

# **Israeli Militarism in Latin America**

**Written by The BDS Movement in Latin America**

We thank all of those who participated voluntarily in this publication.

This research project is part of an educational program oriented towards creating awareness, and has coordinated by the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement against Israel.

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# Introduction

The following report describes the situation of the Israeli war industry in several Latin American countries, detailing the arms trade with the different Latin American governments and the Israeli state and private sector. This report pursues two different aims: on the one hand, it responds to an interest shared by several people from this continent to understand the impact of Israeli militarism in their countries and the consequences it can have on their social freedoms; on the other hand, it responds to the call for a Military Embargo against Israel made by the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions National Committee. The result of the report is part of the joint effort to unite struggles against militarism and Israeli Apartheid.

The BDS international movement responds to the call made by Palestinian civil society to take concrete action in favor of the human rights of the Palestinian population. The movement promotes boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against the State of Israel, Israeli companies and transnational corporations that support the crimes committed against the Palestinian people.

This effort is part of a research project committed to social struggle, and the majority of the people and groups that came together to carry out this project are not professional researchers. The objective pursued is to gather sufficient information to understand the presence of Israeli militarism in our continent, not only to denounce this serious situation, but especially to have sufficient tools to initiate campaigns to boycott companies and promote sanctions against the State of Israel so as to put an end to agreements and institutional exchanges.

Due to the stated nature of this study, although an attempt was made to carry out a rigorous study of the entire continent, it was not possible to gather information from all the Latin American countries. Despite this fact, an effort was made to gather information from selected countries to illuminate the general presence in the continent. Similarly, the study of the agreements, exchanges and sales strategies that were analyzed is not exhaustive, but nonetheless allows us to have an idea of how government leadership and private enterprise nowadays work hand in hand, forming an Israeli militarist complex. As can be seen below, the information from Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Honduras, Guatemala and Brazil is the most present, while for the rest of the Latin American countries there is still a need for further research.

The exercise of collecting and organizing information was carried out following a working hypothesis: Israeli militarism today is composed of public and private companies that produce and market military goods and services for private security, cybersecurity and espionage. The intuition that oriented this study is an understanding of militarism that goes beyond the classic vision of a military equivalent to the army. Nowadays, States like Israel – and this is one of the issues that we will try to develop throughout the document – have built their military doctrine not only from the use of national military forces, but also by integrating cybersecurity and population control mechanisms, guaranteed with the use of physical and digital technology. To the extent that this country has transformed its war industry and colonialism into a source of income, the militarism that it exports involves all the fields of its public and private military machinery.

The cybersecurity and private security sectors in particular, play a central role in the colonial militarism that maintains total control over the occupied population: they guarantee almost millimeter surveillance and thereby guarantee quick action against the opposition. The cybersecurity sector has developed technologies to monitor and control existing means of communication (fixed and mobile telephony, as well as internet services) within a broader sector of

military intelligence; that is why it has also produced technology for the processing and management of information for repressive purposes. The private security sector is the result of the militarization of everyday life, where the network of audiovisual receivers connected to control centers has become one of the central monitoring mechanisms of the Palestinian people. This technology deployed along the apartheid wall has been complemented with registration technology at checkpoints, resulting in a whole series of tools for population control. The experience in these two sectors of militarism is then sold to the world as intelligence tools for States, security services in communications and, in general, security. Tactics of terror and fear, used by the army and the Israeli police as ways to control the Palestinian population end up being part of the military industry that sells training, police exchanges among other services. In the end, not only tools are transferred but also ideology: an ideology that understands the violation of human rights to be a legitimate weapon.

The sale of goods and services to armed forces represents the traditional part of militarism that is nourished by nationalism, while offers for private security respond to the needs created by the increasing privatization of security. Both cases are nourished by a model of public-private militarism, with consequences for individual and collective freedom, as presented in the conclusions of this document.

In the interest of understanding the general framework of militaristic trade between Israel and Latin America, the following pages aim to fulfill the following specific objectives:

1. Describe the commercial exchange between Israel and the countries of Latin America in terms of arms, security, cybersecurity and military technology, and surveillance in the public and private spheres.
2. Describe the exchange of militaristic knowledge between Israel and the countries of Latin America through agreements in the public and private spheres.
3. Analyze the model of militarism that Israel exports to Latin America.
4. Present the strategy of a military embargo on Israel and the global campaigns and actions that have contributed to this strategy.

This study focuses on the last 40 years (this period coincides with the trade relations established between several military dictatorships in Latin America and Israel) but concentrates especially on more recent trade relations, given that this period has seen an increase in commercial relations have had an increase due to the new Israeli drive to sell its products in the region. Data has been obtained by analyzing the information collected from reliable sources. Some of the information has been obtained from the official websites of the different States involved. Likewise, information from the press has been used, as well as information from the websites of the companies themselves.

The document that follows is divided into four parts. The first part is a brief description of Israeli militarism in the world, this includes a description of the situation in Palestine, of Israel's position in the world and of the way in which relations between Israel and Latin American countries has been consolidated. In the second part, the document focuses on militaristic trade exchanges, describing the companies, actors and products that are distributed in Latin America. In a third part, there is an in depth analysis of the different institutional agreements and exchanges identified in several countries of Latin America, which account for the general trend of formal alliances favoring militarism. By way of conclusion, the final part discusses how commercial and institutional exchanges are part of models that Israel has tried to position globally, and warns of the risks that these models imply for Latin American societies. The text closes with an explanation of the

Palestinian call for a Military Embargo on Israel, a campaign that is part of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement.

Those of us who prepared this report hope that it can provide more reasons to fight against militarism as an authoritarian model for the management of our societies. We especially hope that the reflections here presented will motivate readers to promote campaigns in solidarity with Palestine because as say activists in Argentine have reminded us: "the weapons that assassinate Palestinians are the same weapons used to repress Latin Americans".

## Chapter 1: Israeli Militarism in the World.

The following pages describe some of the ways in which Israel has built its militarism since the colonial occupation of Palestine. It also describes how this colonial occupation has allowed Israel to build a business on a global scale that allows it to profit from its war machine, something that the Palestinians have called "Links that Kill", that is, the different forms of international military cooperation with Israel<sup>1</sup>. This is the reason why we argue that military trade is at the heart of Israel's system of oppression. Finally, this section will delve into the ways in which relations have been established around militarism between Israel and Latin America.

### Israeli Militarism in Palestine.

Israel's military companies, military research facilities and complicit international corporations, such as G4S and HP, are the main facilitators and beneficiaries of militarism, violence and the oppression of the Palestinian people by Israel. Israel's military forces have adopted, without officially declaring it, a doctrine of "disproportionate force" also known as the "Dahiya Doctrine," which deliberately targets civilians and infrastructure as the most "effective" means of deterring violent resistance. The UN and human rights organizations have documented how Israel has carried out war crimes, including during its assault on Gaza in 2014, condemned as a "massacre" by the former president of Brazil and the foreign minister of France. More than 2,168 people, including more than 500 children, were killed; whole families were annihilated in their homes, and all that remains of them are the official records that document that they once existed. Important human rights organizations have accused the Israeli army of using "excessive" and "arbitrary" force to suppress popular resistance and mass demonstrations. Israel has recently adopted new "rules of engagement" that allow its occupation forces to "shoot to kill" Palestinian protesters without discerning if they are children or young people, proof of this has been seen in the March of Return, held in Gaza in 2018, where more than two hundred people were killed and thousands injured<sup>2</sup>.

The following military technologies are particularly important for the current repression by the Israeli police and army, used during the massive Palestinian protests in 2018:

- Sniper Rifles: Since mid-September 2015, Israel has reintroduced sniper and rifle methods to injure or kill young Palestinian protesters, including in occupied East Jerusalem.
- Tear gas: used to attack and disperse protests, even though it can be lethal. On October 21, Hashem al-Azzah died after inhaling Israeli tear gas. In the March of Return of 2018, drones were used to release these gases.

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1 Palestinian BDS National Committee; Links that Kill: International military cooperation with Israel; October 2015; <https://bdsmovement.net/news/links-kill-international-military-cooperation-israel>

2 Coalition of women for peace; A Lab and a Showroom The Israeli Military Industries and the Oppression of the Great March of Return in Gaza; June 2018 <https://enhamushim.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/report-with-covers1.pdf>

- UAVs (drones): in the Old City and other Palestinian neighborhoods of occupied East Jerusalem are they used to monitor all aspects of Palestinian life. They are routinely used for this same purpose in the rest of the West Bank and Gaza.

## **The Infrastructure of Apartheid.**

Israel uses a variety of physical infrastructure and military technologies to maintain its system of occupation and apartheid. This includes:

- Walls, watchtowers and checkpoints to enforce racial segregation and deny the inhabitants of the Occupied Palestinian Territories access to their most fertile land and water resources; this is done for the benefit of Israel and its illegal colonies as part of a policy of ethnic cleansing. Examples include the illegal Israeli wall in the West Bank, the "border" wall that imposes the illegal siege on Gaza, the new checkpoints created around East Jerusalem and the temporary walls erected in Jabal al Mukaber, a neighborhood in East Jerusalem. These walls and control points use high-tech sensors, camera technology and specialized software systems.
- A centralized population database and a complex system of identification cards that impose racial segregation between Israeli Jews and Palestinian citizens of Israel, as well as between Israeli settlers and Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. This system of segregation, which resembles the "pass" laws enacted in Apartheid South Africa, aims to fragment Palestinian communities and allow the assignment of different rights to different categories of people, identified by their race, religion and place of residence.
- Surveillance technology along the route of the wall of Israel, in the surrounding illegal settlements and in occupied East Jerusalem. Part of this surveillance is done today with drones.
- Prisons for massive imprisonment with high technology, in which thousands of Palestinians are detained, usually without trial; they are often tortured as admitted even by the United States Department of State. Since the beginning of October 2017, 942 Palestinians have been arrested, simply for participating in demonstrations against the occupation. Of those arrested, several are children accused of throwing stones.
- Cyber intelligence collection technology used to monitor the communication of Palestinians.

## **Most Important Israeli Military Companies in Palestine.**

Israel's largest military companies are key players in maintaining the infrastructure of Israel's oppression regime against the Palestinian people. At the same time, their participation in the military occupation allows them to state that their technology is "field tested", which makes Palestine one of the largest laboratories for testing weapons in the world. Some of these are:

### **Elbit Systems**

- It supplies and maintains surveillance systems for the wall and the illegal colonies of Israel.
- Elbit drones have been widely used and tested in the field during each of Israel's three recent attacks on Gaza. In 2014 one of these killed 4 children in the Shajaiya beach in Gaza.
- It produces white phosphorus ammunition for mortars. The illegal use of this agent by Israel, in densely populated civilian areas of Gaza, was condemned by Amnesty International as a war crime.
- It has a 20-year contract to provide helicopters to the Israeli police.
- It supplies and maintains computer systems for the Israeli border control system.

Israeli Aerospace Industries (IAI)

- Provides surveillance technology for Israel's illegal wall.
- It produces the armor of the Caterpillar D9 excavator, used largely for the demolition of Palestinian homes and farms.
- It produces technology for fighter jets and the Heron TP, Israel's largest drone that includes attack capability and was used repeatedly in attacks on Gaza.

#### Israeli Military Industries (IMI)

- Until recently a state company, it was acquired by Elbit in June 2018. It is an important supplier of land, air and naval weapons and combat systems to the Israeli military and other military forces throughout the world.
- The main supplier of small arms to the Israeli occupation army and producer of cluster munitions.

#### Rafael

- Another Israeli company owned by the State; provides a variety of weapons to the Israeli army and for export. It manufactures the Spike missile system, among many other weapons and technologies.

#### International Security Defense Systems (ISDS)

- The company had a contract with the International Olympic Committee during the 2016 Olympic Games to showcase its technology and whitewash its image.
- Widely accused of having trained death squads in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua and of being involved in coups and attempted coups in Honduras and Venezuela.
- Founded by former Mossad agents and deeply related to international interests and unofficial operations of the Israeli Ministry of Defense.

### **Israel's Lethal Drones.**

Since 1985 Israel has supplied 60.7% of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), also known as drones. Israel regularly uses armed drones in its attacks against Palestinians in Gaza and also to deliberately attack civilians. According to the Al Mezan Center, a human rights organization based in Gaza, more than 1,000 Palestinians in Gaza were killed by armed drones from 2000 to 2010. Israel is also increasingly using unmanned aircraft for surveillance in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. The drones have been detected more and more frequently during the popular protests in Palestine.

### **The Position of Israeli Militarism in the World.**

Israeli arms, as the SIBAT (The International Defense Cooperation), a branch of the Ministry of Defense of Israel mentions, are "proven in the field".<sup>3</sup> This corporate, business and dehumanizing expression is the way to advertise the weapons used to massacre the Palestinian people, to maintain the most prolonged occupation of the 20th century, of a nationalism of the 19th century, in the 21st century, by means of an apartheid regime.

According to Jeff Halper, Israel exploits its 'expertise' acquired in the global war on terrorism, which began on 9/11/2001 and has emerged as the main reference for security forces around the world<sup>4</sup>. However, the Israeli military occupation techniques, deployed in the West Bank in 1967 and

<sup>3</sup> Israel Ministry of Defense - SIBAT; <http://www.sibat.mod.gov.il/idf/Pages/Overview.aspx>

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Cook; Interview with Jeff Halper, director of the Israeli Committee against the demolition of houses "En la guerra sin fin contra el terrorismo, todas las personas estamos condenadas a volvernos palestinas"; September 2015; <http://www.rebellion.org/noticia.php?id=203056> Translated from the original in Spanish.

in the wars against Lebanon in the seventies and eighties, were commercialized globally and imported by military regimes in Africa and Latin America. Long before the exponential growth of their arms sales began in 2001, dictators in the world used not only knowledge but also Israeli weapons to oppress their dissidents. From 2001, what until that moment had been only relegated to dictators, began to be presented as legitimate to use against citizens within democratic countries. As a result, Israel currently maintains official military relations with at least 130 countries.

In Latin America, the main excuses for these relationships today are the fight against drug trafficking and organized crime. However, it is becoming usual to justify diplomatic relationships with Israel based on the purchase of technologies for airport surveillance, borders, identification and population control, etc. In this capitalist stage of accumulation by dispossession, where territories are plundered, and surplus populations are forced to migrate to flee from the devastation, the elites need to control these populations, stop them at the borders, as well as safeguard their privileges. It is there that Israel offers all its experience in the control and repression of several million people for seven decades, inside and outside its borders.

Under the pretext of a terrorist threat, Israel is also expanding a security war through its flourishing industry of "global pacification", advising police, armed forces and intelligence agencies and national security around the world. This influential role brings benefits that are not only economic but also political and diplomatic (it translates into favorable votes in the UN). It is an armament superpower (since 2007, the most militarized country in the world, according to the Global Militarization Index). And it's also a cybernetic superpower: it sells a tenth of the security technology and networks in the world. With securitization, borders between military and police forces, between internal and external intelligence, are being erased. It is full spectrum domination, which articulates armed forces, internal security, surveillance, intelligence and legislation.

In recent years Israel has become the eighth largest arms dealer in the world. However, when comparing the population and its GDP, it occupies the first and second place respectively.

*Table 1 - Arms sales in relation to the population during the period 2011 to 2016<sup>5</sup>*

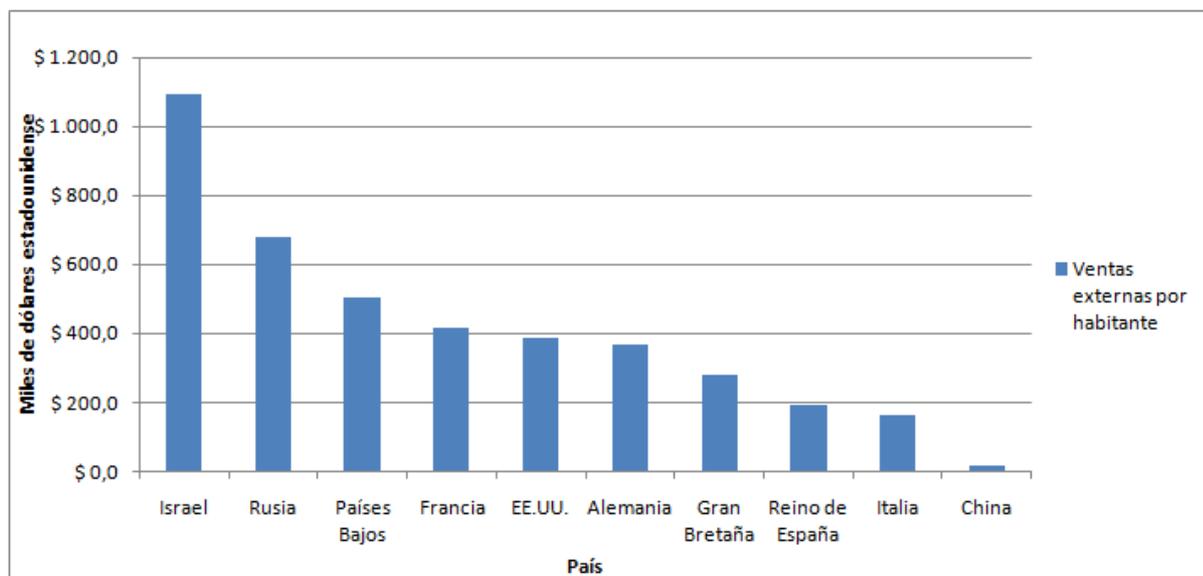
| Countries          | Population    | Sales 2011-2016 | Sales per capita |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Israel             | 8.380.400     | \$ 9.173,0      | \$ 1.094         |
| Russia             | 144.096.812   | \$ 97.768,0     | \$ 678,5         |
| The Netherlands    | 16.936.520    | \$ 8.477,0      | \$ 500,5         |
| France             | 66.808.385    | \$ 27.816,0     | \$ 416,4         |
| The United States  | 321.418.820   | \$ 123.439,0    | \$ 384,0         |
| Germany            | 81.413.145    | \$ 29.619,0     | \$ 363,8         |
| The United Kingdom | 65.138.232    | \$ 18.217,0     | \$ 279,7         |
| Reino de España    | 46.418.269    | \$ 8.923,0      | \$ 192,2         |
| Italia             | 60.802.085    | \$ 9.695,0      | \$ 159,5         |
| China              | 1.371.220.000 | \$ 16.896,0     | \$ 12,3          |

<sup>5</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. <https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers>

*Note: The sector of cybersecurity and technology applied to the war industry is not included in the amount of external sales.*

In the first and second table, it can be quantified according to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per inhabitant. In these we can identify the high degree of militarization of Israeli society and the role of militarism as the main income of the economy of the State of Israel. It is noteworthy that, with the exception of Russia, Israel doubles all the industrialized countries in sales, calculating it in per capita terms. As can also be seen in figure 1, it even triples countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy and China.

*Graph 1 - Weapons sales per capita during the period 2011 to 2016 <sup>6</sup>*



With this information it is possible to appreciate the importance of the war sector in the economy of these countries; in the case of Israel, it sells arms to 130 countries, many of them with international condemnations for human rights violations: Argentina during the last dictatorship, South Africa during apartheid, Rwanda while perpetrating a genocide or Yugoslavia in the Serbian war. In order to measure the importance of the war sector in the Israeli economy, it is important to remember that in the 1980s Israel's military exports represented 25% of the total exported.<sup>7</sup>

*Table 2 - Importance of arms exports in relation to GDP <sup>8</sup>*

| Country | External sales 2016 | GDP (millions of USD) 2016 | Percentage |
|---------|---------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| Russia  | \$ 6.432,0          | \$ 1.267.754,0             | 0,507%     |
| Israel  | \$ 1.260,0          | \$ 291.500,0               | 0,432%     |

<sup>6</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. <https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers>

<sup>7</sup> International War Resisters; Una perspectiva del comercio de armas de Israel; <https://www.wri-irg.org/es/story/2016/una-perspectiva-del-comercio-de-armas-de-israel> Translated from the original in Spanish.

<sup>8</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. <https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers>

|                    |            |                 |        |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------|--------|
| Francia            | \$ 2.226,0 | \$ 2.488.284,0  | 0,089% |
| Germany            | \$ 2.813,0 | \$ 4.211.635,0  | 0,067% |
| The Netherlands    | \$ 466,0   | \$ 769.930,0    | 0,061% |
| The United States  | \$ 9.894,0 | \$ 18.561.934,0 | 0,053% |
| The United Kingdom | \$ 1.393,0 | \$ 2.649.893,0  | 0,053% |
| Italy              | \$ 802,0   | \$ 1.852.499,0  | 0,043% |
| Spain              | \$ 483,0   | \$ 1.252.163,0  | 0,039% |
| China              | \$ 2.123,0 | \$ 11.391.619,0 | 0,019% |

Recently in the world cybersecurity event called "Cyber week", which is held at the University of Tel Aviv and is funded by the Ministry of Defense and military companies, Benjamin Netanyahu said: "Israel receives 20% of total global private investment in cybersecurity, since we are approximately one tenth of 1% of the world population, it means that we multiply our weight here by 200". Continuing with his speech and demonstrating the Israeli role in the development of cybersecurity, he mentioned: "8 years ago, my goal was to turn Israel into one of the top 5 cybersecurity powers in the world and I think we have come to that point. We are even farther up on that list," he clarified. "The country is today the second world power in cybersecurity, surpassed only by the US". The cybersecurity industry in Israel exported in 2017 3.8 billion dollars with investments of 815 million. The country has 420 domestic cybersecurity companies and 50 international research and development centers.<sup>9</sup>

Israel not only mainly bases its industrial production on war materials, but also is the largest buyer of weapons per capita. Most of these purchases are made from the USA and the UK; the financing for these purchases also comes mainly from the USA.<sup>10</sup>

*Table 3 - Weapons purchases per capita during the last 15 years*<sup>11</sup>

| Países | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | Total          |
|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----------------|
| Israel | 1612 | 1699 | 1714 | 1648 | 1705 | 1746 | 1994 | 1926 | 1962 | 2156 | 2019 | 2212 | 2327 | 2103 | 1805 | 1981 | <b>30609,8</b> |

<sup>9</sup> Muriel Balbi; Israel lanzará un escudo nacional de protección contra el ciber crimen; July 2018;

<https://www.infobae.com/tendencias/innovacion/2018/07/08/israel-lanzara-un-escudo-nacional-de-proteccion-contra-el-ciber-crimen/> Translated from the original in Spanish

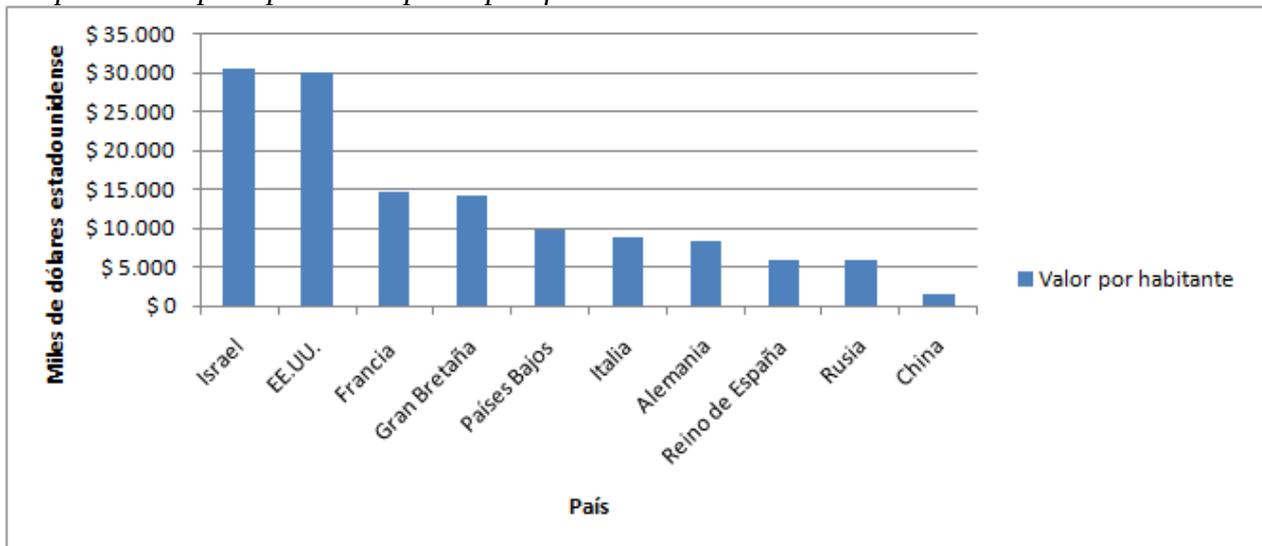
<sup>10</sup> International War Resisters; July 2016; <https://www.wri-irg.org/es/story/2016/una-perspectiva-del-comercio-de-armas-de-israel> Translated from the original in Spanish.

<sup>11</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. <https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers>

|                    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |                |
|--------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----------------|
| USA                | 1241 | 1432 | 1588 | 1706 | 1772 | 1853 | 2047 | 2184 | 2262 | 2287 | 2185 | 2027 | 1920 | 1863 | 1863 | 1879 | <b>30109,3</b> |
| France             | 604  | 758  | 871  | 864  | 885  | 978  | 1059 | 1067 | 980  | 1020 | 943  | 976  | 991  | 859  | 886  | 889  | <b>14631,3</b> |
| The United kingdom | 668  | 788  | 901  | 915  | 945  | 1074 | 1057 | 923  | 917  | 945  | 910  | 880  | 910  | 824  | 731  | 713  | <b>14102,9</b> |
| The Netherlands    | 418  | 516  | 576  | 585  | 622  | 695  | 747  | 730  | 673  | 696  | 617  | 607  | 612  | 512  | 537  | 590  | <b>9730,3</b>  |
| Italy              | 421  | 520  | 583  | 570  | 565  | 606  | 693  | 642  | 603  | 638  | 565  | 568  | 530  | 425  | 475  | 493  | <b>8898,1</b>  |
| Germany            | 359  | 429  | 465  | 466  | 467  | 523  | 593  | 586  | 572  | 595  | 573  | 565  | 566  | 487  | 508  | 540  | <b>8294,3</b>  |
| The United Kingdom | 245  | 302  | 352  | 363  | 386  | 442  | 483  | 434  | 421  | 420  | 403  | 369  | 369  | 327  | 302  | 350  | <b>5969,0</b>  |
| Russia             | 96   | 117  | 145  | 190  | 241  | 304  | 393  | 360  | 410  | 490  | 568  | 615  | 589  | 462  | 481  | 461  | <b>5923,2</b>  |
| China              | 25   | 27   | 31   | 35   | 42   | 51   | 64   | 78   | 85   | 101  | 114  | 130  | 144  | 153  | 154  | 162  | <b>1396,0</b>  |

These ten countries are the largest sellers of weapons worldwide:

Graph 2 – Weapons purchases per capita from 2002 to 2017 <sup>12</sup>



Israel is the largest buyer of weapons per capita and the largest arms dealer per capita. This information accounts for a militarized society and a State supported by the war industry.

### The occupation business<sup>13</sup>

Occupation and war are profitable for the defense industry. There are two interconnected key elements: marketing and development. The Israeli military industry can benefit considerably from occupation in terms of marketing.

<sup>12</sup> Idem.

<sup>13</sup> Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign; Buying into Occupation and War; March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>

The producers of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) highlight the performance of their products and the extensive use by the Israeli army in their press releases. However, advertising does not need to be so explicit, since in the military industry the products are judged by their performance in the field, which means that "every military operation, not by intention per se, acts as an advertisement for the weapons and techniques used".

Israel Aerospace Industries' director of corporate communications, Doron Suslik, confirmed this in an interview with the Israeli magazine Globes: "Some of the IAI products have a combat reputation, which helps us to commercialize the systems [.. .] of the competition, weapons must be tested on the battlefield, that is their real test." The fact that Israel has a constant "battlefield" in the West Bank and Gaza is a significant advantage for its military industry. The occupation also gives the military industry opportunities to develop more effective products, which in turn increases its appeal in the eyes of international buyers.

The same factors that Israeli companies use to advertise their products, such as field experience, hours of operation and the like, actually produce more effective means of repression . Years of experience in operations in cities, towns and Palestinian refugee camps, for example, have helped Israel Weapon Industries develop an effective rifle for urban combat. The constant mobilization of popular resistance against the Wall in turn has forced the Israeli army to develop more effective means of repression, which in turn have been exported as products and training.

The fact that the Israeli occupation can be translated into profits through the export of weapons, technology and training is one of the reasons why it has been able to continue. Not only is the occupation profitable, but it is also becoming more effective as Israeli companies develop more efficient means of repression and control. In this report we will show some of the main areas in which Israel is active in Latin America to illustrate how the current increase in military trade with Israel generates profits and supports the occupation.

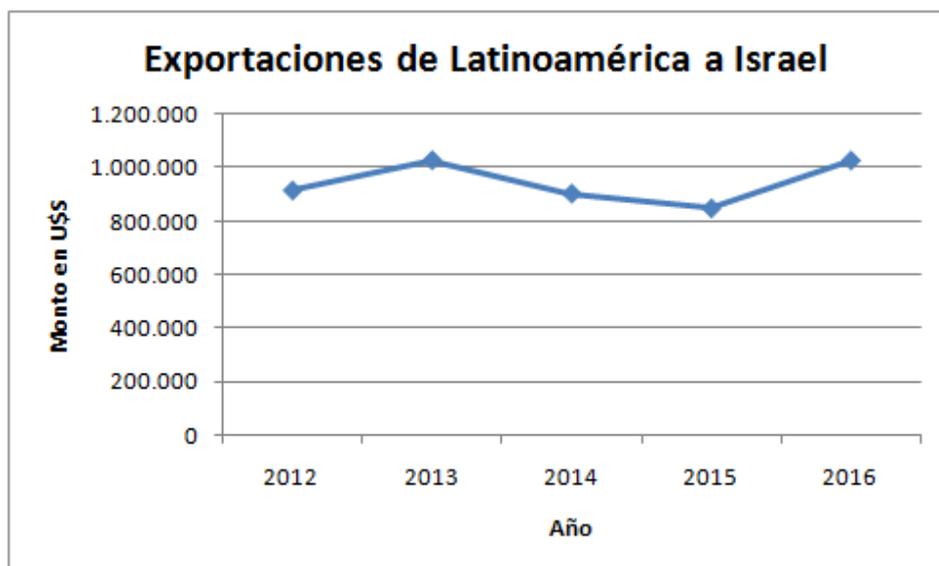
## Overview of Trade Relations between Israel and Latin America.

In the Latin American region, as a result of the deficit and the commercial exchange with Israel, we note the emergence of economic primarization, that is, exchanges only favor the extraction of raw materials and nothing else, this as an extension of colonialism. Israel sells twice as much as it buys from the region, however, Israeli purchases are mostly raw materials and sales are primarily of technology and industrialized products.

*Graph 3- Latin American Exports to Israel period 2012 to 2016*<sup>14</sup>

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14 World Bank; <https://datos.bancomundial.org/>



Israel's exports to Latin America double imports. The increase in trade between Israel and Latin America is sustained by the free trade agreements signed with the region.<sup>15</sup> Colombia signed a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in June 2013, which was ratified by the Congress of the Republic in June 2017. The agreement states that 100% of the commercial exchange in both countries for the year 2024 be free of customs duties. The MERCOSUR bloc comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay signed a FTA in 2004.<sup>16</sup> Mexico and Israel have a FTA since 2000; in 2017 they agreed to update it despite the disagreements between the two countries over Israeli support for the separation wall with the US border.<sup>17</sup> In May 2018, Panama and Israel signed a FTA, it is the first with a country in this region.<sup>18</sup>

In September of 2017, Benjamin Netanyahu made the first official visit of an Israeli Prime Minister to Latin America. Among the agreements that were signed are: one with the government of Argentina to increase trade, another with the Colombian government on science and tourism, and one with Mexico (a memorandum of understanding on communication and aviation).<sup>19</sup> In 2015, 89% of Colombian exports to Israel were of coal, a resource whose exploitation is in the hands of multinational companies.<sup>20</sup>

Figure 4- Imports from Latin America to Israel from 2012 to 2016 <sup>21</sup>

15 LEAH SOIBEL; Histórica visita de Netanyahu a América Latina para afrontar juntos los desafíos globales; September 2017; <https://www.elnuevoherald.com/opinion-es/article172024812.html>

16 Israel ampliará comercio con América Latina ante crisis de la UE; August 2013; <https://www.elfinanciero.com/economia-y-politica/israel-ampliara-comercio-con-america-latina-ante-crisis-de-la-ue/D5VO4FYJ2RBMBFGO3TJTEB5ZCU/story/>

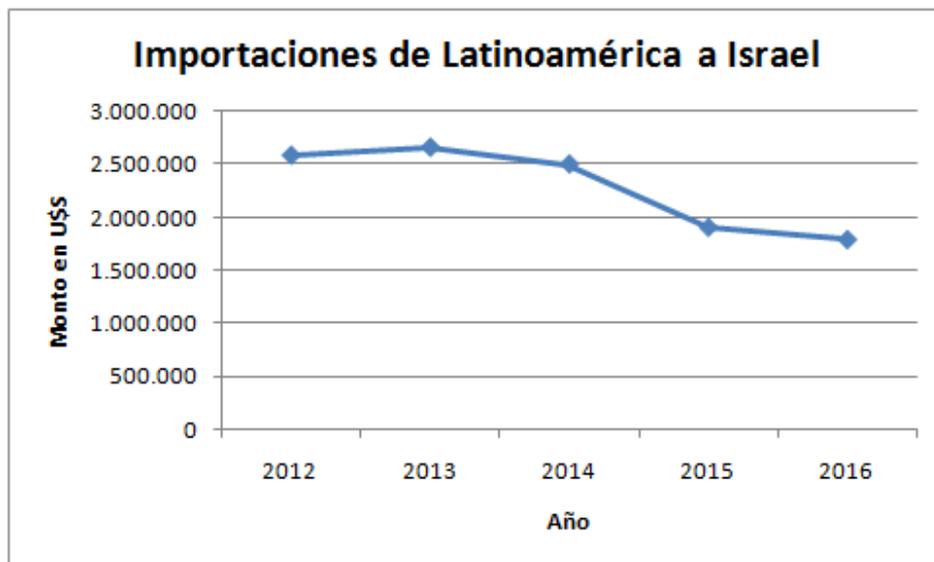
17 México e Israel acuerdan renovar su tratado de libre comercio; September 2017; <https://www.dw.com/es/m%C3%A9xico-e-israel-acuerdan-renovar-su-tratado-de-libre-comercio/a-40519431>

18 Sheryl Diaz; Panamá e Israel firman Tratado de Libre Comercio; May 2018; <https://elcapitalfinanciero.com/panama-e-israel-firman-tratado-de-libre-comercio/>

19 Benjamin Netanyahu va a Latinoamérica en busca de oportunidades para Israel; September 2017; <https://www.economista.com.mx/internacionales/Benjamin-Netanyahu-va-a-Latinoamerica-en-busca-de-opportunidades-para-Israel-20170909-0021.html>

20 CELAG; Lo que dejó con “seguridad” la visita de Netanyahu; September 2017; <http://www.celag.org/lo-dejo-seguridad-la-visita-netanyahu/>

21 <https://datos.bancomundial.org/>



Out of all the Israeli exports in 2016 to the region, more than 25% correspond to sales of war material, \$550 million US dollars.<sup>22</sup> In some cases this percentage increases significantly, in 2010 Colombian imports of Israeli war material came to represent 49.6% of the total. Israeli investments in Latin America are very important. In the case of Mexico, it is the second country in investment (approximately 25%), only behind the United States.<sup>23</sup> Part of the investment is explained with the purchase of Latin companies by Israeli companies; already more than 200 Israeli companies operate in Mexico.<sup>24</sup>

Table 4 - Imports and exports to Latin America to Israel in 2016 in millions of dollars per country <sup>25</sup>

|                    | ARG   |       | BRA   |       | BOL |     | CHI   |      | COL  |      |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-------|------|------|------|
|                    | IMP   | EXP   | IMP   | EXP   | IMP | EXP | IMP   | EXP  | IMP  | EXP  |
| All products       | 107,9 | 139,4 | 747,2 | 253,5 | 2,8 | 3,5 | 137,3 | 85,9 | 88,9 | 15,2 |
| Capital goods      | 41,3  | 0,3   | 96,2  | 40,2  | 1,6 | 0,0 | 85,2  | 0,1  | 38,6 | 1,1  |
| Consumer goods     | 23,7  | 15,4  | 60,9  | 49,6  | 0,3 | 0,6 | 31,8  | 2,4  | 16,1 | 4,5  |
| Intermediate goods | 41,1  | 6,6   | 578,3 | 71,9  | 0,5 | 2,8 | 19,3  | 31,9 | 31,4 | 6,3  |
| Raw materials      | 1,8   | 117,0 | 11,8  | 87,9  | 1,3 | 0,0 | 0,9   | 51,5 | 2,7  | 1,8  |

|  | ECU | GUA | HON | MEX | NIC |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|

<sup>22</sup> Benjamin Netanyahu va a Latinoamérica en busca de oportunidades para Israel; September 2017; <https://www.economista.com.mx/internacionales/Benjamin-Netanyahu-va-a-Latinoamerica-en-busca-de-oportunidades-para-Israel-20170909-0021.html>

<sup>23</sup> CELAG; Lo que dejó con “seguridad” la visita de Netanyahu; September 2017; <http://www.celag.org/lo-dejo-seguridad-la-visita-netanyahu/>

<sup>24</sup> Renée Dayán; México e Israel: Relación fructífera y trascendente; <http://www.tribuna.org/mexico/e-israel-relacion-fructifera-y-trascendente-renee-dayan.html>

<sup>25</sup> World Bank; <https://datos.bancomundial.org/>

|                    | IMP  | EXP | IMP  | EXP | IMP  | EXP | IMP   | EXP   | IMP | EXP |
|--------------------|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|-------|-------|-----|-----|
| All products       | 20,1 | 6,4 | 29,5 | 2,6 | 35,3 | 0,1 | 380,5 | 168,8 | 5,5 | 0,2 |
| Capital goods      | 7,8  | 0,0 | 6,9  | 0,0 | 31,1 | 0,0 | 169,1 | 66,4  | 0,0 | 0,0 |
| Consumer goods     | 3,2  | 5,2 | 6,3  | 1,4 | 2,7  | 0,1 | 78,0  | 83,4  | 0,6 | 0,2 |
| Intermediate goods | 8,0  | 0,0 | 14,0 | 0,0 | 1,0  | 0,0 | 127,7 | 18,1  | 0,0 | 0,0 |
| Raw materials      | 0,9  | 1,1 | 2,4  | 1,2 | 0,6  | 0,1 | 5,8   | 0,6   | 0,0 | 0,0 |

|                    | PAR |       | PER  |     | URU  |       | VEN |     |
|--------------------|-----|-------|------|-----|------|-------|-----|-----|
|                    | IMP | EXP   | IMP  | EXP | IMP  | EXP   | IMP | EXP |
| All products       | 5,0 | 104,1 | 74,4 | 6,3 | 17,2 | 165,1 | 2,8 | 9,9 |
| Capital goods      | 0,0 | 0,0   | 30,9 | 0,1 | 7,1  | 3,0   | 1,6 | 0,0 |
| Consumer goods     | 0,5 | 3,4   | 31,9 | 1,5 | 2,2  | 2,5   | 0,6 | 0,1 |
| Intermediate goods | 2,9 | 1,5   | 8,2  | 1,1 | 7,6  | 5,8   | 0,5 | 9,8 |
| Raw materials      | 0,0 | 99,2  | 3,3  | 3,6 | 0,3  | 153,8 | 0,0 | 0,0 |

According to the data published by the World Bank on the commercial statistics of Israel, during the course of 2016 it had a favorable trade balance with Latin America of US \$694 million. Most of the bilateral trade was with Brazil (\$1001 million), Mexico (\$549.3 million), Argentina (\$247 million), Chile (\$223 million), Uruguay (\$182 million), Paraguay (\$109 million) and Colombia (\$103 million). This data does not include Colombian sales of coal to Israel. The only countries in Latin America with favorable trade balances were, in 2016, Uruguay (\$148 million), Paraguay (\$99 million), Argentina (\$32 million), Panama (\$33 million) and Venezuela (\$7 million). The second highest favorable balance corresponds to Paraguay, a country that announced it would be moving its embassy to Al Quds (Jerusalem).

The region's trade deficit in capital goods is 406.2 million US dollars. Capital goods are durable goods used for the production of goods and services. They can be electronic equipment such as computers, machines or tools. The commercial exchange of intermediate products for productive processes is also deficient for the Latin American region. The negative balance is of \$684.8 million. The Latin American region only has a positive balance with Israel in raw materials, which is of \$485.9 million. The result of the commercial exchange expresses the productive deficit of the region with Israel.

## Historical Relations between Israel and Latin America.

Once the State of Israel was created through the UN partition resolution, a good part of the countries of Latin America recognized it in a gradual manner. For example, in 1948 the States of

Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Uruguay, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay and Venezuela did so. In the year 1949 Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Peru, Ecuador and Mexico followed. Haiti, on the other hand, recognized Israel in 1950. At present, Cuba does not recognize Israel and the governments of Bolivia and Venezuela have ended relations with that country.

Military exchanges between Israel and Latin America began early on. They began as early as the 1960s, when military bonds between Israel and governments of Latin America can be found. One of the peaks in the supply of weapons by Israel was during the era of dictatorships and civil wars in the region. The following table shows the percentages of purchases of Israeli weapons during the period of dictatorship for Argentina, El Salvador and Honduras, which illustrates the importance of Israeli arms for Latin American countries during that period.

*Table 5 -Percentages of purchases made during military dictatorships* <sup>26</sup>

| Country                 | Percentage of purchases of Israeli weapons during the dictatorship |
|-------------------------|--|
| Argentina (1976-1983)   | 95%  |
| El Salvador (1972-1979) | 92%  |
| Honduras (1972-1981)    | 81%  |

Israel forged especially strong ties with right-wing military governments that took power during this time, selling arms and training to the military and police forces of Chile, Ecuador and Argentina throughout the 1970s. Military ties with Colombia and Argentina began in the late 1970s and expanded significantly in the 1980s. Also in the 1980s, Israel sold military equipment to Brazil and Venezuela, but sales at that time were minimal compared to other buyers in the region.

After the Yom Kippur War of 1973, the combined result of increased demand, the lifting of French military sanctions on Israel and the experience of the Israeli army in two wars, pushed Israeli arms manufacturers into global markets. In the case of Latin America, it has been found that the militaristic trade relationship has been increasingly strengthened with the right-wing governments.

It is important to note that relations have not only been related to the sale of arms and other war material, but also that Israel has been involved in the formation and training of armies and paramilitary groups, responsible for serious violations of the human rights of civilians, in countries such as Guatemala, Nicaragua and Colombia<sup>27</sup>.

We will now go on to illustrate three illustrative cases of the presence of Israeli militarism in the right-wing dictatorships in Latin America of the last century. These are the cases of Ecuador, Chile and Guatemala.

## **Ecuador.**

Israel supported the dictatorship from 1960 to 1980 in Ecuador, and during that period strong military ties were formed with Ecuador<sup>28</sup>. During the 1960s, Ecuador was one of the Latin American countries that sent young people to Israel for training; this included many students of the military

<sup>26</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1970 to 2016. [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php)

<sup>27</sup> International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAN); “El papel de Israel en la represión mundial”; December 2012; <http://www.ijan.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/israel-wwr-la-rebellion-version.pdf>

academy<sup>29</sup>. Several years after the 1972 coup in Ecuador, Israel began sending a considerable amount of arms to the country. Between 1973 and 1976, \$200 million was given in small arms and ammunition, as well as explosives<sup>30</sup>. In the 1970s, Israel was also providing technical assistance, building weapons factories and providing technology and experience for several Ecuadorian military industries. Advisers from Israel also trained the Ecuadorian armed forces<sup>31</sup>.

In 1974 and 75, Israel sold both mortars and light transport aircraft. In 1977, after the United States prohibited Israel from exporting the Kfir, it engaged and sold Nesher jets, which had no export restrictions<sup>32</sup>. Several years later, in 1982, the United States finally allowed Israel to sell Kfir planes, accompanied by Shafrir missiles. This marked the last of the major arms transactions recorded in the 1980s<sup>33</sup>. In 1996, four additional Kfir were delivered and with this the last of the main registered arms agreements was closed.

Relations cooled somewhat with the election of Jaime Roldós Aguilera. However, this changed immediately after his death in 1981 (which led to the election of León Febres Cordero in 1984) and during the war with Peru. Israel offered to let Ecuador rent out both Israeli and jet fighters for \$ 500,000 per day and commandos for \$ 100.00 per day<sup>34</sup>. A large part of Ecuador's defense budget, especially during this time, has been directed towards millions of dollars in deals and contracts with Israel<sup>35</sup>.

## Guatemala.

In 1977 Presidents Laugerud García of Guatemala and Israeli President Ephraim Katzir signed an agreement on military assistance<sup>36</sup>. In 1978, when Congress, under the Carter administration, limited US military aid to Guatemala, due to human rights violations, the leaders of Israeli economic and military technology saw a golden opportunity to enter the market. In the same year, Guatemala received 11 IAI Arawa planes, 10 RBY-MK armored vehicles, 15,000 Galil rifles, hundreds of 81mm mortars, bazookas, grenade launchers, three Dabur coastguards, a tactical transmissions system, a radar circuit , as well as 120 tons of ammunition<sup>37</sup>. An Israeli adviser in Guatemala at the time, Lieutenant Colonel Amatzia Shuali, said: "I do not care what the Gentiles do with the weapons, the main thing is that the Jews benefit," states Andrew and Leslie Cockburn in his book. "Dangerous Liaison"<sup>38</sup>.

The Israeli advisers in Guatemala supported the planning of suppression and elimination policies targeting movements of Mayan Indians and leftist groups, the purchase of arms and military training and, above all, helped Efraín Ríos Montt take power through a military coup in 1982.

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28 Bishara, "Israel's Military Relationship with Ecuador and Argentina", p. 77 These programs "utilized the armed forces for agricultural tasks [and were important in] building a positive and constructive image of the armed forces [...] since the military had just seized power after ousting the constitutional government."

29 Ibid. p.78

30 Ibid. p.78

31 Bishara, "Israel's Military Relationship with Ecuador and Argentina", p. 82 - 84.

32 Ibid. p. 80.

33 SIPRI Arms Transfer Database

34 Ibid. p. 82.

35 Ibid. p.78.

36 George Black, Milton Jamail y Norma Stoltz Chinchilla; "Garrison Guatemala"; Nueva York: Monthly Review Press; 1984; pp. 154-155.

37 Percy Francisco Alvarado Godoy; "No es casual la presencia del MOSSAD en Honduras"; October 2009; <http://www.rebellion.org/noticia.php?id=93190>

38 Gabriel Schivone; "Israel's shadowy role in Guatemala's dirty war"; January 2017; <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israels-shadowy-role-guatemalas-dirty-war/19286>

Illustrative of this support is the case of the massacre that took place in the town of Dos Erres in the El Petén district, Guatemala. The soldiers of Ríos Montt, trained by Israel, burned the village. First its inhabitants were shot and the soldiers crushed the skulls of those who survived the initial attack. The corpses were thrown in the village well. During an exhumation ordered by the court in the village, investigators working for the 1999 Truth Commission cited the following in their forensic report: "All the recovered ballistic evidence corresponded to fragments of firearms bullets and capsules. Galil rifles, manufactured in Israel"<sup>39</sup>.

The Washington Post reported that "Israeli advisers—some officers, others private—helped Guatemalan internal security agents to hunt clandestine rebel groups." At the beginning of 1982 there were at least 300 Israeli advisers in Guatemala<sup>40</sup>. These influenced the elaboration of the rural pacification program:

- "Beans and bullets" (March 1982), where the cooperating peasant was rewarded with food and shelter. The army unleashed a violent crusade against the peasants in which at least 10,000 indigenous civilians were killed<sup>41</sup>.
- The "Plan Victoria" of 1982 was implemented with the assistance of Israel and the recruitment of peasants in civil defense patrols. The peasant recruits were armed and ordered to observe others in search of signs of revolutionary inclinations.<sup>42</sup>
- During 1979, Israeli technicians from Tadiran Israel Electronics Industries began operating a computer center in Guatemala City to store information on guerrilla groups.<sup>43</sup>
- Electronic school designed and financed by Israel in Guatemala and inaugurated by Benedicto Lucas García. To train the Guatemalan military in the use of the so-called counterinsurgency technologies. Just in its inaugural year, the school allowed the regime's secret police, known as G-2, to raid some 30 safe houses of the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA) and coordinated the murder, the "disappearance" and the torture of opponents of the Guatemalan government.<sup>44</sup>
- Construction of a weapons factory in the province of Alta Verapaz by Eagle Military Gear Overseas<sup>45</sup>.

## Chile.

On September 11, 1973, the government took a military coup against Salvador Allende, led by Augusto Pinochet. A terrible episode in the history of the people of Chile that resulted in the establishment of a harsh military dictatorship that lasted until 1990.

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39 Gabriel Schivone; "Israel's shadowy role in Guatemala's dirty war"; January 2017; <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israels-shadowy-role-guatemalas-dirty-war/19286>

40 Washington Post, January 23, 1982., Washington Post, August 17, 1983

41 Peckenham, "Bullets and Beans". See also Peckenham, "Campos de reeducación para los indígenas", Uno Más Uno (Ciudad de México), February 12, 1984.

42 Frank y Wheaton, pp. 84-98. See also el Servicio Guatemalteco de Información y Análisis, "A Troubled Democracy" (Managua, July 1984.) (from this point forward, SIAG).

43 Clarence Lusane, "Armas israelíes en América Central," Acción encubierta (Winter 1984), p. 36.

44 ORPA Denuncia, p. 3.

45 See Nuevo Diario (Nicaragua), November 9, 1983; Granma (USA.), October 30, 1983; Disweek (Belice), November 18, 1983; Guardian (USA), November 16, 1983.

Israel had military ties to the Pinochet regime in 1974, but it only became its main supplier in 1976, after the US administration suspended all military aid<sup>46</sup>. This military aid included missiles, radars, light weapons, as well as air and naval vessels and "cluster bombs" technology<sup>47</sup>.

Evidence of the important task of supplying arms by Israel to the Pinochet dictatorship is the existence of cables from the US embassy in Chile that referred to this situation: "According to a cable that cited the US undersecretary of state from April 10, 1984, Israel was one of the Council's main weapons, which made it difficult to impose effective sanctions against Chile, considering that US sanctions did not apply to Israel"<sup>48</sup>.

The arms trade is surrounded by secrecy, but before these relations, in 2016, victims of the dictatorship asked Israel to declassify and reveal some 19,000 files on this exchange but to date this has not been possible<sup>49</sup>, which shows a great complicity of this country in the face of violations of human rights in Chile.

There is information that indicates that Israel was especially close to the Chilean Air Force, and that the development of the aeronautical industry was supported by Israeli experts<sup>50</sup>. It must be remembered that one of the practices for the disappearance of people detained by the Chilean dictatorship was to throw them from airplanes to the Pacific Ocean tied to railroad tracks<sup>51</sup>.

Another example of Israeli collaboration in the repression of the Chilean people is the sale of vehicles with water cannons used for "crowd control", as evidenced by the testimony of an Israeli citizen who gave an affidavit in the framework of the request of two Chilean citizens to the government of Israel, asking that it make public information that would shed light on the close relations between both countries in times of dictatorship: "During one of the protests in Santiago there were vehicles with colored water cannons, and the color of the water changed every few minutes, for example, a very strong green. The envoy of Hashomer Hatzair told me: "Look, it says 'Hakibbutz Haartzi Hashomer Hatzair'". We all knew it was made in the Beit Alfa Kibbutz. The colored water pushed people backwards with immense strength and a shop window collapsed. I was sent by the State of Israel and I could not criticize the State, so I didn't speak about my pain"<sup>52</sup>.

The support, however, was not limited to the sale of weapons, the relationship during the dictatorship was also political, apart from the visits that sought to make specific deals on arms sales, there were public pronouncements by Israeli officials seeking to support the Chilean regime : "In 1978, for example, the then Head of State Mayr of the FID Lt.-Gen. Mordechai Gur, who traveled to Chile to promote the sale of weapons, which at that time included \$100 million in missile and

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46 Beit-Hallahmi, The Israel Connection, p. 99, citado en: Stop The Wall; Buying into Occupation and War; March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>, p. 23.

47 Una bomba de racimo o bomba «clúster» es una bomba de caída libre o dirigida que puede ser lanzada desde tierra, mar o aire. Las bombas de racimo contienen un dispositivo que libera un gran número de pequeñas bombas al abrirse. Estas submuniciones pueden causar diferentes daños, como perforar vehículos blindados con su carga explosiva, matar o herir a mucha gente de manera indiscriminada con sus fragmentos de metralla o iniciar incendios. Tomado de: [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bomba\\_de\\_racimo](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bomba_de_racimo)

48 +972 Blog; "Investigate Israeli complicity with Pinochet's crimes"; March 2017; <https://972mag.com/investigate-israeli-complicity-with-pinochets-crimes/125566/>

49 Cooperativa.cl; Víctimas de dictadura pidieron a Israel revelar documentos de venta de armas a Pinochet; March 2016; <https://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/dd-hh/victimas-de-dictadura-pidieron-a-israel-revelar-documentos-de-venta-de/2016-03-21/181949.html>

50 Stop the Wall Campaign; "Buying into occupation": March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>, p. 23

51 SputnikK; "Publican en Chile testimonio que revela cómo la dictadura arrojaba personas vivas al mar"; May 2018; <https://mundo.sputniknews.com/americalatina/201805181078824995-america-latina-chile-dictadura/>

52 +972 Blog; "Investigate Israeli complicity with Pinochet's crimes"; March 2017; <https://972mag.com/investigate-israeli-complicity-with-pinochets-crimes/125566/>

technology systems, said widespread allegations of torture and murder against the regime were not true. (...) Another high-ranking official, this time the then Minister of Communications, visited in 1984 and stated that the Chilean regime, like Israel and its treatment of the "Palestinian terrorists", was misrepresented in the media"<sup>53</sup>.

In Chile, arms purchases decelerated considerably with the end of the military government in 1989, but they did not stop completely, and in fact starting in 2000, the purchase of war material was reactivated in Israel: "Between 2000 and 2004, Chile bought 200 air-to-air missiles and 1000 anti-tank missiles, along with radar systems"<sup>54</sup>.

For example, the Chilean Navy has a strong link with the Israeli Navy, it has missile launches (LM-34 "Angamos", LM-31 "Chipana" and Lancha Misilera "Iquique" 3°)<sup>55</sup>, patrol boats (LPC-1823 "Hudson", LPC-1820 "Machado", LPC-1816 "Salinas" and LPC-1814 "Díaz")<sup>56</sup>, in addition to training and mutual cooperation. This is worrisome not only because of the human rights violations committed in Gaza by Israel, but also the violations committed by the Chilean Navy against artisanal fishermen in the Mehuin coast in 2006, who protested against the environmental catastrophe generated by Celulosa de Arauco y Constitución (Celco)<sup>57</sup>.

Torture, mistreatment and violations of human rights in Chilean prisons<sup>58</sup> continue to be of great concern in recent years, the Gendarmerie has used torture techniques applied by the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA)<sup>59</sup> during the dictatorship, and has been trained by the Mossad (Israel Foreign Intelligence Service)<sup>60</sup>. In the face of torture and neglect, several people have lost their lives inside the prisons, such is the case of Marco Galdames, a situation that persists to this day as stated by his mother Gloria Moneeny<sup>61</sup>. It is also important to mention that the Public Prosecutor's Office has received 338 complaints for sexual offenses inside prisons in the last seven years,<sup>62</sup> without mentioning the lack of a human rights approach for children<sup>63</sup> and women<sup>64</sup> deprived of

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53 Stop the Wall Campaign; "Buying into occupation": March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>, p. 24

54 Stop the Wall Campaign; "Buying into occupation": March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>, p. 24

55 [https://www.armada.cl/armada/site/tax/port/all/taxport\\_29\\_31\\_1.html](https://www.armada.cl/armada/site/tax/port/all/taxport_29_31_1.html);  
[https://www.armada.cl/armada/site/tax/port/all/taxport\\_2\\_2\\_36\\_1.htmlz](https://www.armada.cl/armada/site/tax/port/all/taxport_2_2_36_1.htmlz)

56 Lanchas patrulleras; [https://www.armada.cl/armada/site/tax/port/all/taxport\\_6\\_7\\_153\\_1.html](https://www.armada.cl/armada/site/tax/port/all/taxport_6_7_153_1.html)

57 Mauricio San Cristobal; Mehuín en Guerra; September 2016; <https://www.elciudadano.cl/medio-ambiente/mehuinen-guerra/09/13/>

58 El Dinamo; INDH presenta querrela criminal por tortura a reos en carcel de Cauquenes; July 2018; <http://www.proyectomecha.org/noticias/chile-indh-presenta-querrela-criminal-por-tortura-a-reos-en-carcel-de-cauquenes>; La cruda realidad de las cárceles chilenas; June 2018; <http://www.t13.cl/videos/nacional/video-carceles-control>

59 Gonzalo Castillo; Informe de DDHH constata torturas en cárceles chilenas; January 2017; <http://radio.uchile.cl/2017/01/29/informe-de-organizaciones-de-ddhh-constata-aplicacion-de-tortura-en-carceles-chilenas/>; Vanessa Vargas Roja; La silenciosa normalidad de la tortura en las cárceles chilenas; January 2014; <http://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2014/01/10/la-silenciosa-normalidad-de-la-tortura-en-las-carceles-chilenas/>

60 Carlos Basso; Los silenciosos pasos del Mossad en Chile; December 2012; <http://www.theclinic.cl/2012/12/09/los-silenciosos-pasos-del-mossad-en-chile/>

61 Macarena Gallo; La Lucha de una madre por una muerte digna; August 2014; <http://www.theclinic.cl/2014/08/06/la-lucha-de-una-madre-por-una-muerte-digna/>

62 Carla Ruiz Perez; Las cifras de las violaciones en las cárceles; July 2017; <http://www.economiaynegocios.cl/noticias/noticias.asp?id=378887>

63 ONG EnMarcha invita a hablar sobre Niñez y privación de La Libertad; July 2017; <https://www.enmarcha.cl/ninez-y-privacion-de-libertad/>

64 Daniela Yañez; Parir tras las rejas: Cuando Jennyfer perdió a su hija Esperanza; February 2017; <http://www.theclinic.cl/2017/02/05/parir-tras-las-rejas-cuando-jennyfer-perdio-hija-esperanza/>

their liberty. Currently there is still a link through electronic ankle contracts and cooperation with the Gendarmerie.

The militarization of the Araucanía, has been an instrument of oppression of the Mapuche people since 2012<sup>65</sup> in order to maintain the business of large foresters, entrepreneurs and energy projects<sup>66</sup> that devastate the environment and the territory, and who in the past usurped the land of the Mapuche people. Something similar happens with the Palestinian Bedouin populations of Naqab, such as the villages of Atir and Al-Aragib, where their lands are stolen with the excuse of reforestation. In addition to all this, it must be borne in mind that Mapuche children, like the Palestinians, have been subjected to heavy repression by the Chilean State and the military forces of this country<sup>67</sup>.

Militarization as a policy of the Chilean government has been marked by the Israeli presence through training, technology and weapons, as has also been denounced by the Mapuche leader<sup>68</sup> and the Journalistic Research Center (CIPER):

*"In addition to this contract with the Israeli company BlueBird Aero System, in the course of the investigation for this report, two state institutions initiated processes to purchase drones for surveillance, which were canceled. On Wednesday, February 12, a tender for the Undersecretary of Crime Prevention was opened in Mercado Publico requesting an "aerial surveillance service" to operate between kilometers 570 and 692 of Ruta 5 Sur in the La Araucanía region (see document<sup>69</sup>). The objective was clearly to monitor the area of the Mapuche conflict, as the unmanned aircraft was for the exclusive use of the police. CIPER consulted with the police, who said that the outgoing government had not communicated anything to them about that tender"<sup>70</sup>.*

It is important to mention that the militarization of the Araucanía has been executed under the auspice of Law 18,314 known as the Anti-Terrorist Law, which is systematically used to criminalize Mapuche leaders, who are later acquitted, as evidenced by the recent sentence against the Chilean State ordered by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 2014, in the case of Norín Catrimán and others, including Víctor Ancalaf Llaupé for violation of the principles and rights of legality, presumption of innocence, the principle of equality and no discrimination and the right to equal protection under the law of victims.

The cases of Chile, Guatemala and Ecuador do not present an exhaustive picture of what the presence of Israeli militarism in Latin America has been during the past century, however they do illustrate the way in which Israel armed and trained some of the most brutal right-wing regimes of

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65 The Clinic online; Gobierno militariza la Araucanía y no se hace cargo de los mapuches baleados; July 2012; <http://www.theclinic.cl/2012/07/25/gobierno-militariza-la-araucania-y-no-se-hace-cargo-de-los-mapuches-baleados/>; Nicolas Garcia; Chile e Israel potenciarán cooperación en formación militar; March 2018; <https://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2018/03/23/noticia-chile-israel-potenciaran-cooperacion-formacion-militar.html>

66 Colectivo de comunicación Mapuche; Nueva base en Pailahueque: Refuerzan militarización de La Araucanía para asegurar proyectos energéticos; <http://www.mapuexpress.org/?p=7396>; Francisco Parra; Militarización en la Araucanía: Drones, aviones no tripulados y mas de mil policas desplegados; March 2016; <http://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2016/03/23/militarizacion-en-la-araucania-drones-aviones-no-tripulados-y-mas-de-mil-policas-desplegados/>

67 Biblioteca Nacional de Chile; La ocupación de la Araucanía; <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-3630.html> presentación; <http://bibliotecadigital.indh.cl/bitstream/handle/123456789/642/Estado%20y%20%20Pueblo%20Mapuche.pdf?sequence=1>; Greta Di Giralomo; La cruda violencia policial contra los niños mapuches; November 2015; <http://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2015/11/23/la-cruda-violencia-policial-contra-los-ninos-mapuche>

68 Sergio Randi; Lonko Juan Pichún: "En mi territorio no dejaré entrar ningún israelí"; November 2014; <http://www.rebellion.org/noticia.php?id=191894>; "Drones" aparecen en el cielo de Chile; January 2014; [https://www.ifex.org/chile/2014/01/20/drones\\_araucania/es/](https://www.ifex.org/chile/2014/01/20/drones_araucania/es/)

69 [https://ciperchile.cl/pdfs/2014/03/drones/Dron\\_Subsecretaria.pdf](https://ciperchile.cl/pdfs/2014/03/drones/Dron_Subsecretaria.pdf)

70 <https://ciperchile.cl/2014/03/14/la-ilegal-invasion-de-los-drones-en-chile/>

the continent, without scruples and without any consideration of the human costs that this could entail. It is interesting to note that even in cases where the United States had stopped selling arms to those in power, because of the political costs that could result from the gravity of the human rights violations committed, Israel did not have the same considerations. We will now proceed to a much more detailed review of the militaristic trade exchanges between Israel and Latin America.

## Chapter 2: Military Trade between Israel and Latin America.

After having presented this overview of the way in which Israeli military relations have been maintained, this section will present the different sales made by Israeli companies in Latin America. First, the arms sales made by both public and private companies will be reviewed, after which a balance will be presented of the companies that sell goods and services in the continent in the cybersecurity and public security sectors. Finally, there are companies that also have operations in Latin America, and although they are not Israeli, they collaborate with the militarism of that country.

### Arms Sales: State-Owned Companies.

Since the end of the 1980s, the Israeli military industry has increased its exports of weapons, technology and advice, to the point where it is a very important part of its economy. This industry has been state-owned since it was first created, but in the 1990s, the role of the private sector became increasingly important. However, there are still many companies that are fundamental for the Israeli war apparatus under state control. These companies have improved their finances thanks to the sales they make to Latin America and other regions; relationships that in the case of our continent we detail below.

**Rafael** was established in 1948 and its initials in Hebrew: "Authority for the Development of Armaments" make the motivations for its creation clear. Although in 2007 its name changed to "Rafael- Advanced Defense System", the original spirit remains the same: the production of technology for war. Although they sell practically all kinds of technology, one of their specialties is in the area of ballistics, producing weapons such as the Iron Dome and missiles like the Spike. Of the best-selling products on the continent are the anti-tank missiles Spike, purchases of these missiles were made in Chile between 2006 and 2013<sup>71</sup>, in Peru between 2009 and 2012<sup>72</sup>, in Ecuador in 2009<sup>73</sup> and in Colombia since 2015<sup>74</sup>. In addition, this company provides missiles for

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71García Nicolas; Rafael prepara un sistema de mantenimiento para el Spike en Chile; [http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2018/06/05/noticia-rafael-ultima-sistema-mantenimiento-spike-chile.html?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=facebook](http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2018/06/05/noticia-rafael-ultima-sistema-mantenimiento-spike-chile.html?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=facebook)

72Alejo Marchessini; El ejército de Perú dispara con éxito misiles Spike-ER desde vehículos Humvee; June 2017; <https://www.defensa.com/peru/ejercito-peru-dispara-exito-misiles-spike-er-desde-vehiculos>; Ejército compra misiles antitanque rusos; January 2009; <https://larepublica.pe/politica/214809-ejercito-compra-misiles-antitanque-rusos>

73Esta info aparece en wikipedia justificada en el siguiente link: [https://web.archive.org/web/20110719134014/http://www.ejercitodelecuador.mil.ec/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1479&Itemid=1](https://web.archive.org/web/20110719134014/http://www.ejercitodelecuador.mil.ec/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1479&Itemid=1)

74Armamento utilizado en el helicóptero de fabricación Israel/Colombia Arpia IV, info en: Idefensa.com; El programa de helicóptero de ataque Arpia IV colombiano avanza satisfactoriamente; August 2014, <https://www.defensa.com/colombia/programa-helicoptero-ataque-arpia-iv-colombiano-avanza>

aircraft: the Derbi (Colombia<sup>75</sup>, Brasil<sup>76</sup> and Chile<sup>77</sup> and the Python (Colombia<sup>78</sup>, Chile<sup>79</sup>). One of Brazil's first purchases of Israeli weapons was of the 400 Python-3 missiles, manufactured by **Rafael**<sup>80</sup>. In Brazil Rafael Advanced Defense Systems Ltd. announced the acquisition of a 40% stake in the Brazilian aerospace company GESPI Aeronautics. The acquisition will deepen the presence of the Israeli State defense company in the growing Brazilian market for internal security and defense. Based in São José dos Campos, GESPI has been active in the civil and security sector in Brazil for more than 20 years, serving local military forces<sup>81</sup>.

Rafael has also sold the weapons systems for Gladiator vehicles manufactured by General Dynamics Canada to the Colombian government, for a total of US \$65 million. Likewise, in Peru, SIMA is building PGCP-50 warships together with STX, a shipyard from South Korea. All weapons systems are manufactured by Rafael. Currently in progress, the cost of the project amounts to US \$130 million.

During the Malvinas (Falklands) war Rafael provided arms and more recently the United Kingdom launched a million dollar plan to purchase arms for the occupied Argentine territory of the Malvinas Islands. In the second quarter of 2017, the United Kingdom reached an agreement with the Department of Defense of Israel for US \$95 million, according to the English news portal Mercopress<sup>82</sup>. Armament was purchased from the Israeli company Rafael Defense System. The system includes a battle, command, control, communications and information management network (BMC4I). Together with a British company, it will supply a system of missiles for terrestrial air defense by 2020.<sup>83</sup> (Stop The Wall, Buying into Occupation and War, March 2010)

Bellow we show how this company has gone from being above the fiftyth position in the global arms market, to being one of the top twenty in 2015, growth that undoubtedly has to do with its position in Latin America.

*Graph 5 – Rafael's position in the world market*<sup>84</sup>

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75Carlos Vanegas; La fuerza aerea de Colombia incorpora misil I Derbi ER; October 2017; <https://www.defensa.com/colombia/fuerza-aerea-colombia-incorpora-misil-i-derby-er>

76Stop The Wall; Buying into Occupation and War; March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>

77Infodefensa; Misiles BVR en América del Sur; May del 2011, ;

<http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2011/05/24/opinion-misiles-bvr-en-america-del-sur.php>

78Sobre los Pitón: <http://www.defensa.pe/forums/showthread.php/91-FUERZA-AEREA-COLOMBIANA>

79Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. Israel- Chile; [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php)

80Stop The Wall; Buying into Occupation and War; March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>

81\_ídem

82Falklands' defense renewal with Israeli sophisticated equipment triggers controversy; March 2017;

<http://en.mercopress.com/2017/03/08/falklands-defense-renewal-with-israeli-sophisticated-equipment-triggers-controversy>

83Guillermo Martinez; Reino Unido adquirió material bélico a Israel para las Islas Malvinas; October 2017;

<http://virginiabolten.com.ar/politica-argentina/reino-unido-adquirio-material-belico-israel-las-islas-malvinas/>

84Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. Israel- Chile; [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php)



In 2011, Rafael bought Controp, a company that has business in Brazil, Argentina, Colombia and Mexico, and specializes in electro-optical devices and precise motion control for the defense and security sector. On their website they describe the products they distribute in the following way: "EO/IR stabilized camera rotation systems, advanced thermal imaging cameras with a Continuous Zoom Lens and innovative image enhancement algorithms provide a reliable proven image and are applied to aerial, terrestrial and maritime surveillance, defense and national security. The ERO / IR surveillance systems of CONTROP are known worldwide for their demonstrated surveillance in drones, airplanes, helicopters, aerostats and other aerial and maritime platforms"<sup>85</sup>.

The relationship between sales in Latin America and the impact on the lives of Palestinians is described by Ofer Vaknin, vice president of sales for the company, in an article titled "Big Brother: Gaza – The Technical Means that Observe the Gaza Strip 24 Hours a Day ". He states that "Controp, which develops airborne charges for the Israeli army, specializes in electro-optics and other important developments in the field. The Israeli army is a key and important client, but without exports the company can not survive, because exports are what finance future research"<sup>86</sup>. This allows us to deduce that purchases from Israel finance technology research that will be used in the 24h control of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and that exports to Latin America play a fundamental role in the development of the Israeli military industry. This is consistent with the fact that Israeli companies export between 75 to 80% of their products, leaving the rest for internal use<sup>87</sup>.

Several of the missiles that Rafael sells are for the endowment of the Kfir airplanes, which for decades have been acquired by several air forces of Latin American countries. These war vehicles are designed and distributed by Israel Aerospace Industries, the main Israeli aircraft owned by the government of that country, which has been operating since 1953 and has provided Kfir fighter-bombers to the air forces of Argentina, Brazil,<sup>88</sup> Colombia and Ecuador; only these last two countries still have these planes. Rafael also produces civil, military, manned and unmanned aircraft, ground defense systems, naval and aerospace systems.<sup>89</sup>

In Argentina during the last dictatorship (1976-1983) several planes were bought from this company: the Nesher planes, a copy of the French Mirage planes, were used only by Israel and

85 Traducción desde el Inglés hecha por los autores del informe. page web de la empresa: <https://www.controp.com>

86 Amitai Ziv, 24/7 Monitoring With CONTROP's Technology (English); August 2014; <https://www.controp.com/news-events/in-the-media/gaza-monitoring-controp-english.aspx>

87 Hania, Nissim; ransformations in the Israeli Defense Development and Production System, and the Contemporary Relevance; <https://www.idf.il/media/11154/hania.pdf>

88 En 2002, la Fuerza Aérea Brasileña firmó un contrato de cinco años por \$ 12 millones para 12 aviones Kfir; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>

89 <http://www.iai.co.il/2013/12019-en/CompanyInfo-IAIandtheSecurityofIsrael.aspx>

Argentina. They were manufactured by Israel because of France's arms embargo on Israel. Subsequent to its re-manufacture it was re-named the Dagger. In Argentina, the Dagger was modernized, becoming the Finger. These aircraft also had Israeli weapons, Rafael Shafrir missiles. During the last civic-military-ecclesiastical dictatorship, Argentina acquired 39 planes between 1978 and 1982, several of them used during the Malvinas War. At the end of 2015, the last airplanes provided by Israel were decommissioned.<sup>90</sup>

It was possible to identify that Ecuador bought a Kfir squadron in 1995 and in 1999, 2 more units were delivered. In 2008, the refurbishing of the units owned by the FAE was canceled in favor of the acquisition of the Cheetah CD of South Africa<sup>91</sup>.

In the case of Colombia, between 1980 and 1991, 13 Kfir were purchased, as well as 3 Arava cargo planes and a fuel air recharge system. Apparently these first Kfir were paid in part with coal. After visits between Israel's Trade Minister Ariel Sharon and Energy Minister Moshe Shahal took place between 1987 and 1988, an agreement was reached for the purchase by Israel of 2.2 million tons of coal in a period of four years and the possibility of selling oil and increasing the coffee trade. Colombia undertook to acquire 13 Kfir C-2 combat aircraft worth close to 200 million dollars, as well as other military equipment and services and technology in the field of solar energy<sup>92</sup>.

In Colombia purchases to this company were only made again in the first decade of 2000, when 15 more Kfir (13 in 2007 and 2 in 2017) and several air systems were acquired<sup>93</sup>. The contracts were made despite the fact that in an audit conducted by the National Audit Office in 2000, "inconsistencies and absence of control mechanisms" were found in contract 01 for US \$4,400,000 for the repair of K-fir aircraft. : "It presented five modifications, no "real supports" were found and "the integral knowledge of the operations and of the individual identification of the different assigned resources was limited"<sup>94</sup>. Despite these inconsistencies, the Colombian State has maintained contracts with this company, to the point that between 2016 and 2017 it paid almost 5 million dollars for different services.<sup>95</sup> One of them was the renovation of the 15 Kfirs that now have a new radar system and can shoot down missiles<sup>96</sup>.

Colombia also joined a technological development project between the Colombian Air Force, the US company Sikorsky and the Israeli companies IAI and Rafael for the production of the Arpia III and IV artillery helicopters, which began to be deployed for operation within the internal armed conflict in May of the 2002<sup>97</sup>.

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90Aviación Militar Argentina, <http://www.amilarg.com.ar/daggerfinger.html>; Agencia Nacional de Noticias (TELAM). <http://www.telam.com.ar/notas/201511/128706-argentina-retiro-aviones-mirage-fuerza-aerea.html>

91EcuadorInmediato. 2018. EE.UU. no quiso vender a Ecuador aviones F-16, por temor a su inestabilidad e "izquierdismo."

[http://www.ecuadorinmediato.com/index.php?module=Noticias&func=news\\_user\\_view&id=148350](http://www.ecuadorinmediato.com/index.php?module=Noticias&func=news_user_view&id=148350)

92 Ramírez León; José Luís; La Proclamación del Estado Palestino y sus Implicaciones en las relaciones Internacionales de Colombia; Colombia Internacional, January–March 1989;

<https://revistas.uniandes.edu.co/doi/pdf/10.7440/colombiaint5.1989.00> ; Israel to Barter with Colombia; April 1988;

<https://www.jta.org/1988/04/14/archive/israel-to-barter-with-colombia>

93Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. Israel- Colombia; [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php)

94Padilla, Nelson Fredy; La conexión israelí; August del 2009;

<https://www.elespectador.com/impreso/articuloimpreso155158-conexion-israeli>

95Tanto por el servicio de instalación y pruebas de un HMDS (helmet mounted display system) en la aeronave kfir tc-12 fac3007 de la Fuerza Aérea Colombiana <https://www.contratos.gov.co/consultas/detalleProceso.do?numConstancia=16-12-5067095> como por el contrato de mantenimiento de los Kfirs firmado a finales del 2016;

<http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2017/01/09/noticia-colombia-fuerza-aerea-colombiana-israel-aerospace-industries-renuevan-contrato-mantenimiento.html>

96 Yoav Zeitun; De Israel a Colombia: la próxima generación de "Kfir"; <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5062365,00.html>

But **Israel Aerospace Industries** (IAI) distributed products other than the Kfirs in Latin America. In 1986 it sold to Chile a light transport aircraft named Westwind and has modified for Chile a Boeing 707 that they call Condor, which integrates the Phalcon radar system produced by said company, an airplane that has been in service since 1995<sup>98</sup>. Another subsidiary of this company was also found to have business with the Navy of Peru, which signed a contract with Elta Systems, a subsidiary of Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), for the modernization of two Fokker 50 aircraft for an amount of US \$23.5 millions.

More recently, IAI signed a \$350 million contract in November 2009 to supply unmanned aircraft to the Brazilian police, and in 2013 it signed a \$ 400 million contract with the Brazilian Air Force to convert three Boing 767s into fuel supply aircraft<sup>99</sup>. The latter have been the largest agreements between Israel and Brazil.

In September 2017, IAI was chosen by the US Department of Homeland Security to build a prototype of the wall between the US and Mexico. The company that will be responsible for the project is the subsidiary of IAI, based in Maryland, Elta Systems Ltd.<sup>100</sup>

The figure bellow shows how this company has climbed positions in the global arms market, from being in the thirty-fifth position it became one of the first twenty in 2015, growth that undoubtedly has to do with its positioning in America Latina.

Figure 6 - Israel Aerospace Industries' global position<sup>101</sup>



Another of the big companies supplying war material to Latin America is IMI Systems, which until recently was called Israel Military Industries. This company was born more than 8 decades ago, and has been deeply related to violence throughout the recent history of Latin America: it provided weapons to the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua<sup>102</sup>, during the dictatorship, Argentina was the

97Fuerza Aerea Colombiana; El Arpía III, insignia de la Fuerza Aérea Colombiana; <https://www.fac.mil.co/el-arp%C3%ADa-iii-insignia-de-la-fuerza-a%C3%A9rea-colombiana>

98Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. Israel- Chile; [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php)

99 Stella Corin Liber, Yuval Azulay ; Sin una oferta, el establecimiento de defensa evita el IAI; <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001248284>

100Abunimah Ali; Israeli arms maker picked to build prototype of Trump's border wall; September 2017;

<https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/israeli-arms-maker-picked-build-prototype-trumps-border-wall>

101Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. Israel- Chile; [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php)

102International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAN); El papel de Israel en la represión

number two client in arms purchases, after South Africa<sup>103</sup>. In the case of El Salvador, it provided 83%<sup>104</sup> of the weapons purchased by the dictatorship. It not only provided the government of Colombia with weapons during the long armed conflict, but in 1994 it also sold the patent for the Galil fabrication and for other parts for weapons to this government<sup>105</sup>.

IMI is the creator of the Tavor assault rifle, which was developed in Israel and will become the standard assault rifle for the Israeli army. Through an agreement with IMI, Taurus International Manufacturing will produce the Tavor in Brazil. The Brazilian army is in the market for a new position.<sup>106</sup> IMI was until 2018 State-owned, but from 2005 it privatized its production of assault and small arms, and Israel Weapon Industries was created. In mid-2018 its privatization was completed when it was purchased by Elbit Systems, a private company which will be discussed below.

State-owned Israeli war production companies have notably increased their share of the global arms market from the 1950s to the present. These companies have the resources of the Ministry of Defense and the Israeli Foreign Ministry to support and increase their sales to other countries and with the purchases of the State of Israel, which, as shown in figure 2, allocated more than US \$30,000 per capita in arms, in the last 15 years. Israel not only has a stake in these companies, but also supports private sector companies that complement their arms sector.

## Arms Sales: Privately-Owned Companies.

Without a doubt, the private sector has benefited the most from Israeli militaristic growth, not only with the privatization of many of the former state-owned companies, but also with the constant encouragement that the State provides through fiscal benefits<sup>107</sup>. This practice, which has provoked criticism from state companies<sup>108</sup>, is accompanied by the lobby developed by the State of Israel in its various diplomatic visits, in which it establishes favorable agreements for its war industry. Next, we will present an overview of the main private companies that participate in the Latin American market.

One of the main privately-owned companies that produces weapons is **Elbit Systems**; like the state-owned companies **Israel Aerospace Industries** and **Rafael**, it is undoubtedly one of the most important companies responsible for the presence of Israeli militarism in Latin America. **Elbit Systems** is a private company that is strongly linked to the State of Israel and to various Israeli former officials and former military personnel. It is the most important arms production company in Israel.<sup>109</sup> It has more than 12,000 employees and, through its many subsidiaries in the world,

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mundial; December 2012;

<http://www.ijan.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/israel-wwr-la-rebellion-version.pdf>

103El Pais; Israel intenta aumentar sus ventas de armas en Centroamérica; 25 de October de 1982;

[https://elpais.com/diario/1982/10/25/internacional/404348403\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1982/10/25/internacional/404348403_850215.html)

104Shahak, Israel; El Estado de Israel armó las dictaduras en América Latina; Cannán Editorial; 2007

105 Padilla, Nelson Fredy; La conexión israelí; August del 2011,

<https://www.elespectador.com/impreso/articuloimpreso155158-conexion-israeli>

106Stop The Wall; Buying into Occupation and War; March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in-2-occ.pdf>

107 Ora Koren ; Los beneficios fiscales están siendo expuestos: los miles de millones recibidos por Teva, ICL y Check Point; <https://www.themarker.com/news/1.2945434>

108 Na'ama Sikuler; Rafael: "La nueva ley para alentar la inversión de capital reducirá NIS 40 millones de nuestra ganancia"; <https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3429879,00.html>

109 War Resisters' International; War Profiteer of the Month: Elbit Systems;

<https://www.wri-irg.org/en/story/2018/war-profiteer-month-elbit-systems>

produces a great variety of products for the military and security industry; Among these products are<sup>110</sup>:

- Systems for military aircraft and helicopters
- Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Systems ("UAS"), including military drones Hermes 900 and Hermes 450
- Advanced electro-optic and space-electro-optic systems
- Signal intelligence systems ("SIGINT")
- Data links, communication systems and radios.

Elbit Systems is the main supplier of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (commonly called drones) for the Israeli army. The Hermes 900 is a one-ton drone used for recognition, surveillance and transmission of communications, and was first used by the Israeli army in Operation Protective Edge, the assault on Gaza in 2014. Other drones built by Elbit Systems and used in Operation Protective Edge include the Hermes 450, the precursor of the Hermes 900, and the mini drone "Skylark". Elbit Systems also provides "intrusion detection systems", used at the Israeli apartheid wall, particularly around East Jerusalem.<sup>111</sup>

Elbit Systems sold nearly 100 million dollars in weapons of war in Latin America during 2017<sup>112113</sup>. In Latin America, although there is an incipient drone industry, the large majority of drones are Israeli. The main companies that sell drones to Latin America are the aforementioned Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) and Elbit Systems. This corresponds to the global trend, where Israeli companies have been the most important exporters of drones. According to the consulting firm Frost & Sullivan, between 2005 and 2012, sales of Israeli drones amounted to \$4.6 billion dollars, of which approximately \$500 million correspond to sales to Latin America.<sup>114</sup> Several Elbit Systems drones have been sold in the region, among other Israeli drone producers, as described below. It should be noted that Brazil is one of the largest buyers of Israeli drones worldwide.<sup>115</sup>

## **Israeli Drones in Honduras.**

In Honduras, Israeli drones have been acquired in recent years. This acquisition was made through decree 139-2016 that contains the General Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Honduras and the Government of the State of Israel, which will be studied more closely in the "Exchange of knowledge" chapter of this report. For now it is interesting to point out that paragraph 3.2 of the decree includes an Unmanned Surveillance and Acknowledgment System, each of which is integrated with two drones. These devices come with a control system, an antenna and a trigger that were provided by Elbit Systems. According to the decree, drones will be used for surveillance and recognition of borders.<sup>116</sup>

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110Ídem

111Ídem

112 Infodefensa; Elbit Systems ingresó 3.380 millones de dólares en 2017, <http://www.infodefensa.com/mundo/2018/03/22/noticia-elbit-systems-ingreso-millones-dolares.html>

113 War Resisters' International; War Profiteer of the Month: Elbit Systems; <https://www.wri-irg.org/en/story/2018/war-profiteer-month-elbit-systems>

114 Jason Koebler; American Defense Companies Try to Break Israel's Grasp on Latin American Drone Market; July 2013; <https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2013/07/15/american-defense-companies-try-to-break-israels-grasp-on-latin-american-drone-market>

115 Infodefensa; Chile selecciona el UAV Hermes 900 de Elbit Systems para su fuerza aérea; May del 2011; <http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2011/05/20/noticia-chile-selecciona-el-uav-hermes-900-de-elbit-systems-para-su-fuerza-aerea.html> y Infodefensa; Israel acapara el 60% de la exportación mundial de drones en los últimos 30 años; March 2015 <http://www.infodefensa.com/uavs/2015/03/30/noticia-israel-lleva-acumulado-exportacion-mundial-drones-ultimos.html>

In total there are six drones, with their respective controls, which Honduras has acquired through this agreement. The document does not detail the model of unmanned aerial vehicles that will be acquired by Honduras, but several Honduran newspapers have speculated that it could be the widely marketed models of Elbit Systems: the Hermes 900 MALE and the Hermes 450.<sup>117</sup>

## **Israeli Drones in Colombia.**

In Colombia, by 2013, the armed forces had at least 50 drones in operation for surveillance, including models from Elbit Systems.<sup>118</sup> In 2012, Colombia bought three Hermes 450 and one Hermes 900. In July 2013, the Air Force of Colombia (FAC) announced the purchase of two more Israeli drones.<sup>119</sup> There are also reports of drones from Bluebird being used against drug trafficking<sup>120</sup>.

While Colombia generally does not freely disclose information about the purchase and use of Israeli drones, there is proof of the use of these drones to repress peasant populations. In northeastern Colombia, peasants reported that in the middle of a demonstration, after Kfir planes flew low causing them distress, a drone flew over the demonstration as well. They report that "during the afternoon there were overflights of an unmanned aircraft (known as a drone), an aircraft that is used to carry out military intelligence, typical of military operations, since it is used to take photographs, recordings and know the location of military objectives, (at night) it again flew over and threw devices known as balloons and drones, to continue doing military intelligence and taking photographs"<sup>121</sup>. As evidenced, the peasants denounce the use of military weapons such as drones to respond to social protests. In fact, this weapon is not only used against social movements in Catatumbo, but could also be implemented in eastern Colombia, where the police have these vehicles as a surveillance system.

## **Israeli Drones in Chile.**

After the 2010 earthquake in Chile, the country began using drones. In October 2011, Chile purchased Hermes drones from Elbit Systems to control the borders with Bolivia and Peru, a purchase that was justified under the slogan of the fight against drug trafficking.<sup>122</sup> This purchase was announced by the then Minister of Defense Andrés Allamand, after the minister had met with Elbit Systems executives during diplomatic trips to Norway and Israel. During that same visit to Israel in September 2011, Andrés Allamand also met with the former Prime Minister of Defense of the State of Israel, Ehud Barak. That meeting was characterized by a hermetic dialogue, with no official communication and no media coverage. Despite the total secrecy of the meeting, the reason

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116 El Heraldo; Israel dotará de unidades en contra del cibercrimen en honduras. October 2017

<http://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1115476-466/israel-dotar%C3%A1-de-unidades-en-contra-del-cibercrimen-en-honduras>

117 El Heraldo; Israel dotará de unidades en contra del cibercrimen en Honduras; October 2017

<http://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1115476-466/israel-dotar%C3%A1-de-unidades-en-contra-del-cibercrimen-en-honduras>

118 Rachel Glickhouse; Explainer: Drones in Latin America August 2013; <http://www.as-coa.org/articles/explainer-drones-latin-am%C3%A9rica>

119 Ídem

120 Shlomit Len; "Los competidores tienen voceros en el Ministerio de Defensa, nosotros no los tenemos"; <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001226673>

121 Asociación Campesina del Catatumbo - Ascamcat ; Gobierno de Colombia: ¿El campesinado del Catatumbo es un objetivo de ataque militar? / Martes 30 de July de 2013, <https://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article11517>

122 El Mostrador; Chile compra aviones no tripulados a empresa israelí; Octubre 2011

<http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2011/10/05/chile-compra-aviones-no-tripulados-a-empresa-israeli/>

for the visit – according to international media – was to gain assistance on border control and surveillance systems to combat drug trafficking in the southern country<sup>123</sup>.

The Chilean army bought "mini" drones for espionage for \$3 million dollars in April 2013. These drones are produced by another Israeli private company: BlueBird Aero Systems, and are known as SpyLite. These drones are compatible with the drones produced by Elbit Systems, which played a role in their purchase. Itai Toren, vice president of business development and marketing at BlueBird, declined to confirm the cost of the purchase and the amount of equipment that his company will supply to the Chilean Army for reasons of confidentiality. According to the Chilean Ministry of Defense, "SpyLite is an advanced electric mini-drone that has great autonomy and has been tested in different tasks, it is optimized to provide wide coverage or collect visual information in real time at medium distances"<sup>124</sup>.

## **Israeli Drones in Perú.**

In 2010, the Peruvian army bought five Israeli drones claiming that this was for the purpose of fighting the "Sendero Luminoso" gorilla group. However, these drones could not be used because they were determined to be "inoperative"<sup>125</sup>.

The Republic, a Peruvian newspaper, cites army sources who say that the acquisition of the drones was made on the recommendation of the advisers of the Israeli company Global CST. The drones have the Forward Looking InfraRed (FLIR) system, a set of infrared cameras for day and night operations, which is produced by several Israeli companies, including Elbit Systems.<sup>126</sup>

On April 28, 2010, the Spanish intermediary company, Proyectos Sarosca, sold the equipment of Israeli origin for 1 million 927 thousand 600 soles. And on December 10 of the same year, the Israeli company Innovative Control Solution (Innocon) was granted 1 million 589 thousand 200 soles.<sup>127</sup>

Thanks to these contracts for 3 million 516 thousand 800 soles, the Army obtained three Orbiter II drones, manufactured by the Israeli company Aeronautics Defense System, and two Micro Falcon, from Innocon.<sup>128</sup>

## **Israeli Drones in Ecuador.**

In 2009, Ecuador bought 6 Israeli drones produced by Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI). Two of these drones are Herons and the other four are Searchers. They were purchased under the justification that they would be used to combat drug trafficking, smuggling and organized crime in general. The cost of the purchase was \$23 million dollars.<sup>129</sup>

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123Radio Uchile; Ministro Allamand y oficiales realizan visita reservada a Israel; September 2011  
<http://radio.uchile.cl/2011/09/27/ministro-allamand-y-oficiales-de-las-fuerzas-armadas-visitan-israel/>

124 Israel en Línea; Chile: Ejército adquiere mini-drones israelíes;  
<http://www.israelenlinea.com/internacional/noticias-internacionales/america-latina/8189-chile-ej%C3%A9rcito-adquiere-mini-drones-israel%C3%ADes.html>

125 La República; Ejército reclama por compra de 5 aviones espía que no funcionan; April 2013;  
<https://larepublica.pe/politica/707848-ejercito-reclama-por-compra-de-5-aviones-espia-que-no-funcionan>

126Ídem

127Ídem

128Ídem

129Estrada Isabel; UAVs Help Ecuador's Navy Catch Drug Traffickers From the Air; <https://dialogo-amicas.com/en/articles/uavs-help-ecuadors-navy-catch-drug-traffickers-air>

In addition to the sale of drones, Elbit Systems is also important for the sales of its subsidiaries such as C4I-TADIRAN, which has businesses in Chile<sup>130</sup> and in Colombia<sup>131</sup>. Elbit, through its subsidiary Noa Security, sold an communications inhibiting system (\$35,200 USD) and mini UAV (drone; \$3,600 USD) to the Terrorist Artifact Deactivation Team (EDAT) of the Explosives Brigade of the Army Material and Armament Service or the Army of Uruguay<sup>132</sup>. This is not the only subsidiary that is on the continent: Cyberbit, a cybersecurity company, also sells its services in Latina America<sup>133</sup>.

## **Elbit Systems in Brazil<sup>134</sup>.**

Brazil has the largest defense budget in South America. This country represents 48% of the purchases of weapons from South America with a defense budget in 2009 of almost \$ 23.3 billion.<sup>135</sup>

Despite being such a big market, there were no major military links between Brazil and Israel before 2000. The 1996 registered order of 400 Python-3 missiles, manufactured by the company Rafael, has already been mentioned. In 1992 there was another order of 8 K-6 mortars of 20 mm, manufactured by Soltam Systems, which was purchased by Elbit Systems in 2010<sup>136</sup>.

However, it was after 2000 when Israeli companies began to become a fundamental part of the suppliers of the Brazilian police and military forces, with Elbit Systems leading the way. This was mainly in high-tech areas, but it also extended to conventional weapons.

From the year 2000 onwards, the presence of Israeli companies increased markedly in Brazil. Elbit has been the main player, although other firms that sell conventional weapons, electronics and security have also appeared. Elbit Systems has been active in Brazil for more than two decades. According to the president of the company, "we identified the potential of this country from the beginning and were the first [Israeli company] to be part of its large and very advanced aerospace industry."

Elbit seriously committed to the Brazilian market in 2001, when it acquired Aeroelectronica Aircraft Components Industry (AEL). The \$2.3 million agreement gave Elbit the control of the Mayría

130Ejército de Chile; Proveedores actualizado 11 de May del 2017; Esta empresa es representada en Chile por Cymasa; <https://www.ejercito.cl/archivos/proveedores/11-05-17.pdf>; Asi mismo Infodefensa confirma que su personal mantiene un centro de entrenamiento para los equipos de comunicaciones que Elbit les ha provehido. [http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2018/06/19/noticia-division-simuladores-paneles-radio-elbit.html?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=facebook](http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2018/06/19/noticia-division-simuladores-paneles-radio-elbit.html?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=facebook)

131 Tadiran vendió al Ministerio de Defensa Nacional kits de radios de comunicaciones para unidades militares, los cuales costaron más de cinco millones de dólares, en tres contratos: 196-DIADQ-CADCO-CENAC-TELEMATICA-2016; 02/2015-RO-MDN-CGFM-EJC-JEAVE-ARC; 275 ARC DIABA 2016. Todos se pueden consultar en: <https://www.contratos.gov.co/>

132 Tadiran vendió al Ministerio de Defensa Nacional kits de radios de comunicaciones para unidades militares, los cuales costaron más de cinco millones de dólares, en tres contratos: 196-DIADQ-CADCO-CENAC-TELEMATICA-2016; 02/2015-RO-MDN-CGFM-EJC-JEAVE-ARC; 275 ARC DIABA 2016. Todos se pueden consultar en: <https://www.contratos.gov.co/>

133Stop the Wall; As relações militares entre Brasil e Israel; [https://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/rela\\_\\_es\\_militares\\_entre\\_brasil\\_e\\_israel.pdf](https://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/rela__es_militares_entre_brasil_e_israel.pdf)

134 Una explicación a fondo de los distintos drones israelíes que se usan en Brasil se puede encontrar en: Idan Lando; Suppression Technologies: celebración de las industrias de defensa israelíes en Brasil: <https://idanlandau.com/2016/02/04/technologies-of-oppression-between-israel-and-brazil/>

135Stop The Wall; Buying into Occupation and War; March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>

136Stop The Wall; Buying into Occupation and War; March 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/downloads/pdf/buy-in2-occ.pdf>

reserves, allowing it to use the AEL facilities to update the Northrop F-5 systems of the Brazilian Air Force.

AEL, located in Porto Alegre, Brazil, continues to carry out engineering, manufacturing and logistical support activities for defense and commercial applications undertaken by Elbit in Brazil.<sup>137</sup>

In 2001, Elbit won a contract to update 46 F-5 aircraft for the Brazilian Air Force, with Embraer and the Brazilian government, with a total value of approximately \$230 million over a period of eight years. In January 2007, Elbit Systems received an additional order from the Brazilian government to integrate more advanced capabilities into the F-5 aircraft and establish a maintenance center in the country based in AEL.

Other large contracts were made in 2002 as well as in 2007 and 2008, all with the air force, and a 2009 contract was signed with the army for unmanned turrets. Between 1994 and 2009, Elbit exported \$750 million to Brazil and \$70 million only in 2008<sup>138</sup>.

In 2010, the Brazilian government began buying drones made in Israel. The Federal Police has used these Hermes drones from Elbit Systems for surveillance and information gathering at the Brazilian borders. Additionally, the Brazilian Air Force used four Israeli-made drones during the Confederations Cup, in June 2013, which were also used during the 2014 World Cup. The Brazilian Air Force states that it invested almost \$25 million in these drones.<sup>139</sup>

Subsidiaries of Elbit Systems and Embraer of Brazil formed a joint venture to produce unmanned aerial vehicles, avionics and simulators. The new company is called Harpia Sistemas S.A. Originally Embraer owned 51 percent of the company, and AEL owned the rest. However, Brazilian aerospace provider Avibras partnered with the joint venture Harpia Systems, allowing the three companies to take advantage of the new fiscal incentives that exist in Brazil.

Since Avibras (which was developing the Falcão drone) joined the ownership structure of Harpia with a 9% share, the joint venture can request special tax exemptions aimed at defense contractors whose ownership is at least 60% Brazilian.<sup>140</sup>

## **Israeli Drones in Mexico.**

Drone manufacturer Aeronautics Defense Systems Ltd. announced in 2009 that it would sell advanced surveillance and intelligence systems worth \$22.5 million to Mexico's federal police force. As part of the agreement with the Mexican police, Aeronautics provided day and night air and ground surveillance systems linked to computerized command and control systems. Aeronautics provided a surveillance system that can, among other things, identify people up to eight kilometers away and accurately locate their location on digital maps.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup>idem

<sup>138</sup> Yoram Gavison ; Elbit espera decenas de millones de dólares en crecimiento anual en Brasil, <https://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1289091>

<sup>139</sup>The associated press; Plans to Use Drones for Soccer Event in Brazil; February 2013; [https://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/23/sports/soccer/plans-to-use-drones-during-confederations-cup-in-brazil.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/23/sports/soccer/plans-to-use-drones-during-confederations-cup-in-brazil.html?_r=0)

<sup>140</sup>Upi; Elbit, Embraer form joint venture firm; septiembre 2011; <https://www.upi.com/Elbit-Embraer-form-joint-venture-firm/87351315563758/>

<sup>141</sup><https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-1000425962>

Earlier this year, Mexico purchased Hermes 450 drones from Elbit Systems for the first time. This purchase was made by the Ministry of National Defense of Mexico for 23 million 250 thousand dollars.<sup>142</sup>

In 2013, the Federal Police of Mexico again bought two Hermes 450 for \$49,530,028 dollars and the purchase was made with the following justification: "For the Intelligence Division to continue fulfilling its objectives, we have to equip it with equipment and tools that strengthen the combat actions carried out by the different divisions of the Federal Police in conjunction with the Intelligence Division of the Decentralized Administrative Body of the Federal Police, against terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, protection of strategic facilities, security of borders, arms and people trafficking and support to the civilian population in case of natural disasters, as well as the fulfillment of the diverse actions of intelligence, tactical deployment, reaction and permanent operatives for the early detection of illegal substances, surveillance of strategic installations and transport, in order to safeguard and preserve peace and security for Mexican society".<sup>143</sup>

### **Elbit Systems at the Border between Mexico and the United States.**

The Hermes drones were the first to be deployed along the US-Mexico border in 2004. Currently, the fleet that buzzes in the border skies is completely composed of US-made Predator B drones, according to a Customs and Border Protection spokesman. The first time that Elbit won an important contract for the militarization of the border was in 2006, subcontracted by the American firm Boeing for "virtual fence" technology. The contract was part of the "Safe Border Initiative" of the George W. Bush administration.<sup>144</sup>

In 2014, Elbit Systems secured a contract with the US Department of Homeland Security to provide surveillance technology along the Mexican border, initially in Arizona. The Department of Homeland Security paid Elbit \$145 million dollars for this contract.<sup>145</sup>

Specifically, Elbit provides its sensor-based Peregrine surveillance system for the "Integrated Fixed Tower" project of Customs and Border Protection, which consists of terrestrial camera and radar technology mounted on towers scattered across the border. The US Congress approved the plan in early 2014. Not only Elbit has participated in the construction of barriers between the United States and Mexico; Magal participated in contracts for the wall proposed by Donald Trump, which also allowed him to increase the value of the shares in the stock exchange<sup>146</sup>

In addition to Elbit, there are other private companies that market military products in Latin America; one of them is Beit Alfa Technologies (B.A.T), which is a private Israeli company, owned by Beit Alfa Kibbutz, which designs and manufactures special vehicles. According to the company's website, the company's target customers are the police and military forces, security services, crowd control weapons and the private sector of the Palestinian Occupied Territories and law and order institutions.<sup>147</sup> BAT developed anti-riot vehicles that employ the company's "freehand water cannon

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<sup>142</sup><http://www.jornada.com.mx/2010/08/23/politica/008n1pol>

<sup>143</sup> Analisis de costo y beneficio, Proyecto con clave de cartera 1136C000004, Adquisición de aviones no tripulados, segmento de tierra y cargas útiles adicionales para la Policía Federal, [http://www.apartados.hacienda.gob.mx/sistema\\_cartera\\_inversion/index.html](http://www.apartados.hacienda.gob.mx/sistema_cartera_inversion/index.html)

<sup>144</sup> Gabriel Shivone; How Israel's war industry profits from violent US immigration "reform" ; April 2014; <https://electronicintifada.net/content/how-israels-war-industry-profits-violent-us-immigration-reform/13283>

<sup>145</sup> ídem

<sup>146</sup> Ídem

systems". The company's anti-riot vehicles are used in more than 35 countries around the world, including Honduras, Peru, Guatemala and Chile.<sup>148</sup>

One of the most important private conglomerates exporting Israeli militarism is the SK Group, which has the initials of its main shareholder: Samy Katsa. This businessman has been questioned for allegedly bribing Nigerian officials to favor the sale of speedboats to that State<sup>149</sup>.

Under the mantle of this group is Israel Shipyards Port (ISP), Meprolight, Camero-Tech and Israel Weapon Industries (IWI). ISP was purchased in 1995 with two other partners, in the middle of the state privatization process, a company of which it still holds 20%. The second was purchased in 2000 and the last in 2005; also as part of the privatization of the arms sector of Israel Military Industries<sup>150</sup>. This group of companies has one of its most important markets in Latin America because, as we will show, they successfully sell several of their products in the region.

Israel Shipyards Port (ISP), the former state shipyards that produced naval war vehicles, sold missile launchers to Chile during the dictatorship. After privatizing in 2004, it sold two second-class launcher boats to Mexico and in 2018 it sold 2 patrol boats to Argentina<sup>151</sup>.

Meprolight has sold thermal sights and lasers for rifles in Colombia<sup>152</sup>, Chile<sup>153</sup> and Argentina<sup>154</sup> and at the end of 2017 it announced that it installed a maintenance laboratory for electro-optics in a Latin American country<sup>155</sup>. This company has maintained a close relationship with the Israeli government, to the point that in 2015 it was selected to provide equipment for ground operations and its products are deployed in the actions that take place in the Palestinian territory. In addition, after the acquisition of the subsidiary New Noga Light, the company now owns a manufacturing factory for its products in Katzrin Industrial Zone, an Israeli colony in the occupied Syrian Golan<sup>156</sup>.

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147Who Profits Research Center; Proven Effective: Crowd Control Weapons in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; [https://whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/weapons\\_report-8.pdf](https://whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/weapons_report-8.pdf)

148 Ídem

149Neuman Efrat, Azran Eran; Veteran Israeli Businessman Samy Katsav Questioned Over Bribery Allegations; March 2018; <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/premium-veteran-israeli-businessman-samy-katsav-questioned-over-bribery-1.5934126> También puede consultarse: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/268607-investigation-inside-a-multi-million-dollar-defence-contract-fraud-suspects-arrested-in-israel-as-nigeria-fails-to-act.html>

150Coren, Ora y Amit Haga; Top Gun; December 2010; <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5101838i>

151Israel Defense; Israel Shipyards Delivers Two More Shaldag Boats to Argentina; May 2018; <http://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/node/34280>

152Policia Nacional de Colombia; Adquisicion miras para lanzador de tiro único - item 2; August 2014; <https://www.contratos.gov.co/consultas/detalleProceso.do?numConstancia=13-12-1972369>

153Ejército de Chile; Proveedores; [www.ejercito.cl/archivos/proveedores/MEPROLIGHT.xls](http://www.ejercito.cl/archivos/proveedores/MEPROLIGHT.xls)

154Defensa Sur; La Agregaduría Militar Argentina de los EEUU realiza licitaciones; August 2017; <http://www.defensasur.com.ar/index.php/americadelos-eeuu-realiza-licitaciones>

155Defensa.com, Meprolight completa la construcción de laboratorios de mantenimiento para electroóptica de un importante ejército latinoamericano, December 2017; <https://www.defensa.com/expodefensa-2017/meprolight-completa-construccion-laboratorios-mantenimiento-para>

156Who Profits; Meprolight; <https://whoprofits.org/company/meprolight>

IWI is known for providing Jericho pistols, Travor rifles and Uzi submachine guns to several Latin American countries<sup>157</sup>. It has also sold the patent for some weapons, such as the Galil Ace, which is produced today in Chile<sup>158</sup> and Colombia<sup>159</sup>.

These companies are represented in Colombia by Tysa, also known as Technology and Advanced Systems S.A. An article in La Silla Vacía<sup>160</sup>, a news portal, states that the manager of Tysa is a retired Israeli colonel by the name of Michael Cirulnik, who was in charge in 2006 of coordinating the financial issues between Israel and Gaza of the office for the coordination of governmental activities in the territories<sup>161</sup>. This office is a branch of the Israeli Ministry of Defense and is responsible for coordinating civil matters between the Government of Israel, the Israeli Army, international organizations and the Palestinian Authority. It is the most important body of the Israeli civil administration of the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Apparently, Cirulnik held leadership positions in Gaza until 2010, when he was announced as a speaker at a seminar organized by Unesco called "Coexistence in the Middle East", and described as the Commander in Chief of the trade route between Gaza and Israel<sup>162</sup>. This means that he was in charge of organizing the blockade of Gaza that began in 2007 and continues to this day with dramatic consequences.

Another important private company is Plasan, a producer of armored vehicles and supplier of the Israeli army. In recent decades they have also exported their products to Latin American armies. Both in the case of Mexico<sup>163</sup> and Colombia<sup>164</sup>, several vehicles known as "Sandcats" have been purchased from this company. These vehicles are armored and have high tactical mobility, and over time they have gained operational experience in these nations. In the case of Brazil, six armored vehicles were purchased from that company in 2015, although exactly what type is not known<sup>165</sup>.

In 2015, the Israeli company Plasan and the Mexican IBN Industrias Militares, reached an agreement to exclusively manufacture in Mexico two types of armored vehicles. The production of these vehicles has been successful, they are the Sandcat Stomer and the Guarder, and the latter was used in mega events in Brazil. The assembly plant of IBN Industrias Militares, is located in the city of Aguascalientes. The Sandcat, a light armored vehicle, is used by the Mexican Army in operations against drug trafficking since 2011<sup>166</sup>.

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157Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. Israel- Chile; [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade\\_register.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php)

158FAMAE; Agregado de Defensa de Israel visitó FAMAE; March 2016; <http://www.famae.cl/agregado-de-defensa-de-israel-visito-famae/>

159Indumil; Fusil Galil; <https://www.indumil.gov.co/product/fusil-galil-2/><https://www.indumil.gov.co/product/fusil-galil-2/>

160Lewin, Juan Esteban; Estos son los supercontratistas de la seguridad; August 2013; <http://lasillavacia.com/historia/estos-son-los-supercontratistas-de-la-seguridad-45370>

161Dudkevitch, Margot y Halpern, Orly; Palestinians reject use of Kerem Shalom for Gaza cargo; March 2006; <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Palestinians-reject-use-of-Kerem-Shalom-for-Gaza-cargo>

162 Coexistence Trip; Coexistence in the Middle East; Experience the challenge of human diversity... University Seminar in Israel; <http://coexistencetrip.net/file/Program.pdf>

163La sedena opera más de 300 Sandcat ensamblados y mantenidos en México; October 2017; <http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2017/10/08/noticia-operan-mexico-vehiculos-sandcat-construccion.html>

164Infodefensa; Colombia recibe 13 vehículos Sandcat de la empresa israelí Plasan S.A.; March 2015; <http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2015/03/30/noticia-ejercito-policia-colombia-reciben-nuevos-vehiculos.html>

165 Portal do Governo; Viaturas blindadas e 7.992 novas armas reforçam o trabalho das polícias em SP; <http://www.saopaulo.sp.gov.br/spnoticias/ultimas-noticias/viaturas-blindadas-e-7-992-novas-armas-reforcam-o-trabalho-das-policias-em-sp-1/>

166Acuerdo Mexicano-Israeli, IBN Industrias Militares y Plasan fabricaran vehiculos blindados "Sandcat" en México; <http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2015/10/23/noticia-industrias-militares-asocia-plasan-fabricar-vehiculos-blindados-sandcat-mexico.html>

Although the justification in both countries is the war against organized crime, be it guerrillas or drug trafficking groups, there is evidence of their use for the control of social mobilizations and extrajudicial repression. In the case of social movements, we identified the use of these vehicles to repress indigenous populations in southern Colombia<sup>167</sup> and peasants in eastern Colombia. Regarding participation in human rights violations, it has been reported that these vehicles "were active in various places where attacks against teachers were carried out"<sup>168</sup>, which resulted in the forced disappearance of students in 2014 in Iguala.

Another private company involved in sales to Latin America is RT Aerostats System, a company based in the Israeli town of Yavne, which manufactures the skystars (aerostats), which have been used for operations in Gaza in 2006 and 2008. These are aerial vehicles used for recognition that were used in Brazil during the World Cup of 2014<sup>169</sup>, in Colombia in 2012<sup>170</sup> in a concert, in 2017 during the visit of Pope Francisco<sup>171</sup>, and they have also been used in Chile<sup>172</sup> and in Mexico<sup>173</sup>. Recently, they were busy to help search for survivors after the September earthquake that left almost 400 dead<sup>174</sup>. The aerostats are equipped with technology from Controp, also Israeli, which, as mentioned above, was purchased by Rafael<sup>175</sup>.

In the field of military communications, another privately-owned company is Orbit Communication, which specializes in solutions to meet aerial, maritime and field applications. It is present in Colombia and Brazil, and provides technology for communications and in Brazil it works with Petr leo Brasileiro S.A. (Petrobras) in its satellite communications<sup>176</sup>. In their expansion plan they state that they also aim to penetrate the markets of Argentina and Peru<sup>177</sup>.

Other military companies have sales in Latin America are: Rada Electronic Industries, Techaya, U.D.L United Defense, L.H.B LTD, Northrop Grumman Overseas Service Corp, Tar Ideal Concepts. In addition to these companies in the military sector, there has been a growing presence of companies focused on civil security.

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167fuerzasmilitares.org; Ej rcito y polic a reciben blindados Sandcat; March 2015;

<http://www.fuerzasmilitares.org/notas/colombia/ejercito-nacional/5606-ej%C3%A9rcito-y-polic%C3%ADa-nacional-reciben-blindados-sandcat.html> Esto en cuanto a la orientaci n del gobierno a utilizarlos en momentos que movimientos sociales que bloqueen carreteras, pero informaci n espec fica de haberlo utilizado contra las poblaciones ind genas: "El SandCat y Goliat, ya han sido utilizados principalmente en las manifestaciones que se adelantaron en el norte del Cauca". Notivisi n; Goliat y El Gato del desierto est n en el Cauca; June 2015;

<http://www.notivision.com.co/noticias/cauca/goliat-y-el-gato-del-desierto-estan-en-el-cauca>

168Emir Olivares Alonso y Jos  Antonio Rom n; Hubo otro cami n militar en Iguala que la PGR no indag : expertos de la CIDH; April 2016; <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2016/04/27/politica/012n1pol>

169RT; RT's SkyStar 180 aerostat system is currently deployed in Rio De Janeiro securing the world cup's events in Copacaba; <http://www.rt.co.il/world-cup-events-in-rio-de-janeiro>

170RT; Madonna's concerts, Colombia; <http://www.rt.co.il/madonna-s-concerts--colombia>

171JTA, Israeli surveillance balloon helped protect Pope in South America; <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-surveillance-balloon-helped-protect-pope-in-south-america/>

172RT, SkyStar 180 systems in Chile; <http://www.rt.co.il/skystar-180-systems-in-chile->

173Fuente Latina; Globos de vigilancia para protegernos desde el aire; November 2017 <http://fuentelatina.org/globos-de-vigilancia-para-protegernos-desde-el-aire/>

174<http://fuentelatina.org/globos-de-vigilancia-para-protegernos-desde-el-aire/>

175Who Profits; RT LTA Systems; <https://whoprofits.org/company/rt-lta-systems>

176Orbit; Case Studies; <http://orbit-cs-usa.com/customers/case-studies/>

177Tomas, Juan Pedro; Orbit Communication Systems apunta a registrar crecimiento de dos d gitos en Latinoam rica;

<http://www.bnamericas.com/es/news/tic/orbit-communication-systems-apunta-a-registrar-crecimiento-de-dos-digitos-en-latinoamerica>

## Civil security.

It is still very difficult to calculate the degree to which civil security companies are present in Latin America given their recent arrival to this market. Their presence has grown as a result of the privatization of the responsibilities of the police, now carried out by international and local companies. When we speak about security companies, we are referring not only of those that directly provide these services, but also to those that sell technologies to public and private entities to carry out punitive acts. The products that are imported from Israel include video cameras, closed circuits, detection and alarm systems, satellite monitoring, among other products. Below are some of the companies that are complicit with apartheid and export goods and services to the continent.

Amnetpro is a company that provides facial recognition technology and security software. It is a group made up of several companies (AMnettrack, Amnetex, Ex-sight) and has Israeli allied companies: VVAMIR (development, manufacture and testing of complex electronic circuits), Waveguard (continuous monitoring and management of mobile phone antennas), Gate Tel (electronic circuits for cellular networks). We found that it provides services in Colombia and Brazil, in the latter country it provides services for the riot police in Sao Paulo<sup>178</sup>. The company works with Magal in Haifa, and Magal has been building part of the wall in the West Bank and control areas in Gaza<sup>179</sup>.

Another company that was mentioned previously for sales in the military sector, also provides technology for civil security: Noa Security, a subsidiary of Elbit Systems. This company was responsible for installing nearly 1200 video surveillance cameras in the city of Maldonado<sup>180</sup>. These sales occurred as part of a strategy known as Smart City, which they describe as deployed to: "optimize and centralize management control in order to improve service quality. This is achieved by integrating different technologies such as video surveillance, geo-referencing of incidents, location with satellite technology of resources involved in emergency care, as well as improving the connectivity and means of communication of the different institutions and agencies involved responding to emergencies and citizen security. To this end, it is necessary to create an integrated Control and Command Center (C4) to transform the city into a safer place"<sup>181</sup>. This description is reminiscent of the dynamics of total control of the Palestinian population exercised by the Israeli State, and is indicative of the way in which social control promoted with these technologies is exported.

ISDS, founded in 1982 by former Mossad agent Leo Gleser, who is a former colonel of the Special Anti-Terrorism Unit of the Israeli army, also participates in sales in Latin America. This company had commercial relations with the military during the dictatorship of Guatemala in 1985<sup>182</sup>; It provided services that included: squadrons, electronic surveillance and information gathering, helicopter and aircraft weapons sales. It was also present in Honduras between 1981 and 1984<sup>183</sup>, in

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178Web de la empresa: <https://www.ex-sight2.com/projects>

179Abunimah Ali; Israeli firm that imprisons Gaza aims to build Trump's wall with Mexico; February 2017 <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/israeli-firm-imprisons-gaza-aims-build-trumps-wall-mexico>

180Embajada de Israel en Uruguay; Elbit instalará más de 1200 cámaras en Maldonado; June del 2016;

<http://embassies.gov.il/montevideo/Pages/Elbit-en-Maldonado.aspx>

181Noa Security Solutions; Smart City; <http://noasecurity.com/es/smart-city/>

182O 'Terrorism' Industry, Ed Herman and Gerry O'Sullivan, The "Terrorism" Industry, 1989, Praeger, pages 117-147

[https://wikispooks.com/wiki/Document:The\\_Security\\_Industry\\_extract\\_from\\_The\\_'Terrorism'\\_Industry](https://wikispooks.com/wiki/Document:The_Security_Industry_extract_from_The_'Terrorism'_Industry)

183 Egurbide, Peru y Sales Ferran; Gleser, en Honduras November de 1989

[https://elpais.com/diario/1989/11/10/espana/626655601\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1989/11/10/espana/626655601_850215.html)

El Salvador in the war against the guerrillas, in the formation of Contras in Nicaragua<sup>184</sup>, and in Mexico, Peru and Ecuador<sup>185</sup>.

Journalist Yossi Melman explains how this type of companies get these contracts: "In Israel the system works like this: The Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Mossad receive requests to provide security advice, training of armies or private security services for the governments of certain States, usually tyrants. Since the authorities can not, or do not want to assist those governments directly, but see the petition as important to promote the security or interests of the country, they ask private companies to provide the services that were requested"<sup>186</sup>.

For the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro in 2016 it was reported that this company would be responsible for security with a contract of about 2.2 million dollars, which would be spent with the participation of more than 30 Israeli companies<sup>187</sup>, but after pressure from human rights groups to cancel the contract, the government announced that: "there is no commercial relationship between the Ministry of Justice and the aforementioned company"<sup>188</sup>.

In Brazil, other companies that provide security and training services to security guards are also present, such as Uzil, which claims in its website to have been founded by Eli Rahamim, captain of the Special Anti-Terror and Anti-Kidnapping Forces of the Israeli army. This company provides public and private security services and gives special anti-kidnapping courses in Israel, Chile, Mexico and Guatemala<sup>189</sup>.

Another security company that provides services to mining companies in Guatemala is the Golan Group, which was involved in the 2005 murder of a community member in the department of San Marcos. This murder occurred in the context of local communities organizing against a gold mining project; and it happened after serious protests against Glamis Gold, a mining company, at the beginning of the year. During a protest against Glamis Gold in January 2005 another protester was killed by Guatemalan government forces. To date no one has been detained by the authorities and the murder perpetrated by employees of the security company continues to go unpunished<sup>190</sup>.

The Golan Group was founded by former officers of the Israeli Special Forces and has more than 3,500 employees in seven countries. "Basically, we put an Israeli security spin on our procedures" said Thomas Pearson, the company's chief operating officer, during the training course, which covered everything from hand-to-hand combat to shooting practice to 'getting proactive with your SUV'. The Golan Group, which is now based in Florida but still markets its Israeli advantage, also produces X-ray machines, metal detectors and rifles. In addition to many governments and

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184 Cygielman Victor; Una empresa israelí proporcionó instructores al Gobierno salvadoreño; November 1989, [https://elpais.com/diario/1989/11/24/internacional/627865223\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1989/11/24/internacional/627865223_850215.html)

185 Negocios Ocultos; International Security and Defense Systems ISDS; <http://negocisocults.palestina.cat/project/international-security-and-defense-systems-ids>

186 Melman Yossi; Jewish Cowboy; March 2006 consultado traducción del inglés; original en: <https://www.haaretz.com/1.4898997>

187 Yuval Azulay; CEO de ISDS Israel: "Olimpiadas no es guerra": <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001142574>

188 Opera Mundi; Ministério da Justiça diz não ter relação com empresa de Israel acusada de violar direitos humanos; April 2015

<http://operamundi.uol.com.br/conteudo/noticias/40252/ministerio+da+justica+diz+nao+ter+relacao+com+empresa+de+israel+acusada+de+violar+direitos+humanos.shtml>

189 Uzil, Especialista No Ensino De Segurança; <http://www.uzil.com.br/sobre-a-empresa>

190 Mining Watch Canada; Killing of Alvaro Benigno Sanchez by Security Guards Working for Glamis Gold Subsidiary in Guatemala; April 2005 <https://miningwatch.ca/news/2005/4/5/killing-alvaro-benigno-sanchez-security-guards-working-glamis-gold-subsidiary>

celebrities, its clients include ExxonMobil, Shell, Texaco, Levi's, Sony, Citigroup and Pizza Hut"<sup>191</sup>. In Central America it sells services for "Smart Cities" and "Cities Against Violence"<sup>192</sup>.

This case is a clear example of the direct link between extractive companies present in Latin America and Israeli civil security companies. In this case, it is easy to demonstrate the participation of Israeli companies in the repression of Latin American populations, especially those that oppose extractive projects or other multinational companies. However, the link is not always so direct. In the majority of cases it is more difficult to show the link between Israeli militarism and the repression of activists who mobilize against extractive projects and other social movements. Part of this difficulty lies in the lack of access to accurate information (a problem that will be addressed more closely in the conclusions of this report). It is clear, however, that this does not mean that the link ceases to exist.

Other private security companies in Latin America are: Crow Electronic Engineering<sup>193</sup>, Fms Enterprises Migun<sup>194</sup>, Gsn Electronic Company<sup>195</sup>, Ituran Location And Control<sup>196</sup>, Pima Electronic Systems<sup>197</sup>, Risco Group<sup>198</sup>, Kp Electronic Systems<sup>199</sup>, Otot Electronics.

All these companies provide technology, an activity that has its origins in the need to militarily control Palestinian civilian life which was achieved thanks to the use of cameras, civil biometric systems, closed security circuits and satellite monitoring. This is therefore one of the most successful cases of transfer of technology from the military to the civilian sector, which is a result of the Israeli occupation and which, if used at a large scale could have similar consequences to the total control of the Palestinian population: restrictions on individual freedoms justified by the security paradigm.

Another set of products and services that Israel exports to the world has to do with the cybersecurity and intelligence sector: the companies involved in this sector will be described in detail below.

## Cybersecurity and Intelligence.

It is no longer a secret that many of the members of Eight Two Hundred (8200), an Israeli army intelligence unit, as well as other military intelligence units of the Israeli State, have used the skills they gained during their service to create cybersecurity and espionage companies<sup>200</sup>. Several of these companies, and others that were born in the midst of this booming business, have taken advantage of the demand in our continent for these products. The intelligence sector of the State in Latin America has been strengthened in recent decades with technology imported from Israel, especially with technology used for the interception of communications and the software necessary for processing the information collected.

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191USACBI; From Israel to Arizona, boycott racism! ; July 2010 <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israel-arizona-boycott-racism/1070>

192 Embajada de Israel en Guatemala; Grupo Golan celebra 25 años;  
<http://embassies.gov.il/guatemala/NewsAndEvents/Pages/Grupo-Golan.aspx>

193Web de la empresa: <http://www.thecrowgroup.com>

194Web de la empresa: <http://fms.co.il/>

195Web de la empresa: <http://www.gsncompany.com/>

196Web de la empresa: <https://www.ituranusa.com/> Opera en Brasil, Argentina, Colombia y México.

197 Web de la empresa: <http://www.pima-alarms.com/>

198 Web de la empresa: <https://www.riscogroup.com>

199Web de la empresa: [kpsystems.com](http://kpsystems.com)

200Kerbs Gil; The Unit; February de 2007; [https://www.forbes.com/2007/02/07/israel-military-unit-ventures-biz-cx\\_gk\\_0208israel.html#2ddb3ca54d3c](https://www.forbes.com/2007/02/07/israel-military-unit-ventures-biz-cx_gk_0208israel.html#2ddb3ca54d3c) también reseñado en: Tandler Ian; From The Israeli Army Unit 8200 To Silicon Valley; March 2015 <https://techcrunch.com/2015/03/20/from-the-8200-to-silicon-valley/>

All Israeli mobile communication companies are commercially involved in the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. These companies build infrastructure, maintain property and equipment in illegal Israeli settlements, many of them on land owned by Palestinians. All provide services to the Israeli military and to Israeli settlers. They take advantage of the Israeli control of the Palestinian territory to exploit the frequencies and impose their services on the captive Palestinian market.<sup>201</sup> In Latin America, these interception systems have been applied by state security agencies with programs such as Pegasus in Mexico and Puma in Colombia.

Pegasus is a malicious software, developed by the NSO Group, an Israeli company, and is marketed only to governments. On August 24, 2016, researchers from the Citizen Lab of the University of Toronto documented the infection method of Pegasus malware thanks to activist Ahmed Mansoor, a human rights defender based in the United Arab Emirates.

In general, the modus operandi of the infection consists of sending an SMS message to the target with a text meant to trick them, by using social engineering techniques to click on an attached link. By clicking on the link, the browser opens and redirects the target to one of the NSO Group's infrastructure websites, giving the malware the opportunity to install itself on the device thanks to a vulnerability in the operating system. This way the attacker gains access to the files saved on the computer, as well as contacts, messages and emails. The malware also gets permissions to use, without the target knowing, the device's microphone and camera. According to reports from The New York Times, each successful infection costs around \$77,000.00 USD<sup>202</sup>.

There were more than 72 attacks on 16 activists from five human rights organizations and journalists related to the White House investigation of the Mexican president.

The NSO Group did not directly sell the malware to the Mexican authorities, the purchase was through the Mexican company Balam Seguridad Privada, S.A. of C.V. Asaf Zanzuri and Rodrigo Ruiz Treviño, its owners, sold the malware<sup>203</sup> to the Attorney General's Office (PGR), the Center for Investigation and National Security (Cisen) and the Secretariat of National Defense (Sedena).

Puma is an interception system that the Israeli company Verint Systems set up for the Colombian National Police. Subsequently, the Israeli company NICE Systems expanded the interception capacity of said technology to be carried out on a large scale<sup>204</sup>. Through a company known as Curacao, Verint managed to sell its Vantage and Relian data collection products, which also served to constitute the Integral Digital Recording System of the Colombian National Police. Likewise, Curacao sold an "information analysis system that is installed when surfing the Internet" to the Administrative Department of Security of Colombia before 2011<sup>205</sup>. Journalists were captured in the following years in these interception rooms<sup>206</sup>. Apparently, Nice won the contract for the expansion of Puma by bribing the former telematic director of the Colombian National Police during the

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201 "Las compañías de móviles y la Ocupación" 29 Oct 2009 Internacional de Resistentes a la Guerra <https://www.wri-irg.org/es/story/2009/las-companias-de-moviles-y-la-ocupacion>

202 R3D: Red en Defensa de los Derechos Digitales, junto con ARTICLE 19, oficina para México y Centroamérica, y SocialTIC; Gobierno Espía, vigilancia sistemática a periodistas y defensores de derechos humanos en México; June del 2017. <https://es.scribd.com/document/351728560/Informe-Gobierno-Espi-a-1>

203 Al momento, Habría comprado México sistema de espionaje israelí; December 2017;

<http://www.eldiariodecoahuila.com.mx/nacional/2017/12/28/habria-comprado-mexico-sistema-espionaje-israeli-701378.html>

204 Privacy International; Demanda y oferta: la industria de la vigilancia al descubierto; July del 2015;

[https://www.privacyinternational.org/sites/default/files/2017-12/DemandSupply\\_Espanol.pdf](https://www.privacyinternational.org/sites/default/files/2017-12/DemandSupply_Espanol.pdf)

205 Contrato de venta 29 FR 2011, <https://www.contratos.gov.co/consultas/detalleProceso.do?numConstancia=11-12-620217>

206 El Espectador; Sobre las "chuzadas" y la Policía; December del 2015,

<https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/sobre-chuzadas-y-policia-articulo-607339>

contracting process<sup>207</sup>. Verint systems also has a business in Chile<sup>208</sup> and in Brazil<sup>209</sup>. And Nice also has business in Brazil<sup>210</sup>. Part of the cyber technologies division that was sold to Elbit in 2015 and its physical security division was sold to Battery Ventures<sup>211</sup>. This is the reason why the company states that it has left the security sector.

Other companies market cybersecurity and intelligence products in the continent, one of these is Cellebrite in Chile<sup>212</sup>, Colombia<sup>213</sup>, Nicaragua<sup>214</sup>, Argentina<sup>215</sup>, Mexico and Uruguay<sup>216</sup>. This is a technology company that was founded in Israel and sells forensic services, its main clients are cellular operators, governmental research agencies and police departments throughout the world. Cellebrite has previously collaborated in investigations with the United States and with the Spanish Civil Guard. It sells a forensic tool that allows police and research departments to immediately extract vital information from a cell phone found at a crime scene<sup>217</sup>. This company's technology has been used to carry out illegal searches on citizens' phones in Michigan<sup>218</sup>, and has been sold to governments that have violated citizens' rights such as those of the Arab Emirates, Turkey or Russia<sup>219</sup>. Perhaps the most famous case is the use in Bahrain to charge a dissident who was also tortured<sup>220</sup>. Finally, it must be noted that in the United States<sup>221</sup>, it has become clear that these software companies keep contracts for long periods of time because the need for constant updates imply reinvesting several times, resulting in long-term dependency relationships.

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207RCN Noticias; Las denuncias contra el general León Riaño y sus hermanos; March 2014;

<https://www.noticiascrcn.com/nacional-justicia/las-denuncias-contra-el-general-leon-riano-y-sus-hermanos>

208 Ejército de Chile; Proveedores actualizado 11 de May del 2017; Esta empresa es representada en Chile por Cyma;

<https://www.ejercito.cl/archivos/proveedores/11-05-17.pdf>

209 Stop the Wall; As relações militares entre Brasil e Israel;

[https://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/rela\\_\\_es\\_militares\\_entre\\_brasil\\_e\\_israel.pdf](https://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/rela__es_militares_entre_brasil_e_israel.pdf)

210 Ídem

211 Globes correspondent; Battery Ventures buys NICE Systems unit for \$100m; <https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-battery-ventures-buys-nice-systems-unit-for-100m-1001057540>

212 Fiscalía de Chile; Documento de Transparencia del 2015;

[http://www.fiscaliadechile.cl/transparencia/documentos/transparencia\\_August\\_2015.xlsx](http://www.fiscaliadechile.cl/transparencia/documentos/transparencia_August_2015.xlsx)

213 En Colombia lo tiene tanto la Policía como la Fiscalía. Procesos FGN-IPSE-040-2016 NC, PN DIASE SA 006-

2014, se pueden consultar en: <https://www.contratos.gov.co> Asi mismo es utilizado por empresas privadas como Adalid:

<http://www.adalid.com/servicios/forensic/disenio-e-implementacion-de-laboratorios-de-informatica-forense/>

214 Policía Nicaragua; Licitación Proyecto: Apoyo a medidas de prevención y control de

drogas y crimen organizado en Nicaragua; March 2017; <http://www.policia.gob.ni/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/PLIEGO-L.P.-06-2017-Compra-de-Equipamiento-Especializado-TICs.pdf>

215 Contratos con la provincia de Córdoba; <http://compraspublicas.cba.gov.ar/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Pliego-Condicion-Genera-UFED.pdf> Ciudad de Buenos Aires,

<https://consejo.jusbaires.gob.ar/documento/7e011d14ac69c31327f5898e5b3c0999/download> y el Gobierno Nacional

<https://www.fiscalias.gob.ar/compras-y-contrataciones-historicas/>

216 Compras Nacionales <http://comprasestatales.gub.uy/consultas/detalle/id/604108>

217 Poder PDA; Cellebrite: Transferencias de Datos e Investigación Forense; April 2011;

<https://www.poderpda.com/investigacion-y-desarrollo/cellebrite-transferencias-de-datos-e-investigacion-forense/>

218 Heussner Ki Mae; Michigan Police Use Device to Download Cellphone Data; ACLU Objects; April 2011;

<https://abcnews.go.com/Technology/michigan-police-cellphone-data-extraction-devices-aclu-objects/story?id=13428178>

219 Cox Joseph, Cellebrite Sold Phone Hacking Tech to Repressive Regimes, Data Suggests; January 2017,

[https://motherboard.vice.com/en\\_us/article/aekqjj/cellebrite-sold-phone-hacking-tech-to-repressive-regimes-data-suggests](https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/aekqjj/cellebrite-sold-phone-hacking-tech-to-repressive-regimes-data-suggests)

220 Biddle, Sam y Desmukh Fahad; Phone-Cracking Cellebrite Software Used to Prosecute Tortured Dissident; December del 2016; <https://theintercept.com/2016/12/08/phone-cracking-cellebrite-software-used-to-prosecute-tortured-dissident/>

221 Cox, Joseph; US State Police Have Spent Millions on Israeli Phone Cracking Tech; December 2016;

[https://motherboard.vice.com/en\\_us/article/aekqkj/us-state-police-have-spent-millions-on-israeli-phone-cracking-tech-cellebrite](https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/aekqkj/us-state-police-have-spent-millions-on-israeli-phone-cracking-tech-cellebrite)

The case of Israeli company MLM Protection is also well known. This company sold interception software to the government of Panama after President Ricardo Martinelli visited Israel at the beginning of 2010, in addition to providing training services for troops.<sup>222</sup>.

Another company that has business in Brazil, Mexico<sup>223</sup> and Colombia<sup>224</sup> is Kavit Electronics. This company specializes in call blocking technology and has developed technology licensed by the Israeli Ministry of Defense<sup>225</sup>. This shows that companies also seek to create technologies that can aid the Israeli State in its intense occupation of the Palestinians.

In Brazil, Panama, Colombia, Mexico and Trinidad. This is a company with a deep connection to the Israeli apartheid, it has participated in the installation of cameras in checkpoints and provides a surveillance system for the Ir David settlement in East Jerusalem<sup>15</sup>. One of its subsidiaries, Athena, sells spy technology, a result of the experience of one of its directors, Shabtay Shavit, who worked with Israeli intelligence for 32 years and was the director of the Mossad between 1989 and 1996<sup>226</sup>.

Finally, the expansion of these cybersecurity companies in Latin America is so significant that specialized laboratories in this branch of the military industry are beginning to be launched. In 2017 the creation of a Cyber Defense Center in Latin America, which would be facilitated by the Israeli Consortium of Cybernetic Companies (IC3), was announced. This consortium, which is led by Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI), apparently provides "the country in question with a strategic cyber defense center at a national level that will include risk assessment, the establishment of an advanced monitor and defense center against Cyber attacks, and also provides infrastructure and a cyber-information program. The solutions provided will combine the capabilities of the various Israeli members of the consortium, including EltaSystems, a subsidiary of IAI, VerintSystems and Check Point Software Technologies"<sup>227</sup>. Although it has not been possible to confirm in which country this will be carried out, it shows that the articulation of Israeli public and private companies will successfully maintain the expansion of this sector in the continent.

Other intelligence cybersecurity companies present in Latin America include: Kavit Electronics Industries, Netline Communications Technologies, Septier Communication, Ability Computers & Software Industries Ltd<sup>228</sup> y Amdocs<sup>229</sup>.

## The participation of former Israeli military members.

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222 Gil, Eliana Morales; Empresa que vendió máquina para interceptar comunicaciones escoltó a Martinelli; December del 2014; [https://www.prensa.com/locales/Empresa-maquina-interceptar-comunicaciones-Martinelli\\_0\\_4087091367.html](https://www.prensa.com/locales/Empresa-maquina-interceptar-comunicaciones-Martinelli_0_4087091367.html)

223 Brochure Kavit, [http://www.hypercable.fr/images/stories/kavit/Kavit\\_Introduction.pdf](http://www.hypercable.fr/images/stories/kavit/Kavit_Introduction.pdf)

224 Licitaciones para Circuitos cerrado de televisión en un cuartel militar en Colombia,

[https://community.secop.gov.co/Public/Tendering/PublicMessageDisplay/Index?](https://community.secop.gov.co/Public/Tendering/PublicMessageDisplay/Index?id=39081&contractNoticeUniqueIdentifier=&prevCtxUrl=%2FPublic%2FTendering%2FOpportunityDetail%2FIndex%3FPerspective%3DDefault&asPopupView=true)

[id=39081&contractNoticeUniqueIdentifier=&prevCtxUrl=%2FPublic%2FTendering%2FOpportunityDetail%2FIndex%3FPerspective%3DDefault&asPopupView=true](https://community.secop.gov.co/Public/Tendering/PublicMessageDisplay/Index?id=39081&contractNoticeUniqueIdentifier=&prevCtxUrl=%2FPublic%2FTendering%2FOpportunityDetail%2FIndex%3FPerspective%3DDefault&asPopupView=true)

225 Pietrosanti, Fabio; Licensed by Israel Ministry of Defense? How things really works!;

<http://infosecurity.ch/20100129/licensed-by-israel-ministry-of-defense-how-things-really-works/>

226 Who Profits; Athena GS3 Security Implementations; <https://www.whoprofits.org/company/athena-gs3-security-implementations>

227 Iton Gadol; Avances. Grupo israelí creará un Centro de Defensa Cibernética en Latinoamérica; March del 2017; <http://itongadol.com/noticias/val/103366/-avances-grupo-israeli-creara-un-centro-de-defensa-cibernetica-en-latinoamerica.html>

228 En Colombia la importa una empresa llamada Newsat que también comercializa a Gilat y a Orbit <http://newsatint.com/>

229 Stop the Wall; As relações militares entre Brasil e Israel;

[https://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/rela\\_\\_es\\_militares\\_entre\\_brasil\\_e\\_israel.pdf](https://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/rela__es_militares_entre_brasil_e_israel.pdf)

As we have already noted in the case of Shabtay Shavit, Leo Gleser, Michael Cirulnik and the Eight Two Hundred Brigade, several retired soldiers of the Israeli army are involved in private companies that sell war technology. This is also the CAA Industries with sales in Colombia<sup>230</sup> and Peru<sup>231</sup>, a company that produces sights and accessories for weapons. One of the partners of this company is Lieutenant Colonel Mikey Hartman, who is a retired soldier and former commander and trainer of the school of shooting and marksmanship of the Israeli army, where he trained more than half a million soldiers<sup>232</sup>. Originally it was founded by Moshe Oz, another ex-soldier of the special forces, but with the arrival of Hartman "CAA has seen a 70% increase in its global sales in 2015 compared to 2014"<sup>233</sup>. In 2016, part of its sales to the Israeli army were made in association with IMI<sup>234</sup>, another Israeli company, which shows the partnerships that exist between different companies within the Israeli military complex.

This is also the case of Nice Systems, which is "originally a manufacturer of surveillance products for military users only," NICE Systems says it is currently "a world leader in intention-based solutions that capture and analyze interactions and transactions, make effective the intention and extract and promote perceptions to cause impact in real time". Founded by seven members of the Israeli army, the company is based in Israel, although its shares are also listed on the US NASDAQ<sup>235</sup>.

Something similar happens with Noa Group, which on its website states that "NOA is made up of a set of Israeli companies. The large part of our companies belong to and are administered by senior officers of the Israeli Defense Army, who are now retired"<sup>236</sup>.

Another case is that of Netline, which sells signal blockers, and is owned by Ben Te'eni and Gil Israeli, who are graduates of Israeli Army intelligence units and worked for the state-owned company Israel Aerospace Industries after having left the army. The marketing director of the company, Loreen Haim-Cayzer, told the media outlet ISRAEL21c that "The need for cellular jammers became apparent about six years ago when there was a high security briefing in an air force squadron. One of the officers mistakenly pushed the redial button on his cell phone which dialed the last number, which happened to be a journalist. He heard the entire briefing, which of course was meant to be confidential."<sup>237</sup> This statement confirms the fact that the development of technology from the private sector is being advanced to strengthen the operational and intelligence capabilities of the Israeli army.

There have been numerous accusations made by the the overthrown president of Honduras, high officials, journalists, human rights organizations and activists, which point to Israel's participation in the Honduran coup of 2009. Such accusations justify a more in-depth investigation considering past Israeli interventions in the region and the practices of Israeli companies linked to the security and defense sector that we have described in this report.

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230 DIAN, imports data base, <https://www.dian.gov.co/dian/cifras/pages/EstadisticasComEx.aspx>

231 A peruvian military during a national parade, carrying his FN SCAR rifle and CAA's FVG5B folding forearm grip. <https://www.facebook.com/caaupgrade/photos/a.114267775272018.10787.111703212195141/845473798818075/?type=3&theater>

232 ABOUT CAA GEAR UP; <https://www.caagearup.com/about-cao-gearup>

233 Ammoland; LTC (Ret.) Mikey Hartman New CEO of CAA USA and International; January 2016; <https://www.ammoland.com/2016/01/ltc-ret-mikey-hartman-new-ceo-of-cao-usa-and-international/#axzz4vXKYL0ss>

234 Israel Defense; Exclusive: IMI and Hartman Optics to Develop and Supply New Sight for IDF; April 2016, <http://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/content/exclusive-imi-and-hartman-optics-develop-and-supply-new-sight-idf>

235 Privacy International; Demanda y oferta: la industria de la vigilancia al descubierto; July 2015; [https://www.privacyinternational.org/sites/default/files/2017-12/DemandSupply\\_Espanol.pdf](https://www.privacyinternational.org/sites/default/files/2017-12/DemandSupply_Espanol.pdf)

236 Noa Security; La empresa; <http://noasecurity.com/es/la-empresa/>

237 Brinn, David; Israeli cell phone-blocking system creates cellular firewall; October 2004; <https://www.israel21c.org/israeli-cell-phone-blocking-system-creates-cellular-firewall/>

Specifically, one of the weapons used during that coup was the Long Range Acoustic Device (LRAD). The LRAD is produced by "American Technology Corporation", a US company. However, there are accusations about the involvement of a local firm, owned by a former Israeli soldier, in its acquisition.<sup>238</sup>

In addition, several individuals and companies have been named as participants in the coup. Among them is Yehuda Leitner, a former Israeli army officer who has a long record of involvement in the arms trade in Latin America. Leitner was involved in the arms trade, particularly for the Contras, and helped organize shipments of arms to the Contras in 1984.<sup>239</sup> Leiter worked with Emil Saada, another Israeli, who organized the supply of Israeli arms to the Contras. In that period, he was employed by "International Security and Defense Systems" (ISDS), an Israeli security company that trained the Contras<sup>240</sup>.

Recently, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the constitutional government of Honduras Patricia Rhodes, accused Leitner of using her contacts to facilitate the transfer of chemical products and other equipment to the Micheletti government in Honduras. These were used against the Brazilian embassy.<sup>241</sup>

Another figure that has been implicated is David Mirza, a former Israeli army officer and director of the International Security Academy - Israel (ISS until 2004). This organization trains security forces in the use of various techniques, tactics and weapons.

There were reports that Mirza was in Honduras before the coup d'état. Although we still do not know what role Mirza's company played in the training program of the forces that supported the coup d'état, it would not be surprising to find that the company participated taking into account the nature of the company as well as the history of Israeli private security companies in Latin America.

Global CST Ltd., which is headed by former Israeli army general Israel Ziv, has also been mentioned in relation to the coup d'état. The company offers training and consultancy in intelligence and security-related fields. It is active in Latin America, especially in Colombia, where it has been training the Colombian army. There are rumors that Ziv was present in Tegucigalpa before the coup d'état. As with the International Security Academy, it is possible that Global CST played a role in training the forces that supported the coup.<sup>242</sup>

In Guatemala, where there is a long history of the presence of Israeli militarism, former military personnel are participating in the formation of private security companies such as the Golan Group. Another example is Ohad Steinhart, who moved to Guatemala in 1994 after having served in the Israeli military. Based on this experience, he created a private security company known as

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238 Para información sobre LRAD usado en Honduras, ver: <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2009/09/sonic-warfare-erupts-in-pittsburgh-honduras/>

239 Haapiseva-Hunter, Jane, *Israeli foreign policy: South Africa and Central America*, 1996, p. 153

240 Ibid. p. 153 and Dale Scott, Peter and Marshall, Jonathan, *Cocaine politics: drugs, armies, and the CIA in Central America*, 1998, p. 76

241 Cuba Debate; Rodas: lanzaron gases tóxicos israelíes, e identifica empresas; Septiembre 2009  
<http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2009/09/26/rodas-lanzaron-gases-toxicos-israelies-e-identifica-empresas/>

242 Hareetz; Israelis Contributed to Daring Colombian Hostage Rescue  
<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/998838.html>

"Executive Decision", which offers personalized security packages, especially for business executives from Guatemala, Mexico and the United States.<sup>243</sup>

All these cases demonstrate the ways in which Israeli state militarism has in turn produced the private sector that exports technologies, where operational experience on the ground gives former military members the possibility of consolidating knowledge that they sell through companies. But this is not the only way in which the Israeli war business is mobilized. Just as important is the work done to lobby in the governments to whom it sells. As well as the irregularities that come up in the in the contracts that are signed. Here we present the case of Argentina.

## Sobrepuestos en contratos con empresas israelíes.

Argentine media outlet Virginia Bolten published information on overpricing in training contracts signed with the State, as well as dubious forms of contracting. The article names the two people who sell arms and training in Argentina.

During most of the Kirchner administration, Sergio Szpolski was the owner of Grupo 23, a multimedia station that owns radio stations and newspapers, including Tiempo Argentino, El Argentino, Radio America, FM Vorterix, and CN23. During this period, it received more than \$800 million from the State. In December 2016, Group 23 stopped paying wages and compensation, leaving hundreds of workers on the street.<sup>244</sup>

In May 2015, Szpolski founded Durby S.A., a company that is dedicated to custody, security and surveillance of people, merchandise and goods, transfer of securities, and services authorized by laws, research agencies and private security. The address is the same as stated by Szpolski in other companies. This company, created in Tel Aviv in 2002, has strong ties with SLS Consulting & Training, which carried out trainings in the Province of Buenos Aires.

An investigation by Perfil, an Argentine newspaper, reported on a Szpolski company that conducted security courses for the repressive institutions of the State in the Province of Buenos Aires. The training consisted of shooting with a pistol, surprise maneuvers, long distance shooting and interrogation of suspects. Perfil gained access to a national report informing that the services had "an extra cost of approximately US \$200 thousand". Cristian Ritondo, the Minister of Security, confirmed that the course was held but that "we paid nothing". The secret report states that the company was established in 2015 and that "the owner is Mr. Sergio Bartolomé Szpolski, and Shmaya Avieli, the former director of Sibat".

Mario Montoto, is an ex-militant of Montoneros, a political organization, and the former secretary of Mario Firmenich. Today, he uses chameleon-like maneuvers and is one of the businessmen behind the sale of arms and Israeli control systems in Argentina. Montoto owns CODESUR (Corporation for the Defense of the South), a company that represents or is linked to Israeli companies including Aeronautics, Azimut Israel, Metax and the subsidiaries of Elbit called Saymar and Soltam.

Montoto also participates in the press, he owns DEF, a media outlet that focuses on the environment and defense, and the TAEDA publishing house. TAEDA, in its 10 years, published a statement by

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243Anna-Catherine Brigida; Guatemala security: 'Those who can afford it buy protection'; July 2016 <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-36834477>

244Martinez Guillermo; Venta de armas de Israel a Argentina. Empresarios actuando a las sombras del poder político: Sergio Szpolski; October 2017 <http://virginiabolten.com.ar/politica-argentina/venta-armas-israel-argentina-empresarios-actuando-las-sombras-del-poder-politico-mario-montoto-sergio-szpolski-2/>

Shimon Peres (former Prime Minister of Israel, former President of Israel and Nobel Peace Prize) directed at Mario Montoto on "Contributions to World Peace".

Patricia Bullrich, the Minister of Security, signed arms purchase agreements with Israel for tens of millions of dollars. Among the purchases are 4 boats equipped with Typhoon cannons and surveillance and monitoring systems for the north of the country, these purchases are part of the files, CUDAP: EXP-SEG: 0008170/2016 and CUDAP: EXP-SEG: 0000429/2016 December 2016. The intermediary was Montoto, who is also the President of the Argentine-Israeli Chamber of Commerce. The chamber that brings together the shipyards of Argentina, indicated that producing the boats in Argentina would have been 50% cheaper.

Mario Montoto is also a majority shareholder of SURELY S.A., a "company that provides solutions for the supervision and monitoring of people who have conflicts with the law". This company already has business in several provinces in Argentina. In Rio Negro, it was the only bidder for Public Tender No. 43/15, for an amount of almost \$5 million per bracelet with GPS. These control systems were also supplied to the provinces of Chubut, Santa Fe, Mendoza, Salta, San Juan and Chaco.

On September 14, in the Province of Buenos Aires by decree DECTO-2017-474-E-GDEBA-GPBA and according to file 21211-1099346-14 SURELY SA won a contract for \$112 million to provide rental service exclusivity that reaches a total of 1,600 supervised detainees by radiofrequency and 400 detainees supervised by GPS.<sup>245</sup>

## Non-Israeli companies that benefit from the occupation.

In Latin America, the companies present that are complicit with apartheid are not only Israeli. There are also multinational companies that have an important role in the occupation of Palestine. Below are two non-Israeli companies that have benefited from the military occupation and apartheid in Palestine.

The first is the American company Hewlett-Packard (HP), which is known worldwide as one of the largest information technology companies in the world. Based in Palo Alto, California, HP markets hardware, software and provides IT-related support services. With all this capacity, it provides technology to the Israeli government to guarantee the occupation of the Palestinian Occupied Territories and the maintenance of an apartheid regime.

The second is G4S, a British multinational company that provides security services, and is present in more than 100 countries including 23 of which are in Latin America. Through its branch Polcity, G4S trains part of the Israeli police, and until recently provided services and equipment in the prisons of the Israeli occupation, at military checkpoints and in Israeli colonies in Palestinian territories.

This section details the relationship of these companies with the Israeli apartheid regime.

### **1. Hewlett-Packard.**

The Israeli NGO Who Profits tracks HP's activities related to the occupation, and its participation in housing demolitions and population control. Their findings reveal that although the HP company is officially extinct, several of the activities that implicate HP continue through newly formed companies: DXC Technology, HP Inc and Hewlett Packard Enterprise (and its Israeli subsidiaries).

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<sup>245</sup>idem

This took place starting in 2015 when it began restructuring, involving division, subsequent mergers and derivations, which resulted in the two companies mentioned.

The following are the services that HP provides for the Israeli occupation and apartheid in the Occupied Palestinian Territories:

#### **a. Population Registry**

Through its Israeli subsidiary EntServ Israel, DXC Technology operates and maintains the Arbel Project of the Aviv System, the computerization system of Israel's Population and Immigration Authority, formerly operated by the now defunct Hewlett Packard (HP) Company. The Aviv system includes the "Yesha database," which contains information on the Israeli citizens in the settlements.

In 2008, HP signed a contract with the Israeli Ministry of the Interior for the production and manufacture of biometric identification cards for citizens of Israel, including Palestinian citizens of Israel and residents of occupied East Jerusalem. These biometric identification cards continue to be used to this day.

#### **b. Services to Settlements**

According to the visual evidence obtained by Who Profits, DXC Technology operates a Research and Development Center in the Beitar Illit settlement. The center was operated by EDS Israel in 2006-2008, and by HP from 2008 to 2017. Until January 2012, the center was located in a facility in the municipality of Beitar Illit. Then it was expanded thanks to a three-year grant awarded to HP by the Ministry of Industry and Employment of Israel.

#### **c. Housing Demolitions**

DXC Technology is establishing a computerization system to assist the Civil Administration in tracking Palestinian construction unauthorized by Israel's occupying power in the West Bank. The project will be based in the Civil Administration Headquarters in Beit El Base, located in Area C of the occupied West Bank. The project involves working with the 'Rolling Stone' system, the central system for managing the Palestinian population registry and permit system, installed in checkpoints in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

#### **d. The Basel System**

In 2000 EDS Israel, an HP company now under the control of DXC Technology, was hired by the Ministry of Defense and the Israeli police to develop, implement and maintain the Basel system, a biometric identification system installed at checkpoints in West Bank and Gaza. The system, designed to control the entry and exit of Palestinians, consists of magnetic cards with ample biometric information (fingerprints, retinal and facial data). Since 2005, these cards became mandatory for all Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories who apply for permission to enter Israel. In July of 2017 Who Profits was informed by the Ministry of Defense, in response to a Freedom of Information request, that the Basel System was finished at the end of 2016 and that there are no active contracts with HP for its maintenance.

#### **Corporate Social Responsibility**

HP declares that it is "committed to the protection and advancement of human rights" and has developed its Declaration of Human Rights based on the United Nations Guiding Principles on

Business and Human Rights. However, by collaborating with the Israeli government, benefiting from its population control apparatus and encouraging the expansion of Israeli colonies, HP encourages and allows serious violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights<sup>246</sup>.

## 2. G4S.

G4S Israel (formerly Hashmira) was part of the global G4S firm, which specializes in security personnel services, electronic security services, arrest alternatives such as ankle monitors and private jail houses around the world. In March 2016, G4S announced that it would sell all its business located in Israel in the next two years for "totally commercial reasons", dismissing the pressure exerted during the last four years by the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign. This occurred after Palestinian groups made a call to hold G4S accountable for its role in Israeli prisons, in 2012<sup>247</sup>. In December 2016 the company was sold to the Israeli investment fund FIMI, which currently owns 100% of the shares. Since then, the movement has inflicted more and more damage to the economy and public relations of the company. According to reports from the independent news portal Middle East Monitor, G4S lost an important contract in Colombia<sup>248</sup> and another with the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) in Jordan<sup>249</sup>. Both cases occurred after campaigns by BDS activists. The Bill Gates Foundation<sup>250</sup> and the United Methodist Church of the USA<sup>251</sup> also divested of the British company.<sup>252</sup>

Listed below are the services for which the boycott of G4S began, which are in the areas of police security, military security and prison security in Israel:

### a. Security services in West Bank settlements and industrial zones.

It provided security services, equipment and security personnel to businesses in the settlements of the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The company also provided security services to companies in the illegal industrial settlements of Mishor Adumim and Atarot. It also provides security for companies in the illegal industrial colony of Barkan and a closed circuit TV system for the safe city project in Israel, which is implemented in dozens of settlements in the West Bank. G4S has sent security guards to protect the houses of Israeli settlers inside Palestinian neighborhoods, many of them in East Jerusalem. While protecting the settlers, it monitored the rest of the neighbors, that is, the Palestinians. Finally, in the Ariel neighborhood in the West Bank, G4S has cooperated with Ariel College, where it also recruited several of its employees.

### b. Israeli checkpoints.

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246Para más información leer el informe realizado por Who Profits: Technologies of Control, The Case of Hewlett Packard [https://www.whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/hp\\_report-\\_final\\_for\\_web.pdf](https://www.whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/hp_report-_final_for_web.pdf)

247BDS Movement; Global Campaign Stop G4S; <https://bdsmovement.net/stop-g4s>

248Middle East Monitor; G4S loses major contract in Colombia after BDS campaign; February 2016; <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20160225-g4s-loses-major-contract-in-colombia-after-bds-campaign/>

249Middle East Monitor; BDS activists welcome decision by UNICEF in Jordan to end contract with G4S; March 2016; <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20160308-bds-activists-welcome-decision-by-unicef-in-jordan-to-end-contract-with-g4s/>

250Metcalf, Tom; Gates Foundation Sells Stake in U.K. Prison Operator G4S; June 2014;

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-06-06/gates-foundation-sells-stake-in-u-k-security-company-g4s>

251Palestinian BDS National Committee; Largest US Protestant Church divests from Israeli prison contractor G4S; June 2014;

<https://bdsmovement.net/news/largest-us-protestant-church-divests-israeli-prison-contractor-g4s>

252HISPANTV; ¿Victoria de BDS? La Mayr empresa de seguridad privada del mundo se retira de Palestina ocupada; March 2016; <https://www.hispantv.com/noticias/palestina/218236/g4s-seguridad-vende-negocio-israel>

The company provided equipment for checkpoints operated by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza, including baggage scanning machines and full-body scanners with Safeview of Rapiscan and L-3 at the Erez checkpoints in Gaza and Qalandia, Bethlehem and Irtah (Shaar Efraim) in the West Bank<sup>253</sup>.

### **c. Israeli criminal system.**

G4S was hired to provide maintenance for security and control systems for the Ofer prison (where the military courts that specialize in administrative detention are also located), Megido prison (located inside Israel, it is an incarceration center designated for Palestinian political prisoners considered to be security prisoners), Damon prison (houses more than 500 Palestinian political prisoners and undocumented immigrants from the occupied West Bank), Ketziot prison (Israel's largest prison facility) and Shata prison. G4S Israel also installed cameras in Nachson (central unit in charge of prison transfers) and a public address system in the Rimonim prison.

The company also provided security systems for the detention and interrogation facilities of Abu Kabir, Kishon ("Al-Jalameh") and Jerusalem ("Russian Compound"). Palestinian political prisoners often remain in detention centers without legal process for long periods of time. Human rights organizations have collected evidence showing that Palestinian prisoners are regularly subjected to torture in these facilities. Finally, since 2005 it provided Israeli prison services with ankle monitors as a custody alternative.

### **d. The Israeli Army and Ministry of Defense**

G4S was one of the main providers of security systems for these entities. It provided security systems to Nachshonim, the Israeli armored corps base that was donated by the United States Army following the Wye River Memorandum. The company operated security patrol units that secure oceanic facilities, vehicles and transportation routes, buildings and equipment from the security and finance industries.

### **e. The Israeli police.**

G4S Israel was the only provider of electronic security systems for the Israeli police. It provided equipment for the headquarters of the Israeli police in the West Bank, located in the highly contested E-1 zone, next to the Ma'ale Adomim settlement (the headquarters of the Judea and Samaria Police - "Machoz Shai"). G4S is part of the Pocity group that won the tender to build the new Israeli police training center in Beit Shemesh, inaugurated at the end of 2014.

Currently the boycott continues because Pocity still carries out 40% of Israeli police training at the National Police Academy, where techniques of crowd control, house assaults, interrogation techniques, shooting and covert operations, and repressive tactics are taught that are used exclusively against Palestinians<sup>254</sup>.

As we have seen so far, Israeli militarism keeps close trade relations with several countries in Latin America; These exchanges range from arms sales to armies, the commercialization of goods and services for private security and the sale of technology associated with cybersecurity and intelligence. Not only Israeli companies are involved in the militarism that this country maintains as

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253Who Profits; Private Security companies and the Israeli Occupation; January 2016;  
<https://www.whoprofits.org/content/private-security-companies-and-israeli-occupation>

254 BDS Movement; Global Security Company G4S deepens ties with Israeli apartheid. Boycott G4S!

July del 2017; <https://bdsmovement.net/news/global-security-company-g4s-deepens-ties-israeli-apartheid-boycott-g4s>

a tool for the colonial occupation of the Palestinian territory. In the final part of the chapter we have pointed out how some multinational companies such as G4S and HP are direct accomplices of the apartheid imposed against the Palestinian people, and as long as in Latin America there continue to exist business exchanges with these companies, it is the duty of the people who support the Palestinian people to carry out boycott campaigns against these companies.

To continue describing the militaristic relations between Latin American countries and the Israeli apartheid State, we will now describe the agreements and institutional exchanges established in recent years.

## Chapter 3: Israeli agreements and cooperation for the militarization of Latin America.

In addition to trade exchanges on military products and technologies, civil security, and cybersecurity and intelligence between Israel and Latin America, Israeli militarism reaches Latin America through exchanges of knowledge. This means that Israel, through different mechanisms and instances, manages to impart its way of seeing and acting in the world through the militaristic mentality. Some of the ways in which this is carried out are the agreements between the Latin American States and the State of Israel, the contracts between the Latin American States and privately-owned Israeli companies and the non-Israeli private companies that benefit from apartheid, former Israeli military personnel that act as advisors and consultants (this was explored in a previous chapter), training and courses that are carried out through the international cooperation agency Mashav, and participation in the Israeli army, among other mechanisms and instances.

It is important to note that the agreements and cooperation offered by Israel are not disconnected from its commercial exchanges. It would not be possible to increase sales in Latin America if this were not driven by the work done by the State of Israel through its embassies and the various agreements it establishes with the States of the region, and in some cases with multilateral organizations<sup>255</sup>.

One of the ways in which the exchange of knowledge takes place is through general alliances to strengthen security, of which we have evidence at least in Argentina, Honduras, Paraguay, Mexico, Uruguay and Colombia.

In Uruguay, during 2015, the Agreement of Understanding (MOU) on public security was signed. This agreement was signed between the Ministry of the Interior of Uruguay and the Ministry of Defense of the State of Israel. This agreement was achieved thanks to the intermediation of CIPEMU (Israelite Community of Punta del Este and Maldonado) and participation of the International Directorate of Defense Cooperation of the Ministry of Defense of Israel, (SIBAT), through the Embassy of Israel in Uruguay.

In August 2016, the president of Honduras, Juan Orlando Hernández, announced that he would establish a military agreement with the government of Israel: "I am sending the National Congress a very important agreement, fundamental for the growth of the Honduran nation, an agreement with the State of Israel; that will allow us to strengthen our Armed Forces, which we probably never had before"<sup>256</sup>. This initiative ended up happening in November of that year in the Congress of the

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255 Itangol AJN; El ministerio de Economía israelí firmó un acuerdo de cooperación con América Latina; June 2015; <http://www.itongadol.com.ar/noticias/val/88052/el-ministerio-de-economia-israeli-firmo-un-acuerdo-de-cooperacion-con-america-latina.html>

256 La Tribuna; Israel y Colombia fortalecerán a las FFAA; August 2016; <http://www.latribuna.hn/2016/08/21/israel-colombia-fortaleceran-las-ff-aa/>

country, by general decree 139 of 2016. A month later, the defense minister of Honduras traveled to Jerusalem where he signed an agreement with his Israeli counterpart<sup>257</sup>.

This agreement involves both the air force, the naval force and the army and is focused on the development of projects to enhance the F5 and A37 aircraft, as well as the helicopter fleet; construction of an OPV vessel, with the capacity to transport helicopters and conduct patrols in the open sea; strengthening the branch of the army with a sophisticated communications team with nationwide coverage; acquisition of surveillance and unmanned reconnaissance systems, with a total of 6 UAVs (drones)<sup>258</sup>.

An article in El Heraldo, a Honduran newspaper, states that "all of these projects included in the agreement with Israel were agreed upon with the National Council for Defense and Security (CNDS), with the General Coordination Secretariat of the Cabinet of Government and the Secretariat of Finance. The total cost of the investment, according to the agreement, is of 209,142,378 dollars, of which 160,155,000 will be used to strengthen the capacities of the Air Forces, the Navy and the Army. While the remaining 48.987.378 dollars are destined for the strengthening of the DNII [National Directorate of Investigation and Intelligence] and the creation of the cybersecurity project."<sup>259</sup>

It took almost a year to deploy this military technology in the country, but by January 10, 2018, the Ministry of Defense of the Honduran government announced "the arrival of spare parts for the Honduran Air Force fleet that includes the Bell-412 helicopters and the F-5 EF and A-37B planes" and that during the rest of January "communication systems for military support will arrive in the country that will increase the effectiveness of operations by land, sea and air. This communication equipment consists of HF vehicle radios, radio HF backpacks, radio VHF backpacks, VHF and VHF / UHF vehicle radios, portable radios and radio bases compatible with existing equipment"<sup>260</sup>.

The cooperation agreement with Israel will last 10 years and requires funds from the Ministry of Finance in the budget for each year. Based on this agreement, the Computer Emergency Response Center (CERT) and the Government Security Operations Center (G-SOC) will be created. An article in El Heraldo points out that the document states that "the G-SOC will have the capacity to conduct real-time monitoring of operations and investigative actions" and that "CERT members will have to take preventive actions and react in case of a cyber attack". This actually means that these centers will have the capacity to monitor the Honduran population, and that under the excuse of cyber attacks, the population will be surveilled, past events prove that this could result in the persecution of members of social movements or anyone who opposes the current government of Juan Orlando Hernández.<sup>4</sup> The El Heraldo article states that the creation of these special cybersecurity units will cost 48,987,378 US dollars, and as part of the agreement Elbit will send its specialists to give training in Honduras<sup>261</sup>.

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257El Heraldo; Honduras suscribe acuerdo con Israel: estos son los proyectos a desarrollar en las fuerzas armadas; December 2016; <http://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1024750-466/honduras-suscribe-acuerdo-con-israel-estos-son-los-proyectos-a-desarrollar-en>

258Despacho de comunicaciones y estrategia de presidencia, Gobierno de la República de Honduras: Israel y Honduras suscriben acuerdo para potenciar las Fuerzas Armadas; December 2016; <http://www.sefin.gob.hn/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/convenioHondurasIsrael.pdf>

259El Heraldo; Israel dotará de unidades en contra del cibercrimen en Honduras; October 2017; <http://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1115476-466/israel-dotar%C3%A1-de-unidades-en-contra-del-cibercrimen-en-honduras>

260Secretaría de Defensa Nacional, Honduras; Patruyajes aereos; January 2018; <http://sedena.gob.hn/2018/01/10/patrullajes-aereos/>

261 Itamar Eichner; La tormenta del presidente hondureño y Shoa: acuerdos de armas junto a la indiferencia política; <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5223952,00.html>

The arrival of the military equipment coincides with the Honduran government's repression of social organizations that have been protesting the lack of transparency in the last presidential elections<sup>262</sup>. And we are not speculating when we state that this new technology will be used to favor repression, given that the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Honduras himself told local media that these new communication systems will allow: "The Army or the Military Police of the Public Order on land to have a clearer communication with the Air force or with the naval vessels of Honduras"<sup>263</sup>. This actually means that the communications of the military police are not being improved for a hypothetical scenario of the defense of national sovereignty, but to guarantee and make increasingly effective the repression they exert on the Honduran people. It could be said then that, if this technology helps in the operations of the army, extrajudicial killings can be expected to increase amid the protests, which by January 22, 2018 amounted to "38 people killed by the police and the army after the various actions carried out by the dissenters during almost two months"<sup>264</sup>.

In Colombia, the Bilateral Working Group, a Political and Military Dialogue between the government of this country and Israel was established, "since 2003, this mechanism has worked on issues such as rehabilitation of those injured in combat, military education, cybersecurity, protection of critical infrastructure, and joint research and development"<sup>265</sup>. According to the Minister of Defense in 2012, "the idea is not only to exchange knowledge and technology, but also intelligence information and doctrines, as well as possibilities to continue developing mutual interests"<sup>266</sup>. This understanding was not only on paper, but in successive visits by defense ministers to various countries, such as the visit made by Ehud Barak made to Colombia in April 2012<sup>267</sup>. But that diplomacy was not limited to travel, instead it materialized in joint projects such as the Harpy III and IV helicopter artillery development project that was previously mentioned.

Additionally, in March 2012, Israel and Colombia began the negotiation rounds that resulted in the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between both countries. This was signed in September 2013 and during 2017 was presented and ratified in the Colombian Congress; it is currently awaiting review by the Constitutional Court to decide whether it conforms to the Constitution. The documents that served as a baseline in the negotiation process, prepared by the trade ministries of both countries, highlighted the fact that one of the key areas of trade is related to security and defense, and this area is precisely one of the areas that would be strengthened with the new commercial agreement. In 2011, imports of aircraft and parts of weapons totaled 49.6% of total imports from Israel to Colombia<sup>268</sup>.

In Mexico, in February 1997, three years before they signed a free trade agreement, the governments of Israel and Mexico signed the "agreement between the government of the United

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262 Varias denuncias las ha hecho el Consejo Cívico de Organizaciones Populares e Indígenas de Honduras (COPINH), las cuales se pueden consultar en su sitio web: <https://copinh.org/>

263 El Heraldo; Israel alista la primera entrega de equipo a las Fuerzas Armadas de Honduras; January 2018; <http://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1141210-466/israel-alista-la-primera-entrega-de-equipo-a-las-fuerzas-armadas-de>

264 Avispa Midia; Suman 38 asesinatos en las protestas contra fraude electoral en Honduras; January 2018; <https://avispa.org/21318-2/>

265 Ministerio de Defensa de Colombia; Memorias del ministro al gobierno, 2014-2015; <https://www.mindefensa.gov.co/irj/go/km/docs/Mindefensa/Documentos/descargas/Prensa/Documentos/memorias2014-2015.pdf>

266 El Universal; Colombia e Israel, en busca de negociar industria militar; April 2012; <http://www.eluniversal.com.co/cartagena/nacional/colombia-e-israel-en-busca-de-negociar-industria-militar-72932>.

267 Sexta división del Ejército Nacional; Colombia e Israel aumentarán cooperación en seguridad y defensa; April 2012, <https://www.ejercito.mil.co/index.php?idcategoria=324493>

268 Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo; Israel - Colombia. Joint study on the feasibility of an FTA; 2011; <http://www.tlc.gov.co/publicaciones.php?id=2013>

Mexican States and the government of the State of Israel on cooperation in the fight against illicit trafficking and abuse of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and other serious crimes"<sup>269</sup>,

In fact, as part of the fight against drug trafficking, the Mexican government created the Special Forces Aeromobile Group (GAFES), this group received military training provided by Special Forces of the United States, Sayeret Matkal of Israel and the French Gendarmerie<sup>270</sup>. However, some soldiers deserted and joined organized crime. According to information from the Attorney General's Office, in 1997, about 38 to 40 members of these units defected to form the armed wing of the Gulf Cartel know as Osiel Cárdenas Guillén; these deserters became known as the Zetas.

Jesús Alfonso Navarrete Prida, federal deputy for the Institutional Revolutionary Party, says that the agreement is very important in terms of technology: "many security systems are based on Israeli systems: it is another of the many areas where the exchange of information, such as technology, strengthens ties between the two countries". The collaboration with Israel is part of the national security scheme of Mexico and is carried out through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and also through the different corporations where Mexico has signed collaboration and reciprocal assistance agreements. It is not only with one area of the Mexican government, it is with multiple areas.

Since 2010, the government of Mexico City has also established agreements with the government of Israel for the training of policemen in the capital in the handling of explosives and traffic control in public transport<sup>271</sup>.

In the countries that established these general agreements, more specific agreements were formed to train the military and police forces. In fact, countries that did not maintain general agreements also initiated local and regional agreements in this same sense.

In Uruguay, an agreement was signed in 2010 between the Ministry of the Interior of Uruguay and the Israeli Ministry of Public Security, through which Uruguayan police officers were trained in Israel. No details of the areas were given, but the Uruguayans expressed interest in the Israeli experience in juvenile prisons and in a program called "City without Violence", which was launched in 146 low-income localities, and the Minister, Isaac Aharonovich, is racist, anti-poor and anti-Arab. The period coincided with an increase in the repressive actions of the police towards popular demonstrations and protests, as well as police brutality in the operations carried out in periphery and high-poverty neighborhoods. We can not establish that there has been a direct cause-effect relationship, but it is something that we found in that period.

In Argentina, presidential security forces trained with Israeli forces, apparently in response to protests against Mauricio Macri's adjustment policies<sup>272</sup>.

For the first time in Latin America, 2017 saw the visit of an Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who is being tried in Argentina for war crimes and crimes against humanity. During this official visit, he signed four agreements with the Argentine government, one of them on security matters. A public security agreement the objective of which is to deepen and improve the

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269Catálogo de derechos humanos; MX Combate a la Delincuencia y Terrorismo; July 2014; <http://www.catalogoderechoshumanos.com/mx-combate-a-la-delincuencia-y-terrorismo/>

270Wikipedia; Cuerpo de Fuerzas Especiales de México; [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuerpo\\_de\\_Fuerzas\\_Especiales\\_de\\_México#cite\\_note-9](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuerpo_de_Fuerzas_Especiales_de_México#cite_note-9)

271Contralínea; Israel entrena 50 efectivos mexicanos cada año; July 2012; <https://www.contralinea.com.mx/archivo-revista/2012/07/03/israel-entrena-50-efectivos-mexicanos-cada-ano/>

272Dinatale Martín; Seguridad presidencial: la custodia de Mauricio Macri recibió capacitación de las fuerzas especiales de Israel; November 2017

<https://www.infobae.com/politica/2017/11/07/seguridad-presidencial-la-custodia-de-mauricio-macri-recibio-capacitacion-de-las-fuerzas-especiales-de-israel/>

cooperation between the police and other authorities of the two countries to frustrate and discover the crimes and to identify their perpetrators mainly through the exchange of strategic and operational information such as through direct cooperation between authorized bodies at all levels<sup>273</sup>.

As a result of this, the national government signed a cooperation agreement in September 2017 on matters of public and domestic security.<sup>274</sup> Also in several provinces there is evidence of training trips, for example in the Province of Buenos Aires<sup>275</sup>, Tucumán<sup>276</sup>, Salta<sup>277</sup>, San Juan<sup>278</sup> and Santa Fe<sup>279</sup>. Likewise, municipal agreements of the same type were identified in Zárate<sup>280</sup>, San Pedro and San Nicolás<sup>281</sup> and Rojas<sup>282</sup>. The experience gained in these trainings allowed the Argentine police to give shooting and survival courses to the Uruguayan police, transmitting what they had learned in Israel.<sup>283</sup>

In 2015, the Argentine Ministry of Defense signed an agreement with SIBAT for US \$ 111 million to modernize the Tanque Argentino Mediano (TAM).<sup>284</sup> Paraguay signed an agreement with Israel in

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273Guillermo Martínez; Los acuerdos entre Macri y Netanyahu no informados por Argentina; October 2017

<http://virginiabolten.com.ar/politica-argentina/los-acuerdos-macri-netanyahu-no-informados-argentina/>

274Gobierno de Argentina; Acuerdo con Israel por la seguridad pública e interior; September 2017;

<https://www.argentina.gob.ar/noticias/acuerdo-con-israel-por-la-seguridad-publica-e-interior>

275Cadenaba; María Eugenia Vidal: "Como dijo el Presidente en esta Argentina y en esta Provincia no hay lugar para las mafias" <http://www.cadenaba.com.ar/nota.php?Id=44123>

Ministerio de Seguridad de Argentina; Gacetilla 2016 <https://www.mseg.gba.gov.ar/Gacetillas/December16/16-12-16.html> page 12; El Grupo Halcón, con la bendición de Netanyahu; October 2017

<https://www.page12.com.ar/68699-el-grupo-halcon-con-la-bendicion-de-netanyahu>

276Por medio de un acuerdo con el gobierno nacional, la provincia de Tucumán realizará en September, 34 capacitaciones para 2100 policías. Secretaría de estado de comunicación pública, Gobierno de Tucumán; Profesionales de Israel y Londres capacitarán a policías; May 2018;

<http://comunicaciontucuman.gob.ar/2018/05/profesionales-de-israel-y-londres-capacitaran-al-personal-policial/>; Radio Jai; La policía tucumana recibirá capacitación israelí; May 2018; <http://www.radiojai.com/rj/noticom.php?cod=4089>

277Ministerio de Seguridad; La embajada israelí en Argentina envió capacitadores a las fuerzas represivas de la provincia de Salta; May 2018;

<http://www.salta.gov.ar/prensa/noticias/especialistas-en-seguridad-de-israel-capacitan-a-efectivos-del-grupo-policial-gopar/58843>

278Diario Movil; Invierten \$20 millones en armamento israelí para la Policía de San Juan; November 2016;

<http://www.diariomovil.info/2016/11/22/invierten-20-millones-en-armamento-israeli-para-la-policia-de-san-juan/>

279Gobierno de SantaFe; Bonfatti recebeu, em Rosario, o especialista em segurança comunitária, Elias Soae Freue;

<https://www.santafe.gov.ar/noticias/noticia/218997/> More official information: Gobierno de Santa Fe; La Policía Comunitaria del barrio Ludueña e Industrial organizó una mateada con los vecinos; October 2015;

<https://www.santafe.gov.ar/noticias/noticia/218212/> Rosario Noticias; Policía Comunitaria: Mónica Fein participó de enriquecedor encuentro entre agentes y vecinos; <http://www.rosarionoticias.gob.ar/page/noticias/id/37431/title/Pol%C3%ADa-Comunitaria%3A-M%C3%B3nica-Fein-particip%C3%B3-de-enriquecedor-encuentro-entre-agentes-y-vecinos-del-Noroeste>

280 Federico Doello; Entrenarán a un grupo reducido de la Policía Local de Zárate para atender problemas barriales complejos; December 2016; <http://www.enlacecritico.com/destacados/entrenaran-a-un-grupo-reducido-de-la-policia-local-de-zarate-para-atender-problemas-barriales-complejos>

Also: Enlace Crítico; Una nueva fuerza de seguridad opera en Zárate; October 2017; <http://www.enlacecritico.com/destacados/una-nueva-fuerza-de-seguridad-opera-en-zarate>

281Visión Regional; Policías de San Pedro y San Nicolás entrenan y se capacitan con militares israelíes; November 2016;

<http://www.visionregional.com.ar/noticia/policias-de-san-pedro-y-san-nicolas-entrenan-y-se-capacitan-con-militares-israelies-1479846446.html>

282 Tiempo Rojas; Miguel Núñez participará en Israel de un curso de Seguridad Ciudadana; November 2016;

<http://www.tiemporojas.com/miguel-nunez-participara-en-israel-de-un-curso-de-seguridad-ciudadana/>

283Subrayado; Mirá cómo se entrena la policía uruguaya con técnicas de Israel; November 2012;

<https://www.subrayado.com.uy/mira-como-se-entrena-la-policia-uruguaya-tecnicas-israel-n18869>

284Ministerio de Defensa; Decisión Administrativa 931/2015; <https://www.boletinoficial.gob.ar/#!DetalleNorma/134045/20151009>

March 2015 to purchase weapons and training for the repressive forces of the State. The agreement includes exchange and sale of defense equipment, exchange of information against terrorism, exchange in the area of military education and training, and training of diplomats.<sup>285</sup>

In the case of Mexico, this training were also found<sup>286</sup>. At the national level, around 50 federal, state and municipal police officers - including commanders and high-ranking leaders - train each year in Israel. This is through the Police and Community course, promoted by the international cooperation agency Mashav (created in 1958 as a division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel) in cooperation with the Organization of American States. The course, lasting approximately three weeks, is taught at the Histadrut-Israel International Institute (located in the village Beit Berl); there, cooperation and development programs have been offered for more than 50 years<sup>287</sup>.

The Israeli Ministry of Defense and the Federal Police of Israel have provided training to police forces in various states of Mexico. To name a few examples, there is the municipal police Leon Guanajuato<sup>288</sup>; the Commission of Citizen Security of the State of Mexico and around 200 elements of the areas of criminal analysis, intelligence, the Special Security Force (FES)<sup>289</sup>; the Ministerial Police of Baja California, the zone commander for Tijuana of the Baja California ministerial police, Adan Velazquez Nieto, and the head of the Ministerial Police Group, Lorenzo Martínez Mayrga, have received in Israel the Intensive Course of preparation to develop maximum intelligence specialized in crime<sup>290</sup>; the State Preventive Police of Baja California Sur received a training course and certification in the techniques of the trade<sup>291</sup>.

There are cases where governors or municipal presidents travel to Israel or vice versa to exchange experiences in security matters and carry them out in their territories. For example, the mayor of Huixquilucan, State of Mexico, Enrique Vargas del Villar, visited Israel to meet with his counterpart in Tel Aviv, Ron Huldai, as part of the visit, Vargas del Villar was taken to the Institute of Intelligence and Special Operations (Mosad, Hebrew form)<sup>292</sup>. On the other hand, the director of the Agency of International Cooperation of the Ministry of Defense of Israel (SIBAT), Mishel Ben Baruch, met with the executive secretary of the State System of Public Safety, Carlos Humberto Toledo Zaragoza, and with the Secretary of Security and Citizen Protection, Jorge Luis Llaven Abarca, in Chiapas, the only state in the Mexican Republic, where Israeli advice has been sought to repress indigenous movements<sup>293</sup>.

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285Ea; Gobierno acuerda comprar más armas de Israel; July 2018; <http://ea.com.py/v2/gobierno-acuerda-comprar-mas-armas-de-israel/>

286Enlace Judío; Israel capacita a la Policía Federal y a la Gendarmería; November 2017; <https://www.enlacejudio.com/2017/11/27/israel-policia-federal-gendarmeria/>

287Contralínea; Israel entrena 50 efectivos mexicanos cada año; July 2012; <https://www.contralinea.com.mx/archivo-revista/2012/07/03/israel-entrena-50-efectivos-mexicanos-cada-ano/>

288Jannet López Ponce, Policía de Israel capacitará a oficiales leoneses; March 2018; <http://www.milenio.com/policia/policia-de-israel-capacitara-a-oficiales-leoneses>

289Ciudad Satélite TV; Policía de Israel capacitará a la CES del Estado de México; June 2016; <http://ciudadsatelite.tv/noticias/policia-de-israel-capacitara-a-la-ces-del-estado-de-mexico/>

290Redacción La Policiaca; Capacita policía israelí a ministeriales de BC; November 2010; <https://www.lapoliciaca.com/nota-roja/capacita-policia-israeli-a-ministeriales-de-bc/>

291Gladys Navarro; Embajada de EU capacita a policías de Baja California Sur; May 2018; <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/estados/embajada-de-eu-capacita-policias-de-baja-california-sur>

292Capital México; Replicarán modelo israelí en seguridad; 2016; <http://www.capitalmexico.com.mx/politica/replicaran-modelo-israeli-en-seguridad/>

293Instituto de Comunicación Social del Estado de Chiapas; Chiapas recibe al Ministerio de Defensa de Israel; <http://www.icosochiapas.gob.mx/2016/03/02/chiapas-recibe-al-ministerio-de-defensa-de-israel/>

In Colombia, several army commanders and officers have received training, such as Colonel Diego Luis Sanabria Rodríguez, Director of Science and Technology of the Education and Doctrine Command of the National Army, who had technical training in voice security systems and electronic warfare in Israel, or the Commander of Education and Doctrine, Brigadier General Robinson Alexander Ramírez Cedeño, who has participated in the planning of operations in Ai-Di-Ef (IDF) in Israel. Likewise, Colonel Raúl Antonio Rodríguez Arévalo, has been trained in the Artillery Shooting Direction System (ATLAS) of the Azimuth Technologies LTDA Company in Israel.

It is to be expected that new exchanges will be made with countries such as Guatemala and Paraguay, who transferred their embassies to Jerusalem. Although Paraguay changed plans along the way, it can not be denied that the relations were getting closer, for example, with the visit of the mayor of Jerusalem to this country as part of a request made by Prime Minister Netanyahu to meet with the Minister of Technology and the chambers of commerce<sup>294</sup>.

Similarly to what happens in the sale of war goods and services, training is not only carried out by the Israeli public sector, but companies also invite actors from the continent to be trained in their products, which more than being a form of sharing knowledge ends up being the strategy to guarantee more sales. As an example of this type of visit we can mention the visit of a Uruguayan military man to a company of bullet-proof vests<sup>295</sup>, the Elbit company offering workshops in Colombian army seminars, or the participation of Cellebrite in a training process for the Colombian police<sup>296</sup>.

Finally, it is important to describe how an entity of the Israeli State constantly makes offers to train both civil and military civil servants, on issues of citizen security<sup>297</sup> and community policing<sup>298</sup>, workshops that lead to people who can influence later in the decision-making process. decisions, not only in the formulation of public policies but in the purchase of Israeli goods and services.

In an illustrative case from Honduras, we can see that in many cases the offers of cooperation through the Israeli Agency for the Development of International Cooperation (MASHAV) are working as payments for political favors in other areas. After Honduras announced the transfer of its embassy to Jerusalem, following in the footsteps of President Donald Trump, and thus legitimizing Israel's occupation of this Palestinian city, diplomatic authorities of both governments announced that cooperation between Honduras and Israel would be expanded.<sup>299</sup>

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294 Benzi Lazerovich; Barkat in Paraguay: "Important Collaborations"; <http://www.93fm.co.il/radio/480233/>

295 Cuarta división del ejército nacional de Colombia; Seminario de Telemática y Comunicaciones en la Cuarta División; January 2015; <https://www.ejercito.mil.co/?idcategoria=374939>

296 Policía nacional de Colombia; Encuentro regional de expertos en investigaciones contra delitos informáticos y hurto a celulares eje cafetero; March 2017; <https://www.policia.gov.co/noticia/encuentro-regional-de-expertos-en-investigaciones-contra-delitos-inform%C3%A1ticos-y-hurto>

297 Embajada de Israel; MASHAV – Agencia Israelí de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo con El Instituto Internacional para el Liderazgo - Histadrut invita a profesionales a participar en el Curso Internacional: “Proyectos Municipales para la Seguridad Ciudadana”; 11 al 30 November 2018;

<http://embassies.gov.il/bogota/mashav/Documents/2018/Proyectos%20Municipales%20para%20la%20Seguridad%20Ciudadana%20Nov%202018.pdf>

298 Embajada de Israel; MASHAV – Agencia Israelí de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo con El Instituto Internacional para el Liderazgo - Histadrut Invitan a participar del Curso Internacional: “Policía y Comunidad”; 29 de March al 20 de April, 2016;

[https://www.apccolombia.gov.co/sites/default/files/archivos\\_usuario/migrados/478\\_Policia\\_y\\_Comunidad\\_478\\_Policia\\_y\\_Comunidad\\_0.pdf](https://www.apccolombia.gov.co/sites/default/files/archivos_usuario/migrados/478_Policia_y_Comunidad_478_Policia_y_Comunidad_0.pdf)

299 La Tribuna; Israel ampliará asistencia a Honduras por traslado de embajada a Jerusalén; March 2018; <http://www.latribuna.hn/2018/03/08/israel-ampliara-asistencia-honduras-traslado-embajada-jerusalen/>

La Tribuna, a Honduran newspaper, announced that the head of the Israeli Agency for the Development of International Cooperation (MASHAV), Gil Haskel, affirms that in the last 50 years, more than 500 Hondurans have participated in courses in Israel, and that the government of Benjamin Netanyahu wants that number to increase to 100 per year.<sup>300</sup>

Among the Hondurans who have participated in these courses, which, as we have already mentioned, include courses in military and defense knowledge, there is the President of Honduras, Juan Orlando Hernández.<sup>301</sup> This president is the first graduate of a MASHAV course to assume the position of head of state in the world. A press release from the Israeli agency states that Juan Orlando Hernández "participated in MASHAV's professional course on youth leadership and non-formal education, held in 1991 at the Histadrut International Institute", this note also states that "President Hernández said that the course in Israel provided him with practical tools that helped him in his public career, and he hoped that other young people in his country could benefit from the MASHAV courses as he did"<sup>302</sup>. It is disturbing that this agency is proud to have provided "practical tools" for the political career of a president who has come to power amid widespread allegations of electoral fraud, and has responded to these allegations with strong repression (partly armed, as we have said, with Israeli products). Due to this participation he was invited to light the torch of the 70th anniversary ceremony of the creation of the State of Israel, as representative of Mashav.

In Colombia, the Israeli agency operates in a similar manner. On June 15, 2016, a meeting was held between the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs, María Ángela Holguín, and the Deputy Director General of Mashav, Gil Haskel<sup>303</sup>. This visit contributed to the strengthening of the relationship between these two entities, which already has a long history, as evidenced by the fact that more than 7,000 Colombians have been trained and benefited with the Mashav scholarships and that this cooperation agency has intervention projects in the Magdalena Medio region, which is one of the most militarized regions of Colombia.<sup>304</sup>

On the other hand, it is important to mention that in August of 2017, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), announced that they received Honduran volunteers who would participate for the first time in their summer training.<sup>305</sup> Mexico has also participated in these trainings, and the Israeli army continues to create incentives for international volunteers.<sup>306</sup> These types of cases merit a follow-up since, as an Israeli official quoted by Haaretz asserts, "They are our spokespersons, they go home and explain what Israel really is like" That is, these volunteers, in addition to receiving military training in an army that is violating international law and human rights principles also receive a vision of Israel from the lens of the Israeli militarist mentality.<sup>307</sup>

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300 La Tribuna; Israel ampliará asistencia a Honduras por traslado de embajada a Jerusalén; March 2018;

<http://www.latribuna.hn/2018/03/08/israel-ampliara-asistencia-honduras-traslado-embajada-jerusalen/>

301 Mashav; [http://www.mashav.mfa.gov.il/MFA/mashav/Latest\\_News/Pages/First-MASHAV-Graduate-to-Become-Head-of-State.aspx](http://www.mashav.mfa.gov.il/MFA/mashav/Latest_News/Pages/First-MASHAV-Graduate-to-Become-Head-of-State.aspx)

302 Mashav; [http://www.mashav.mfa.gov.il/MFA/mashav/Latest\\_News/Pages/First-MASHAV-Graduate-to-Become-Head-of-State.aspx](http://www.mashav.mfa.gov.il/MFA/mashav/Latest_News/Pages/First-MASHAV-Graduate-to-Become-Head-of-State.aspx)

303 Cancillería, Gobierno de Colombia; Estado de Israel; <http://www.cancilleria.gov.co/estado-israel>

304 Luis Alejandro Amaya; '7.000 colombianos se han capacitado en Israel'; August 2015;

<http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-16305337>

305 Jewish Virtual Library; Israel Defense Forces: History & Overview; <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/history-and-overview-of-the-israel-defense-forces>

306 Anna Ahronheim; More than 150 foreign volunteers arrive to join IDF; August 2017;

<https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/153-young-volunteers-arrive-in-Israel-to-join-IDF-501789>

307 Alona Ferber; Israeli Army Cites Rise in Number of Overseas Volunteers Joining Its Ranks; April 2015;

<https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-idf-cites-rise-in-number-of-overseas-volunteers-1.5353742>

# Chapter 4: The Israeli militaristic model and its consequences.

## 1. Imported models

In the previous pages we have seen how commercial relations between Israel and Latin America also imply the importation of models of understanding of society, arguments that serve to invest in militarism. These ways of understanding society, although not exclusively, have Israel as one of their main proponents in the world. This is not a coincidence, since the colonial occupation implies maintaining external and internal enemies constantly to justify the violation of human rights as a systematic practice outside of international law. But this model not only serves as an excuse against impunity, it also serves to convince several countries that Israel's technology and the way it uses it is useful. However, it is necessary to consider the consequences of this doctrine and understand that the suffering of the Palestinian people should be enough to dissuade them from taking this orientation.

Many of these ideas are shared by governments in Latin America since they are consistent with their needs: neutralize opposition, monitor journalists and human rights defenders, repress social movements and build scapegoats that allow them to cover their own faults. For this reason, in several of these countries, broad sectors of the population end up being victims of a global model of state authoritarianism and limitation of individual freedom. To understand these models a little better, we present two general sections in which a good part of the argument for the sale of Israeli military goods and services resides. First, there is the block of arguments around national security, and secondly, the block of arguments and processes surrounding the securitization of society.

### **National Security: the construction of the public enemy.**

Although the Doctrine of National Security has classically been a concept used to describe US diplomacy with the rest of the world, it is increasingly appropriate for Israel to describe its own doctrine regarding the Palestinians. Israel argues that the occupied people are the great external enemy that makes it necessary to raise a model of defense so as to survive the aggression. This permanent state of external threat justifies not only the systematic use of force but also the constant development of technology for better "defense".

In Latin America this discourse has caught on, which is not a coincidence, since part of the doctrine of US security was oriented around bringing Latin American countries closer and preventing the spread of communism in the continent. Because of this, Israel made deals with the toughest dictatorships in Central and South America during the seventies and eighties. At that time, the Israeli military and state security companies found an important niche market, because these dictatorships arose in an environment of counterinsurgency.

It is interesting that these markets appeared for Israel largely thanks to the foreign policy decisions of the United States, since the occasions where Israel had the greatest amount of sales and influence were in regimes that the US had decided to distance itself from, due to the political cost of associating with the level of human rights violations that were taking place.

It wasn't only dictatorships that appropriated this discourse. Several democratic governments that followed US diplomacy also took advantage of these ideas to implement counterinsurgency strategies.

After the attack on the twin towers in 2001, the fight against counterinsurgency began to be understood globally as a fight against terrorism. The success of this approach was in part due to how useful it was for Israel to define its occupation of the Palestinian territory as a way to confront the threat of terrorism. The excuse of terrorism led countries such as Colombia to increase the purchase of weapons from Israel in an attempt to end the guerrillas, which had since been classified as terrorist groups.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the external enemy changed again, not only was it communist ideology and terrorism, but increasingly organized crime was being thought of as a great threat to be fought. The emergence of drug trafficking and its association with armed groups has led countries like Colombia, Mexico, and Brazil to justify maintaining the strength of their armies as a means to fight this new enemy (which is external and internal at the same time). A large part of the justification for the arms purchased by Mexico is based on the fight against drug trafficking, along with some of the new purchases that Central American governments have made for their armies and aerial surveillance programs.

Finally, there is the excuse of controlling migration, which leads to the militarization of borders. This phenomenon can not be separated from the doctrine of national security, or the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking described so far. While many of the ideas and processes that accompany the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking are promoted by the United States, the sale of weapons and technology, as well as training by Israeli forces, allow for their implementation. The border between the United States and Mexico is an excellent example of this, illustrated by the deep participation of Israeli companies such as Elbit Systems and Magal in the militarization of the border region.

The militarization of the border between the United States and Mexico also illustrates that the doctrine of national security, especially its anti-terrorist and anti-drug rhetoric, is racist. The anti-terrorism and anti-drug rhetoric criminalizes entire populations based on the racist ideas that all Latinos are drug traffickers and that all African Americans are addicts. Through the racist rhetoric, the US-Mexico border becomes increasingly militarized while Israeli companies win larger and larger contracts.

It should be noted that the militarization of borders goes beyond the US-Mexico border. Throughout Central America, the militarization of borders is spreading, always under the same racist doctrine of national security. And contemporary border tensions have also spurred on the increased purchases of weapons, as has been the case in Ecuador, Peru and Chile. It is not surprising that the increase in arms in Ecuador and Peru occurred after the conflict between the two countries in 1995.

One of our tentative conclusions is that in Latin America, Israeli militarism has been sold by promoting the idea that not only should National Security be a priority for Latin America, but that field tested weapons guarantee the quality and effectiveness of the seller.

### **Total control of the population: the internal enemy.**

The second paradigm that guides the sale of Israeli military goods and services in Latin America has to do with a doctrine of total control of the population. People who study militarism in the world often come to the conclusion that, while weapons and tanks are the visible side of militarization, what is behind all that is a militarized mentality. One which begins to see the world as a dangerous

place and people as a threat. Although this responds to the doctrine of national security, in the case of rhetoric around an internal enemy, this mentality begins to acquire a particularly perverse form: the idea that we must protect civil society is replaced by the idea that we must control the civilian population since they themselves pose a threat.

Israel holds a very interesting position within this dynamic. Since Israel is an occupying and colonial force, the Palestinian people are not only an external enemy. Israel is the State that militarily and politically controls the entire Palestinian territory, but Palestinians also constitute 20% of Israeli citizens. This has encouraged the State of Israel to develop technologies that facilitate total control of the Palestinian population. In Latin America, this technology is imported and implemented to combat local opponents of political and economic projects of Latin American States, that is, they are used to repress social and political movements in the region by assuming that the whole civilian population is an internal enemy.

Although the police seeking to control the population instead of protecting it is nothing new, the line between external defense and internal security has become more and more blurred. The dynamics of military forces and military security are less and less different from those of police forces and civil security. Israeli militarism plays an important role in driving this trend. The Israeli army contributes to the growing militarization of police forces in Latin America by selling them weapons, technology, cybersecurity, and intelligence, along with providing training.

Again, these dynamics go hand in hand with racism. An article from War Resisters' International entitled "The militarization of the police and internal security", argues that a militarized police force is a racist police force<sup>308</sup>. They write: "The militarized mind, trained to see threats, sees the environment full of potential enemies that become dehumanized as 'the other'. Those identified as potential enemies almost always, for one reason or another, are outside society. They might be political activists, social dissidents, gender non-conforming, poor people, but they will almost always also be perceived as 'others' in racialized terms. The militarization of the police works against minority ethnic groups and people of color throughout the world"<sup>309</sup>. Israeli militarization is no exception, the Palestinian is undoubtedly a racialized other, and that racialization of the internal enemy accompanies the import of Israeli militarism into Latin America. Our militarized police forces also perceive marginalized ethnic groups and people of color as a threat. As if they were video games, impoverished areas and minority communities are treated like stages to carry out police training, which as we have mentioned previously, Latin American countries participate in.

In addition to the militarization of the police, and in line with the trend towards the privatization of state responsibilities, private security services are also growing throughout the world. As we have seen, Israel is a big actor in this sphere. The private Israeli companies that participate in the field of civil security in Latin America are numerous and have been implicated in serious human rights violations, as in the case of the Golan Group, whose employees murdered a person who opposed a mining project in Guatemala. This case also illustrates that these Israeli companies not only protect the interests of the state or the interests of certain individuals, but also have close links with the multinational corporations in Latin America.

In recent years, the integration of state-of-the-art technology to guarantee Israel's security has grown. Thanks to the surveillance program it uses to monitor Palestinian populations, Israel has managed to strengthen and sell these techniques to be used in the rest of the world. Israel's principle is to ensure that the smallest number of people monitor the largest number of territories and

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308 Sarah Robinson, The militarization of policing and internal security; November 2017; <https://www.wri-irg.org/en/story/2017/militarisation-policing-and-internal-security>

309 Sarah Robinson, The militarization of policing and internal security; November 2017; <https://www.wri-irg.org/en/story/2017/militarisation-policing-and-internal-security>

populations. To this end, in addition to using video cameras and alarms, it has developed multiple technologies that are used to capture, process, and manage information, aimed at making "security" decisions.

The case of Maldonado in Uruguay would be one of the most important examples of this phenomenon, where the government of that city seeks, through a unified control center, to increase the indicators of security. However, information capture networks are dangerous when there are no clear data protection practices; this can facilitate the violation of the most fundamental rights of citizens, as is done in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, collecting information that is used to criminalize citizens for ideological reasons.

The use of state-of-the-art services, designed to reduce the use of personnel, has the additional effect of making the surveillance and control of a population invisible. It is increasingly difficult to know when, where and how we are being watched and listened to, and by whom. The more invisible these services are, the less questions are asked. But at the same time, military forces are out on the streets patrolling or making nightly assaults and arrests; they are making themselves felt. Just like in Palestine, police in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro are taught to use cameras and armed tactical units to terrorize the population.

This risk increases with technologies sold with the justification of controlling cybercrime. The growing use of the internet in developing business has served as a springboard to promote blockers and firewalls, backdoor systems and, in general, tools that serve to do the opposite of what they are sold to do. These systems compromise the security that the information we send has been received only by those we expect.

This is an old military technique that allows us to take advantage of the decisions of the enemy and in the civilian world is exploited to break the privacy of the people by gathering information that is used against them. Cases such as those in Mexico, Panama and Colombia show how purchases that are made with security in mind are used to collect information illegally and sabotage the efforts of human rights defenders, organizers and social movements.

However, this rhetoric that Israel promotes to justify and encourage the purchase of its products are not the only way Israel increases its military business in Latin America. Israel's strong lobbying capacity, led by the Israeli government, also plays a very important role, which is described below.

## 2. Israel's political and corporate lobby in Latin America

In order to understand the different spheres of political, economic and cultural relations between Israel and Latin America, it is essential to understand that our region is the hope of the State of Israel to guarantee the expansion of its interests in the face of the crisis caused by several European sectors rejecting Israel because of the Palestinian genocide. Therefore, it is considered necessary to describe these relationships on two levels: 1) political lobbying and cooperation for bilateral and multilateral development between the Latin American States and the State of Israel; 2) the corporate lobby's introduction of arms fairs meant to strengthen both national and private armies with technology from the military industrial complex that represents the State of Israel at a global level.

### **Israeli diplomacy: a sales strategy.**

There is growing concern about the way that several leaders of Latin America have been making reciprocal visits to the State of Israel. Although these relationships began in the sixties and have

deepened in the present decade with free trade agreements, cooperation agreements and strategic military alliances between several defense ministries, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to Latin America in September 2017, in particular, was an unprecedented move in Israeli diplomacy in Latin America.

Modi Efaïm, Israeli ambassador to Latin America, believes that "the arrival of friendly governments and the almost disappearance of populist governments"<sup>310</sup> is a way to strengthen the Israeli influence in the cultural, political and military domains thanks to the growing influence of rightist parties in the region. The visit of Netanyahu to Mexico, Argentina and Colombia in 2017 can be interpreted as evidence of the desire to expand the influence of Israel in Latin America. This positions Israel as the region's main provider of control and surveillance services for the protection of the mining and energy industries, as a global weapons producer for the military industrial complex, and as experts in agribusiness and water management technologies. On the other hand, it seeks to increase its cultural impact through educational scholarships with cooperation from agencies such as Mashav, as already described in this report.

As shown in table 6 of this report, in the last 15 years Israel has been one of the main suppliers of arms to Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay and Peru. Colombia can serve as an example of the trends that have allowed this to happen. In a press release by the Colombian magazine *Semana*, in 2012, it was relieved as an undeniable reality that Israel and Colombia sought to remove some legal "restrictions and limitations" regarding certain investments. For context, in 2012 Colombia was visited by Ehud Barak, former Israeli defense minister, who met with former defense minister Juan Carlos Pinzón behind closed doors. During the visit, they discussed not just commerce but also matters of military doctrine. Other issues were also presented, such as the fact that Barak was decorated by the president of the Senate, Juan Manuel Corzo, with the Order of the Congress of Colombia, with the title "Gran Cruz con placa de Oro".

After these bilateral meetings the president of Colombia, Juan Manuel Santos, traveled to Israel where "senior officials of the country as well as the Armed Forces held important meetings with representatives of several companies in the Israeli defense sector, including, Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI), Israel Military Industries (IMI) and Elbit System"<sup>311</sup>. As a result of this political lobby, a Free Trade Agreement with Israel was signed in Colombia in 2013, valued at 700 million dollars, and was ratified during Netanyahu's visit to Colombia in 2017<sup>312</sup>. Finally, the aforementioned visit by Netanyahu to Colombia in 2017, began a Memorandum of Understanding in Scientific Cooperation and a Cooperation Agreement to promote tourism between both countries<sup>313</sup>. Because of this, Israel is the main trading partner of Colombia in Western Asia and Colombia has become the second largest commercial partner of Israel in Latin America, after Brazil<sup>314</sup>.

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310 *Revista Semana*; Netanyahu, el primer mandatario de Israel en visitar América Latina; November 2017; <https://www.semana.com/mundo/articulo/primer-ministro-de-israel-visitara-colombia/539975>

311 *infodefensa.com*; Altos funcionarios del Gobierno y Defensa de Colombia se reúnen con empresas del sector en Israel; June 2013; <http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2013/06/12/noticia-altos-funcionarios-del-gobierno-y-defensa-de-colombia-se-reunen-con-empresas-del-sector-en-israel.html>

312 *Portafolio*; Colombia e Israel firman su Tratado de Libre Comercio; June 2013; <http://www.portafolio.co/economia/finanzas/colombia-e-israel-firman-tratado-libre-comercio-69154>

313 *Revista Semana*; Santos y Netanyahu, "amigos y aliados"; September 2017; <https://www.semana.com/mundo/articulo/primer-ministro-israel-benjamin-netanyahu-visita-a-colombia/540241>

314 *Cancillería, Gobierno de Colombia*; Viceministra Patti Londoño recibió al Primer Ministro de Israel Benjamín Netanyahu, quien llegó a Colombia en visita de trabajo; September 2017; <http://www.cancilleria.gov.co/newsroom/news/viceministra-patti-londono-recibio-primer-ministro-israel-benjamin-netanyahu-quien>

Another example is the relations of the State of Israel with the State of Chile. The trust between these countries has been formed over more than 50 diplomatic visits chaired by former ministers, former ambassadors, businessmen and officials of the judicial branch, reaching agreements and memoranda of understanding on economic, military and cultural issues<sup>315</sup>. We have already mentioned in this report the visit in September 2011 of former Chilean Defense Minister Andrés Allamand to Israel, which led not only to meetings with the former Israeli Prime Minister of Defense, Ehud Barak, but also with Elbit Systems, which resulted in sales to the Chilean State.

Another aspect of the political lobby in Central America: just before US President Donald Trump announced the US embassy in Tel Aviv would move to Jerusalem, Guatemalan President Jimmy Morales held private meetings with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu<sup>316</sup>. After this meeting and after Trump's announcement of the relocation of the US embassy, President Morales announced the relocation of the Guatemalan embassy as well in support of the State of Israel. As we have already mentioned, on the other hand, the transfer of the Honduran Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem came after offers of cooperation with Mashav, which were made during diplomatic visits by the Honduran President to Israel.

Particularly, another political lobby strategy is the work of Mashav, the Israeli cooperation for development agency, in areas related to security, democracy and government, as we have shown throughout the report. Although the role of Mashav in the promotion of ideas and military services in Latin American countries is not completely clear, it is certain that it plays a decisive role in regional diplomacy.

## **Israel's corporate lobby in Latin American arms fairs**

In Latin America, the dawn of the 21st century witnessed the beginning of several arms fairs in the region, notably, Expodefensa in Colombia, the International Air and Space Fair (FIDAE) in Chile, and the International Public and Corporate Security Fair (LAASD Security) in Brazil. Although information is lacking on this issue, it is known that Israeli defense companies, both private and public-private have had significant participation in the supply of weapons technology to the air, land, and naval sectors, as well as cybersecurity and intelligence services.

One such example of militarization as a business from these arms fairs is found in the cybersecurity services provided by Israeli companies for Latin American countries, as well as the sale of weapons on a large scale.

Latin America is susceptible to this industry for different reason, including the increasing use of the internet, the increasing number of social media users, and the vulnerability to interception and processing of information from their communications. While it is true that there is a capacity for interception and information processing that companies can do for commercial purposes and that provide different internet services to citizens in the country, it has been especially the State, the protagonist of many illegal practices that have violated the privacy and privacy of thousands of human rights defenders, independent journalists, political parties, judicial branch officials and social activists under the pretext of security and defense work. However, this report has tried to show that Latin American states have that capacity thanks, to a large extent, to Israeli cybersecurity and intelligence companies.

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315Embajada de Chile en Israel; Relaciones Bilaterales; <https://chile.gob.cl/israel/relacion-bilateral/relaciones-bilaterales>

316Provincia; Guatemala genera críticas por anuncio de cambio de embajada a Jerusalén; December 2017; [http://www.provincia.com.mx/web/Guatemala\\_genera\\_cr%C3%ADticas\\_por\\_anuncio\\_de\\_cambio\\_de\\_embajada\\_a\\_Jerusal%C3%A9n-84536](http://www.provincia.com.mx/web/Guatemala_genera_cr%C3%ADticas_por_anuncio_de_cambio_de_embajada_a_Jerusal%C3%A9n-84536)

One of the most well known entrepreneurs who has made a career in these arms fairs is the Bolivian entrepreneur – with Brazilian and Colombian nationality – Germán Efromovich, who was one of the most prominent speakers at the FIDAE fair in Chile in April 2018. Efromovich participated in the dispossession of lands in the southern department of Cesar in Colombia<sup>317</sup>. This businessman is president of Avianca Holdings S.A and Synergy Group Corp, a strong economic conglomerate in aviation, hotel and tourism, and hydrocarbons exploration, among other sectors. The Synergy Group has a subsidiary, EAE Aerospace Solutions, which has signed contracts with the Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)<sup>318</sup> for the manufacture of unmanned drones for the Brazilian army, to aid in protecting the borders, fighting against drug trafficking, helping the mining industry and oil exploration in Andean countries such as Colombia and Brazil.

The Colombian arms fair, Expodefensa, emerged in 2009 as one of the most substantial fairs in the region for the sale of land, air and naval weapons, without much notice until 2017. It is organized by the company Coges – and its official Patrick Colas – a company which is linked to the Eurosatory organization in France, one of the most important fairs on that continent<sup>319</sup>. Expodefensa involves the Ministry of Defense of Colombia, national companies in the Social and Business Group of Defense (GSED) and international companies, without regard for the peace agreements or the victims of the armed conflict in Colombia. At Expodefensa 2015, Israel sent 17 companies for its own pavilion<sup>320</sup>, making them the country with the largest presence at the fair that year. Many of the companies that participated in the bilateral meetings promoted during the government of Juan Manuel Santos have benefited from participating in this fair, such as Bluebird Aerosystems Ltda, Elbit Systems, among others.

It was impossible to tally the number of Israeli companies present at the December 2017 fair because it was conducted behind closed doors, with personalized guest invitations, but what is known is that the fair had around 300 exhibitors from 35 countries and had more than 12,000 visitors, including 76 official delegations<sup>321</sup>. Israeli companies Elbit Systems, Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI), Israel Weapons Industries and Meprolight are known to have participated in other years. Their weaponry has been used not only in the violation of human rights in Colombia, but has been tested against the Palestinian population in the West Bank<sup>322</sup>.

The Chilean arms fair, International Air and Space Fair (FIDAE), is the most important aerospace, defense and security exhibition in Latin America, which, thanks to its long and successful history, has become the main business platform for the region<sup>323</sup>. Although there is not much information about this fair, in April 2018 the entrepreneur Germán Efromovich was a keynote speaker, and it's been home to Israeli companies such as Rafael Advanced Defense Systems and

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317Revista Semana; Desplazados ganan pulso por tierras de Germán Efromovich; December 2016; <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/corte-otorga-a-desplazados-tierras-de-efromovich/473294>

318infodefensa.com; Israel prohíbe a Brasil vender sus vehículos aéreos no tripulados a Bolivia y Venezuela; July 2011; <http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2011/07/21/noticia-israel-prohibe-a-brasil-vender-sus-vehiculos-aereos-no-tripulados-a-bolivia-y-venezuela.html>

319Para Mayres detalles sobre la sexta versión de esta feria de armas, consular: Colombia Plural; “En tiempos de paz y Navidad, se venden armas”; December 2017; <https://colombiaplural.com/tiempos-paz-navidad-se-venden-armas/>

320infodefensa.com; Israel envía a la feria de Bogotá un misión comercial integrada por 17 empresas del sector; November 2015; <http://www.infodefensa.com/latam/2015/11/30/noticia-israel-envia-feria-botota-mision-comercial-integrada-empresas-sector.html>

321Internacional de Resistentes a la Guerra; Activistas colombianos se resisten a la feria de armas ExpoDefensa; January 2018; <https://www.wri-irg.org/es/articulo/2018/activistas-colombianos-se-resisten-la-feria-de-armas-expodefensa>

322BDS Colombia; Bogotá dice no al comercio de la muerte; December 2017; <http://bdscolombia.org/2017/12/04/bogota-dice-no-al-comercio-la-muerte/>

323 FIDAE; ¿Qué es FIDAE?; <https://www.fidae.cl/que-es-fidae/#contenido1>

Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI), who have also participated in Expodefensa in Colombia. Several of these Israeli companies employ sexism by using the bodies of female soldiers to market their products; Likewise, during Israeli fairs (such as the ISDEF), army women serve by exhibiting weapons. In both cases, a mixture of militarism and sexism is on full display, but behind the scenes is a rhetoric of colonialism and oppression that guarantee inequality not only internationally but intranationally as well.

### 3. How Israel benefits.

As we have seen throughout this report, the purchases made by Latin American countries and private entities on Israeli weapons exceeds millions of dollars annually. In principle purchases from public companies such as IAI or Rafael enter directly into State coffers and it is not necessary to explain how this strengthens Israeli militarism; however, it is pertinent to remember that militarism is not tangential to but is the centerpiece of apartheid against Palestinians. It was militarism that allowed for the Nakba (the great displacement of the Palestinian population in 1948) to occur, which allowed for the colonization of Palestinian lands and maintains the status quo where part of the Israeli population is privileged and the whole of the Palestinian population has their rights restricted.

But it is not only public companies that facilitate this reality, the role of private companies is also central to the construction of this militarism. Not only because a part of their profits goes to the State in the form of taxes, but also because they supply the Israeli army with tools and develop new technologies to violate the human rights of the Palestinians.

That is why we talk about the Israeli military complex, as a result of that symbiotic relationship between public and private companies for the maintenance and constant development of the war machine. And this complex is not only an engine of war, having a growing participation in the economy, it is also the engine of new jobs and consumption that stimulates civil companies. Militarism not only guarantees Israel's colonial control over the Occupied Palestinian Territories, but it stimulates the economy so that other sectors within the Israeli economy can be maintained. In that sense, sales in Latin America are giving new life not only to the military occupation but to the entire colonial regime and fueling Israeli apartheid. The relationships established with the State of Israel, which allow these sales, end up being a form of support for a state violating International Law.

For this reason, this report seeks to reveal not only the risks for the Latin American communities in the importation of Israeli militarism, but to warn against this practice on the basis that it encourages the violation of human rights against Palestinians.

Throughout this report, it was identified that much remains to be investigated regarding the importation of Israeli militarism to Latin America. Therefore, before presenting a commitment to military embargo as a strategy so as to not be accomplices to crimes against the Palestinian people, we present a final reflection on the gaps that we found at the end of this investigation.

### 4. What has yet to be researched.

This report has not sought to be exhaustive, the issue of the presence of Israeli militarism in Latin America is too broad to be addressed in such depth in a report of this scope. However, thanks to the collective effort of many pro-Palestinian activists in Latin America, who have volunteered their

time for the preparation of this report, a wide range of topics have been developed, and the research shows an increasingly clear picture of what Israeli militarism is like in the region. It is precisely because of this growing clarity that so many questions still remain to be answered, some of which are addressed below.

The first is one that has emerged throughout the process of collecting information: Why is it so difficult to learn what happens between Israeli companies and entities in Latin America? And, why is most of the information to be had from the press, and not from our local governments? It is necessary for Latin American societies to know what is happening with Israeli militarism in the region, and although efforts such as this report contribute to this knowledge, we must continue to press for this information to be widely disseminated. As we will see in the next chapter, the information we have presented in this report is more than enough to initiate military embargo campaigns in our countries, however, it is necessary that the investigation continue. On the other hand, to the extent that civil society proposes campaigns to be carried out in their local contexts, it is evident that the question will arise again: What more information do we need before we must act?

Going into more detail, we have identified three important gaps in this report. First, the lack of a deepening understanding of the scope of Israeli militarism in Latin America during the past decade. This text briefly describes the cases of some countries in this matter, however, it is necessary that this be done more systematically and in countries where it has not yet been investigated. This will allow us to identify more clearly the trends over time, and the scope of Israeli militarism in our region.

Another gap that we have identified is the information on the ties between Latin American universities and educational and research entities with Israeli militarism. The importance of these ties is explored in the next chapter, for now it is enough to say that this information gives rise to campaigns of boycott of Israeli militarism, specifically in the field of the development of new technologies.

Finally, although in this chapter we have reviewed the importance of the political and corporate lobby of Israel in the facilitation of military sales to Latin America, much remains to be investigated in this matter. It is necessary to identify the many public and private actors that facilitate trade between Latin America and Israel, and the actors that drive the creation of cooperative agreements. Identifying these actors will allow us to understand in greater depth the way in which Latin America is importing this model of militarization.

Of course many other open questions remain, and we hope that the research effort will continue and be strengthened. This closes this chapter, which aimed to present some of the conclusions as a result of this investigation. The next and final chapter exposes the commitment to military embargo as a strategy to combat the presence of Israeli militarism in the region and to put into practice solidarity with the Palestinian people.

## Chapter 5: The Campaign for a Military Embargo.

### 1. What does a military embargo entail?

In 2011, the Palestinian BDS National Committee issued a [call for a comprehensive military embargo on Israel](#). The call urges all people of conscience, movements and organizations worldwide

to work towards a mandatory, comprehensive military embargo on Israel and to pressure governments, multilateral bodies and the UN, as well as private and public companies and institutions, to end all military and security ties with Israel.

A military embargo is a state sanction that prohibits military ties. For the BDS movement it constitutes a crucial tool to undermine Israel's capacity to continue with over 50 years of brutal military rule over Palestinians and to force Palestinians out of their homes and off their land, as it has done for 70 years.

The path towards such state sanctions necessary goes through sustained popular campaigning for a military embargo. This includes, and accumulates the result of, different strategies - efforts to bring down contracts, achieve divestment, direct action, etc. - that target ties with the Israeli military, police and prison system, universities, the some 7 thousand Israeli private companies and many international corporations involved in the Israeli military and 'security' sector.

Israel's structure of military and 'security' institutions and the corporations involved goes far beyond the actual military and the production of arms. This structure also includes:

- The Israeli national police, including the so-called 'border police' which is one of the most feared forces in the implementation of Israeli occupation in the West Bank. Israeli police forces are known for human rights abuses, including extrajudicial executions, shoot-to-kill policies, police murders, racial profiling, deportation and detention, and attacks on human rights defenders.
- The Israeli prison services, which run the prison system where Palestinians are kept jailed, always without due process and often without even being informed about the charges against them.
- The 6,800 arms and 'security' and cyber-'security' companies are Israel's largest industry. Many of them transform technologies and methodologies developed in the special units of the Israeli military into private sector applications, reaping further profits from Israel's repression of the Palestinian people.
- Israeli universities and research institutes play a fundamental part in providing the necessary research for further weapons, surveillance and doctrines of repression.

Federal and local governments, public institutions, private business and universities around the world are maintaining, directly or indirectly, military and 'security' ties with Israel and hence are part of a web of complicity with Israeli wars and apartheid, often using Israel as a global laboratory of repression.

Among the various efforts that can be part of the campaigning towards a military embargo are:

1. Efforts to stop contracts with Israeli military and 'security' institutions and companies to provide weapons, training and equipment (at national and local level)
2. Efforts to end military aid to Israel and all other financing of military projects with the Israeli military and 'security' sector

3. Efforts to end corporate R&D projects and academic research with the Israeli military and ‘security’ sector
4. Efforts to stop contracts with transnational corporations that work in the Israeli military and ‘security’ sector to provide weapons, equipment or services/training
5. Efforts to achieve divestment from Israeli military and ‘security’ companies and transnational corporations involved in the Israeli military and ‘security’ sector
6. Efforts to close down subsidiaries of the above mentioned Israeli companies or transnational corporations
7. Efforts to stop the presence of the above mentioned Israeli companies or transnational corporations or representatives of the Israeli military and ‘security’ sector at international fairs, conferences, etc.
8. Efforts to stop participation of Israel in international military exercises or alliances
9. Efforts to stop participation of representatives of the Israeli military and ‘security’ sector at public events
10. Efforts to stop the transfer of military products through ports, territories and national airspace

## 2. Why is the Military Embargo a fundamental part of BDS?

The work towards a military embargo targets not only the pillars of Israel’s war economy but also some of the fundamental aspects of the ideological framework of Israeli apartheid.

Since its establishment on the destruction of over 500 Palestinian cities, towns and communities and the expulsion of 75% of the Palestinians that were living in what was to become Israel during the ‘Nakba’, Israel is essentially built and thriving on war, oppression and repression.

As Tariq Dana puts it, *“The ideological underpinning of the Zionist state inherently embraced military prowess and supremacy, fostered by a culture of militarism and a highly profitable militarized business sector. Much of Israel’s economic prosperity is due to its military industrial complex being a key node in regional and international conflicts. In turn, the global promotion of Israel’s war economy lies primarily through transforming the occupied West Bank and Gaza into a testing ground for military hardware, surveillance technologies, and unconventional weapons”*<sup>324</sup>.

### **The arguments gets at the core of the problem**

Building up an effective campaign within the framework of the call for a military embargo implies that we create awareness about the fact that Israeli core assumptions of society and politics are inherently based on militarism, use of force and oppression – from Israel’s very establishment until today.

While Israeli pundits today attempt to distance Israel from the fact that it is essentially a colonial project, its founding fathers were clear about it. Haim Arlosoroff, one of the founders of the Zionist party Mapai and political director of the ‘Jewish Agency for Palestine’, wrote “I think it is worth

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<sup>324</sup>Tariq Dana ; Israel’s Big Business of War January 2017 <http://www.politicaleconomyproject.org/pepblog/israels-big-business-of-war-tariq-dana>

trying to find an equivalent to our problem in the annals of settlement of other countries”<sup>325</sup>. On the other side of the spectrum of Zionist thought, Ze’ev Jabotinsky, the leader of the so-called revisionist movement in Zionism, made things even clearer: “We must either suspend our settlement efforts or continue them without paying attention to the mood of the natives. Settlement can thus develop under the protection of a force that is not dependent on the local population, behind an iron wall which they will be powerless to break down”<sup>326</sup>. Today, Israel is building physical iron and cement walls in Palestine and across the world.

Colonialism based on the assumption of supremacy of the dominant (settler) race implies a structure of violence on all levels to maintain this power. “Israel’s nation-building has been rooted in the “nation-in-arms” doctrine, whereby the army plays a central role in every aspect of society and culture”, concludes Tariq Dana.<sup>327</sup>

Unsurprisingly, even last year, Israel headed once again the Global Militarization Index<sup>328</sup>.

This understanding makes it self-evident that what is happening in Palestine is not a ‘conflict between two equal sides’ and that the solution cannot lie in more initiatives for a ‘better understanding between people’, ‘confidence-building measures’ or ‘security’ paradigms of various sorts. The path forward has to be based inevitably on changing the paradigm and ensuring that human rights, including the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and the right to equality, become the core value according to which to measure the actors involved and proposed steps forward.

Once we understand the very essence of the Israeli regime as based on settler-colonialism, apartheid and occupation, which necessarily produce the acceptance of an ongoing state of war, oppression and repression, we understand as well the structure and impact of its exports.

## **Who can disagree?**

Promoting peace instead of financing war and apartheid – this basic message of the call for a military embargo condenses the essence of the call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions. If you want a just peace in Palestine and the region, don’t support those that are benefiting from the wars and repression. It’s a basic demand hard to disagree with.

The fact that Israel’s military and security industry openly advertises its products as ‘battle-tested’ or an offspring of Israel’s military elite intelligence units, makes the argument even stronger. The report “A Lab and a Showroom”<sup>329</sup> by the Women Coalition for Peace/Hamushim compellingly shows how even in the latest massacres of the Palestinian people during the #GreatReturnMarch Israel developed, used, and essentially advertised arms to prospective international clients during the recent massacre of civilians in Gaza. They range from tear gas shooting drones, to the so-called

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325Degani Arnon; Israel Is a Settler Colonial State - and That's OK; September 2016;

<https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-israel-is-a-settler-colonial-state-and-that-s-ok-1.5433405>

326Shlaim Avi; ; The Iron Wall Israel and the Arab World since 1948

<https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/first/s/shlaim-wall.html?scp=76&sq=israel%2520arab&st=Search>

327Tariq Dana ; Israel’s Big Business of War January 2017 <http://www.politicaleconomyproject.org/pepblog/israels-big-business-of-war-tariq-dana>

328Max M. Mutschler; Global Militarization;

[https://www.bicc.de/uploads/tx\\_bicctools/GMI\\_2017\\_EN.pdf](https://www.bicc.de/uploads/tx_bicctools/GMI_2017_EN.pdf)

329Coalition of women for peace; A Lab and a Showroom The Israeli Military Industries and the

Oppression of the Great March of Return in Gaza; June 2018 <https://enhamushim.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/report-with-covers1.pdf>

butterfly bullets that expand inside the body and the walls and fences besieging Gaza. Magal's former CEO Saar Koursh is quoted in the report: "Gaza has become a showroom for the company's 'smart fences,' as customers appreciate that the products are battle-tested"<sup>330</sup>.

Military embargoes have been recognised as legitimate instruments in international diplomacy and the call for less military spending, more rules and oversight in arms trade, and an end to military trade with states that violate human rights are growing.

Exactly because it is so difficult to disagree with the argument, those that want to stop action from happening and the campaigning for a military embargo from succeeding may often pressure BDS campaigns towards an impossible level of proof. Yet, there is no need to trace a bullet sold to Israel until the Palestinian that has been killed with it to know that selling arms to Israel is wrong. There is no need to proof beyond doubt that a certain form of repression would not have happened without ties with Israel to know that importing methodology and technology of repression from Israel is wrong.

### **It has potentially a crucial impact**

More than any other government measure, a military embargo would directly undermine Israel's ability to continue its daily use of military force and technology against Palestinians.

As former Defense Minister Moshe Arens pointed out: "*every country should be dealing in those products in which it has a comparative advantage... Israel's largest comparative advantage is in military products, because these demand advanced technology on one hand and military experience on the other.*" Arms, repressive technology and methodology, surveillance schemes as well as new ideologies of control and exclusion are among these cutting edge products.

The military and 'security' industry is a core component of Israeli economy and ensures the sustainability of its military aggressions and occupation: according to Israel's ex-defense minister Ehud Barak, 150,000 Israeli households – or about a 10% of the population – depend economically on the weapons industry.<sup>331</sup> Israel is one of the world's biggest arms exporters – up to 80% of Israel's military production is exported, making up by now at least 14% of all exports. Most of it is sold to the global South.<sup>332</sup> Israel has licensed 6,800 arms and security services providers, making this the largest industry in Israel. This still doesn't count the hi-tech sector, largely depending on the commercialisation of intelligence and military research and applications. The Israeli private security sector is one of the fastest growing in Israeli economy.<sup>333</sup>

Israel itself prides itself to be the world's number one start-up nations, especially in the hi-tech sector, and does not hide one of the core drivers of this dynamic: the systematic transformation of Israeli military intelligence officers of military units such as Unit 8200 in start-up entrepreneurs.

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330 Traducido del original en inglés para propósitos de este informe.

331 Kane Alex; "Combat Proven": The Booming Business of War in Israel; July 2015

<https://theintercept.com/2015/06/05/war-israel-booming-business/>

332 Juma Jamal; The "S" in BDS: Lessons of the Elbit Systems Campaign; August 2016; <https://al-shabaka.org/briefs/s-bds-lessons-elbit-systems-campaign/>

333 Who Profits; Private Security Companies and the Israeli Occupation January 2016  
[https://whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/private\\_security\\_companies\\_final\\_for\\_web.pdf](https://whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/private_security_companies_final_for_web.pdf)

Their corporations transform Israel's large defense spending into capital coming into the state and its economy. Forbes Magazine estimates<sup>334</sup> more than 1,000 companies have been founded by 8200 alumni alone. The importance of this revolving door between Israel's top spy unit – military intelligence Unit 8200 – and the country's high-tech and cyber sector is confirmed by Yair Cohen, a former brigadier general who once commanded Unit 8200 and today heads the intelligence cyber department of Elbit Systems: "It's almost impossible to find a technology company in Israel without people from 8200"<sup>335</sup>. The process is quite simple: Israel allows former Unit 8200 personnel to use the technology to build their own start-ups (sometimes making immense profits) and in turn gains access to information across the globe, effectively installing a Trojan Horse within the institutions seeking cyber-security<sup>336</sup>.

The impact of Israel's militarism grows deep into all aspects of society and production. From drones<sup>337</sup> used in agriculture to academic research and even medical equipment.<sup>338</sup>

The pervasiveness of Israeli militarism does not make the struggle for a military embargo impossible. On the contrary, it allows us to work from many places. Anywhere, any organization can contribute to the effort and together we can have a crucial and transformative impact!

## **Great movement builder – Joining struggles to accumulate strength**

The work towards a military embargo is a campaign that allows for extensive and intensive cross-movement alliance building and, in many instances, shows directly that ties with Israel are not only bad for the Palestinian people but bad also for the people in the rest of the world.

Israel exports its ruthless model of securitization and militarized repression to the world. For example:

- Israel has sold weapons to various regimes accused of genocide, including to Myanmar<sup>339</sup> during its persecution of the Rohingya or Rwanda<sup>340</sup> during the genocide.
- Israeli security and military companies sell military expertise to dictatorships<sup>341</sup> in Asia<sup>342</sup> and Africa<sup>343</sup>, often to both sides of a civil war.

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334Behar Richard; Inside Israel's Secret Startup Machine may 2016;

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/richardbehar/2016/05/11/inside-israels-secret-startup-machine/#78cf3a451a51>

335Witters Staff; Unit 8200 and Israel's high-tech whiz kids; June 2012

[http://www.spacewar.com/reports/Unit\\_8200\\_and\\_Israels\\_high-tech\\_whiz\\_kids\\_999.html](http://www.spacewar.com/reports/Unit_8200_and_Israels_high-tech_whiz_kids_999.html)

336Idem

337Rubin Eliran; Israel's Drone Industry Angry Over Draconian Defense Export Restrictions November 2016

<https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-drone-industry-angry-at-export-restrictions-1.5467737>

338Garde Damian; How did Israel become a hotbed for medical devices?, August 2013

<https://www.fiercebiotech.com/medical-devices/how-did-israel-become-a-hotbed-for-medical-devices>

339Cohen Gili; How did Israel become a hotbed for medical devices?; October 2017

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340Cohen Gili; How did Israel become a hotbed for medical devices? April 2016 <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-arms-exports-to-rwanda-to-stay-secret-supreme-court-rules-1.5429999>

341Ayelett, Shani; 'Israel Would Be Embarrassed if It Were Known It's Selling Arms to These Countries'

August 2015 <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-turning-blood-into-money-1.5383840>

342Associated Press; Israel Signs \$1.6 Billion Arms Deal With Azerbaijan; February 2012;

<https://www.haaretz.com/1.5190757>

343Rania Khalek; Israeli arms fuel atrocities in Africa; September 2015; <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israeli-arms-fuel-atrocities-africa/14844>

- Israel is deeply involved in training and arming death squads in Latin America<sup>344</sup>.
- Israeli police and security companies have trained the police force in Ferguson<sup>345</sup> that killed Michael Brown, Rio's infamous BOPE special police forces<sup>346</sup> that carry out extrajudicial executions, and numerous other police forces across the world, including in Los Angeles<sup>347</sup> and London<sup>348</sup>.
- The EU's border management agency has been holding discussions<sup>349</sup> with Israel Aerospace Industries and Elbit Systems about using Israeli drones to further securitize European borders.
- Elbit Systems<sup>350</sup> and Israeli Aerospace Industries<sup>351</sup> promote the technology originally developed for use on Israel's wall for contracts with the US wall of death against Mexican migrants.

The export of Israel's doctrines, methods and technology developed to maintain its regime of settler-colonialism, apartheid and occupation find a fertile ground especially today.

With the rise of far-right, repressive, xenophobic, neo-fascist governments across the globe as a response to an ongoing crisis of capitalist accumulation and the inability of (neo)liberal policies to respond to it, Israel not only exports to armies and delivers arms in places of war. The distinction between 'civilian' and 'military', sanctioned after the First World War, has been eroded slowly but effectively after the end of the Cold War. Today we are all targets in an ever growing plethora of wars on drugs, terror and more. When Israel's Defense Minister Lieberman states that<sup>352</sup> "There are no innocent people in Gaza", this echoes in the favelas of Brazil where every black person killed turns a 'drug dealer' in the official discourse, in the Colombian countryside where every farmers defending his or her livelihood turns a 'terrorist', at the Mexican border to the US where migrants become 'animals'<sup>353</sup>.

- Casi 70 muros en todos los continentes están desgarrando las vidas y las tierras de las personas a medida que fortalecen las fronteras definidas unilateralmente o los límites del control estatal. Causan miles de muertes cada año y destruyen medios de vida y esperanza para muchos más. Israel ha sido fundamental en la promoción de esta nueva era global de

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344Fernandez Belen; Death by 'security': Israel's services in Latin America; July 2013;

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/07/20137717429632532.html>

345Kristian Davis Bailey; The Ferguson/Palestine; August 2014 Connection <https://www.ebony.com/news-views/the-fergusonpalestine-connection-403#axzz3pKz33QKj>

346Fania Rodriguez; Ativistas querem empresa de Israel fora das Olimpíadas; August 2015;

<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/node/32632/>

347 Ali Winston; US police get antiterror training in Israel on privately funded trips;

<https://www.revealnews.org/article-legacy/us-police-get-antiterror-training-in-israel-on-privately-funded-trips/>

348Johnlee Varghese; Israeli Army Trained London Police in Tactics and Strategy During Gaza Crisis, Says Report;

December 2014 <https://www.ibtimes.co.in/israeli-army-trained-london-police-tactics-strategy-during-gaza-crisis-says-report-616521>

349Cronina David; Investigation: Why Europe won't impose an arms embargo on Israel; February 2015;

<http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/why-europe-wont-impose-arms-embargo-israel-697912420>

350Jill Aitoro; Elbit Systems of America, CBP in talks for expanded surveillance along US-Mexico border; October

2017; <https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/ausa/2017/10/11/elbit-systems-of-america-cbp-in-talks-for-expanded-surveillance-along-us-mexico-border/>

351Etsion Udie; Israeli company to build US-Mexico border wall prototype; November 2017

<https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5014926,00.html>

352Middle East Monitor; 'No innocent people in Gaza' says Israeli defence minister; April 2018;

<http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/no-innocent-people-gaza-says-israeli-defence-minister-1155018849>

353Jon Sharman; Trump says illegal migrants are 'animals, not people' in half-minute rant about gangs; may 2018;

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/donald-trump-migrants-animals-california-ms-13-sanctuary-cities-oakland-a8355536.html>

muros y EE. UU. Ha aumentado para respaldarlo: desde India, Arabia Saudí, Turquía, Sahara Occidental y Europa, hoy en día, el número de muros diseñados para definir a la fuerza y sellar las fronteras casi se ha triplicado en las últimas dos décadas.

Dentro de este marco global cada vez se abren más mercados para la 'experiencia' israelí, desarrollada en el laboratorio que es la actual Nakba contra el pueblo palestino: Muros y fronteras: Israel vende sus muros y tecnologías para cerrar o excluir poblaciones en todo el mundo: esto no incluye los Muros de la Línea de Control de la India en Cachemira al Muro de la Vergüenza México-Estados Unidos y el proyecto de militarización fronteriza SISFRON de Brasil. todo construido con tecnología israelí. Incluye todas las capas de políticas antimigrantes, como todo tipo de vigilancia fronteriza, perfiles raciales en las inspecciones aeroportuarias, entrenamientos policiales y más. Ciudades militarizadas: el control estricto de la población palestina tanto en la calle como en línea se está exportando a través de proyectos de "ciudad segura" y otros esfuerzos, según las ocasiones dadas. Un caso interesante ha sido la investigación y la campaña contra el papel de Israel en la militarización del espacio urbano en ocasión de la militarización de las ciudades en el contexto de la Copa del Mundo y los Juegos Olímpicos, Brasil. La Articulação Nacional dos Comitês Populares da Copa (ANCOP) destacó en su informe sobre el impacto de la Copa del Mundo: "O Brasil está viviendo una escalada autoritaria, en el gobierno y en el Congreso buscam criminalizar movimentos sociais". Devemos promover lutas contra como leis antiterrorista e antimanifestações. Defender a anistia dos processados e uma Campanha Nacional pela desmilitarização da Polícia Militar e desarmamento das Guardas Municipais. O povo palestino for atido diretamente pela Copa do Mundo no Brasil, uma vez que há um fluxo importante de financing saídos dos cofres públicos para complexo industrial -militar israelense, sustentando a política do genocidio eo apartheid contra os palestinos. "Esta es una de las razones, por qué ANCOP pidió" Un minuto de silencio por no más de un minuto de silencio "durante la final de la Copa del Mundo en 2014 para anunciar el genocidio continuo del pueblo palestino. El impacto cotidiano del papel de Israel en la militarización es evidente en la realidad de las favelas en Río de Janeiro. Gizele Martins, una activista comunitaria de Maré, una de las favelas de Río de Janeiro, describe las búsquedas policiales y los bloqueos de carreteras realizados dentro de las favelas como lo que los palestinos llamarían "puntos de control aéreos". De manera similar, Tainã Medeiros, miembro del colectivo de comunicación Papo Reto, señala que la invasión de casas y su uso permanente como puestos policiales durante cuatro meses en 2017 en la Plaza Samba, ubicada en el Complejo Alemão, otra favela en Río de Janeiro, se parece bastante a la estrategia utilizada comúnmente por las fuerzas israelíes, principalmente en la ciudad de Hebrón. Como sucede en Hebrón, la policía entró a las casas sin previo aviso y ocupó los pisos superiores para observar, disparar y matar.

- **Repression of social movements and human rights defenders:** As in the case of Brazil, where the militarization of the cities has transformed directly into attacks on social movements, in Colombia direct export of methods and technology from Israel to intensify the repression of rural communities and movements has been documented.
- **The spread of a securitization paradigm:** Training programs, joint academic research and arms fairs are among the key moments in which Israel sells its doctrines to open the markets for its technologies and methodologies.

Everybody – students that may see their knowledge and university involved with Israeli military technology or security paradigms, human rights defenders that may be surveilled or repressed with Israeli methods and technologies and each and every taxpayer that sees her or his public money being spent to fuel the Israeli military and security complex - at a certain point of their lives and struggles will face Israel's paradigms, methodologies and technologies. It is therefore important to build collect struggles to stop their proliferation across the globe.

The call for a military embargo and an end to military and security ties is not only an effort of solidarity with the Palestinian people – it is essentially an effort of self-defense and a collective struggle to uphold the basic values we all share.

### **The truly global campaign**

Israel's military and security complex is based on a global network of relations. The US provides military aid<sup>354</sup>, mainly for Israel to be provided for free the latest US made weapons, the European Union is increasing continuously its common military and security related research with Israel, it is the global south that actually imports Israeli weapons and, hence, brings in the cashflow to the Israeli military and security complex. Between 2010 and 2015, eight of the ten major importers of Israeli weapons were<sup>355</sup> in the global south, including India, Turkey, Singapore, Vietnam, Colombia and Brazil.

As up to 80% of Israel's military production is exported mainly to the global South, the role of Latin America in financing Israeli militarism that sustains its occupation and apartheid is evident.

These purchases of Israeli military and security technology help fund the Israeli war economy and help to pay for Israeli oppression of Palestinians. After years of decline, Israeli military exports in 2016 have risen to \$6.5 billion<sup>356</sup>, including homeland security sales this amounts to \$7.5 billion, or 14%<sup>357</sup> of Israel's total exports. In 2017, they have further spiked<sup>358</sup> to a record US\$9 billion. Between 2008-2012 and 2013-2017, Israel increased its arms exports by 55 percent — the largest increase<sup>359</sup> in the world.

### **3. Most important campaigns in Latin America.**

Military embargoes are an internationally recognized tool of states to ensure respect of human rights, peace and democracy. However, it takes people to build sufficient pressure for governments to take these actions.

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354Oren Dorell; U.S. \$38B military aid package to Israel sends a message; September 2016;

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/09/14/united-states-military-aid-israel/90358564/>

355Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Transfers of major weapons: Deals with deliveries or orders made for 1950 to 2017. <https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers>

356Juma Jamal; The "S" in BDS: Lessons of the Elbit Systems Campaign; August 2016; <https://al-shabaka.org/briefs/s-bds-lessons-elbit-systems-campaign/>

357Maaike Goslinga; Israel sells more than weapons. It also exports fear; July 2017

<https://thecorrespondent.com/6563/israel-sells-more-than-weapons-it-also-exports-fear/2339981818559-86fb38cb>

358Yaniv Kubovich; Israel's Arms Exports Spike, Hitting Record \$9 Billion; may 2018;

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

359Ryan Wents; Israel's arms exports: A decade of war and new markets; April 2018; <https://972mag.com/israels-arms-exports-a-decade-of-war-and-new-markets/134608/>

The campaigns to end international ties with the Israeli military/'security' sector and enact investment, procurement and non-cooperation standards/policies for private entities, local, national and supranational government bodies are diverse and are becoming more and more effective.

The campaigning towards a military embargo has two fundamental pillars, that can be advanced simultaneously or through different initiatives and campaigns.

(1) *Mainstreaming of the demand*: even if we will not immediately achieve a military embargo, we have to create consensus around the idea and the urgency of it.

(2) *Achieving concrete steps forward*: it is important for our movement and for the larger public to see that, whatever small the steps may seem, we are making progress and achieving impact.

Often military or security agreements, cooperation and contracts seem far too technical and aloof from those that are actually campaigning on the ground. However, often it is possible to break down these deals into their components, find actors involved locally or impacts of the transfer of information and/or technology on the ground. This opens up more avenues for campaigning.

### **a) The start of a military embargo conversation at UN bodies**

It is when the United Nations enforce a comprehensive military embargo on Israel, including the necessary enforcement mechanisms, that our call and campaigning has achieved its main goal. This is still a long way to go but it is important to bring the call into the UN Assembly Halls and decision making structures in New York and Geneva.

The call for a military embargo on Israel is nothing new in the United Nations.

Already in 1982, in response to Israel's illegal annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights and the paralysis of the Security Council -- induced by the United States which, as always in the case of its ally Israel, had threatened to veto effective UN action -- the UN General Assembly convened in an Emergency Special Session and passed Resolution ES-9/1 stating that "Israel's record and actions confirm that it is not a peace-loving Member State." The Resolution called upon all UN member states to implement a series of economic, diplomatic and cultural sanctions, and, "(a) to refrain from supplying Israel with any weapons and related equipment and to suspend any military assistance with Israel receives from them; and, (b) to refrain from acquiring any weapons or military equipment from Israel.

On March 19 2018, by a 27 to 4 vote with 15 abstentions, the UN Human Rights Council passed resolution A/HRC/37/L.49 that called upon "all states to promote compliance under international law" with regard to Israeli actions, including by "ensuring that their public authorities and private entities do not become involved in internationally unlawful conduct, inter alia the provision of arms to end users known or likely to use the arms in the commission of serious violations of international humanitarian and/or human rights law;"

This is a veiled insinuation of the need for a military embargo against Israel, at least as far as weapons transfers to Israel are concerned. No Latin American country opposed the resolution, Mexico and Panama abstained and Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador and Venezuela voted in favour of the resolution.

It is crucial for all those that have the possibility to bring the call for a military embargo to the floor of the United Nations, governments and civil society organizations alike, to do so. The demand has to be heard over and over again if it is to become reality one day.

## **b) Governments taking action:**

Though a full scale military embargo is in most countries far from achievable, there are a number of governments that have moved towards restrictions of military and security relations or have taken actions on specific deals:

- **Brazil:** In 2016, the Brazilian government distanced itself from Israel's 'security' company ISDS.
- **Norway:** The Norwegian government<sup>360</sup> has an official policy of not exporting weapons to Israel. However, a US-based subsidiary of a Norwegian arms company does export weapons to Israel.
- **South Africa:** Two decades after the end of apartheid, South Africa has cut down its military relations with Israel to almost none.
- **Spanish State:** the government has started to deny some export licenses for Israel starting in 2015 because of possible misuse. Barcelona municipality has publicly endorsed a military embargo of Israel.
- **Portugal:** Portugal decided to withdraw<sup>361</sup> from the European research project LAW TRAIN after campaigners denounced the cooperation with the Israeli police.

Latin America has currently the only acting president in the world that has signed a solidarity statement<sup>362</sup>, including a call for a boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel – Evo Morales, president of Bolivia. A number of other governments in Latin America have taken clear stands against Israel's policies of occupation and apartheid and may not be interested in Israel's 'cooperation' in terms of military and security issues in their country.

## **c) Local Authorities and state governments join the campaign for a military embargo.**

Local authorities and states have a crucial role to play. They can promote the campaign towards a military embargo at two levels. Local authorities and state governments can:

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<sup>360</sup>Ryan Rodrick Beiler; Norway's sneaky arms exports to Israel; April 2015; <https://electronicintifada.net/content/norways-sneaky-arms-exports-israel/14479>

<sup>361</sup>Palestinian National BDS Committee (BNC); Portugal exits controversial project with Israeli police following BDS pressure; August 2016; <https://stopthewall.org/2016/08/23/portuguese-government-withdraws-controversial-project-israeli-police-following-bds-pressu>

<sup>362</sup>Cuba Debate; Intelectuales latinoamericanos apoyan manifiesto En Defensa de Palestina; August 2014; <http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2014/08/04/decenas-de-intelectuales-latinoamericanos-apoyan-manifiesto-en-defensa-de-palestina/#.W0H8fGWG9AY>

- Help to mainstream the call for a military embargo, endorsing this call and letting the federal government know that they, as elected representatives of the people, demand the central power to stop military and security ties with Israel.
- Ensure they themselves do not enter in any joint research, cooperation or contracts with the Israeli military and security sector and those international companies profiting from Israel's military and security sector. They can ensure they don't lend facilities or other support to the promotion of Israeli military or security paradigms, methods or technologies.

Some examples of local and state governments that have taken such steps include:

- **The Spanish state:** In the Spanish state, over 80 cities have declared themselves 'Israeli apartheid free zones'. Many of the motions passed include the call for a military embargo to be imposed by the central government. El 25 de may el ayuntamiento de Barcelona aprobó un llamado a un embargo militar y demandó que el estado Español aseguré su aplicación. En June el parlamento de la comunidad autónoma de Navarra, en el Estado español, adoptó el BDS como política regional y Valencia, tanto el Ayuntamiento como el gobierno regional, se declararon zonas libres de apartheid.
- **Brazil:** In December 2014, the state of Rio Grande do Sul cancelled<sup>363</sup> a large satellite program with Elbit Systems after BDS pressure,
- **Ireland:** Dublin City Council passed a motion<sup>364</sup> to join the international call from Palestinian civil society and human rights organisations like Amnesty International for an arms embargo of Israel.
- **Italy:** In 2018 Bologna, San Giuliano Terme and Florence have publicly endorsed a military embargo of Israel.
- **United States:** En April la campaña Deadly Exchange aseguró su primera victoria a través de la coalición local Demilitarize! Durham2Palestine<sup>365</sup> en la ciudad de estadounidense de Durham, Carolina del Norte. La campaña logró que el concejo municipal apruebe la prohibición intercambios de corte militar entre el departamento de policía de Durham y fuerzas armadas extranjeras. Durham se convirtió en la primera ciudad de EE.UU. en prohibir intercambios con el ejército Israelí por default.

As decisions by local or state governments not to enter into contracts or cooperation with Israel's military and security sector are de facto 'mini-military embargoes', it is crucial for activists and political decision makers to ensure solid legal advise in drafting the motions to ensure they cannot be overthrown by the pro-Israel or pro-military establishment.

Often it is a powerful choice to join hands for local democracy with other movements. Many more may be interested in ensuring corporations are held to account for human rights violations or, at the

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363Juma Jamal; The "S" in BDS: Lessons of the Elbit Systems Campaign; August 2016; <https://al-shabaka.org/briefs/s-bds-lessons-elbit-systems-campaign/>

364Dublin City Council; Dublin City Council motion calls for end to attacks on Gaza and Administrative Detention, and for arms embargo & trade sanctions on Israel; Julio 2014; <http://www.ipsc.ie/press-releases/dublin-city-council-motion-calls-for-end-to-attacks-on-gaza-and-administrative-detention-and-for-arms-embargo-trade-sanctions-on-israel>

365Barros Norah; How Durham activists led city to ban police training in Israel; April 2018; <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman/listen-how-durham-activists-led-city-ban-police-training-israel>

very least, are not rewarded by local or state governments with further money, contracts and or other facilitations. Joint motion as in the case of Durham with other anti-militarization campaigners or together with other movements fighting corporate complicity may have a strong mobilizing effect.

#### **d) Parliamentarians and parties speaking up:**

Ever more political parties and members of parliament are speaking up, demanding a military, an end to military and security ties with Israel or at least more restrictions on these ties. This is an essential part of mainstreaming the call for a military embargo so that in the future it will become a concrete action.

40 sitting Irish members of Parliament endorsed the 'End the Irish Arms Trade With Israel'<sup>366</sup> campaign in 2016. En Inglaterra, país que tiene un importante comercio de armas con Israel, en los últimos meses se han escuchado llamados a imponer un embargo militar de dos vías. La organización War on Want está liderando la campaña de cabildeo para que los miembros del parlamento presionen al gobierno nacional a hacer análisis sobre la exportación de armas a Israel y el cumplimiento de las obligaciones de Inglaterra de acuerdo a la ley internacional. El líder del partido opositor y miembro del parlamento Inglés, Jeremy Corbyn, ha manifestado abiertamente que apoya un embargo militar.

To move these efforts forward you can:

- ask members of parliament to speak out or start a parliamentary question or motion asking for a military embargo on Israel.
- work together with political parties to adopt the call for a military embargo into their program.

The work with parliamentarians and officials involved in decision making processes regarding military and security relations at national and sub-national level can be crucial as well to understand the details of contracts and negotiations.

Military and security matters are largely believed to be a question of military 'experts' and hence outside critical questioning of civilians and citizens, including politicians. This is convenient for the military brass and military companies but undercuts democratic processes.

Especially, when military and security arguments are concerned, never believe the rhetoric and, it is helpful to have the support of parliamentarians and other to get clarifications as soon as news about negotiations surface, including on questions such as:

- ***What is being negotiated?***

It may be, the negotiations are about a product/service your country is already producing or is unwanted, as was the case with the attempt of Israel to sell Argentina old and discarded fighter jets. Even if that technology or methodology should never be held by your country in the first place or money should better be spent elsewhere, why buy it, on top of everything else, from Israel?

- ***What is the purpose of the cooperation or acquisition?***

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In the case of military or security cooperation, there is a likelihood that it will be used for internal repression.

- ***Why is the deal being made?***

The true motivations for the deals may not have much to do with the stated purposes of the cooperation or acquisition. They may be connected to personal interests, diplomatic arm twisting or other. In the case of the latest one-billion deal for a lease of Israeli<sup>367</sup> attack Heron drones by Germany, the real motivation was a complicated quid-pro-pro that served the interests of a German military corporation Thyssen-Krupp but no real military purpose at all.

- ***How much does it cost? Who finances it?***

This seems self-evident but maybe be tricky to find out sometimes. Those entities in the state that are supposed to finance cooperation or deals may have hesitations to do so.

- ***Who decides, how and when?***

Military deals often have complicated and long-drawn procedures before they are actually final, which can last for years. They can be completely re-negotiated or scrapped just as they seem to be finalised. It is important to understand exactly the terms, the details of the people and institutional bodies involved, when and how. This helps building up pressure from all sides.

## **e) Targeting complicit corporations:**

Israel could not implement its policies of occupation, colonialism and apartheid without corporations implementing a good part of it. These corporations reap profit from Israel's violations of human rights and international law and need to be held accountable.

Even big military companies, such as Israel's Elbit Systems are starting to recognize the power of the BDS campaign. When questioned about the impact of BDS on Elbit Systems' operations, CEO Bezahel Machlis admitted<sup>368</sup>: "I'm not saying it's not a threat, but I think that altogether we can handle it."

The BDS movement has already successfully pressured a number of companies to end its complicity with Israeli apartheid. Currently there are two core campaigns being developed at global level:

- **#StopElbit:** Israel's largest private military company provides weapons, including White Phosphorous, to the Israeli army for its military aggressions and is a major profiteer of Israel's construction of the apartheid Wall. It tests its technology on Palestinians. For more about Elbit's involvement with Israeli apartheid and repression globally and campaigns and campaign victories, [see here](#). Many pension funds and banks have divested from Elbit

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367Shir Hever; How the Massacre in Gaza became an Opportunity to Sell Israeli Weapons; April 2018; <https://therealnews.com/stories/how-the-massacre-in-gaza-became-an-opportunity-to-sell-israeli-weapons#.WuJO0ZidJZI.twitter>

368Juma Jamal; The "S" in BDS: Lessons of the Elbit Systems Campaign; August 2016; <https://al-shabaka.org/briefs/s-bds-lessons-elbit-systems-campaign/>

and/or excluded it from their portfolios. Elbit has lost out on deals in Denmark<sup>369</sup> and France<sup>370</sup> following public campaigns.

In Latin America an effective campaign has been run in Brazil. Elbit's participation in a Brazilian drone development effort was terminated at the beginning of 2016. This followed a 2014 decision<sup>371</sup> by the Rio Grande do Sul regional government to end a large-scale research collaboration project with Elbit Systems.

- **#StopG4S:** The campaign started in 2012 to pressure the British security company to stop its contracts with the Israeli prison service. After 4 years campaigning G4S sold its Israeli subsidiary that held the contracts. However, G4S is still fully involved in the training of Israeli police that enforce Israeli apartheid violating human rights and dignity, including through extrajudicial executions, shoot-to-kill policies, police murders, racial profiling, deportation and detention, and attacks on human rights defenders. For more on G4S, #StopG4S campaigns and victories, see here. G4S has lost contracts<sup>372</sup> worth millions of dollars with unions, banks, charities, universities and other public bodies as a result of BDS campaigning.

In Latin America, there have been already successful campaigns to #StopG4S: In Colombia, the BDS campaign successfully pressured the national restaurant chain Crepes&Waffles to end its contract with G4S<sup>373</sup>. In Ecuador, Palestine solidarity convinced the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina (CIESCAL) in Quito<sup>374</sup> to end its contract with G4S. Most importantly, the CIESCAL at the same time decided to maintain the workers that previously were G4S employed not to harm their interests.

## f) Targeting police cooperation:

A number of campaigns directly target cooperation with Israeli institutions and police forces around the world to stop Israel from exporting its practices of human rights violations. The campaigns include Deadly Exchange<sup>375</sup> in the US. La organización autodefinida como judía Jewish Voices for Peace (JVP), de EE.UU. lanzó la campaña Deadly Exchange con el objetivo de poner fin a los intercambios entre policías en EE.UU. e Israel. La campaña asegura que en estos intercambios se comparten las tácticas más represivas y racistas y se promueve la militarización de las fuerzas del orden civil amenazando así la seguridad de los estadounidenses víctimas de la brutalidad policial.

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369Ali Abunimah; Did public pressure kill Denmark-Israel weapons deal?; may 2015;

<https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/did-public-pressure-kill-denmark-israel-weapons-deal>

370Ali Abunimah, In surprise move, France rejects Israeli drones; February 2016;

<https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/surprise-move-france-rejects-israeli-drones>

371idem

372BDS Movement; Global Campaign Stop G4S; <https://bdsmovement.net/stop-g4s#impact>

373BDS Colombia Victoria de la Campaña BDS Colombia sobre la empresa G4S; February 2016;

<https://boicotisraelencolombia.wordpress.com/2016/02/17/victoria-de-la-campana-bds-colombia-sobre-la-empresa-g4s/>

374BDS Ecuador; Victoria del movimiento de solidaridad con Palestina en Ecuador; 2016

<https://boicotisraelenecuador.wordpress.com/2017/02/09/victoria-del-movimiento-de-solidaridad-con-palestina-en-ecuador-boicot-g4s-bds-ciespal/>

375Petición de Deadly Exchange: "Ending US-Israel Police Partnerships, Reclaiming Safety";

<https://deadlyexchange.org/>

Como parte de la campaña, JVP identificó a quienes organizan dichos intercambios (The Anti-Defamation League, The American Jewish Committee, The Jewish Institute for National Security of America y American Israel Public Affairs Committee) y los programas de intercambio. In Europe<sup>376</sup> activists have since 2016 developed a campaign against a EU funded project for joint research with Israeli police on interrogation tactics. The government of Portugal as well as the Catholic University of Leuven have already withdrawn from the project called StopLawTrain<sup>377</sup>.

In Latin America, the most developed campaigns is currently being developed in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), where Israeli training and equipment is directly involved in the repression and the genocide of the black people in the favelas.

### **g) Campaigns against joint research and development:**

The working paper<sup>378</sup> of the BNC issued in 2011 to accompany the call for a military embargo, points at the profound complicity of the academic sector in Israel.

*“The deep partnership between the academy and the military-security establishment is emblematic of the widely militarized nature of Israeli society. The Israeli academy is deeply involved in developing military technology and planning, promoting and justifying Israel's colonial and apartheid policies. [...]*

*One other form of this entrenched complicity is the earlier classic colonial model of scholars serving interchangeably in the academy and as advisors and administrators in the military-security establishment. Acquiescing to, even encouraging, service in the reserve military forces by academics within a specific age group is another important aspect of that complicity.*

*Yet another has been the tradition of the integration of army personnel and institutions within the universities, such as in the Talpiot and Psagot schemes of the “academic reserve” program at several major universities.*

*The most critical arena where this collusion is manifest is the robust cooperation between research universities and the weapons industry, which directly implicates academics and academic administrations who knowingly support the commission of war crimes and other grave violations of international law”<sup>379</sup>.*

Universities and institutions around the globe collaborate with Israeli military corporations and institutions on R&D projects. Governments often finance this. A campaign to stop the EU<sup>380</sup> from such cooperation is ongoing.

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376European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine; European License For Israeli Torture: The EU-Israel LAW TRAIN Joint Project; October 2016; <http://www.eccpalestine.org/european-license-for-israeli-torture-the-eu-israel-law-train-joint-project/>

377Stop Low Train; Geen Belgische samenwerking met de Israëlische politie; October 2010; <https://stop-law-train.be/>

378Palestinian BDS National Committee; Palestinian Civil Society Call for a Comprehensive Military Embargo of Israel; July 2011; <https://bdsmovement.net/files/2011/07/BNC-military-embargo-background-document-9-7-2011.pdf>

379BDS Movement; Palestinian Civil Society Call for a Comprehensive Military Embargo of Israel; July 2011 <https://bdsmovement.net/files/2011/07/BNC-military-embargo-background-document-9-7-2011.pdf>

380Colombia Plural; “En tiempos de paz y Navidad, se venden armas”; December 2017; <https://colombiaplural.com/tiempos-paz-navidad-se-venden-armas/>

## **h) Protest Israeli military presence:**

Activists in Colombia<sup>381</sup>, Brazil<sup>382</sup>, France, UK, the Netherlands and many other places have protested Israeli arms producers during arms fairs. Elbit factories across the world have been repeatedly blockaded<sup>383</sup> by campaigners.

## **i) Banks Divest from Israeli militarism:**

Campaigns have started to pressure banks and financial institutions to stop investing in Israeli military companies. Learn more about the campaign targeting UK bank HSBC<sup>384</sup> and the campaign targeting French corporation AXA<sup>385</sup>. Banks, pension funds divest from Israeli war machine More than a dozen financial institutions have excluded Elbit Systems<sup>386</sup> from their portfolios over its role in Israel's military violence. UK bank Barclays divested<sup>387</sup> after more than 1.7 million people signed a petition<sup>388</sup> organised by Avaaz and campaigners have occupied and protested at bank branches across the UK.

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381Rede de Comunidades e Movimentos contra a Violência; FORA DO RIO A FEIRA DE GUERRA ISRAELENSE!; April 2009; <http://redecontraviolencia.org/Atividades/465.html>

382Hilary Aked; Protests close four factories owned by Israeli arms firm Elbit; July 2015; <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/hilary-aked/protests-close-four-factories-owned-israeli-arms-firm-elbit>

383Hilary Aked; Protests close four factories owned by Israeli arms firm Elbit; July 2015; <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/hilary-aked/protests-close-four-factories-owned-israeli-arms-firm-elbit>

384Stop Arming Israel; HSBC hit by protests at 20 branches over Israeli arms trade links; July 2017; <https://www.stoparmingisrael.org/hsbc-hit-by-protests-at-20-branches-over-israeli-arms-trade-links/>

385BDS France; AXA must comply with international law and break with Israel's colonial, apartheid policy!; July 2017; <https://www.bdsfrance.org/appeal-la-societe-axa-doit-se-conformer-au-droit-international-et-rompre-avec-la-politique-coloniale-et-dapartheid-israelienne/>

386Palestinian Grassroots Anti-apartheid Wall Campaign; BUST ELBIT: Stop bankrolling Israeli wars and ghettos; August 2010; <https://stopthewall.org/2010/08/24/bust-elbit-stop-bankrolling-israeli-wars-and-ghettos>

387Palestinian BDS National Committee; Barclays bank no longer listed as Elbit Systems shareholder; April 2015; <https://bdsmovement.net/news/barclays-bank-no-longer-listed-elbit-systems-shareholder>

388 Avaaz Petition "Israel-Palestine: This is how it ends"; [https://secure.avaaz.org/en/israel\\_palestine\\_this\\_is\\_how\\_it\\_ends\\_loc/](https://secure.avaaz.org/en/israel_palestine_this_is_how_it_ends_loc/)