kolkata an honorary Consulate was set up.

Arrival of (BJP) Bharatiya Janata Party by defeating Indian National Congress, escalation of military with Pakistan, Kashmiri insurrection in 1989 and the mutual concerns regarding the Islamic fundamentalism in the sub continent and Middle East led to the change in the political structure. In the new political framework the relationship between the two states increased. Israel was considered as strong ally of United States by BJP and it was of the view that by developing close ties with Israel India could establish strong relations with US as well.

The progress has been made on both sides since the diplomatic relations has been established. Israel is always appreciating India that Jews were never been persecuted and India is becoming central to Israel's policy in all spheres.

Due to religious similarities between Hinduism and Judaism, both Hindus and Jews had inclinations towards one another which led to the establishment of cultural ties between the two since their emergence as an independent state. In this regard an Indian dancer and her troupe were invited by Israel for performance. She performed in front of the then Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion. Beside that in 1968 for international understanding an Israeli violinist was awarded

with Jawahar Lal Nehru Award.¹⁰⁵ Likewise Israeli Consulate in Bombay was involved in different Cultural activities including literary, debates, lectures, exhibitions and symposia etc.¹⁰⁶

Israeli Ex-prime Minister, Mr. Shimon Peres, during his visit to India stressed greatly on the significance of cultural ties between the two states. He said that founder of Israel, Ben Gurion, was highly impressed by Indian leader Mahatama Gandhi and for other Indian leaders.¹⁰⁷

Along with their cultural exchange the visits of Indian as well as Israeli tourists to both states played key role in bringing them together, though India initially did not encouraged the tourism but it had been there between two states. On the other hand, Israel was keen to enhance tourist activities between the two states in order to re-establish historical links between the two states.¹⁰⁸

Before establishing diplomatic relations India and Israel had military and Intelligence contacts. Entirely on the basis of deductive analysis instead of getting access to the classified documents it became clear that in the start of 1970's, the realization at part of India became strong in which the realization was about its West Asian policies in which India excluded Israel and considered that policy to be wrong.

In 1971 Indo-Pak war, India sought help from Israel in getting devastating weapons. Israel's covert aid to India and Mossad's relations with the preferred countries were meant as a diplomatic service and Israel preferred these relations should not be disclosed. Mossad helped the other nations in military, medicine, agriculture and different spheres in such a way that Arab world could not boycott those states economically or politically. It is considered that the cooperation among intelligence agencies of two states commenced at the same time but Indian government did not want to disclose that secret relation with Israel to its nation. On the basis of

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 22

common interest secret cooperation initiated by exchanging information. Pakistan is considered as common potential enemy which is helping the Arab States in the Middle East. Before giving the diplomatic recognition to Israel the covert relation started with Israel in 1970's. It could be said that the covert relationship of India with Israeli military and intelligence agency should have developed till 1992.¹⁰⁹

The following instances of such cooperation are noteworthy:

- General David Shaltiel, Israeli chief of staff had a visit to India soon after the end of India China war in 1963.
- India sought help from Israel in order to improve the protection of its important people after the assassination of Prime Minister Indra Gandhi in 1984. Special security system was devised at the time of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.
- Israeli equipments were used to fit the Indian intelligence agency (RAW) aircrafts which were Boeing 707.
- Since the early 1980s, it was believed that the Indian military and intelligence officers were getting anti-terrorist training from Israel.
- India and Israel were busy in planning to destroy the Pakistan's nuclear facility and to sign military agreements in 1980's.

Due to the political restrictions and security issues the privacy was maintained about the contacts. It is considered that the diplomatic relations between the two states were established by realizing the importance of military cooperation.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Subhash Kapila, "India-Israel Relations: The Imperatives for Enhanced Strategic Cooperation," *South Asia Analysis Group* (2001).

<http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/papers2/paper131.html>

¹¹⁰ Dinesh Kumar, "India and Israel: Dawn of a New Era," *Western Defence Organisation Bulletins* (August 6, 2000)

Cooperation in military and intelligence areas have been increased since diplomatic relations are established. At the time of Cold War both the states were rivals but with the fall of USSR they moved towards strategic alliance.

In the Kargil war between India and Pakistan, Israel supported India by providing military assistance in order to wash out Pakistan. The Israel's support to India led them towards the defense partnership. Ezer Weizman was first Jewish President that visited India in 1997 and weapon deal between the two states was negotiated. In 1996, \$10 million contract was signed by India to purchase two Super Dvora MK-II patrol ships. Israel also offered the maritime surveillance radar which has the capability to follow 100 targets at a time and can detect up to 30 nautical miles.¹¹¹

The defense officials of India agreed that Green pine long range radar system has acquired from Israel. India is also trying to purchase the other defense equipments including airborne early warning and control Phalcon system which was dealt between India and Israel but the deal was held back due to the imposition of sanctions which were imposed by United States in order to punish India for conducting nuclear tests in 1998.¹¹²

It is in the interest of Israel to get domination over the waters of South Asia and it could be achieved by having an alliance with Indian Navy. Israel is interested in establishing a logistical infrastructure in Indian Ocean as well. Presence of Arabs and Europeans in the Mediterranean shores is unsympathetic to Israel in different ways. In 2000, in Indian Ocean at Sri Lankan coast a test was conducted by Israeli submarines to launch cruise missile which was capable of carrying nuclear warheads. In order to counter Pakistan purchase of sea skimming anti ship

<http://pakistanthinktank.org/v2/article-archives/233-india-and-israel-dawn-of-a-new-era>.

¹¹¹ www.Wikipedia.com,

source: http://www.search.com/reference/India-Israel_relations

¹¹² *Ibid.*

missile from United States India considered the purchase of Barak-1 missiles from Israel strategically necessary.¹¹³

With reference to the Indian Air Force there are large contracts with the Aircraft Industries of Israel which includes Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, Electronic Support measure sensors etc.¹¹⁴

Beside the defense relations the political aspect also paved way in getting more closer. High level exchange includes President of Israel in 1997, Israeli foreign Minister in 1993, Indian foreign minister went to Israel in 2000 and Indian home minister went to Israel in 2000. In all the visits it was discussed that area of cooperation between the two states would be from counter terrorism to information technology.¹¹⁵ The celebrations were held in Israel at the fiftieth year of Indian independence.

The economic cooperation started with the start of diplomatic ties by India in 1992. India wanted to promote its trade with US and EU by using Israel as a platform with which Israel has free trade agreements and Indian's areas of interest with Israel are agriculture and technology transfer in various areas. In case of Israel India is a huge market for its arms sale and it is a link to the Far East as well. By viewing their interest, both the states have established joint projects in different areas of concern. Both India and Israel agreed to the status of most favored nation to one another. The trade volume is enhancing among the two with the time span. As it were \$202 millions with the start of diplomatic relations in 1992 and grew to more than \$1 billion dollars in the year 2000. It shows that it will diversify in the future.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Dinesh Kumar, "India and Israel: Dawn of a New Era," *Western Defence Organisation Bulletins* (August 6, 2000)

<http://pakistanthinktank.org/v2/article-archives/233-india-and-israel-dawn-of-a-new-era>.

Diamonds, plastic products etc are exported to Israel due to which India became the major trade partner of Israel. On the other hand, Israeli exports includes machinery, chemical products etc.¹¹⁷

Diamonds have dominated the trade between the two states. Analysts are of the opinion there are other areas which could be explored and they have the potential of growth as well. For mutual cooperation and growth in trade real Estate, financial services and infrastructure are considered as critical areas.¹¹⁸

Investment has been done by different firms of India in various sectors that include tyre manufacturing, pharmaceuticals etc and there are different areas like agro industry, bio technology, horticulture etc where India can invest and earn a large amount through investment. India and Israel can collaborate in the areas of business by adopting modern manufacturing practices in order to drive their business. On the other hand trade alliances could be forged among the two states in order to establish Research and development facilities. In 1993, joint Indo-Israel Council was formed, agreement was signed for the cooperation of Space and Technology (S&T) and in genomics. In order to benefit the SMEs of both states industrial research and development was initiated. The government of both the states is taking steps to promote the bilateral trade and in Israel there are opportunities for Indian SMEs growth.¹¹⁹

By viewing the prospects, it is expected that the economic cooperation between the two states will raise the bilateral trade of two states in the upcoming years.

¹¹⁷David Parks, "Indian SMEs Look to Tap Into Israel's Economy," *Articlesbase*,
articlesbase.<http://www.articlesbase.com/international-business-articles/indian-smes-look-to-tap-into-israels-economy-912202.html>

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Finally, it is concluded that, disintegration of USSR and Shift in balance of power situation with end of Cold War, an opportunity was found by both the states to develop the relations. In this regard, different factors were important which includes:

- The political and ideological relevance of Non- Aligned Movement was eroded with the end of the Cold.
- The India's dependence on oil from Arab states was to some extent reduced with the depression in oil prices in the early 1990s.
- The role of Organization of the Islamic Countries in favoring Pakistan Resolution on Kashmir encouraged the Indian leadership to reconsider its policy towards Israel.
- With the end of Peace Conference in Madrid in October 1991, Palestinian Liberation Organization negotiated peace with Israel which paved the way for India as well.
- The rise of terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism in the early 1990's worsened the region's security environment and India considered Israel as common cause in this perspective.
- Public opinion in India played an important role in changing its attitude towards Israel after the Gulf War.

The aforementioned discussion shows that India and Israel have vast areas of concern and the normalization of relations initiated with the inception of diplomatic relations in 1992 and the bilateral relations are enhancing more and both the states are getting more closer with the time span due to similarity of interests.

Chapter 3: AREAS OF COOPERATION SINCE 2001

3.1 Introduction

It has been more than a decade when India established open diplomatic ties with Israel. The incident of 9/11 gave an opportunity to India in order to gain from West with the change in its foreign policy. India got the chance to get closer to US at the cost of Russia with the grant of US as its strategic partner. Exceptional relations have always been existed between Israel and United States. The relation between the two led India to be their natural ally. Significant progress has been taking place between India and Israel at diplomatic level since 9/11.

Both states have been cooperating in each and every sphere of public policy. Shared interests and common attributes have brought them closer to one another. Their level of cooperation has enhanced manifolds since 2001. Mutual visits of high officials, trade agreements, defense pacts and cultural exchange have become essential for both states. With the start of twenty first century and most specifically 9/11 brought many changes in Indo-Israel relationship. The incident of 9/11 changed the world politics; changes in the domestic level and international system reduced the hindrances which were significant in keeping both states apart till Cold War ended. The incident was favorable for both the states in a way that it created conditions for both the states to cooperate in every area of public policy. Both states started backing each other on many issues at international forums. They have common stance on the idea of democracy, equality, nuclear issues and terrorism etc. the political ties between two states are getting closer day by day.

With the start of diplomatic relations in 1992, economy was significant factor but since 2001 it has enhanced manifold. Economic factor is the top most priority of both the states. With the end of cold war, significance of economy enhanced. States with the deteriorated economies started

focusing on their economic condition and brought transformation in their prevailing economic system. All the states which had socialist economic system were dependant on Soviet Union. With the disintegration of Soviet Union they had to revise their economic policy in order to avoid the emerging challenges.

India having mixed economy did not have close economic ties with Capitalist states. Due to its shattered economy it felt dire need to bring change in its economic system, after losing Soviet Union as an important ally. Afterwards it brought remarkable changes and adopted open market system, this step pushed India towards Capitalist block being headed by US. Israel, a close ally of US, found a remarkable opportunity of getting closer to the leading states of South Asia, with huge economic market. Since 2001 both states have signed number of agreements to strengthen their relationship. In this regard both are cooperating in various fields including agriculture, science and technology. Hence the economic factor has pushed both the states to be closer to each other.

Defense has always been a major concern for all the states. As far as Indian stance regarding security is concerned, they are geographically surrounded by hostile neighbors i.e. Pakistan and China. India considered it to be an opportunity to get assistance from Israel in terms of conventional and non-conventional needs. Since 2001 India has acquired huge military assistance from Israel. Beside this both the states are coordinating in field of Intelligence services. Terrorism is considered to be an area of concern for both the states; both consider them as the victims of terrorism, condemn terrorism and are participating in War against terrorism. An important role has been played by war against terrorism in bringing them closer and making them close allies.

Cultural ties can be considered as vital integrating force for the two states. After normalizing the relations both have emphasized on the importance of cultural relationship in getting closer. Both have tried to exhort the exchange of students, scholars, artists and other sources to enhance cultural ties between the two states.

Cooperation in political, economic, strategic and cultural spheres have played superb role in making India and Israel close friends and in strengthening their ties. In order to understand the cooperation which has been shared by India and Israel it is necessary to have detailed analysis of the political, economic, strategic and cultural relationships between the two since 2001- 2010.

3.II Political Cooperation

All the states try to have strong position in the political scenario. States establish relations with one another in order to strengthen their place in world politics. In shaping the foreign policy Political objectives of a state play an important role .On one hand states move forward to achieve political objectives yet on the other hand they restrain themselves from developing close ties with some states due to their perceived political interest.

In case of India and Israel political relations India had always been willing to develop close ties with Arab states inspite of Israel due to its political, economic and strategic needs. Change in the international system occurred with the emergence of Capitalist system which was the product of the Cold war; the importance of Capitalist states increased manifolds including Israel. By analyzing the Indo-Israel nexus, it is considered that their bilateral strategic and economic ties to be the strongest points of their relations, on the other hand political cooperation is also significant which could not be overlooked . As it was the initiative for establishing ties in various spheres.

Indo-Israeli relations have come a long way , seeing the exchange of high official visits between India and Israel , since 2001, has brought a marked difference in their bilateral relations therefore it seems essential to put some light on some of the bilateral visits.

The strength of relations between India and Israel could be judged from the mutual visits to one another state. The visitors from Israel were foreign ministers (FM), Minister of Science and technology (S&T), defense, trade and education. Likewise those from India included; India's defense secretary visited Israel in 2001, In January 2001, India's minister of information technology visited Israel, in 2004, secretary defense government of India visited Israel. In February 2005, Indian commerce secretary visited Israel, in May 2005 Indian science and technology Minister, Kapil Sibal visited Israel. In November 2005, India's minister of agriculture, Sharad Pawar visited Israel. In October 2006, Vasundhara Raje, chief Minister of Rajasthan visited Israel. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. Shivraj Singh Chouhan visited Israel in 2007.¹²⁰

Beside the above mentioned visits in the present decade, few remarkable visits of high officials of both India and Israel are of more importance. In this context, the visit of Israeli former Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon in September 2003 is unparalleled. Similarly the visits of various former ministers during their ruling time in mid 2004 can be considered as most significant.

One of the significant visits was paid by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon with the various Ministers. During his visit different agreements were signed in the areas of environment, culture, health, education etc. a statement on cooperation and friendship between the two states was

¹²⁰“Bilateral Relations,” *Israel Diplomatic Network*,
<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/web/main/Document.asp?SubjectID=2010&MissionID=93&LanguageID=0&StatusID=3&DocumentID=-1>

issued by New Delhi.¹²¹ Both states have tried their best to utilize these visits by discussing all the sensitive issues of the time with one another. The exchange of visits has proved to be beneficial for both states.

As far as the political cooperation among two states is concerned they are not restricted to the visits of high officials rather it includes their stance on the view points of one another at international forum. In this regard Israel has been more open than India but India being scared of losing support of Muslim world never extended its support to Israel in case of Palestine issue but it has offered its services to get the issue resolved peacefully. In this way both are sharing positive links with one another in terms of their bilateral political ties.

3.III Economic Cooperation

Economy has played vital role in shaping Indo-Israel ties. Capitalist system was introduced in India with the Demise of USSR, India moved towards the states having identical economic system. Israel was found to be a better option for the acquisition of economic objectives. Thus India and Israel became close allies in 1992. Ever since diplomatic relations were established between India and Israel, their bilateral ties have witnessed an upward movement. Doors for economic cooperation with all states were opened by India.

To emerge as strong industrialized and technologically advanced state both India and Israel have strengthened ties in economic and technological field. India became Second Asian partner of Israel in trade of non military areas.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

In the post normalization period for the exploration of economic ties bilateral visits were done by the members of both states. Prominent visits were done by Ministers of Israel and chief ministers of Indian various states did high level visits as well.¹²²

The trade between India and Israel was US\$200 million initially and reported as US\$4010.1 in the year 2008 which shows that the Economic relations progressed rapidly since 1992 when diplomatic relations were established. The bilateral trade between the two states decreased by 25.61 % and stood at US \$ 2983.10 million in 2009 comparatively to the trade figures of 2008 due to the world economic crises.¹²³

In the Israeli's trade partner states India stood at the tenth place and became third partner from the Asian states. For Israeli government India remained focused country in order to increase trade. With the time span the exports of India's to Israel increased except diamonds, in the year 2009 diamond constituted 41% of the bilateral trade. In the year 2009 Indian exports included stones, chemical products, metals, textiles and plastic products etc. Diamonds still constituted 41.9% of the bilateral trade in the year 2009. Major exports from India to Israel during the year 2009 were precious stones and metals, chemical products, textile and textile articles, plants and vegetable products and the products of plastic.¹²⁴

From April 2000 to November 2009 the foreign direct investment by Israel was US \$ 23.94 million on the basis of which Israel is ranked as 44th number by the Indian government released figures. The foreign direct investment from Israel may not be accurately showed as many of

¹²² Krishan Gopal and Sarbjit Sherma, *India and Israel: Towards Strategic Partnership* (Delhi: Authors press, 2007),325

¹²³“India and Israel Bilateral Trade,” *Embassy of India, Tel Aviv*,
<http://www.indembassy.co.il/Bilateral%20Trade%20Relations.htm>

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

Israeli companies invest through United States or Europe. Besides that, Israeli companies are interested in different areas like nano technology, financial services etc.¹²⁵

When diplomatic relations were established different agreements were signed between the two states. These include:

- Agreement for Promotion and Protection of Investments was signed in January 1996
- Agreement was signed in January 1996 in order to avoid double taxation and to prevent fiscal evasion.
- The bilateral cooperation was agreed in the area of Custom matters (1996)
- An agreement was signed in 2002 which was relevant to the outer space that it would be used peacefully.
- In 2003 an agreement was signed which had an aim to protect the environment.
- MOU was signed in 2005 in order to initiate the fund in order to conduct research on India and Israel it's also known as Research and Development Fund Initiative.
- In 2006 work plan was agreed in the field of Agriculture (2006)¹²⁶

On March 30, 2009 Shavit program was introduced by the Israeli Export and International Cooperation Institute. The purpose of this program is to focus the three major fastest economies of world that includes China, India and Brazil. While focusing India the major areas would be telecom, information technology and homeland security. Many companies are registered under this program. It is under consideration that agriculture and water management should be included in the program as well.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

Joint ventures have brought positive signs in the economic relations of India and Israel. In 2008, in the real estate projects \$1 billion investment was announced which planned to build residential and business space in various cities. Besides that another free trade agreement is in progress that would allow Indian industries to get access to Israel's technology sector and with the help of this agreement Indian domestic markets would be accessed by Israel. It is assumed that the trade between the two states would be exceeded in the next five years. The areas that are under focus include water, agriculture technology, homeland security, software etc.¹²⁸

Another factor which played an important role is bilateral official visits, to enhance strong economic ties. These visits include the Prime ministerial visit by Ariel Sharon in September 2003 escorted by business delegations. Israeli minister of foreign affairs came to India in February 2004, In case of the visits by Indian ministers, the commerce and industry minister visited Israel in 2004 to participate in third meeting of Joint Economic Committee.

A letter of intent was signed by the Israeli vice Premier for the mutual research and development of industry. Besides that, the trade and industry minister of Israel also visited India in December 2009. He was of the view that Israel will open trade centre in Mumbai which will enable Israeli companies to enter Indian markets on the bases of business.¹²⁹

In November 2005 a visit was done by Indian commerce Minister to Israel, in that visit a group was formulated so that joint study could be conducted for increasing the trade among two states. group was formed in order to increase the bilateral trade between the two states. With the help

¹²⁸“ Top Israeli Firms Enters India's Realty Market,” *Sify Finance*,
<http://sify.com/.../top-israeli-firms-enter-india-s-realty-market-news-news-jegmDqheagc.html> -

¹²⁹ “India-Israel Bilateral Trade and Economic Relations,” *Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor*,
www.moital.gov.il/.../4B0C4DCC-EDC0-45EB-AC60-E449C9EA26FA.htm

of such agreement the prospects of economic relations of both states could be recognized in a broad way.¹³⁰

In December 2006, an official visit was paid by the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel and trade minister including the business delegation. Both the states negotiated the Preferential Trade Agreement that would lead to Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA).¹³¹

In August 2007 a delegation was led to Israel by Indian Union Minister of Industry, it was emphasized that both the states should enhance the economic cooperation by fully utilizing their potentials. Besides that, a proposal was put forward by Israel to boost the growing economic ties with India by using Free Trade Agreement (FTA).¹³²

Free Trade Agreement was discussed by the Indian Commerce Minister, at his visit to Israel in February 2010.¹³³

India and Israel has a bilateral trade in major sectors which includes diamond, agriculture, pharmaceuticals, real estate, information technology, telecommunications, chemicals and agro-chemical industry and semi conductors.

In 2008 the trade between the two states was \$4billion and it is expected that it will rise in the near future. With reference to the one-to-one Free Trade agreement Israel is considered to be the first state with which India would have this kind of agreement. It is expected that the trade

¹³⁰“Bilateral Relations,” *Israel Diplomatic Network*,
<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/web/.../document.asp?...93>

¹³¹ “India-Israel: 15 Years of Diplomatic Ties”, *Diplomatist*,
www.diplomatist.com/pdf/israel.pdf -

¹³²“What’s New in Indo-Israel Relations,” *Shalom Namaste*,
<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/Data/126617.doc>

¹³³“India Newsletter,” *Embassy of India*,
www.indembassy.co.il/Additional%20files/.../Newsletter-2010-Mar.pdf

volume would get treble in the post free trade agreement scenario. In the year 1992 the trade between the two states was \$150-160 million.¹³⁴

The bilateral trade figure for April 2010 is as under:

- The two way trade between India and Israel increased by 66.41% in April 2010, from US\$ 206.3 million in April 2009 to US\$ 343.3 million in April 2010.
- There is an increase in Indian exports to Israel that is 99.45% from US\$ 73.3 million in April 2009 to US\$ 146.2 million in April 2010. Exports of India increased Indian by 77.96% from US\$ 35.4 million in April 2009 to US\$ 63.0 million in April 2010.
- The exports of Israel to India increased by 48.19% from US\$ 133.0 million in April 2009 to US\$ 197.1 million in April 2010.
- The trade of diamonds increased between the two states that are from US\$ 86.0 million in April 2009 to US\$ 173.1 million in April 2010. Indian export of diamond increased by 119.52% and the Israel export of diamonds increased by 86%.
- The two way global trade of Israel increased by 40.9% from US\$ 6,283.7 million in April 2009 to US\$ 8,859.3 million in April 2010. The share of India in the Israel's two way global trade increased from 3.28% in April 2009 to 3.87% in April 2010.
- The Indian share in Israel's global export increased to 3.20% which was 2.23%.
- The Indian share in Israel's global import increased to 1.58% which was 1.19%.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ "Business News", *EEPC India*,
<http://www.eepcindia.org/news-detail.asp?docid=12993>

¹³⁵ "India Economic and Business News," *Commercial Wing of Indian Embassy in Israel*,
www.indembassy.co.il/Additional%20files/.../April%202010.doc

Besides that, while studying Indo-Israel economic collaboration Major Bilateral economic and commercial developments are taking place which are as follow:

According to Matimop's Managing Director, Mr. Michel Hivert (Matimop is the Israeli Center for R&D) during 2010, the Israeli Ministry of Industry, Trade & Labor intends to foster collaboration in research and development between Israeli companies and their peers in India and China. The idea is to encourage collaboration between Israeli startups and foreign companies. In 2009, the number of Israeli startups seeking Matimop's support for R&D collaboration with foreign companies rose to 108, from 88 the year before. Altogether the companies received NIS 72 million (US\$ 19 million) in 2009, double the figures from the previous year.

On the other hand, Israeli Minister of Transportation, Mr. Israel Katz, has approved the participation of the Israeli Ports Development and Assets Company to bid in a US\$ 600 million international tender for the establishment of a new port in Gujarat. The Israeli company is planning to forge a consortium with an Indian firm.¹³⁶

Both states have got remarkable benefit through the bilateral trade, commerce and joint ventures. Israel has got a chance to enter in to the market of south Asia due to the regional dominance of India. Besides that, India has got chance to enter into the markets of US and Europe with whom Israel has already signed free trade agreements. Hence it can be assumed that besides getting the economic benefits both states have been able to find many other economic markets by getting closer to each other. Beside all the major areas in which the cooperation between India and Israel has been worth mentioning, are agriculture and Science and technology, therefore these areas would be analyzed briefly.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

3.III (a) Agriculture

India and Israel has developed close coordination in the field of agriculture. Both states have signed number of agreements in agriculture field. In 2003 Prime Minister visited India in 2003 and signed the first agreement on agriculture between the two states. Purpose of agreement was to increase the growth of agriculture by using state of the art technology. Since then, number of projects has been signed in various areas of agriculture.¹³⁷

India and Israel cooperated a lot in agriculture. High level exchanges took place in this field. In 2008 two visits were done by Minister of agriculture and rural development and agriculture and cooperation secretary. In 2010 another visit was done by agriculture and cooperation secretary. The action plan for the cooperation in field of agriculture was agreed in 2008.¹³⁸

Besides that some leading companies of India visited Israel for the sake of getting help in irrigation and agriculture etc from Israeli companies. On 10th May 2006, the project was signed among the two states based on the agricultural cooperation. The cooperation would be done in various areas relevant to agriculture under the Israel ministry of foreign Affairs and agricultural development ministry.¹³⁹

A work plan for three years was signed by India and Israel on 11 May 2006 based on agriculture cooperation. It's considered to be the remarkable in promoting practical cooperation.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Amber Jameel Kalyal, "Changing Nature of Indo-Israeli Relations," http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2000_files/no_4/article/1a.htm

¹³⁸ "India-Israel Bilateral Economic and Trade Relations," *Embassy of India*, www.indembassy.co.il/Bilateral%20Trade%20Relations.htm

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Weekly Economic Bulletin*, Issue no 160, 8-14 May, 2006 www.indiainbusiness.nic.in/business-news/.../May8th-May14th.pdf

In 2009, International exhibition on agriculture took place in Israel. Different Indian delegations including agriculture ministry, federation of chamber of commerce industry and Indian merchant chamber including fifteen, seventeen and eleven members visited the exhibition.

In November 2009 a high level Indian delegation visited Israel's exhibition which was based on expertise in water technology.¹⁴¹

An important agreement between two states is the achievement of Israeli irrigation system up to 50% by India.¹⁴² Beside this, other Israeli companies are also highly active in the Indian agriculture sector.

In addition, in order to cultivate Olive plants both states are cooperating. It's being done near Jaipur. Moreover, in order to enhance the quality of agricultural products it was agreed by both states that centre of excellence would be established in different states of India.¹⁴³

Other project includes the Israeli initiative to enhance the productivity of crop in north eastern states of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. Besides that, a course was conducted by Israeli expert with help of Indian Water technology centre. The course was designed to enhance the agricultural cooperation and on the usage of latest technology related to the irrigation system.¹⁴⁴

In January, 2010 the meeting was held between the Israel minister of industry and Israel's agriculture minister, the agriculture minister was appreciated for playing an effective role in strengthening Indian agriculture and of playing important role in enhancing bilateral cooperation among two states.

¹⁴¹ *Jewish Voice*, Volume. 9, Issue. 13, 10 April, 2009
<http://jewishvoiceny.com/archives/20090410-JewishVoice.pdf>

¹⁴² "India-Israel Bilateral Economic and Trade Relations," *Embassy of India*,
www.indembassy.co.il/Bilateral%20Trade%20Relations.htm

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Dr.Fatima Shahnaz, "What Lies Beneath: Indo-Israel Relations,"
<http://www.radianceweekly.com/.../What-Lies-Beneath-Indo-Israeli-Relations.html> - United States -

Bilateral cooperation in agriculture was reviewed by India and Israel and it was analyzed that there was a lot space for more development specifically waste water could be used again and become effective in the Indian agriculture. Cooperation would be done by two states in order to achieve the objective.¹⁴⁵

India is interested in getting the developed technologies in Israel in order to give a boost to its agricultural field. Fifty joint ventures in agricultural field were initiated by Israel in India that includes greenhouse, irrigation and water management etc at the establishment of diplomatic relations.¹⁴⁶

It could be summed up that India is at more advantageous position by having agricultural ties with Israel.

3. III (b) Transfer of Technology

The states with the advanced technology are leading the world today. Acquisition of technology has become the basic need of many states, so that the new challenges emerged in the world could be countered easily. States try to establish relations with other states on the basis of technological needs. Hence acquiring technology has become the top most priority of the states.

Mutual transfer of technology has played an important role in bringing India and Israel closer. Both states share a give and take relation in this regard. Israel has an advanced technology in terms of weapon system while India has attained a prestigious position in terms of information technology as well as scientific technology. India and Israel has signed number of bilateral

¹⁴⁵ "India-Israel discussed Bilateral Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture," *Sarkaritel*, http://www.sarkaritel.com/news_and_features/january2010/12india_israel_discuss_bilateral_cop.htm
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INDIAEXTN/Resources/2955831268190137195/India_Economic_Update_June_23_2010.pdf

¹⁴⁶ Krishan Gopal and Sarbjit Sherma, *India and Israel: Towards Strategic Partnership* (Delhi: Authors press, 2007),318

agreements regarding the transfer of technology. On the basis of these agreements they have initiated many joint projects for getting advancement in science and technology.

In May 1993, the first bilateral Science and Technology Cooperation agreement was signed during the Israel's Foreign minister Visit to India. In order to promote development in field of Science and Technology, meetings of joint committee of Scientists are being held regularly. All the meetings, accords and joint projects have strengthened the bilateral relation of India and Israel.

In January 2002, A MOU was signed in order to cooperate and conduct research in the information technology and electronic sector. For Israel, India has become a best place to invest in the telecom sector as the largest Israeli companies have been successful in this sector.¹⁴⁷

An MOU on Industrial Research and Development Initiative (IRDI) between India and Israel was signed in May 2005 with an aim to promote research and development activities with regard to Industry. It had an aim of promoting mutual projects. Within the context of this development and research in the industrial area a framework is created in order to create the funding mechanism. By this way Industry may get the help to conduct the research and development projects bilaterally. This framework is mutually implemented by Global Innovation and Technology Alliance (GITA), which is an initiative department related to Science and Technology. This department is comprised of different Indian and Israel's Research and development centres based on Science and technology. It has already financed few projects. It

¹⁴⁷ "International: India-Israel Economic and Commercial Relations,"
<http://www.ficci.com/ficci/international/countries/israel/israel-commercial-relations.htm>

aimed to conduct research and development on space, management of water, nanotechnology and non-conventional sources of energy specifically solar energy etc.¹⁴⁸

In 2008, a plan for three years was finalized by the both states to introduce the crops like olive, dates and grapes in the Rajasthan and Maharashtra states of India, by this way an agricultural market would be created that would be able to fulfill the western demands like olive oil.¹⁴⁹

Israeli delegation based on thirteen members visited India in July 2009 with an aim to cooperate and explore further in information technology sector. This was done under Shavit program.¹⁵⁰

India is among the fastest growing telecom market in the world. According to Indian telecom regulatory authority, the users of telephone increased to 543.20 million, which is a huge opportunity for Israeli's companies to invest, as many of the companies are already operational in India. A 19-member delegation composed leading Israeli Telecom companies visited India from September 7-11, 2009, in order to explore possible corporation between Israeli and Indian Telecom companies. This delegation was also organized under "Shavit" program.¹⁵¹

In March 2010, it was decided by both the states that research which is under process would be expanded in the field of computer science and renewable energy sources. The US\$1 million fund is set up for research in these fields.¹⁵²

Both states are also collaborating in terms of space technology. Hence, in October 2002, an agreement was signed among two states for the peaceful usage of outer space.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ "India-Israel Bilateral Economic and Trade relations," *Embassy of India*, <http://www.indembassy.co.il/Bilateral%20Trade%20Relations.htm>

¹⁴⁹ "Indo-Israel Relations," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indo-Israeli_relations#Science_and_technology

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² "India and Israel for Scientific Cooperation," *Deccan Chronicle*, www.deccanchronicle.com/.../india-and-israel-scientific-cooperation-366

¹⁵³ "International: India-Israel Economic and Commercial Relations," <http://www.ficci.com/ficci/international/countries/israel/israel-commercial-relations.htm>

The cooperation at the two ends is significant in area of launching satellites. In this regard, in order to launch satellite India was chosen by Israel. In 2008, India launched the latest Israeli TecSAR; a spy satellite. The PSLV launch vehicle was used to launch the satellite instead of Shavit rocket which was Israel's homegrown but it was immature and had other drawbacks comparatively to Indian PSLV.¹⁵⁴

In 2009 another satellite called as RISAT-2 was launched by India. The technology used in RISAT-2 was same as used in Israel's TecSAR. RISAT-2 is capable of taking images of high resolution and can conduct the exploratory operations even through the dense clouds. This satellite was built with the help of Israel but currently India is working to develop its original RISAT -2 version which would be more capable.¹⁵⁵

It could be summed up that economy has played an important role in giving a new direction to Indo-Israel relations. Both states have been collaborating in order to boost their economies through trade links, transfer of technology and agricultural ties. On the basis of economic cooperation both states are tied in an unbreakable bond. Due to economic cooperation the relation of both states have reached a point where it cannot be affected by minor constraints.

3.IV Strategic Cooperation

Strategic interests are motivating force of growing Indo-Israel relations. Both the states are cooperating in all spheres of public policy among them the strategic cooperation is most promising between the two states. Their mutual defense and security ties have been strengthening rapidly. Yet they have been trying to pursue the secretive ways while enhancing

¹⁵⁴“Indo-Israel Relations”, *Wikipedia*,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indo-Israeli_relations#Science_and_technology

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

their bilateral relationship in aforementioned areas. The important reason of adopting secretive path regarding security ties is the level of sensitivity associated with the State's defense and security.

Mutual assistance in the field of nuclear technology is concerned both the states are conscious about the external pressure of the world. In case of India the presence of huge Muslim population is being considered as an obstacle in way of growing strategic partnership between India and Israel. Beside this reason another reason of Indian secrecy is fear of losing the resourceful Muslim countries of Middle East. Due to these reasons India and Israel are trying to keep their defense relations secretive.

India and Israel shared common strategic interest and goals. Their relation took turn in 1992 due to their changed security perceptions in changed political scenario. Their security and defense concerns in their respective regions have closed them together. As Israel has been facing hostile environment in Middle East, China and Pakistan is considered as threat to Indian security in South Asia.

Beside the common security concerns and threat perceptions, many other factors have brought a marked difference in their defense ties. In fact with the disintegration of USSR both states were in need of strong partners. The need was more in case of India as it lost its major ally, i.e. Soviet Union with end of Cold War. Due to this need of strong partner became more vital in the insecure environment.

In this regard Israel proved to be the best alternate who was in search of economic partner and to whom it can easily sell its military arsenals based on advanced technology. This is one of the reasons due to which the defense ties strengthened between the two states.

The establishment of diplomatic relations by India paved the way for strengthening the relationship between the two states. India always tried to keep the strengthening bilateral relationship out of the public view but the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in September 2003; which was the first ever visit by the ruling Prime Minister gave new dimension to the bilateral relationship and fully came under the public scrutiny. The visit of the Israeli Prime Minister indicated the drastic changes in the bilateral relationship of two states in future. By comparing the back channel security ties which were present even before normalization of relations, India seemed more willing to openly design the bilateral relationship with Israel which is mutually beneficial to both states. It includes military ties, collaborating in field of intelligence services and to cooperate in the field of terrorism which is faced by both the states.¹⁵⁶ The bilateral relations in all these spheres would be analyzed below.

3.IV (a) Deepening Military Ties

Defense cooperation between the two states gave ballast to the Indo-Israel bilateral relationship with India becoming the largest arms market for Israel and Israel became the largest arms supplier for India. The high degree of obsolescence weakened the attraction of Russian arms market for India with end of Cold War. India decided to expand its defense budget with the Israel becoming an alternate source of defense procurement by upgrading the Russian equipments.

Besides that, empowering Indian military at a large scale meant to be financially rewarding arms market for Israel. The conflict with the Palestinians causes the harm to the Israel's economy and in order to counter that harm Israel is dependent on the exports of defense industry at the larger

¹⁵⁶ Harsh V. Pant, "India Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints," *MERIA*, Vol.8, No.4 (December 2004).

scale so that it could sustain financially. Israel has emerged as the fifth largest arms exporter in 2002. In this context, the growing defense relation of Israel with India goes a long way by sustaining its local defense industry and it's significant in giving boost to Israel's economy. As a result the defense partnership between the two states has reached at a critical point.

In different areas of international arms market the Israeli weapon systems are considered as best even in comparison with American and European products due to the huge investments in the research and development. Israel considered highly advanced defense industry as an important for its national security. The insecure geopolitical situation of Israel which is surrounded by adversarial Arab world many times its size led to the formation of huge defense industry. Though Israel enjoys cordial ties with USA but in giving perfection to its defense Israel followed the policy of self reliance. A pragmatic approach was adopted by Israel with reference to the sale of weapons to India as it was opposed by other states that considered this attitude from the balance of power perspective in South Asian region.¹⁵⁷

Since 2001 the transfer of military technology has deepened. In the year 2001, a deal was signed between the Indian defense ministry and the Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) in which the price, \$7.2 million was fixed for Unmanned Air Vehicle (UAV). The need of the UAVs was highlighted after the Kargil border dispute between India and Pakistan in 1999.¹⁵⁸

An agreement was reached in September 2002 between the Hindustan Aeronautical Limited (HAL) and Israel Aircraft Industries. It was agreed that Advanced Light Helicopter (ALH) will be produced jointly. The Advanced Light Helicopter would be beneficial in intelligence gathering, attacks and anti-tanks operations. Indian army would be the first customer which will

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Yohana Chemarapally, "Indo-Israel Relations: An Indirect Way to Appease Washington," *People's democracy* Vol.27, No.28 (11 July 2004).

purchase more than three hundred ALHs. Besides that, both the states discussed the joint defense projects. The defense projects involved the production of Israeli designed Cargo projectiles, advanced tank ammunition and cargo mortars. India signed \$20 million agreement with Israel Military Industries (IMI) to acquire Rifles, night vision sights and other targeting equipments.¹⁵⁹

In 2003, a contract was signed by India of \$130 million with Israel Aircrafts Industry to get 18 Heron UAVs. A division in Hyderabad was set by Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI) and Hindustan Aeronautical Limited (HAL) for maintenance and other services. On the other hand, another deal was signed of \$40 million for attaining the additional Barak system.¹⁶⁰

In 2004, the extended range precision shells were produced with the joint efforts of government owned Indian and Israeli firms. It was agreed between the Israel Military Industries and India's Ordnance Factory Board (OFB) that both the states with the joint efforts will produce the cargo shells in India. The IMI and OFB collaboration ensured that the Indian Army is equipped with the best artillery ammunition for its .52 caliber guns allowing the Indian Artillery Forces to set new standards for range of action and firing power in the modern battlefield.¹⁶¹

In 2005, during the Aero Indian defense explosion, it was stated by a senior scientist that government allocated \$581 million to carry out developments of India's first submarine launched cruise missile with the expanded range of 2,500 kilometers. Besides that, it was agreed between the ministries of two states that Aeronautical Development Establishment (ADE) and Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI) will develop the remotely piloted Vehicles. They would be of three types: Rustam, Pawan and gagan, Rustam would be medium altitude long endurance UAV, Pawan

¹⁵⁹ Krishan Gopal and Sarbjit Sherma, *India and Israel: Towards Strategic Partnership* (Delhi: Authors press, 2007), 346

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 348.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 352.

would be short range UAV and Gagan would be tactical UAV. Currently Israel fulfilled all the needs of India regarding the UAVs.¹⁶²

In July 2006, the bloody conflict in Southern Lebanon led to the political crises due to which the Indian defense minister was called back from Israel and Indian left parties also demanded to cut off its relations with Israel. Indian Air Force Chief, Indian Navy Vice-Chief among others, have made secret visits. In December 2006, India had inked a Rs 900 crore deal with Israel defense firm ELTA systems medium powered radars for the Indian Air Force.¹⁶³

In March 2007, Indian Army Chief Gen J.J. Singh had a secret visit to Israel. According to the Times of India:

The largely covert strategic cooperation between
India and Israel is going full steam ahead.

Gen Singh's 10-day visit to Israel and Italy comes at a time when the Indian army was gearing up for a major induction of Israeli UAVs, air defense missile systems, specialized weaponry for its special forces, third-generation thermal imaging and night-vision devices, among other items.¹⁶⁴

In February 2008, it was announced by defense Minister that agreement the deal on surface to air missile with long range has been finalized between India and Israel Aerospace Industry (IAI). In order to build the anti-aircraft missile for Indian Navy \$ 625 million has been approved.¹⁶⁵

On 25 March 2009, a deal was signed between Indian Ordnance factory Board and Israel Military Industries which costs of \$240 million according to which the ammunition factory will

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 353

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 354

¹⁶⁴ *Dawn*, "Indian Army Chief in Israel," March 10, 2007.

¹⁶⁵ *The Nation*, "Israel India to Jointly develop Missiles," February 28, 2008.

be built in Bihar which would be similar to Israel's Ordnance factory.¹⁶⁶ In December, 2009 the Israeli head of military first time visited India in order to strengthen the military relation between two states.¹⁶⁷

The defense ties have been enhancing with each passing day. Hence the relations of Israel with India are considered to reach at a critical mass. Both the states are involved in exchanging hard currency, transferring arms to one another and enhancing research and development programs.

India and Israel are helping each other in Air Force as well. In May 2009, the first Airborne Early Warning and Control System (AWACS) Phalcon has been received by India from Israel. This would help India to look deep into the neighboring countries has the capability to monitor the missiles and aircrafts.¹⁶⁸

Besides that, \$1 billion deal has signed between India and Israel in order to get the advance surface to air missile. In another deal the spyder mobile system will be provided to India by Israel in 2012 which will able to protect the high value assets.¹⁶⁹

Beside that in November 2009, \$1.1 billion contract has been signed between India and Israel in which upgraded tactical air defense system would be provided to India. It was decided in another meeting that by 2017 Barak-8 tactical air defense system would be provided to India. Barak-8 has the capability to shoot down the upcoming drones and missiles.¹⁷⁰

Likewise both states have put focus on enhancing naval ties with one another as well. Both the states are cooperating for maximizing their interest. India needs to get benefit of Israeli superior and sophisticated naval technological developments to create hegemony over the Indian Ocean.

¹⁶⁶ *The Nation*, "India Signs Defense deal with Israel," April 7, 2009.

¹⁶⁷ *Dawn*, "Israel's Military Chief on Visit to India," December 7, 2009.

¹⁶⁸ *The Nation*, "India Gets AWACS," May 27, 2009.

¹⁶⁹ *The Nation*, "India Approves \$1b Missile Deal with Israel," August 24, 2009.

¹⁷⁰ *Daily Times*, "India Spends \$1.1 Billion on Upgraded Israeli Air Defenses," November 10, 2009.

Israeli's assistance can help India in achieving its ambition of blue water navy in Indian Ocean. On the other hand Israel is interested in countering dominance of Arabs as well as European along the southern, eastern and northern shores of Mediterranean.¹⁷¹ Hence both decided to have maritime ventures in Indian oceans.

In this regard, five years long project with the investment of US\$ 350 million has been signed between Indian Defense Research and Development Laboratory (IDRDL) and Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) in 2006 to jointly develop the ship borne Israeli Barak II anti -missile system for the navies of two states.¹⁷²

In addition to this in October 2003, attack boat has been procured by India from Israel which has the capability to reach at the targets which are in the deep sea. The boat has the traveling speed of 40 nautical miles.¹⁷³

In the same year in November, third missile deal was signed between the Indian Navy and Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI) which aimed to supply India missiles to protect its warships.¹⁷⁴

Like wise, The Indian Navy commissioned a small Israeli-built "stealth and strike" craft to help fight smuggling, protect oil platforms and fight terrorism on the country's western coast. The vessels are being used in search and rescue operations, counter insurgency, anti-smuggling and to protect offshore oil platforms.¹⁷⁵

Cooperation of both states in the field of Intelligence Services as well as in curbing terrorism is remarkable. The strong bilateral relations of both states in these areas have played a vital role in

¹⁷¹ Martin Sherma, "From Conflict to Convergence," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 28, 2003.

¹⁷² *Daily Times*, "India, Israel Sign Secret Deal on Anti-Missile System," February 4, 2006

¹⁷³ *The Nation*, "India gets Deep-Sea Assault Boat from Israel," October 7, 2003.

¹⁷⁴ *Daily Times*, "Indian Navy to sign \$100m Deal for Israeli Missiles," November 26, 2003.

¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁵ *Daily Times*, "India Commission's Israeli-Built 'Stealth' Vessel," October 10, 2003.

bringing both states closer. Their level of cooperation in aforementioned areas would be discussed below.

3.IV (b) Cooperation between RAW and Mossad

The significance of intelligence agencies is growing rapidly. States rely on their intelligence agencies in order to achieve their long term goals. States have institutionalized the intelligence groups to get the maximum benefit out of them. The best intelligence institution is the CIA of USA. It's playing an important role in making US able to achieve its major goals all over the world.

Both India and Israel have made their own intelligence wings termed as Mossad and Research Analysis Wing (RAW). Israel from the inception has realized the need of excellent intelligence so that it could survive. Mossad was established in order to survive with in extremely hostile environment. Besides Mossad which was established for conducting the foreign operations there is another intelligence agency termed as SHIN BET which is relevant to the domestic security and the third one is the AMAN called as army's intelligence agency. Due to the level of excellence which they have achieved they have achieved the global reputation.¹⁷⁶

Likewise, India also faced insecure environment within its region hence felt the need to strengthen its defense. Intelligence was also been given significant value by India. In the first tenure of Indra Gandhi, RAW was established. The RAW was given the responsibility of strategic external intelligence.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Dr.Subash Kapila, "India-Israel Relations: The Imperatives for Enhanced Strategic Cooperation," *South Asia Analysis group Paper* (August 1,2000)
<http://www.saag.org/index.html>.

¹⁷⁷"Research and Analysis Wing", *Wikipedia*,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Research_and_Analysis_Wing

In order to improve the skills of Indian Intelligence agency Mrs. Gandhi even got assistance by more competent intelligence agencies. In this regard Israeli intelligence group, Mossad, proved to be very helpful. Mossad being competent enough started providing assistance to RAW since 1968. Hence one can easily observe the bilateral cooperation between RAW and Mossad even before diplomatic relations were established.

The intelligence agencies of both states have been cooperating at extensive level. RAW has been getting training by Mossad since their early association.

The RAW has always had links with the Israelis and the US. In the late 1970's it engineered the visit of Moshe Dayan to India; it played an important role in trying to get the Israeli's defense industry a foothold in India. RAW sent its personnel to Israel for specialized training and in late 1948, in the wake of Indra Gandhi's assassination; it also sought the advice of a senior Israeli security specialist on Prime Minister's security systems. RAW probably also buys electronic intelligence equipments from Israel.¹⁷⁸

Indo-Israeli intelligence agencies are cooperating with Afghanistan with an aim to enter in the Afghan society to shape the mind set of political leadership and Afghan youth against Pakistan. Further by reinforcing RAW network and covert intelligence operations it has desired to destabilize Pakistan.¹⁷⁹

Besides that, another important factor in destabilizing Pakistan is through narcotic business. RAW and Mossad are involved in narcotics. India is ranked as fifth largest state which produces illegal opium and the profit made out of drug trafficking is used in Pakistan through covert

¹⁷⁸ P.R.Kumaraswamy, "India and Israel: Evolving Strategic partnership," *Middle East Security and Policy Studies*, No.40 (September 1998).

¹⁷⁹ "Indo-Israel Collaboration: A New Dimension," *Opinion Maker*, <http://www.opinion-maker.org/2010/04/indo-israel-collaboration-a-new-dimension/>

operations. Drug money is used as geopolitical weapon by India and Israel to destabilize Pakistan.¹⁸⁰

On the other hand, Janes Information Group reported in July 2001 that the intelligence agencies of India and Israel i.e. RAW and Mossad are cooperating with each other so that they could penetrate into Pakistan and could target the desired places and personalities. They also aimed to raise sectarianism in Pakistan. Beside that RAW is actively involved in Baluchistan and the agents of these agencies are present in guise of Baloch militants. Pakistan intelligence agencies are concentrating to stop their activities. The confrontations between the intelligence agencies will lead to disturb the social fiber in Baluchistan and overall will impact Pakistan in negative way.¹⁸¹

It is also reported by International news agency that the special Operations division of Mossad which is specialized in assassinations and damaging is training RAW operatives. Besides that in 2002 RAW and other intelligence agencies submitted the report regarding the solution of Kashmir in which it was proposed that the Kashmir issue could only be resolved by destroying nuclear assets of Pakistan.

Blue Tulsi Operation is considered important in which RAW and Mossad played an important role to destabilize Pakistan which was conducted in Baluchistan in 2005. It occurred when a doctor was raped in Sui and the culprits were not found. Further it led to rocketing of gas installation and hole was put in gas supply about a week. Meanwhile the operation between the Pakistani government and Nawab Akbar Bugti of Baluchistan intensified in which he was died and at the same time the US announced by agreeing with India that if Pakistan fell into

¹⁸⁰ *Asia Tribune*, "Drug Money Used as a Geopolitics Weapon by CIA-RAW_Mossad," <http://www.asiantribune.com/news/2010/03/12/drug-money-used-geopolitics-weapon-cia-raw-mossad>

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

extremists hands then US will help India to destroy its nuclear capability. With the announcement of formation of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan by Baitullah Mehsud the agents of RAW and Mossad who were already present in Swat Valley of Pakistan and federally administered Tribal areas of Pakistan attacked the military with the purpose of destabilizing Pakistan.¹⁸²

Former Minister of Pakistan, Qutbuddin Aziz wrote that establishment of spy network is allowed by India to Israel in the name of counter terrorism to monitor the Islamic fundamentalism and to eliminate the undesired individuals and groups through kidnapping or murder.¹⁸³

On 14 August 2001 Ed Blanche writes in Janes' Security:

Israeli intelligence agencies have been intensifying their relations with India's security apparatus and are now understood to be heavily involved in helping New Delhi combat Islamic militants in the disputed province of Kashmir, India's only Muslim-majority state which lies at the core of the conflict with neighboring Pakistan."Israel has several teams now in Kashmir training Indian counter-insurgency forces to fight the dozen separatist guerrilla groups operating in the Indian-controlled sector of the disputed state."The exact extent of the involvement in Kashmir by Israel's intelligence agencies is far from clear....¹⁸⁴

From the whole, it can be concluded that Indo-Israel nexus in terms of their collaboration in the field of intelligence has reached at its peak. It is even considered to be an eminent threat by the other states of both regions. Previously both states have been collaborating in order to curb terrorism within their regions but now are also playing a key role in restraining terrorist activities

¹⁸² Ali Sukhanver, "The Way the Dreams Shatter,"

<http://www.lankaweb.com/news/items/2009/08/08/the-way-the-dreams-shatter/>

¹⁸³ Muhammad Javed Iqbal, "Indian Secret Agency RAW Behind Succession of East Pakistan",

<http://newsgroups.derkeiler.com/Archive/Soc/soc.culture.pakistan/2008-06/msg00046.html>

¹⁸⁴ P.R.Kumaraswamy, "India and Israel: Evolving Strategic Partnership," *Middle East Security and Policy Studies*, No.40 (September 1998).

at global level. Hence the cooperation between the intelligence agencies of both states should be dealt separately.

3.IV (c) War against Terrorism

One of the greatest areas of cooperation between the two states is Counterterrorism. The cooperation involved the information exchange on the structure and functions of terrorist groups. The efforts on border security have been done by both states. The monitoring equipment has been sold by Israel to India so that the penetration in the Line of Control between Pakistan and India could be tracked. For the high altitude surveillance UAVs has been provided to India as well. Anti-insurgency training to Indian forces has been provided by Israel as well. In order to combat terrorism a joint commission was formed by the both states at ministerial level.¹⁸⁵

The World Trade Centre (WTC) and Pentagon were targeted on September 11, 2001 by some terrorists, leading to the demolition of a major portion of WTC and casualties of many workers, working over there. As a result of this terrorism emerged as major threat to the world and all states became more concerned about their security. In order to tackle the situation US launched the “War against terrorism” and asked the whole world to support it. The terrorist attacks made the favorable climate for Indo-Israel cooperation in war against terrorism. This led to their vast cooperation in arms bazaar as being buyer and seller.¹⁸⁶

Both the states consider terrorism as a major issue and challenge for them so fighting terrorism became their prime concern. Islamic radicalism is always associated with terrorism by both India and Israel as both the states are considered as democratic and pluralistic with the Muslims as

¹⁸⁵ Ronak D. Desai and Xenia Dormandi, “*Indo-Israel Relations: Key Security Implications*,” http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18414/indoisraeli_relations.html

¹⁸⁶ Efraim Inbar, “*The Indian-Israeli Partnership*,” <http://www.bitterlemons-international.org/previous.php?opt=1&id=18>

largest domestic minorities. Better understanding of each other concerns has been developed due to this shared dilemma. It could be analyzed from the speech of Indian national security advisor which was made to the Jewish Committee of Americans in which it was stated that unity of three states is important in order to develop multilateral mechanism and for the formation of a viable alliance in order to counter Islamic fundamentalism which is a common threat to all these states. This stance was supported by Israel by declaring that unwritten axis has been created between India, Israel and United states for curbing terrorism.¹⁸⁷

Their understanding of each other has drawn the two nations closer to each other in form of close friends. India is considered as strategic anchor in Asia by Israel which has relatively faced isolation across the globe. Israel sees the benefit in coming closer to India which has big Muslim population with a hope to weaken significance of religious factor in Arab-Israel conflict. It is considered that both the states are islands of stability in disordered region which stretches from North Africa to Himalayas; as it is argued that it should be seen as single strategic region. The quest for security by empowering its strength is natural for India and Israel for the fight against terrorism.¹⁸⁸

The Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon signed the declaration with India in 2003 in which he condemned the states and individuals who supported terrorism and gave shelter to the terrorists. India considered Israel as helpful in training its personnel and in material support for fight against terrorism. With reference to India's consideration willingness has been showed by Israel to offer its services in this regard.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Harsh V. Pant, "India Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints," *MERIA*, Vol.8, No.4 (December 2004).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

The exchange of information is not only limited to the Islamic terrorist groups but it is logistically supporting to tackle Kashmir as well. The level of cooperation between India and Israel is may be even more than the cooperation which is being held between India and United States. In order to counter insurgency India may adopt the tactics of Israel defense forces in guerilla and urban warfare being used against Palestinian terror in West Bank and Gaza strip and as well adopted by United States in Iraq war to counter insurgency.¹⁹⁰

A meeting was held in 2004 between the ministers of two states in which satisfaction was showed regarding the cooperation and efforts being made by two states for countering terrorism.¹⁹¹

In March 2007, Indo-Israel joint working group had its 6th meeting on counter terrorism in New Delhi. Terror threats at global and regional level were discussed. Besides that measures to counter national terrorism and techniques to counter the financial assistance to terrorists were elaborated.¹⁹²

In September 2008, a visit was made by the army chief of Israel. In his visit matters of mutual concerns were discussed. Besides that, it was offered by Israel to train Indian troops so that they could counter terrorist operations.¹⁹³

Regarding the cooperation to counter terrorism in April 2009, India launched Israeli-built spy satellite to peep into neighbors, including Pakistan. The spy satellite would be helpful in

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹“ Israel Foreign Relations,” July 2004

<http://www.bicom.org.uk/publications/israel-foreign-relations>.

¹⁹²“Shalom Namste,” *Israel News letter*

<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/Data/111650.doc>

¹⁹³ *Daily Times*, India and Israel Discuss Military Cooperation, September 10, 2008.

strengthening India's security system after the Mumbai attacks which exposed the glaring loopholes in the Indian defense apparatus.¹⁹⁴

In 2010, it was determined by both states that the cooperation would be held between the two states to combat terrorism. The relation between the two states is termed by the Indian Minister as relationship between two souls.¹⁹⁵

By analyzing the cooperation between the two states in above mentioned years shows that both the states have their own concerns regarding terrorism thus have been trying to collaborate at maximum level in order to tackle this problem in the most suitable way.

3.V Cultural Ties

Cultural ties between any two states of the world cannot be considered as that much significant but the cultural relations prepare the turf for the establishment of closer ties between the states in rest spheres of public policy. Indeed, cultural ties help in bridging the gap between the two states. In case of Indo- Israel relations both enjoys close political, economic and strategic terms and in order to achieve the current strength of relationship both states from the very start focused on enhancing cultural ties. Economic and Cultural ties were emphasized by both the states in order to bridge the gap on political and strategic issues. After establishing diplomatic relations in 1992, the cooperation at cultural level started with the exchange of high level visits. Besides that cultural events were organized in both states for celebrating one another's independence.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ *The News*, India Launches Spy Satellite, April 21, 2009.

¹⁹⁵ *Rediff News*, "India-Israel Vows to Boost Ties,"

<http://www.rediff.com/news/2010/feb/19tackling-terro-india-israel-vow-to-boost-ties.htm>

¹⁹⁶ Dr.Dinesh Kumar, "*India and Israel: Dawn of a New Era*,"

<http://pakistanthinktank.org/v2/latest-articles/36-politics/233-india-and-israel-dawn-of-a-new-era>

Alongside different activities were held in order to promote and exchange the cultures by arranging trips of intellectuals, artists and students between the two states. Both states perform different activities which are as follow.

Israel enhanced the field of health care in India by developing chain of hospitals having multi specialty in order to meet the need of specialized medical care.¹⁹⁷

In 2006, exhibition was held in India in which the interesting archaeological sites in Israel were shown from the air and immense public response was received.¹⁹⁸

In 2008, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the two states in order to set up a joint colloquium so that exchange programs and discussions could be held between the judges and jurists of two states.

In 2009, 22 books of Indian poets have been translated to Hebrew.¹⁹⁹ Beside that in the same year The Embassy of Israel in cooperation with the Neemrana Music Foundation staged a classical music concert to be performed by Gil Shohat - Israeli Pianist, Composer and Conductor. Gil Shohat performed in two Indian cities which includes Delhi and Kolkata.²⁰⁰

In the field of Education, the Heads of several leading Indian Universities went to Israel to develop formal cooperation with Israeli institutions. In this regard the Indian institution Jamia Milia Islamia showed interest in introducing subjects on Judaism besides that other universities sought cooperation from Israeli institution in agricultural, water management and bio technological fields.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ India-Israel: 15 Years of Diplomatic Ties," *Diplomatist*,
www.diplomatist.com/pdf/israel.pdf -

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ "Shalom Namste," *Israel News Letter*
<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/Data/155484.doc>

²⁰⁰ "Cultural Affairs," *The Ministry of Foreign Affairs*,
<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/web/main/Print.asp?DocumentID=103069>

²⁰¹ "Shalom Namste," *Israel News letter*

A colloquium was organized by two states with reference to the preservation of cultural identities in today's world. In that colloquium the challenges to cultures, new fields in cultural cooperation and the role played by the cultural institutes were discussed.²⁰²

From the perspective of tourism, Hyderabad in India became source of tourism to Israel. Besides that, it was proposed by Israel that Indian government should sponsor Christian pilgrims to Israel.²⁰³

In sum up, it can be asserted that both the states have been cooperating in the political, economic, strategic and cultural spheres in post 9/11 scenario. The level of cooperation has been increasing with the time span. At the beginning the area of cooperation was limited but with the establishment of diplomatic relations and since 9/11 the cooperation between the two became stronger than ever before and one of the reasons being that the sophisticated defense system of Israel compelled India to get closer. In case of Israel, it was looking for partner by selling its technology and to gain hard currency. Now in the current situation both the states are cooperating from micro level to macro level and the relationship between the two became relationship between the two souls.

<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/Data/155484.doc>

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 4: STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

4.I An Overview

Since Independence, when the colonial rule of British ended in 1947 tensions remained the matter between the states of South Asia. Asymmetric relations between India and its neighbors are indeed influenced by the feelings of insecurity simmering amongst the smaller countries. Most of these states are locked in disputes with India. Indian ambitions to consolidate its hegemony over the entire South Asia have catalyzed confrontation and conflict with Pakistan. The two countries fought three wars since 1948. In the 1971 war the dismemberment of Pakistan led to the emergence of Bangladesh as a separate state. In such a fragile security environment, Pakistan was compelled to avail all possible means available to safeguard its independence and ensure its security. Resultantly, it funneled a major chunk of its GDP for its defense, maintaining a large and un-proportionate army, stockpiling huge inventory of arms and ammunition, joining alliances to ensure protection of its sovereignty and to enhance its defense potential. Once the nefarious Indian designs took a step further in 1974 and prompted a nuclear explosion, Pakistan had no other option but to follow suit so as to address its new emerging security threat.

It was considered that both India and Pakistan have covertly acquired the technology of nuclear weapons but it went overtly when the nuclear states with India conducted its nuclear test in May 1998. A new tone of Indian leadership has been experienced by Pakistan just after the Indian detonation threatening its sovereignty and survival.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan Niazi, "Indo-Israel-US Nexus: Security Implications for Pakistan," *The Dialogue*, Vol.8, No.2 (April- June 2006): 49.

Indian Minister warned Pakistan to vacate the Kashmir territory under its control, he determined that otherwise Pakistan would be destroyed and declared that the qualitative stage of relationship between the two states would be brought by the country possessing the nuclear power.²⁰⁵

Another Indian Minister declared that India is ready to fight a fourth war with Pakistan.²⁰⁶

All the similar statements suggests the reunification of subcontinent under Indian Empire supplemented by the relatively lukewarm international response to the Indian tests compelled Pakistan to go for matching response. In fact Pakistan was left with no option but to carry out its nuclear tests on 28 and 30 May 1998, as potent defensive step. Hence, with carrying out the nuclear tests by both states the security pattern went under a structural change and since then any conflict between the two carried the risk of being nuclear.²⁰⁷

Both the states are dominant states of South Asia having Nuclear power. India with the largest population in Asia and second largest in the world as well as possesses largest territory in South Asia. Thus it is the leading state of South Asian region. On the other side, Pakistan being second to India in South Asia is geo strategically an important state of the region. Hence their bilateral relations create direct impact on the security concerns of the region. Both have created an ostensible position of equilibrium to counter one another in the region so that none of the two would dominate South Asia. Hence, India being stronger than Pakistan has got an upper hand and if it gains more strength, this can change the roughly acquired balance of the South Asia. Therefore, it can be said that the bilateral relations between the two states are matter of concern for Pakistan and other South Asian states.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 49

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Many changes have been observed by world by the end of Cold War. Power balance ended with the USA as sole power. With reference to India, the end of balance of power compelled India to move towards capitalist states to strengthen economy. Among the prominent policy changes, its policy towards Israel is outstanding. After establishing the diplomatic ties with Israel in 1992, now both are considering their relation as the relationship between souls.

On the other side, the other leading state of South Asia, Pakistan has not even recognized Israel yet. It does not have any sort of relations with Israel. Pakistan being Muslim state always supported Palestinian cause and condemned the aggressive policies of Israel in terms of Palestine. Pakistan has not yet even thought to bring any change in its policy towards Israel. Now the emergence of close strategic ties among Indo-Israel is a matter of concern for Pakistan.

Their nexus has a strong impact on Pakistan specifically in strategic arena which would be analyzed in detail.

4.II Strategic Implications of Indo-Israel Nexus on Pakistan

Pakistan concerns regarding Indo-Israel nexus are genuine. As the cooperation between India and Israel is strengthening, chances of its adverse impact are also increasing rapidly. Therefore, in order to understand Pakistan concerns, a detailed analysis of its perceived implications of indo-Israel nexus is required specifically strategic implications which are a major point of concern for Pakistan. Though other areas as well have an influence but they are of less importance comparative to the strategic area which has more influence due to which it is of prime concern and would be analyzed in detail.

In case of the political implications of Indo-Israel nexus is that Israel has started supporting India on Kashmir issue that is matter of concern for Pakistan. Besides that the growing economic ties

are considered important by Pakistan which are enhancing and by having cordial economic ties with India, Israel will be able to enter in the other large economies including Central Asia and South East Asia.

In the field of defense the relation between India and Israel is considered as the relationship between producer and consumer. Israel has developed complex arms industry with the help of USA or West and succeeded in the self reliance and also got the potential to export its arms products. In Israel's industrial complex there are various products i.e. UAVs, missile, anti-missile systems, electronic and anti-electronic warfare systems etc. with reference to radars, avionics, and command and control system Israeli companies are considered as the best in the world. Israel relies on the export of its weapons in order to maintain its defense industry. Some states which have commonality of interest with Israel are considered helpful in sourcing its economy by facilitating in research and development so that it could maintain superiority in the technology of weapons.²⁰⁸

This led Israel to move towards India by considering as an important market. Israel moved closer to India not for the sake of arms sales but desired to evolve new soft wares so that technology could be exported to the third world. Besides that another aim of Israel for developing defense ties with India was to contain Pakistan which was considered as helping the Middle Eastern states to counter Israel.²⁰⁹

Though the political relations between India and Israel did not develop overtly for long time but it did not create hurdle in the security cooperation of two states. The visible threats confronted by both states seems different but their aims based on strategic path are leading them towards

²⁰⁸ Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan Niazi, "The Evolving Indo-Israel Partnership: Security Implications for Pakistan," *The Dialogue*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (2006): 79.

http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/.../2_3/4_zulfiqar_niazi.pdf

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 80

similar goals which includes the desire of both states to search the qualitative weapons, to adopt the path of modernization and technological independence as a tool for strengthening national interest. Since their inception as a modern state India and Israel are following to achieve their objectives of Greater Israel and Akhand Bharat. Islamic civilization is considered as an obstacle impeding the realization of their ambitions by both states. On the basis of above mentioned factors, India and Israel are making concrete steps to diversify their strategic relationship.²¹⁰

The strategic ties between India and Israel are major point of concern for Pakistan. India and Israel are cooperating in the field of defense; both in terms of conventional and non-conventional weapons. The transfer of sophisticated conventional technology by Israel is more promising and it's perceived as a threat by Pakistan. The gap has been created in terms of quality and quantity of weapons between India and Pakistan with the transfer of conventional weapons.

The growing Indo-Israel defense relation will have the adverse effect on Pakistan's security with the shift in strategic balance in subcontinent that would be against Pakistan. On the other hand if the defense ties between India and Israel grow with the same speed then Pakistan would not be able to find the military capability that could counter combined military capability of India and Israel.²¹¹

It is considered that emergence of few issues could be considered as threat to the survival and security of Pakistan besides that they are considered capable in effecting the regional balance of power situation. It includes;

- By restructuring the arm forces with the help of Israeli state of art weapon system India would become capable to meet its defense requirements of the twenty first century.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 81

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 93

- The Phalcon early warning system which India has acquired from Israel has the capability to look into Pakistan's territory and will be able to detect the movement of warplanes with their start.
- Arrow anti missile system would enhance Indian nuclear defense system by becoming capable of neutralizing Pakistan's nuclear warheads.
- The Indian Navy ships would be protected from Pakistan's missiles due to the presence of Barak anti-missile system. In this respect India would be beneficial over Pakistan.
- The Barak-8 tactical air defense system which would be delivered in 2017 to India and it is designed to use on the ships which would be capable of shooting down incoming missiles, planes and drones. It gives the Indian navy advantage over Pakistan.
- The spyder mobile missile system which would be supplied to India in 2012 would be able to protect high value assets and maneuver combat forces and has the capability to target different areas at a time which is an edge over Pakistan.
- Pakistan would be restricted to preserve its life line in Indian Ocean with the set up of naval bases by Israel along with US and India.
- From the past many years Indian attitude towards Israeli atrocities on Palestinians has been toned down.
- In the UN resolutions against Israel India does not seem active.²¹²

On the other hand, another important factor is United States which is supporting the growing defense relation of India and Israel. The Indo-American nuclear deal further strengthened Pakistan's concerns. Another important deal done among US and India is important for Pakistan; according to the deal the restrictions which were imposed on high technology trade with India

²¹² *Ibid.*, 93-95

has been lifted due to which the trade would be done in areas of missile defense etc. The nexus of India, Israel and United States is considered dangerous from the security point of view for Pakistan. So that it should adopt some measures to tackle the situation.²¹³

According to Pakistani analyst, Pervez Iqbal Cheema, the growing nexus between the two states is dangerous for Pakistan and the Muslim world as a whole. With the help of this nexus Israel will become able to get the access to the Indian Ocean. The emerging changes out of Indo-Israel nexus are dangerous South Asian region as a whole.²¹⁴

The cooperation of the intelligence agencies of India and Israel respectively, RAW and Mossad, is considered to be dangerous for Pakistan and Muslim world as well. As the Mossad and RAW are cooperating in changing the mindsets of Afghan people towards Pakistan so that it could be destabilized.

Beside that the involvement of intelligence agencies in the narcotic business is another important issue. The profit made out of the narcotic business is used against Pakistan with the help of covert operations. Alongside the training camps have been set in Afghanistan near to Pakistan border with an aim to launch terrorist activities in Pakistan so that it could be destabilized.

On the other side, the major target of Indo-Israel secret diplomacy is nuclearized Pakistan dependent upon its minimum deterrence which has close ties with China. They have planned to destabilize Pakistan for achieving their common interests.²¹⁵

The cooperation between the two states in form of their intelligence agencies is creating a lot of problems with in Pakistan and the main aim is to destabilize Pakistan and create problems within the state.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 94

²¹⁴ Pervez Iqbal Cheema, "Growing Indo-Israel Nexus," *The News*, 9 September, 2001.

²¹⁵ *Pakistan Daily*, "Emerging Threat to the World," May 5, 2010.

<http://www.daily.pk/emerging-threat-to-world-indo-israeli-nexus-17107/>

Terrorism has become a global issue since September 11, 2001. Hence the emergence of terrorism as a global issue has caught the eye of the whole world. Now it has become the major concern for all the states especially USA. Both India and Israel have been trying their best to avail the opportunity by supporting US in its war against terrorism. Israel considered UN resolution 1373 as an opportunity to curb Islamic fundamentalism by relating it with terrorism. It can be seen in the statement of Yehoyada Haim in a newspaper that states, to use resolution 1373, “would be a dream for us. We could stop Hamas from getting money and support.” He added, “In the 1990s there were few connections between local and international terrorism. Today, these individuals and organizations are well linked.” Beside this he said that world should, “get rid of states that sponsor terrorism.”²¹⁶

In this way to arouse international conscience both India and Israel started propagating themselves to be the victim of terrorism. India started accusing Pakistan for being the major supporter of terrorist. This emerged to the threat to Pakistan security but the necessity of Pakistan in US perception of counter terrorism led to close ties between the two and the threat reversed.

Shared concern has been acknowledged by both India and Israel in the war against terrorism. Both the states wished to act jointly to counter the threats which emerged from the Islamic world to the borders of India and Israel. Another common issue between the two states is Pakistan, as strong position has been taken by Israel against Pakistan. The Indo-Israel relations intensified as Israel is being heavily involved in combating Islamic militants in New Delhi and it is considered that relations intensified in the security apparatus of two states.

²¹⁶ Pramit Pal Chaundhri, “Recruit the World to Your Side Against Terror,” *HT*, 26 December, 2001.

In order to exchange intelligence on Islamic terrorism a joint ministerial committee has been set up by both the states to cooperate in the areas of counter insurgency operation, border management and intelligence sharing.²¹⁷

Both the states not only shares the crucial intelligence information on Islamist freedom fighters but India is being helped by Israel against Kashmiri freedom movement by providing logistical support so that the freedom movement in Kashmir could be curbed and operation in Kashmir is conducted by associating it with war against terrorism by both the states. The tactics used by India in countering freedom movement in Kashmir have been adopted by the Israeli Defense forces which are considered to be helpful. The strengthening Indo-Israel relation will impact Pakistan significantly particularly, with the change in regional balance of power situation and on Muslim Ummah as a whole which is in state of instability.²¹⁸

From the above explained details it can be said that all the major areas of strategic cooperation between indo-Israel nexus including defense ties, intelligence cooperation and cooperation in the war against terrorism are creating a strong impact on Pakistan which has aforementioned implications which is in fact a threat to Pakistan.

4.III Pakistan's Concerns

The assumed cooperation and growth of the strategic ties of India and Israel in the field of defense has adverse implications on Pakistan and have created serious concerns for Pakistan. The foremost is the security threat to Pakistan as a result of the nuclear cooperation being held between India and Israel. In Israeli context Pakistan while being a Muslim state is a threat to

²¹⁷ Noor ul Haq, "Increasing Indo-Israel Strategic Collaboration," *IPRI*.

²¹⁸ Waqar Ahmed, "Ramifications of Indo-Israel Collaboration," *South Asia Research and Analysis Studies*, February 27, 2008.

<http://www.saras.org.pk/index.php>

Israel's existence. Pakistan has got superiority in terms of nuclear capability and transfer of nuclear technology between India and Israel is not of excessive level but still its importance cannot be ignored. Cooperation of both the states in field of nuclear technology is considered as a concern by Pakistan as Pakistan is being opposed as a nuclear technology by both the states. India is because of rival state and Israel due to its security threat. In fact, Israel considers Pakistani bomb as an Islamic bomb and if in case if nuclear technology will be transferred to Muslim World specific to Iran that will create a threat to its survival. That is the reason they have planned to attack on Pakistan nuclear facilities in Kahuta.²¹⁹ In this context, the former Ambassador to US, Dr. Maleeha Lodhi considered Indo-Israel nexus as a liability rather than an asset to the whole world.²²⁰

In terms of transfer of conventional weapons which has created gap between India and Pakistan, Pakistan will be unable to cover up this emerging gap in terms of quality and quantity of weapons.

Beside that the Indo-Israeli nexus supported by USA is disadvantageous to the strategic and political situation of Pakistan. If the relations between the two develop with the same speed, it can cause shift in balance of power in this region and India will create hegemony over Pakistan and would have a destabilizing effect in the region. In the current scenario Pakistan is being supported by United States due to its own interest as Pakistan being a strong ally in terrorism war. On other side, Indo-US relations are strengthening due to economic and technological importance of India. Beside that Israel has good relations with US. Israel is also transferring US technology to India as well. One of the reasons of Indo-US relations is the strong Jewish lobby in the USA. Pakistan is scared of the time when US interest in Pakistan after the war against

²¹⁹ Monitoring Desk, "Joint Indo-Israel Plan to Spy on Pak, Iran N-Plans Revealed," *The Nation*, April 1, 2005.

²²⁰ Dr. Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "India Cosying Upto Israel," *Dawn*, July 31, 2000.

terrorism will disappear, then it will support India in many issues particularly Kashmir issue. So the support of Indo-Israel nexus backed by USA is a point of concern for Pakistan and this nexus will lessen the importance of Pakistan for USA after its interest would be over.

Another important State in Asia is China. Pakistan has cordial relations with China in terms of economic, military and technology. Pakistan and China both experienced Indian hostility and cooperation was being held among them during Cold War. With end of Cold War relations of states changed due to their interest and same in the case of Indo-Sino relations who were under stress through out the cold war time period due to the territorial dispute of Tibet. But due to the economic interests Indo-Sino relations normalized. Now relations are positive and in case of Israel-Sino relations they have good relations and have signed many agreements. As Israel have good relations with china and also getting significance in terms of Indo-Israel ties so it would be easy for Israel to create an impact in Asian region which will ultimately influence Pakistan and due to its positive relations with India and China; two largest and dominant states of Asia it would be much easier for Israel to enter into the other regions which includes South East Asia and Central Asia which is an area of interest for Israel as well.

One of the important concerns for Pakistan is the Middle East region. Pakistan has always been supporting Palestinian cause and did not recognize Israel. With the start of peace process in 1993 with Oslo accord and signing declaration of principles and has culminated disengagement plan of Israel by its former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon on 23 May, 2004. In this regard Israel has made compromise in order to gain strength and to enhance Arab Israel ties so the Palestinian dispute could be settled peacefully. In case of Indo-Arab relations they are considered as good and still it's trying to keep its relations with the both states simultaneously. Hence, if condition of Arab and Israel improves it will obviously enhance Indo-Arab ties. At the end, India will loose neither

Arab states nor Israel and will be considered as respectable state in the Middle East and India's support will be considered as more valuable than Pakistan in terms of Arab-Israel peace process. The Indo-Israel defense and nuclear cooperation created concerns in the Arab world. Some of the concerns include;

- India was always considered at Arabs side but the change in Indian shift towards Israel and developing military ties is considered difficult for Arabs to accept the reality.
- The military cooperation between India and Israel will undermine the Arabs strategic depth by giving Israel strategic equation between the Middle East and South Asian regions.
- The close relations of India with Israel will help Israel in gaining more acceptances in the Asian continent regardless of the Arabs stance in isolating Israel.
- The Indo-Israel nexus supported by United States is considered as disadvantageous for the political and strategic situation of Arab states.
- The nuclear cooperation between the two states is considered as a potent threat to the security of Arab states.²²¹

Apprehensions are always created in the Arab world when any kind of cooperation is held between India and Israel. Protests were expressed privately by Arab leaders but they became critical when the strategic cooperation between the two states gained momentum.

Establishment of cyber taskforce for cyber warfare by India and Israel is another important development against Pakistan and Islam. \$1, 50,000,00 has been allocated to this project . Different functions would be conducted for gathering information from Pakistan. One of the aspects of cyber war against Pakistan is to break the network Security. A workforce of writers

²²¹ Dinesh kumar, "India and Israel: Dawn of a New Era ," <http://pakistanthinktank.org/.../233-india-and-israel-dawn-of-a-new-era - United States ->

and journalists has created for the sake of waging propaganda war against Pakistan and its nuclear weapons. The techniques being used in propaganda are social networks and blogging websites on the internet through which the mindsets of people could be shaped against Pakistan and to realize people that the nuclear weapons of Pakistan are unsafe. Purpose of this task is to defame Pakistan at global and both domestic level. Both Indian and Israeli cyber evangelists are performing the task of spreading the information that the nuclear weapons of Pakistan are about to fall into terrorist hands.²²²

It shows that Indo-Israel nexus could be considered as most devastating for Pakistan as both are trying to push nuclear weapons of Pakistan in cyber warfare. From there cooperation, it could be analyzed that enemies of Pakistan could do anything to undermine its survival and security.

The purpose of this propaganda is to denuclearize Pakistan and to create the threat among the people not only in South Asian region but in whole world. It is creating a worrisome impact on Pakistan because this would lead to other domestic as well international issues.

Target state is portrayed as danger to world peace and propagated as not trustworthy so that its achievement of objectives could be secured and the tool used for propaganda includes deception, lies and distortions etc.²²³

From the above discussion it can be concluded that Indo-Israel nexus has great strategic implications for Pakistan which are creating adverse impact on Pakistan security and stability. Indo-Israel nexus is major point of concern for Pakistan. The growing nexus between the two states can affect Pakistan in many ways. Hence Pakistani policy makers should be concerned about the issue and should move towards the counter strategy to deal with the growing Indo-

²²² Farzana Shah, "Indo-Israeli Cyber War-Fare Against Pakistan Nuclear Program," *World Institute of Asian Studies*, Vol. 10, NO .105

<http://www.asiantribune.com/.../indo-Israeli-cyber-warfare-against-Pakistani-nuclear-program> -

²²³ Pervez Iqbal Cheema, "Growing Indo-Israel Nexus," *The News*, 9 September, 2001.

Israel nexus and an alternate to cope with the strategic implications which would not only destabilize Pakistan but balance of power situation would be shifted in South Asia.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary /Findings

India and Israel two prominent states of South Asia and West Asia are tied in a bond of strategic relationship. External and internal security threats in form of freedom movement and terrorism have been faced by both states. Both the states have common concerns regarding their security perspective and threat perceptions which escorted them to cooperate in all the spheres, more promising are the strategic cooperation. In fact, their own perceived national interest has played an important role in shaping their bilateral relationship. After emergence as independent states on the world map, both remained aloof from each other. The relations between the two passed from different phases from 1948 till 1992, when both states developed warm relations. Since then, the relationship has matured into a strategic partnership. However, it is alleged that the bilateral relations among two states are considered as threat to the security of Pakistan in particular and for global peace in general.

The study was carried out to understand the pattern of relations between India and Israel since their birth. The changing dynamics of Indo-Israel relations, in every decade has been discussed in the context of their perceived national interest. The impact of all tangible and intangible factors, in shaping their relationship had been thoroughly analyzed. All the factors that had created positive impact on Indo-Israel relations after India gave de jure recognition to Israel in 1950 had been highlighted. Along with these aspects, factors that played an important role in bringing India-Israel closer have been discussed as well.

How the relationship developed between the two after diplomatic relations were established by India with Israel in 1992 has been discussed in an historical perspective. Besides that in post 9/11 scenario the major areas of cooperation between the two states including political, economic, strategic and cultural, have been analyzed in detail. In the light of above mentioned areas, Pakistan's concerns regarding Indo-Israel nexus and the implications of Indo-Israel nexus specifically strategic implications have been discussed.

Within the month both India and Israel emerged as independent nation state on the world map. On 15 August 1947, India got independence from the British rule and as a result of United Nation resolution on 14 May 1948, Israel was declared as nation state. India opposed the UN resolution and restrained itself from establishing any kind of relations with Israel. For over forty years India and Israel remained apart politically due to the policies of Nehru. In 1949 India denied Israeli membership in United Nations but in 1950 de jure recognition was accorded by allowing Israeli consul in Bombay. Factors which forced India to give de jure recognition were the domestic pressure and efforts of Jews lobby, which led to this stance. After giving the de jure recognition India did not established ties with Israel.

In 1960's and 1970's India fought wars with China and Pakistan respectively. Israel gave military support to India during those wars. In this way change in Indo-Israel relations took place but India followed covert policy regarding Israel till 1992. The major reason of India's covert policy was its policy of appeasement towards the Arabs. India wanted to have support of Arab states on Kashmir issue to counter Pakistan. Another reason of India's covert relations with Israel was Cold War. Although India was member of non-aligned movement, it had close relations with Soviet Union and was getting huge military aid from it. By the time of Cold War,

Israel belonged to opposite side. Therefore, till the end of Cold War both countries could not enjoy open diplomatic relations.

In Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's tenure relations with Israel were significantly normalized. Change was signaled in India's perception of Israel. Significant changes arose in the international power structure with the collapse of Soviet Union and with reference to conduct of relations among nations it had far reaching implications. With the disintegration of USSR and emergence of Russia as comparatively weak state, India could no longer depend upon Russia for military aid. Parallel to this Prime Minister Mohan Singh took the step to bring a major change in Indian economic system. It moved India away from the socialist economic system and led it towards the capitalist system. As a result, India developed inclinations towards the USA instead of Russia. These changes brought convergence of Indo-Israeli interests. As Israel, has been following a system closer to that of the US and has been its main ally. It was obviously a great partner to be considered by India. Since then, India has established diplomatic relations with Israel and Indo-Israel nexus emerged in 1992.

The development started with the establishment of diplomatic relations but in the post 9/11 scenario Indo-Israeli relations have made remarkable progress in diverse fields. The whole bilateral cooperation is done under four categories; political, economic, strategic and culture. At political level, warmth was reflected in the frequent exchange of high level visits between the two states. At economic level, the relation between the two countries has showed an upward trend. In order to be close at heart both developed close cultural ties. The strategic dimension encompassed three aspects; defense ties, cooperation between intelligence agencies and counter terrorism. The strategic cooperation is the key component of their bilateral relations.

The enhancing strategic cooperation of Indo-Israel nexus is creating adverse impact on Pakistan and became an area of concern for Pakistan. Indo-Israel nexus poses a potent threat to the shift in balance of power situation in South Asian region and as well most importantly to the stability and security of Pakistan. Hence, Pakistani policy makers have started thinking in terms of countering Indo-Israel nexus or to reconsider its policy regarding Israel.

5.II Recommendations

Keeping in view the above findings of the research, few recommendations may be put forwards as option for Pakistan Foreign policy to offset Indo-Israel nexus.

In this regard, Pakistan Foreign policy may be reviewed. First and the main option is that Pakistan may recognize Israel and with reference to the policy of recognition Pakistan would not be the first Islamic state to establish relations towards Israel. It is not essential for Pakistan to start a cold peace with Israel since it has no direct dispute with it. With reference to the policy of recognition and establishing relations with Israel Pakistan can choose from the several options which are as follow;

- Israel could be recognized by Pakistan without establishing the diplomatic relations immediately as it could be seen in the Turkish model of recognition.
- On the other hand, if Pakistan follows the path chosen by Shah of Iran, recognition could be given to Israel by maintaining relations in a secret way.
- Besides that another example is the Jordanian model, Pakistan can develop close political and military relations without giving recognition to Israel.

- Finally there is case of Chinese model; Pakistan can use military contacts as a mean to promote political ties.

Besides that if, Pakistan does not go for recognizing Israel and stick to the same old and rigid policy of non-recognition then the option for Pakistan is to get the support of the Muslim States. Pakistan need to propagate growing Indo-Israel ties as a potent threat to the whole Muslim world hence needs to be dealt by joint efforts. Pakistan may propagate the religious aspect of Kashmir and Palestine issues in front of the whole Muslim world. The emerging strategic threat from Indo-Israel nexus may also be considered as a major point of concern for the Muslim States. Hence, they may strengthen their mutual relations in order to acquire a stable position. In this case Pakistan may use the platform of OIC in order to achieve the desired objective.

Apart from getting support of Muslim states, Pakistan is supposed to propagate Indo-Israel nexus as a threat to international peace. By using media, intellectuals and NGOs, Pakistan can draw the attention of the whole world towards chances of escalation of arms race in South Asian region because of the growing strategic ties of India and Israel.

The joint efforts of India and Israel to get the missile technology may also be strong threat to the world peace. Pakistan can propagate this issue in front of US and can even get the support of US. Infact, US is considered to be under the influence of Jewish lobby, hence Pakistan can propagate the point that Jewish lobby has always been trying to maximize its benefits at the expense of US national interest. US should proper evaluate its costs and gains by having close ties with the Jews and Israel hence should change in its existing policies in order to pursue its own national interest. Anti- Jews thinking has already been emerged with in American public. In this regard, the involvement of Jews in assassination of American president Kennedy and suspicions of Jews role in terrorist act of September 11, 2001, played an important role in causing anti-Jews feelings

within Americans. These points can be used by Pakistan in drawing US attention against Indo-Israel nexus.

To offset the Indo-Israel nexus Pakistan may develop its ties with its neighboring states. Neighbors may be kept in board in Pakistan foreign policy. Firstly relations between Indo-Pakistan may be improved. On the other hand relations with the Central Asian states may be enhanced. Beside that relations with Bangladesh may be given priority. As it was part of Pakistan and majority of population is Muslim. The friendship bond may be strengthened which is strategically important for Pakistan. So, good relations between the neighboring states can lead towards the regional stability.

There is a need to create proactive regional response; it could be initiated by simply improving our strategic relations with Iran. As Iran is the only threat to Israel in the Middle East region and the strategic relation between Pakistan and Iran can counter the Indo-Israel nexus. It is possible only in a way by creating distance between the USA and Pakistan so that Pakistan could be capable of formulating its own options.

One of the best options which Pakistan could avail regarding countering the Indo-Israel nexus is to turn to the East which is China and in its search of security and to counter strategic implications of Indo-Israel nexus Pakistan may get the full membership of Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Pakistan experience with China is always been good and china has always been a friend in need thereby proving itself as a friend indeed.

Apart from this Pakistan may consider to develop itself in economic and technological spheres in order to enhance its market value. Pakistan may also maintain sustainable democracy and also Pakistan may make such a policy that may be anti-freedom fighter in case of Kashmir and Taliban. Pakistan has to strong its propaganda which is very much important in gaining self

interest in world politics. In spite of bringing total change in its policy towards Israel Pakistan may develop itself in such a way and to such a level that different states of the world may start looking towards Pakistan instead of India. By having the policy of self reliance, Pakistan can enhance its place in eyes of the world and would be able to create an influence on the policies of other states in terms of Indo-Israel nexus.

It may be summed up that Indo-Israel nexus is a major point of concern for Pakistan. The emerging ties specifically strategic ties between India and Israel can affect Pakistan in many ways and policy makers have become concerned about the issue. Some of the policy options are discussed. On the basis of aforesaid policy options, policy makers may choose the best ones by appropriately analyzing the costs and benefits of the state. Thus, it has been maintained that unlike the major actors in international political system, developing nations with the inherent weaknesses of their political systems have more limitations in their free exercise of the foreign policies. It is viewed in Indian case and her policy on Israel in the early period was the product of such limitations and Pakistan is not at all exception to this and has a lot of limitations in the process of free exercise of its foreign policy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Official Documents:

Tendulkar, Dinath Gopal, *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Volume 4, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1969.

United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. *General Assembly 2nd Session, Supplement no 11, Volume 1*, New York: 1947.

World Bank (2009-10), *Economic Update*.

Books:

Anderson, Clare. *Indian Uprising of 1857–8: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellion*.
New York: Anthem Press, 2007.

Bodin , Jean. *Six book of Common wealth*.
Oxford: Basill Blackwell,1576.

Carr, E.H. *The Twenty Years Crises*.
London: Printice Hall, 1939.

Frankel , Joseph. *National Interest*.
New York: Praeger publications,1970.

Gilpin, Robert. *War and Change in World Politics*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Gopal, Krishan and Sharma, Sarbjit . *India and Israel: Towards Strategic Partnership*.
Delhi: Authors press, 2007.

Jervis, Robert. *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*.
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Keohane, Robert. *Neorealism and Its Critics*.
New York: McGraw Hills, 1986.

Krasner, Stephen. *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investment and U S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Mello, Frederick Marion De. *The Indian National Congress: An Historical Sketch*.
London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

- Miller, Lynn H. *Global Order: Value and Power in International Politics*.
Boulder: West View Press, 1998.
- Morgenthau ,H. J. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*.
New York: Knof, 1973.
- McGowan ,Patrick J. and Shapiro , Howard B. *The Comparative study of foreign policy: A Survey of scientific findings*. Beverly hills: Sage publications, 1973.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *Glimpse of World History*.
New Delhi: Jawaharalal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1988.
- Roseanu, James N. *The Scientific Study of Foreign policy*.
New York: Free Press, 1971.
- Smith, Steve, and Baylis John. *Introduction in the Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- The Columbia Encyclopedia. 6th (ed.). "Vasco da Gama,"
New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Wolpert, Stanley. 3rd(ed.). *A New History of India*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*.
New York: McGraw Hills, 1979.
- Wendzel, Robert L. *International Relations: A policymaker focus*.
New York: Wiley John and sons publishers, 1977.
- Yunus ,Mohammad. *Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Introduction*.
Karachi :Oxford University Press,2003.

Articles/Periodicals:

- Chemarapally, Yohana. "Indo-Israel Relations: An Indirect Way to Appease Washington."
People's Democracy, Vol.27, No.28 (11 July 2004).
- Desai, Ronak D. and Dormandi, Xenia. "Indo-Israel Relations: Key Security Implications."
bitter lemons-international .org, edition18, volume 1 (November 20, 2003).
- Haq, Noor ul. (ed.). "Increasing Indo-Israel Strategic Collaboration: Fact files."
Islamabad Policy Research Institute (May 2003).
- Jafar, Ghani . "Soul Mates Come Together."
Regional Studies, Spring, Vol.XX, No.2 (2002).

- Kapila, Subhash. "India-Israel Relations: The Imperatives for Enhanced Strategic Cooperation." *South Asia Analysis Group* (2001).
- Kumaraswamy, P.R. "Indo-Israel Relations: Humble Beginning, A Bright Future." *The American Jewish Community* (2002).
- Kumaraswamy P.R. "India-Israel Relations: Seeking Balance and Realism." *Israel Affairs* (2004).
- Kumaraswamy, P.R. "India's Recognition of Israel." *Middle Eastern studies*, Vo.31, No.1 (1995).
- Kumaraswamy, P.R. "India and Israel: Emerging Partnership." *Journal of strategic studies*, Vol.25, No.4 (2002).
- Kalyal, Amber Jameel. "Changing Nature of Indo-Israeli Relations." *Strategic Studies, Islamabad*, Vol.12, No.4, Autumn (2004).
- Misra, K.P. "India's policy of recognition of governments and states." *American Journal of International law*, Vol.55, No.2 (April 1961).
- Niazi, Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan. "Indo-Israel-US Nexus: Security Implications for Pakistan." *The Dialogue*, Vol.8, No.2 (April- June 2006).
- Niazi, Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan. "The Evolving Indo-Israel Partnership: Security Implications for Pakistan." *The Dialogue*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July-September 2007).
- Nuri, Maqsoodul Hasan. "The Indo-Israeli Nexus." *Regional Studies*, Vol.12, No.3, Summer (1994).
- Pant, Harsh V. "India Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints." *MERIA*, Vol.8, No.4 (December 2004).
- Raja, Asif Haroon. "Drug Money Used as a Geopolitics Weapon by CIA-RAW_Mossad." *World Institute of Asian Studies*, Vol. 10, No .158 (March 2010).
- Shah, Farzana. "Indo-Israeli Cyber War-Fare Against Pakistan Nuclear Program." *World Institute of Asian Studies*, Vol. 10, No .105 (September 2009).
- Waltz, Kenneth. International Politics is Not Foreign Policy. *Security Studies*, 6, Autumn (1996).
- Waltz, Kenneth. "The Myth of National Interdependence in the International Corporation." A *Symposium*, Charles P. Kindleberger,(ed.), Cambridge, MA (1970).

Websites:

<http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/>

<http://www.bicom.org.uk/>

<http://delhi.mfa.gov.il>

<http://www.diplomatist.com/>

<http://newsgroups.derkeiler.com/>

<http://www.eepcindia.org/>

<http://www.ficci.com/>

<http://www.indembassy.co.il/>

<http://www.issi.org.pk/>

<http://www.indiainbusiness.nic.in/>

<http://jewishvoiceny.com/>

<http://www.lankaweb.com>

<http://www.moital.gov.il/.../>

<http://www.opinion-maker.org/>

<http://www.radianceweekly.com>

<http://sify.com/.../>

<http://www.sarkaritel.com/>

<http://www.saras.org.pk/>

<http://en.wikipedia.org/>

Newspapers/ Dailies:

Daily Times, "India Spends \$1.1 Billion on Upgraded Israeli Air Defenses."
Islamabad (November 10, 2009).

Dawn, "Israel's Military Chief on Visit to India."
Islamabad (December 7, 2009).

Daily Times, "India and Israel Discuss Military Cooperation."
Islamabad (September 10, 2008).

Dawn, "Indian Army Chief in Israel."

Islamabad (March 10, 2007).

Daily Times, "India, Israel Sign Secret Deal on Anti-Missile System."
Islamabad (February 4, 2006).

Daily Times, "India Commission's Israeli-Built 'Stealth' Vessel."
Islamabad (October 10, 2003).

Daily Times, "Indian Navy to sign \$100m Deal for Israeli Missiles."
Islamabad (November 26, 2003).

Dawn, "India Cosying Upto Israel."
Islamabad (July 31, 2000).

Hindustan Times, "Recruit the World to Your Side against Terror."
India (December 26, 2001).

Pakistan Daily, "Emerging Threat to the World."
Islamabad (May 5, 2010).

Rediff News, "India-Israel Vows to Boost Ties."
India (February 19, 2010).

The Jerusalem Post, "From Conflict to Convergence."
Israel (February 28, 2003).

The Nation, "India Signs Defense deal with Israel."
Islamabad (April 7, 2009).

The News, "India Launches Spy Satellite."
Islamabad (April 21, 2009).

The Nation, "India Gets AWACS."
Islamabad (May 27, 2009).

The Nation, "India Approves \$1b Missile Deal with Israel."
Islamabad (August 24, 2009).

The Nation, "Israel India to jointly develop Missiles."
Islamabad (February 28, 2008).

The Nation, "Joint Indo-Israel Plan to Spy on Pak, Iran N-Plans Revealed."
Islamabad (April 1, 2005).

The Nation, "India gets Deep-Sea Assault Boat from Israel."

Islamabad (October 7, 2003).

The News, "Growing Indo-Israel Nexus."
Islamabad (September 9, 2001).

Unpublished Dissertations:

Abbas, Syed Qandeel, "Impact of Middle East Peace Process on India's relations with Israel",
Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tehran, Iran, 2003.

Tasleem, Nadia, "Indo-Israel Relations: Implications for Pakistan",
M.Phil Dissertation, Quaid-e-Azam University, Pakistan, 2006

Appendix I

Speech of Mahatma Gandhi in 1938

Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and in-human to impose the Jews on the Arabs... Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home.

Several letters have been received by me asking me to declare my views about the Arab-Jew question in Palestine and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is not without hesitation that I venture to offer my views on this very difficult question.

My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became life-long companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships, therefore, there is the more common universal reason for my sympathy for the Jews.

But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for it is sought in the Bible and the tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?

Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and in-human to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home.

The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will? This cry for the national home affords a colourable justification for the German expulsion of the Jews.

But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have gone. And he is doing it with religious zeal. For he is propounding a new religion of exclusive and militant nationalism in the name of which any inhumanity becomes an act of humanity to be rewarded here and hereafter. The crime of an obviously mad but intrepid youth is being visited upon his whole race with unbelievable ferocity. If there ever could be a justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is therefore outside my horizon or province.

But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared enemy of both? Or is England drifting towards armed dictatorship and all it means?

Germany is showing to the world how efficiently violence can be worked when it is not hampered by any hypocrisy or weakness masquerading as humanitarianism. It is also showing how hideous, terrible and terrifying it looks in its nakedness. Can the Jews resist this organized and shameless persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn? I submit there is. No person who has faith in a living God need feel helpless or forlorn. Jehovah of the Jews is a God more personal than the God of the Christians, the Mussalmans or the Hindus, though; as a matter of fact in essence, He is common to all and one without a second and beyond description. But as the Jews attribute personality to God and believe that He rules every action of theirs, they ought not to feel helpless. If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest gentile German may, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this, I should not wait for the fellow Jews to join me in civil resistance but would have confidence that in the end the rest are bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of resolutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can. Indeed, even if Britain, France and America were to declare hostilities against Germany, they can bring no inner joy, no inner strength. The calculated violence of Hitler may even result in a general massacre of the Jews by way of his first answer to the declaration of such hostilities. But if the Jewish mind could be prepared for voluntary suffering, even the massacre I have imagined could be turned into a day of thanksgiving and joy that Jehovah had wrought deliverance of the race even at the hands of the tyrant. For to the God-fearing, death has no terror. It is a joyful sleep to be followed by a waking that would be all the more refreshing for the long sleep.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that it is easier for the Jews than for the Czechs to follow my prescription. And they have in the Indian satyagraha campaign in South Africa an exact parallel. There the Indians occupied precisely the same place that the Jews occupy in Germany. The persecution had also a religious tinge. President Kruger used to say that the white Christians were the chosen of God and Indians were inferior beings created to serve the whites. A fundamental clause in the Transvaal constitution was that there should be no equality between the whites and colored races including Asiatic. There too the Indians were consigned to ghettos described as locations.

The other disabilities were almost of the same type as those of the Jews in Germany. The Indians, a mere handful, resorted to satyagraha without any backing from the world outside or the Indian Government. Indeed the British officials tried to dissuade the satya-grahis from their contemplated step. World opinion and the Indian Government came to their aid after eight years of fighting. And that too was by way of diplomatic pressure not of a threat of war.

But the Jews of Germany can offer satyagraha under infinitely better auspices than the Indians of South Africa. The Jews are a compact, homogeneous community in Germany. They are far more gifted than the Indians of South Africa. And they have organized world opinion behind them. I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in

non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will be then a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of dehumanized man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity. They will have rendered service to fellow-Germans and proved their title to be the real Germans as against those who are today dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about it the wrong way. The Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs. They should seek to convert the Arab heart. The same God rules the Arab heart who rules the Jewish heart. They can offer satyagraha in front of the Arabs and offer themselves to be shot or thrown into the Dead Sea without raising a little finger against them. They will find the world opinion in their favor in their religious aspiration. There are hundreds of ways of reasoning with the Arabs, if they will only discard the help of the British bayonet. As it is, they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them.

I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightly regarded as an unwarrantable encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.

Let the Jews who claim to be the chosen race prove their title by choosing the way of non-violence for vindicating their position on earth. Every country is their home including Palestine not by aggression but by loving service. A Jewish friend has sent me a book called *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization* by Cecil Roth. It gives a record of what the Jews have done to enrich the world? Literature, art, music, drama, science, medicine, agriculture, etc. Given the will, the Jew can refuse to be treated as the outcaste of the West, to be despised or patronized. He can command the attention and respect of the world by being man, the chosen creation of God, instead of being man who is fast sinking to the brute and forsaken by God. They can add to their many contributions the surpassing contribution of non-violent action.

November 20, 1938.

Source: <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/51/207.html> 16 September 2010.

Appendix II

Resolution Adopted On the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestine Question

181 (II). Future Government of Palestine

A

The General Assembly,

Having met in special session at the request of the mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future Government of Palestine at the second regular session;

Having constituted a Special Committee and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and

Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364)(1) including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

Considers that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

Takes note of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future Government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

Requests that

- a. The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;
- b. The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;

- c. The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;
- d. The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;

Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

Appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and

Authorizes the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission referred to in Part 1, Section B, Paragraph I below, on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.

B

The General Assembly,

Authorizes the Secretary-General to draw from the Working Capital Fund a sum not to exceed 2,000,000 dollars for the purposes set forth in the last paragraph of the resolution on the future government of Palestine.

Plan of Partition with Economic Union

Part I

Future Constitution and Government of Palestine

A. Termination of Mandate, Partition and Independence

1. The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.
2. The armed forces of the mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948: The mandatory Power shall advise the Commission, as far in advance as possible, of its intention to terminate the mandate and to evacuate each area. The mandatory Power shall use its best endeavours to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1 February 1948.
3. Independent Arab and Jewish States and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem, set forth in Part III of this Plan, shall come into existence in Palestine two

months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than 1 October 1948. The boundaries of the Arab State, the Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem shall be as described in Parts II and III below.

4. The period between the adoption by the General Assembly of its recommendation on the question of Palestine and the establishment of the independence of the Arab and Jewish States shall be a transitional period.

B. Steps Preparatory To Independence

1. A Commission shall be set up consisting of one representative of each of five Member States. The Members represented on the Commission shall be elected by the General Assembly on as broad a basis, geographically and otherwise, as possible.
2. The administration of Palestine shall, as the mandatory Power withdraws its armed forces, be progressively turned over to the Commission, which shall act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council. The mandatory Power shall to the fullest possible extent coordinate its plans for withdrawal with the plans of the Commission to take over and administer areas which have been evacuated. In the discharge of this administrative responsibility the Commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required. The mandatory Power shall not take any action to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly.
3. On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the general lines of the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine. Nevertheless, the boundaries as described in Part II of this Plan are to be modified in such a way that village areas as a rule will not be divided by state boundaries unless pressing reasons make that necessary.
4. The Commission, after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organizations of the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State as rapidly as possible a Provisional Council of Government. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission. If by 1 April 1948 a Provisional Council of Government cannot be selected for either of the States, or, if selected, cannot carry out its functions, the Commission shall communicate that fact to the Security Council for such action with respect to that State as the Security Council may deem proper, and to the Secretary-General for communication to the Members of the United Nations.
5. Subject to the provisions of these recommendations, during the transitional period the Provisional Councils of Government, acting under the Commission, shall have full authority in the areas under their control including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.
6. The Provisional Council of Government of each State, acting under the Commission, shall progressively receive from the Commission full responsibility for the administration of that State in the period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the State's independence.

7. The Commission shall instruct the Provisional Councils of Government of both the Arab and Jewish States, after their formation, to proceed to the establishment of administrative organs of government, central and local.
8. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, within the shortest time possible, recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State, sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes. This armed militia in each State shall, for operational purposes, be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State, but general political and military control, including the choice of the militia's High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.
9. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines. The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that State; and (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the State, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State. Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish States respectively. Women may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies. During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab State, and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State, except by special leave of the Commission.
10. The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic constitution for its State and choose a provisional government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The Constitutions of the States shall embody Chapters 1 and 2 of the Declaration provided for in section C below and include, inter alia, provisions for:
 - a. Establishing in each State a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation, and an executive body responsible to the legislature;
 - b. Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;
 - c. Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations;
 - d. Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association;
 - e. Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other State in Palestine and the City of Jerusalem, subject to considerations of national security, provided that each State shall control residence within its borders.

11. The Commission shall appoint a preparatory economic commission of three members to make whatever arrangements are possible for economic co-operation, with a view to establishing, as soon as practicable, the Economic Union and the Joint Economic Board, as provided in section D below.
12. During the period between the adoption of the recommendations on the question of Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power in Palestine shall maintain full responsibility for administration in areas from which it has not withdrawn its armed forces. The Commission shall assist the mandatory Power in the carrying out of these functions. Similarly the mandatory Power shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its functions.
13. With a view to ensuring that there shall be continuity in the functioning of administrative services and that, on the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, the whole administration shall be in the charge of the Provisional Councils and the Joint Economic Board, respectively, acting under the Commission, there shall be a progressive transfer, from the mandatory Power to the Commission, of responsibility for all the functions of government, including that of maintaining law and order in the areas from which the forces of the mandatory Power have been withdrawn.
14. The Commission shall be guided in its activities by the recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions as the Security Council may consider necessary to issue. The measures taken by the Commission, within the recommendations of the General Assembly, shall become immediately effective unless the Commission has previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council. The Commission shall render periodic monthly progress reports, or more frequently if desirable, to the Security Council.
15. The Commission shall make its final report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council simultaneously.

C. Declaration

A declaration shall be made to the United Nations by the Provisional Government of each proposed State before independence. It shall contain, inter alia, the following clauses:

General Provision

The stipulations contained in the Declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the State and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Chapter I:

Holy Places, Religious Buildings and Sites

1. Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

2. In so far as Holy Places are concerned, the liberty of access, visit, and transit shall be guaranteed, in conformity with existing rights, to all residents and citizen of the other State and of the City of Jerusalem, as well as to aliens, without distinction as to nationality, subject to requirements of national security, public order and decorum. Similarly, freedom of worship shall be guaranteed in conformity with existing rights, subject to the maintenance of public order and decorum.
3. Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Government that any particular Holy Place, religious, building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Government may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Government may carry it out itself at the expense of the community or community concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.
4. No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the State. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.
5. The Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall have the right to determine whether the provisions of the Constitution of the State in relation to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the State and the religious rights appertaining thereto, are being properly applied and respected, and to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community with respect to such places, buildings and sites. He shall receive full co-operation and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in the State.

Chapter 2:

Religious and Minority Rights

1. Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be ensured to all.
2. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the ground of race, religion, language or sex.
3. All persons within the jurisdiction of the State shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.
4. The family law and personal status of the various minorities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.
5. Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.
6. The State shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish minority, respectively, in its own language and its cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

7. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any citizen of the State of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.(3)
8. No expropriation of land owned by an Arab in the Jewish State (by a Jew in the Arab State)(4) shall be allowed except for public purposes. In all cases of expropriation full compensation as fixed by the Supreme Court shall be said previous to dispossession.

Chapter 3:

Citizenship, International Conventions and Financial Obligations

1. Citizenship

Palestinian citizens residing in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem, as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the State in which they are resident and enjoy full civil and political rights. Persons over the age of eighteen years may opt, within one year from the date of recognition of independence of the State in which they reside, for citizenship of the other State, providing that no Arab residing in the area of the proposed Arab State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Jewish State and no Jew residing in the proposed Jewish State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Arab State. The exercise of this right of option will be taken to include the wives and children under eighteen years of age of persons so opting.

Arabs residing in the area of the proposed Jewish State and Jews residing in the area of the proposed Arab State who have signed a notice of intention to opt for citizenship of the other State shall be eligible to vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of that State, but not in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of the State in which they reside.

2. International conventions

- a. The State shall be bound by all the international agreements and conventions, both general and special, to which Palestine has become a party. Subject to any right of denunciation provided for therein, such agreements and conventions shall be respected by the State throughout the period for which they were concluded.
- b. Any dispute about the applicability and continued validity of international conventions or treaties signed or adhered to by the mandatory Power on behalf of Palestine shall be referred to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

3. Financial obligations

- a. The State shall respect and fulfil all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the mandatory Power during the exercise of the Mandate and recognized by the State. This provision includes the right of public servants to pensions, compensation or gratuities.
- b. These obligations shall be fulfilled through participation in the Joint Economic Board in respect of those obligations applicable to Palestine as a whole, and individually in respect of those applicable to, and fairly apportionable between, the States.
- c. A Court of Claims, affiliated with the Joint Economic Board, and composed of one member appointed by the United Nations, one representative of the United Kingdom and one representative of the State concerned, should be established. Any dispute between the United Kingdom and the State respecting claims not recognized by the latter should be referred to that Court.
- d. Commercial concessions granted in respect of any part of Palestine prior to the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly shall continue to be valid according to their terms, unless modified by agreement between the concession-holders and the State.

Chapter 4:

Miscellaneous Provisions

1. The provisions of chapters 1 and 2 of the declaration shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Any Member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations, and the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances.
2. Any dispute relating to the application or interpretation of this declaration shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

D. Economic union and transit

1. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall enter into an undertaking with respect to Economic Union and Transit. This undertaking shall be drafted by the Commission provided for in section B, paragraph 1, utilizing to the greatest possible extent the advice and cooperation of representative organizations and bodies from each of the proposed States. It shall contain provisions to establish the Economic Union of Palestine and provide for other matters of common interest. If by 1 April 1948 the Provisional Councils of Government have not entered into the undertaking, the undertaking shall be put into force by the Commission.

The Economic Union of Palestine

2. The objectives of the Economic Union of Palestine shall be:
 - a. A customs union;
 - b. A joint currency system providing for a single foreign exchange rate;
 - c. Operation in the common interest on a non-discriminatory basis of railways inter-State highways; postal, telephone and telegraphic services and ports and airports involved in international trade and commerce;
 - d. Joint economic development, especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation;
 - e. Access for both States and for the City of Jerusalem on a non-discriminatory basis to water and power facilities.
3. There shall be established a Joint Economic Board, which shall consist of three representatives of each of the two States and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The foreign members shall be appointed in the first instance for a term of three years; they shall serve as individuals and not as representatives of States.
4. The functions of the Joint Economic Board shall be to implement either directly or by delegation the measures necessary to realize the objectives of the Economic Union. It shall have all powers of organization and administration necessary to fulfil its functions.
5. The States shall bind themselves to put into effect the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The Board's decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.
6. In the event of failure of a State to take the necessary action the Board may, by a vote of six members, decide to withhold an appropriate portion of the part of the customs revenue to which the State in question is entitled under the Economic Union. Should the State persist in its failure to cooperate, the Board may decide by a simple majority vote upon such further sanctions, including disposition of funds which it has withheld, as it may deem appropriate.
7. In relation to economic development, the functions of the Board shall be planning, investigation and encouragement of joint development projects, but it shall not undertake such projects except with the assent of both States and the City of Jerusalem, in the event that Jerusalem is directly involved in the development project.
8. In regard to the joint currency system, the currencies circulating in the two States and the City of Jerusalem shall be issued under the authority of the Joint Economic Board, which shall be the sole issuing authority and which shall determine the reserves to be held against such currencies.
9. So far as is consistent with paragraph 2(b) above, each State may operate its own central bank, control its own fiscal and credit policy, its foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, the grant of import licences, and may conduct international financial operations on its own faith and credit. During the first two years after the termination of the Mandate, the Joint Economic Board shall have the authority to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that - to the extent that the total foreign exchange revenues of the two States from the export of goods and services permit, and provided that each State takes appropriate measures to conserve its own foreign exchange resources - each State shall have available, in any twelve months' period, foreign exchange sufficient to assure the supply of quantities of imported goods and services for consumption in its territory

- equivalent to the quantities of such goods and services consumed in that territory in the twelve months' period ending 31 December 1947.
10. All economic authority not specifically vested in the Joint Economic Board is reserved to each State.
 11. There shall be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the States, and between the States and the City of Jerusalem.
 12. The tariff schedules shall be drawn up by a Tariff Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the States in equal numbers, and shall be submitted to the Joint Economic Board for approval by a majority vote. In case of disagreement in the Tariff Commission, the Joint Economic Board shall arbitrate the points of difference. In the event that the Tariff Commission fails to draw up any schedule by a date to be fixed, the Joint Economic Board shall determine the tariff schedule.
 13. The following items shall be a first charge on the customs and other common revenue of the Joint Economic Board:
 - a. The expenses of the customs service and of the operation of the joint services;
 - b. The administrative expenses of the Joint Economic Board;
 - c. The financial obligations of the Administration of Palestine, consisting of:
 - i. The service of the outstanding public debt;
 - ii. The cost of superannuation benefits, now being paid or falling due in the future, in accordance with the rules and to the extent established by paragraph 3 of chapter 3 above.
 14. After these obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent and not more than 10 per cent to the City of Jerusalem; the residue shall be allocated to each State by the Joint Economic Board equitably, with the objective of maintaining a sufficient and suitable level of government and social services in each State, except that the share of either State shall not exceed the amount of that State's contribution to the revenues of the Economic Union by more than approximately four million pounds in any year. The amount granted may be adjusted by the Board according to the price level in relation to the prices prevailing at the time of the establishment of the Union. After five years, the principles of the distribution of the joint revenue may be revised by the Joint Economic Board on a basis of equity.
 15. All international conventions and treaties affecting customs tariff rates, and those communications services under the jurisdiction of the Joint Economic Board, shall be entered into by both States. In these matters, the two States shall be bound to act in accordance with the majority of the Joint Economic Board.
 16. The Joint Economic Board shall endeavour to secure for Palestine's exports fair and equal access to world markets.
 17. All enterprises operated by the Joint Economic Board shall pay fair wages on a uniform basis.

Freedom of Transit and Visit

18. The undertaking shall contain provisions preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents or citizens of both States and of the City of Jerusalem, subject to security

considerations; provided that each State and the City shall control residence within its borders.

Termination, Modification and Interpretation of the Undertaking

19. The undertaking and any treaty issuing there from shall remain in force for a period of ten years. It shall continue in force until notice of termination, to take effect two years thereafter, is given by either of the parties.
20. During the initial ten-year period, the undertaking and any treaty issuing there from may not be modified except by consent of both parties and with the approval of the General Assembly.
21. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of the undertaking and any treaty issuing there from shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

E. Assets

1. The movable assets of the Administration of Palestine shall be allocated to the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem on an equitable basis. Allocations should be made by the United Nations Commission referred to in section B, paragraph 1, above. Immovable assets shall become the property of the government of the territory in which they are situated.
2. During the period between the appointment of the United Nations Commission and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power shall, except in respect of ordinary operations, consult with the Commission on any measure which it may contemplate involving the liquidation, disposal or encumbering of the assets of the Palestine Government, such as the accumulated treasury surplus, the proceeds of Government bond issues, State lands or any other asset.

F. Admission to Membership in the United Nations

When the independence of either the Arab or the Jewish State as envisaged in this plan has become effective and the declaration and undertaking, as envisaged in this plan, have been signed by either of them, sympathetic consideration should be given to its application for admission to membership in the United Nations in accordance with article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Part II.

Boundaries

A. The Arab State

The area of the Arab State in Western Galilee is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and on the north by the frontier of the Lebanon from Ras en Naqura to a point north of Saliha. From there the boundary proceeds southwards, leaving the built-up area of Saliha in the Arab State, to join the southernmost point of this village. There it follows the western boundary line of the villages of 'Alma, Rihaniya and Teitaba, thence following the northern boundary line of Meirun village to join the Acre-Safad Sub-District boundary line. It follows this line to a point west of Es Sammu'i village and joins it again at the northernmost point of Farradiya. Thence it follows the sub-district boundary line to the Acre-Safad main road. From here it follows the western boundary of Kafr-I'nan village until it reaches the Tiberias-Acre Sub-District boundary line, passing to the west of the junction of the Acre-Safad and Lubiya-Kafr-I'nan roads. From the south-west corner of Kafr-I'nan village the boundary line follows the western boundary of the Tiberias Sub-District to a point close to the boundary line between the villages of Maghar and 'Eilabun, thence bulging out to the west to include as much of the eastern part of the plain of Battuf as is necessary for the reservoir proposed by the Jewish Agency for the irrigation of lands to the south and east.

The boundary rejoins the Tiberias Sub-District boundary at a point on the Nazareth-Tiberias road south-east of the built-up area of Tur'an; thence it runs southwards, at first following the sub-district boundary and then passing between the Kadoorie Agricultural School and Mount Tabor, to a point due south at the base of Mount Tabor. From here it runs due west, parallel to the horizontal grid line 230, to the north-east corner of the village lands of Tel Adashim. It then runs to the northwest corner of these lands, whence it turns south and west so as to include in the Arab State the sources of the Nazareth water supply in Yafa village. On reaching Ginneiger it follows the eastern, northern and western boundaries of the lands of this village to their south-west corner, whence it proceeds in a straight line to a point on the Haifa-Afula railway on the boundary between the villages of Sarid and El-Mujeidil. This is the point of intersection. The south-western boundary of the area of the Arab State in Galilee takes a line from this point, passing northwards along the eastern boundaries of Sarid and Gevat to the north-eastern corner of Nahalal, proceeding thence across the land of Kefar ha Horesh to a central point on the southern boundary of the village of 'Ilut, thence westwards along that village boundary to the eastern boundary of Beit Lahm, thence northwards and north-eastwards along its western boundary to the north-eastern corner of Waldheim and thence north-westwards across the village lands of Shafa 'Amr to the southeastern corner of Ramat Yohanan. From here it runs due north-north-east to a point on the Shafa 'Amr-Haifa road, west of its junction with the road of I'billin. From there it proceeds north-east to a point on the southern boundary of I'billin situated to the west of the I'billin-Birwa road. Thence along that boundary to its westernmost point, whence it turns to the north, follows across the village land of Tamra to the north-westernmost corner and along the western boundary of Julis until it reaches the Acre-Safad road. It then runs westwards along the southern side of the Safad-Acre road to the Galilee-Haifa District boundary, from which point it follows that boundary to the sea.

The boundary of the hill country of Samaria and Judea starts on the Jordan River at the Wadi Malih south-east of Beisan and runs due west to meet the Beisan-Jericho road and then follows the western side of that road in a north-westerly direction to the junction of the boundaries of the Sub-Districts of Beisan, Nablus, and Jenin. From that point it follows the Nablus-Jenin sub-District boundary westwards for a distance of about three kilometres and then turns north-westwards, passing to the east of the built-up areas of the villages of Jalbun and Faqu'a, to the boundary of the Sub-Districts of Jenin and Beisan at a point northeast of Nuris. Thence it proceeds first northwestwards to a point due north of the built-up area of Zie'in and then westwards to the Afula-Jenin railway, thence north-westwards along the District boundary line to the point of intersection on the Hejaz railway. From here the boundary runs southwestwards, including the built-up area and some of the land of the village of Kh. Lid in the Arab State to cross the Haifa-Jenin road at a point on the district boundary between Haifa and Samaria west of El- Mansi. It follows this boundary to the southernmost point of the village of El-Buteimat. From here it follows the northern and eastern boundaries of the village of Ar'ara rejoining the Haifa-Samaria district boundary at Wadi 'Ara, and thence proceeding south-south-westwards in an approximately straight line joining up with the western boundary of Qaqun to a point east of the railway line on the eastern boundary of Qaqun village. From here it runs along the railway line some distance to the east of it to a point just east of the Tulkarm railway station. Thence the boundary follows a line half-way between the railway and the Tulkarm-Qalqiliya-Jaljuliya and Ras El-Ein road to a point just east of Ras El-Ein station, whence it proceeds along the railway some distance to the east of it to the point on the railway line south of the junction of the Haifa-Lydd and Beit Nabala lines, whence it proceeds along the southern border of Lydda airport to its south-west corner, thence in a south-westerly direction to a point just west of the built-up area of Sarafand El 'Amar, whence it turns south, passing just to the west of the built-up area of Abu El-Fadil to the north-east corner of the lands of Beer Ya'aqov. (The boundary line should be so demarcated as to allow direct access from the Arab State to the airport.) Thence the boundary line follows the western and southern boundaries of Ramle village, to the north-east corner of El Na'ana village, thence in a straight line to the southernmost point of El Barriya, along the eastern boundary of that village and the southern boundary of 'Innaba village. Thence it turns north to follow the southern side of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road until El-Qubab, whence it follows the road to the boundary of Abu-Shusha. It runs along the eastern boundaries of Abu Shusha, Seidun, Hulda to the southernmost point of Hulda, thence westwards in a straight line to the north-eastern corner of Umm Kalkha, thence following the northern boundaries of Umm Kalkha, Qazaza and the northern and western boundaries of Mukhezim to the Gaza District boundary and thence runs across the village lands of El-Mismiya El-Kabira, and Yasur to the southern point of intersection, which is midway between the built-up areas of Yasur and Batani Sharqi.

From the southern point of intersection the boundary lines run north-westwards between the villages of Gan Yavne and Barqa to the sea at a point half way between Nabi Yunis and Minat El-Qila, and south-eastwards to a point west of Qastina, whence it turns in a south-westerly direction, passing to the east of the built-up areas of Es Sawafir Esh Sharqiya and 'Ibdis. From the south-east corner of 'Ibdis village it runs to a point southwest of the built-up area of Beit 'Affa, crossing the Hebron-El-Majdal road just to the west of the built-up area of 'Iraq Suweidan. Thence it proceeds southward along the western village boundary of El-Faluja to the Beersheba Sub-District boundary. It then runs across the tribal lands of 'Arab El-Jubarat to a point on the boundary between the Sub-Districts of Beersheba and Hebron north of Kh. Khuweilifa, whence

it proceeds in a south-westerly direction to a point on the Beersheba-Gaza main road two kilometres to the north-west of the town. It then turns south-eastwards to reach Wadi Sab' at a point situated one kilometer to the west of it. From here it turns north-eastwards and proceeds along Wadi Sab' and along the Beersheba-Hebron road for a distance of one kilometer, whence it turns eastwards and runs in a straight line to Kh. Kuseifa to join the Beersheba-Hebron Sub-District boundary. It then follows the Beersheba-Hebron boundary eastwards to a point north of Ras Ez-Zuweira, only departing from it so as to cut across the base of the indentation between vertical grid lines 150 and 160.

About five kilometres north-east of Ras Ez-Zuweira it turns north, excluding from the Arab State a strip along the coast of the Dead Sea not more than seven kilometres in depth, as far as 'Ein Geddi, whence it turns due east to join the Transjordan frontier in the Dead Sea.

The northern boundary of the Arab section of the coastal plain runs from a point between Minat El-Qila and Nabi Yunis, passing between the built-up areas of Gan Yavne and Barqa to the point of intersection. From here it turns south-westwards, running across the lands of Batani Sharqi, along the eastern boundary of the lands of Beit Daras and across the lands of Julis, leaving the built-up areas of Batani Sharqi and Julis to the westwards, as far as the north-west corner of the lands of Beit-Tima. Thence it runs east of El-Jiya across the village lands of El-Barbara along the eastern boundaries of the villages of Beit Jirja, Deir Suneid and Dimra. From the south-east corner of Dimra the boundary passes across the lands of Beit Hanun, leaving the Jewish lands of Nir-Am to the eastwards. From the south-east corner of Beit Hanun the line runs south-west to a point south of the parallel grid line 100, then turns north-west for two kilometres, turning again in a southwesterly direction and continuing in an almost straight line to the north-west corner of the village lands of Kirbet Ikhza'a. From there it follows the boundary line of this village to its southernmost point. It then runs in a southerly direction along the vertical grid line 90 to its junction with the horizontal grid line 70. It then turns south-eastwards to Kh. El-Ruheiba and then proceeds in a southerly direction to a point known as El-Baha, beyond which it crosses the Beersheba-El 'Auja main road to the west of Kh. El-Mushrif. From there it joins Wadi El-Zaiyatin just to the west of El-Subeita. From there it turns to the north-east and then to the south-east following this Wadi and passes to the east of 'Abda to join Wadi Nafkh. It then bulges to the south-west along Wadi Nafkh, Wadi 'Ajrim and Wadi Lassan to the point where Wadi Lassan crosses the Egyptian frontier.

The area of the Arab enclave of Jaffa consists of that part of the town-planning area of Jaffa which lies to the west of the Jewish quarters lying south of Tel-Aviv, to the west of the continuation of Herzl street up to its junction with the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, to the south-west of the section of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road lying south-east of that junction, to the west of Mique Yisrael lands, to the northwest of Holon local council area, to the north of the line linking up the north-west corner of Holon with the northeast corner of Bat Yam local council area and to the north of Bat Yam local council area. The question of Karton quarter will be decided by the Boundary Commission, bearing in mind among other considerations the desirability of including the smallest possible number of its Arab inhabitants and the largest possible number of its Jewish inhabitants in the Jewish State.

B. The Jewish state

The north-eastern sector of the Jewish State (Eastern Galilee) is bounded on the north and west by the Lebanese frontier and on the east by the frontiers of Syria and Trans-jordan. It includes the whole of the Huleh Basin, Lake Tiberias, the whole of the Beisan Sub-District, the boundary line being extended to the crest of the Gilboa mountains and the Wadi Malih. From there the Jewish State extends north-west, following the boundary described in respect of the Arab State. The Jewish section of the coastal plain extends from a point between Minat El-Qila and Nabi Yunis in the Gaza Sub-District and includes the towns of Haifa and Tel-Aviv, leaving Jaffa as an enclave of the Arab State. The eastern frontier of the Jewish State follows the boundary described in respect of the Arab State.

The Beersheba area comprises the whole of the Beersheba Sub-District, including the Negeb and the eastern part of the Gaza Sub-District, but excluding the town of Beersheba and those areas described in respect of the Arab State. It includes also a strip of land along the Dead Sea stretching from the Beersheba-Hebron Sub-District boundary line to 'Ein Geddi, as described in respect of the Arab State.

C. The City of Jerusalem

The boundaries of the City of Jerusalem are as defined in the recommendations on the City of Jerusalem. (See Part III, section B, below).

Part III.

City of Jerusalem

A. Special regime

The City of Jerusalem shall be established as a *corpus separatum* under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations. The Trusteeship Council shall be designated to discharge the responsibilities of the Administering Authority on behalf of the United Nations.

B. Boundaries of the City

The City of Jerusalem shall include the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, 'Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most northern Shu'fat, as indicated on the attached sketch-map (annex B).

C. Statute of the City

The Trusteeship Council shall within five months of the approval of the present plan, elaborate and approve a detailed statute of the City which shall contain, inter alia, the substance of the following provisions:

1. Government machinery; special objectives. The Administering Authority in discharging its administrative obligations shall pursue the following special objectives:
 - a. To protect and to preserve the unique spiritual and religious interests located in the city of the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world, Christian, Jewish and Moslem; to this end to ensure that order and peace, and especially religious peace, reign in Jerusalem;
 - b. To foster cooperation among all the inhabitants of the city in their own interests as well as in order to encourage and support the peaceful development of the mutual relations between the two Palestinian peoples throughout the Holy Land; to promote the security, well-being and any constructive measures of development of the residents having regard to the special circumstances and customs of the various peoples and communities.
2. Governor and Administrative staff. A Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall be appointed by the Trusteeship Council and shall be responsible to it. He shall be selected on the basis of special qualifications and without regard to nationality. He shall not, however, be a citizen of either State in Palestine.

The Governor shall represent the United Nations in the City and shall exercise on their behalf all powers of administration, including the conduct of external affairs. He shall be assisted by an administrative staff classed as international officers in the meaning of Article 100 of the Charter and chosen whenever practicable from the residents of the city and of the rest of Palestine on a non-discriminatory basis. A detailed plan for the organization of the administration of the city shall be submitted by the Governor to the Trusteeship Council and duly approved by it.
3. Local autonomy
 - a. The existing local autonomous units in the territory of the city (villages, townships and municipalities) shall enjoy wide powers of local government and administration.
 - b. The Governor shall study and submit for the consideration and decision of the Trusteeship Council a plan for the establishment of special town units consisting, respectively, of the Jewish and Arab sections of new Jerusalem. The new town units shall continue to form part the present municipality of Jerusalem.
4. Security measures
 - a. The City of Jerusalem shall be demilitarized; neutrality shall be declared and preserved, and no para-military formations, exercises or activities shall be permitted within its borders.
 - b. Should the administration of the City of Jerusalem be seriously obstructed or prevented by the non-cooperation or interference of one or more sections of the population the Governor shall have authority to take such measures as may be necessary to restore the effective functioning of administration.

- c. To assist in the maintenance of internal law and order, especially for the protection of the Holy Places and religious buildings and sites in the city, the Governor shall organize a special police force of adequate strength, the members of which shall be recruited outside of Palestine. The Governor shall be empowered to direct such budgetary provision as may be necessary for the maintenance of this force.
5. Legislative Organization.
A Legislative Council, elected by adult residents of the city irrespective of nationality on the basis of universal and secret suffrage and proportional representation, shall have powers of legislation and taxation. No legislative measures shall, however, conflict or interfere with the provisions which will be set forth in the Statute of the City, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them. The Statute shall grant to the Governor a right of vetoing bills inconsistent with the provisions referred to in the preceding sentence. It shall also empower him to promulgate temporary ordinances in case the Council fails to adopt in time a bill deemed essential to the normal functioning of the administration.
6. Administration of Justice. The Statute shall provide for the establishment of an independent judiciary system, including a court of appeal. All the inhabitants of the city shall be subject to it.
7. Economic Union and Economic Regime. The City of Jerusalem shall be included in the Economic Union of Palestine and be bound by all stipulations of the undertaking and of any treaties issued there from, as well as by the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The headquarters of the Economic Board shall be established in the Territory City. The Statute shall provide for the regulation of economic matters not falling within the regime of the Economic Union, on the basis of equal treatment and non-discrimination for all members of the United Nations and their nationals.
8. Freedom of Transit and Visit: Control of residents: Subject to considerations of security, and of economic welfare as determined by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council, freedom of entry into, and residence within the borders of the City shall be guaranteed for the residents or citizens of the Arab and Jewish States. Immigration into, and residence within, the borders of the city for nationals of other States shall be controlled by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council.
9. Relations with Arab and Jewish States. Representatives of the Arab and Jewish States shall be accredited to the Governor of the City and charged with the protection of the interests of their States and nationals in connection with the international administration of the City.
10. Official languages: Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of the city. This will not preclude the adoption of one or more additional working languages, as may be required.
11. Citizenship.
All the residents shall become ipso facto citizens of the City of Jerusalem unless they opt for citizenship of the State of which they have been citizens or, if Arabs or Jews, have filed notice of intention to become citizens of the Arab or Jewish State respectively, according to Part 1, section B, paragraph 9, of this Plan.

12. The Trusteeship Council shall make arrangements for consular protection of the citizens of the City outside its territory.

13. Freedoms of citizens

- a. Subject only to the requirements of public order and morals, the inhabitants of the City shall be ensured the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of conscience, religion and worship, language, education, speech and press, assembly and association, and petition.
- b. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex.
- c. All persons within the City shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.
- d. The family law and personal status of the various persons and communities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.
- e. Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.
- f. The City shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish communities respectively, in their own languages and in accordance with their cultural traditions. The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the City may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.
- g. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any inhabitant of the City of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

14. Holy Places

- a. Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.
- b. Free access to the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites and the free exercise of worship shall be secured in conformity with existing rights and subject to the requirements of public order and decorum.
- c. Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Governor that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Governor may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Governor may carry it out himself at the expense of the community or communities concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.
- d. No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the City. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in

relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

15. Special powers of the Governor in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in the City and in any part of Palestine.
 - a. The protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites located in the City of Jerusalem shall be a special concern of the Governor.
 - b. With relation to such places, buildings and sites in Palestine outside the city, the Governor shall determine, on the ground of powers granted to him by the Constitution of both States, whether the provisions of the Constitution of the Arab and Jewish States in Palestine dealing therewith and the religious rights appertaining thereto are being properly applied and respected.
 - c. The Governor shall also be empowered to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in any part of Palestine. In this task he may be assisted by a consultative council of representatives of different denominations acting in an advisory capacity.

D. Duration of the Special Regime

The Statute elaborated by the Trusteeship Council the aforementioned principles shall come into force not later than 1 October 1948. It shall remain in force in the first instance for a period of ten years, unless the Trusteeship Council finds it necessary to undertake a re-examination of these provisions at an earlier date. After the expiration of this period the whole scheme shall be subject to examination by the Trusteeship Council in the light of experience acquired with its functioning. The residents the City shall be then free to express by means of a referendum their wishes as to possible modifications of regime of the City.

Part IV

Capitulations

States whose nationals have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, are invited to renounce any right pertaining to them to the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in the proposed Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem.

Source: <http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/r2.htm> 20 September 2010.

