



SHAPING NEW DIMENSIONS: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND RUSSIA

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Abstract

India's engagement with the 'Heartland', has put India as one of the stakeholders in the region that corresponds to Halford J Mackinder's World Island. And Owen Lattimore described Eurasia as the world's new centre of gravity a whirlpool in which meet, political currents flowing from China, India and the Arab world..... it encloses more different kinds of frontiers than could be found in any area of the world. The theme of the paper, is to analyse the role of India in Asia, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. It created a new international environment. There was a triumphant mood in Washington, as it proved universal victory of Western liberal democratic institutions. The US had been considered as the leading country in the world, and it emerged as the only great power of the unipolar international system.

This article provides an insight from an Indian perspective of Indo-Israel relations along with its closer friend Russia. The new contour of geopolitics in the 21st century will be technology driven, making less affluent nations dependent on influential nations. The five members of UN Security Council lead, and Israel is the second tier of arm-sellers. Brazil and India, will vie to occupy a geopolitical space in the already divided world. Thus it has thrown a challenge to the US, preventing a single nation to monopolize power.

India and Russia now look for convergence of interests, anchored within hard reality. India became the largest buyer of Israel military equipment, while Israel became the second largest defence supplier to India after Russia, surpassing the USA. The 21st century witnessed the onset of a different political scenario, as the Indian democracy under the NDA government has made national self-interest the driving force.

The paper is an attempt to understand India's ties with Israel and Russia, where Russian window is useful for global cross ventilation for Israel also, as discussed in various newspapers and foreign policy. The nations understand the globalizing logic of coming closer to one another with 'multiple strategic partners.' It is a signal to the West that likewise India's foreign policy postulates are also based on the assumption of a multi-polar world.



Key words: gravity, whirlpool, Eurasia, multi-polarity, technological-driven, Convergence.

Introduction

In several recent developments in the upcoming international scenario, important changes in India's policy structure are seen. Under the leadership of Modi, India's foreign policy manifests as a major pragmatic interest-oriented foreign policy, with a view to making India a self-sustaining economic power with socio-political stability and with potentially sound security structure. Although it has prompted India to pursue pro-American stance on all international issues, in the recent past, yet this shift has not materialised into US fulfilling India's long pending demand to force Pakistan to stop exporting cross-border terrorism into the country, restraining China's anti Indian activities (like formation of Beijing-Islamabad unholy axis against New Delhi), besides securing a permanent seat for India in the UN Security Council.

Morton Kaplan's six models of international system, might have been based on the assumption - from a 'Balance of Power', it is a 'loose bi-polar system' and now it appears to have been leading to a kind of 'Unit Veto-System', where no State would venture to attack another as the States then will have equal potentialities to destroy each other. In other words, we call it a multi-polar world.

Situating India in a global order thus, it has emerged as a power successful in securing defence collaboration with the West and purchases weapons from US, Israel and France, and conducts joint military exercises with ASEAN countries. The NDA regime under the leadership of Prime Minister Modi has been successful in carving a space and place for India so far as diplomacy is concerned. India has befriended Israel, Saudi Arabia and UAE, but also continues to have ties with Iran. There is a trade imbalance though, in favour of Russia, inasmuch as, areas like defence, energy and nuclear facilities dominate the trade basket.

The article touches upon the issues of striking a beneficiary balance between India vis-a-vis Russian-Israel ties. Despite mounting pressure from US there is 'no plan to scrap India's Russia deal' inked for five squadrons of the advanced S-400 Triumf, Surface-to-Air Missile system (SAM). Simultaneously, Israel and Indian ties are strategically developed to handle myriad security problems the country faces, as the recent Pulwama attack. Israel is a country that has a successful history in dealing with such security issues and has a massive arms industry. Israel has therefore become quite central in the consciousness of the Indian strategy. In order to attract investors world over, it also requires introducing adequate economic reforms. The paper deals with the short evolution



of relations with the two countries and also dwells on the new contexts of present international order marked by ‘multi-polarity’ and several other challenges, like mounting threat of economic recession, ISIS terrorism and regional tensions in Asia-Pacific, particularly around South Asia, South Sea China and West Asia.

New Contexts and Consequent adjustments:

The political world order is fast changing ever since the past few decades, after Russia started losing its domination, and the vacuum thus created, was being filled up by United States and other developed countries. The developed countries formed their regional groups, and some like NATO and EU, that had direct support of the US became strong. The developing countries which were technologically and economically growing fast, like China and India to certain extent, also pushed forward to fill the gap. From the Western-centric, it has entered into a different phase, having new political and economic manifestations in the new economic and political structures.

Though US is mounting pressure on India to also consider its Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) and Patriot Advanced Capacity (PAC-3) missiles system, there is no plan to scrap the \$5.43 billion deal inked with Russia for five squadrons of the advanced S-400 Triumf surface-to-air missiles. Despite New Delhi’s closer relations with US and other major western powers, India inked the deal with Russia in 2018 after four years of extensive negotiations resulting in an inter-government Agreement. This, despite the threat of sanctions under the US law called CAATSA (Countering America’s Adversaries through Sanctions Act). While the quick-reaction NASAMS is being specifically acquired for the missile shield over Delhi, the S-400 systems scheduled for delivery in October 2020-April 2023 time frame-work, are meant for the strategic deterrence against China and Pakistan along the borders as well.

The most dramatic turn took place at the political -diplomatic level, with Prime Minister Narendra Modi coming to power in 2014. His unique stance towards Israel proves that leaders make difference in relations between countries. Indeed the flourishing relations between the two is unprecedented among nations, considering the fact that Israel is such a small country while its counter-part, India is a giant. The Key to the growing India-Israel ties is in the realm of security and defence. The paper reflects upon stances where India-Israel cooperation has increased dramatically with Modi government since 2014. India abstained from voting at the UDHRC that approved their Gaza Commission of Inquiry Report in July 2015. Forty-one countries voted in favour of adopting the findings of the biased report, yet India was one of only five others who abstained. This marked for the first time that India had ever voted against Palestinian interests at the UNHRC, signalling a potentially significant shift in India-Israel relations.



It was predicted that it will lead to 'New American Universe', except that America's edge would be based on military and economic (as opposed to technological) preponderance. But the new multi-polar world order is seeing the emergence of regional blocks, with reduced trade barriers as well as capital mobility for members. Conventional conflict between States is reducing but cyberwarfare, terrorism and espionage are new threats in the multi-polar order. Thus in this non-unipolar world, no single power including India, will be rule maker by itself. Even the US-Russian rivalries will continue, Modi faces an exigent challenge to revitalise a flagging partnership with Russia while safeguarding India's regional security and its \$3 billion development aid to Afghanistan since 2002. This challenge is compounded by the fact that a robust relationship with Moscow is vital to a balanced India Foreign policy.

Methodology :

The article studies the challenges faced by the Indo-Russia relations in after the collapse of the Communist regime and attempts to decipher the enigmatic Indo-Israel strategic ties in today's context. The objective is to understand emerging Delhi-Israel strategic alliance, along with sustaining relations with an old ally Russia. Thus making India more powerful to play a significant role in the Asian Region.

On its basis, the Hypothesis advanced is - Amid turbulent socio-political and military developments in the Arab region, should India continue with policy of strengthening ties with Israel or be a balancer between military Imperialism of US-Israel-North Korea axis and the BRICS led alternative economic and military order?

Justification for the article:

India's diplomatic approach towards Israel has always been under scanner of estrangement. The changes in the global politics because of liberalisation has been a major factor for a policy shift - India coming closer to Israel, without losing ties with the Arab world. The enormity of the defence cooperation between the two, can be determined from the mere fact that in a very short span of two decades, Israel has turned out to be the largest arms supplier to India, outshining the Russians with whom India had defence cooperation since independence.

Even in today's scenario where national interest has been placed first by the countries and friendship later, the unique concept of looking for permanent friends in the Arab World and Israel, which are very different from each other, will prove to be a major challenge for India's foreign policy in the future. India's desire to participate in the peace initiatives in West Asia changed India's outlook towards Israel after Madrid Peace (1991) conference. The dispute, over annoying



friendly Arab and Muslims, became inappropriate when the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) themselves were settling peace with Israel. With this new development India was encouraged to break ice with Israel. The Jewish State was no more a 'pariah' as before.

The trade transactions between the countries is not significantly high and Putin was frank enough in stating in 2016 that trade turnover between India and Russia is too small and does not correspond to the potential. Hence there has been a stark realisation on the parts of leaders and efforts are needed to increase trade ties, making it "Geo-political and Geo-economics" in nature. Since then the countries are coming closer and has signed pacts of various nature-leading to better trade and economic cooperation.

The scope of the paper is restricted to:

- comprehensive relations between the two nations in various fields (especially defence, agriculture, medicines and security)
- concerns of the Pakistan and the Arab-world and various challenges (to combat Islamic terrorism),
- And attempts to further enhancement of Indo-Israel-Russia alliances standing together to overcome threats from non-political factors.
- lastly India's standing in Multiples International Political order today.

The maximum of the information for the study has been collected from the books, articles and information available on internet on the subject. The bibliography of the same is mentioned at the end.

Background:

Since the collapse of Communist regime, the political world order has been changing ever since, where traces of the Soviet-Afghan War, which lasted for nine years (December 1979 - February 1989), saw the emergence of insurgent groups known collectively as the mujahedeen, as well as smaller Maoist groups. They fought a guerrilla war against Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan government. It was backed primarily by US, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan making it a Cold War - a proxy war - Pakistan received tons of arms from US to be handed over to these mujahedeen (from whom the Taliban evolved). Large number of these weapons, Pakistan diverted to Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK) too, to be later, further handed over to the militant groups, who were then sent to Kashmir in India to create disturbance in Kashmir. The US also increased diplomatic, economic and military pressures on the Soviet Union, at the time when the latter state was already suffering from economic stagnation. This led to the collapse of former USSR in 1991 and disintegration. Russia is re-emerging now, under the leadership of President Putin, but the country no longer has the capability, and its influence is being challenged by China and the West.



Still Russia has established considerably good relations in multi-dimensional aspects. Russia's policy makers have transitioned to a multipolar world which has created the possibility of developing constructive strategic relations immediately with some influential partners. It has sought to achieve three main goals in West Asian region:

- i. to demonstrate renewed power and influence;
- ii. increase trade with the nations of the region for economic boosting, specially its energy sector, and
- iii. to minimise Arab, Turkish and Iranian support for the Chechen rebellion against Russian control, which the rebels are carrying out in the name of "Islam".



GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ISRAELI FOREIGN TRADE IN 2017

Imports			Exports			Total trade		
Partner	Value Mio €	% World	Partner	Value Mio €	% World	Partner	Value Mio €	% World
World	61,159	100.0	World	53,127	100.0	World	114,285	100.0
1 EU 28	25,187	41.2	1 EU 28	15,772	29.7	1 EU 28	40,959	35.8
2 USA	7,161	11.7	2 USA	15,295	28.8	2 USA	22,456	19.6
3 China	5,778	9.4	3 Hong Kong	3,715	7.0	3 China	8,662	7.6
4 Switzerland	4,893	8.0	4 China	2,883	5.4	4 Switzerland	6,182	5.4
5 Turkey	2,563	4.2	5 India	1,705	3.2	5 Hong Kong	5,408	4.7
6 Japan	1,842	3.0	6 Switzerland	1,288	2.4	6 Turkey	3,781	3.3
7 Hong Kong	1,692	2.8	7 Turkey	1,218	2.3	7 India	3,344	2.9
8 India	1,639	2.7	8 South Korea	784	1.5	8 Japan	2,611	2.3
9 Singapore	1,357	2.2	9 Japan	768	1.4	9 South Korea	1,797	1.6
10 Russia	1,089	1.8	10 Brazil	760	1.4	10 Singapore	1,768	1.5

Russia covered 1.8% of the Israeli imports & around 1% of the exports in 2017. In turn Israel represented just 0.5% of the Russian exports & 0.4% of its imports in 2017. Thus Israel and Russia should not be regarded as strategic trade partners.

In the world politics, the Middle East remains the region with the most serious security challenges. Among the factors shaping the region, Israel's foreign policy is traditionally of paramount importance, and Israel-Russian relations are a significant element. Russia established relations with Israel and increased trade ties. However Israel perceives Iran as a threat to its national security because of Iran's perpetual support to Hezbollah and controversial Nuclear programme, while Russia's strategic consideration towards Iran links with the(its) economic security in terms of hard currency.

Provision of security is at the core of such interests, as both have the same enemy - the Islamic terrorism, without any 'ifs and buts.' Substantial progress has been made in fighting radical Sunni Islamic terrorism led by ISIS and Al-Qaeda and Russia has made great contribution to this result. The security partnership is part of a border network that links the two, including bilateral trade and tourism. Most important, there are millions of Russian-speaking Israelis and Russians are



the second largest group of tourists to Israel, second only to the US. The relation can improve a bit more but there is little room for any dramatic increase.

Despite these ties, the foreign policy differences between the two are significant - disagreements being on the view of Iran and the Middle East peace process. The most recent Syrian-related tension between the two countries pertaining to Israeli attack on Iranian targets in the T-4 airfield, on April 9th, 2018, brought sharp public exchange. Putin called the Israeli strike as ‘a dangerous development’ and asked Israel ‘to refrain from activities that would destabilise Syria, and to respect Syria’s sovereignty.’ Israel is counting on Putin to keep confrontations with Iran and Syria from spiralling into war, reasoning that the Trump administration is simply watching from the side-lines. Oren explained ‘America did not enter in Syria, it’s not in the game.’ The warming up of relations between Russia and Israel is taking place against the background of the on-going anti-Russian sanctions. So for Moscow, contact with Tel-Aviv serves as a kind of window, perhaps even a ‘vent’, and fundamentally important one.

Re-emergence of Russia:

These confronting interests put Moscow in a unique spot, forcing it to adopt an approach in a new perspective. Putin announced his plans to return to the Presidency, and he called for a stronger “**Eurasian Union**”, to include Belarus, Ukraine and Commonwealth of Independent States. Russia is, thus, again trying to fortify its commercial position in the neighbourhood, with Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC), a project long championed by Kazakhstan’s former President Nazarbaev. This is to expand to a ‘common economic space’, with free passage for goods and services on the model of European Union. The broader group would negotiate with the European Union, and the small European Free Trade Association, for free trade area across Eurasian continent to Vladivostok. In the year 2016, President Putin specially mentioned at the inauguration of St. Petersburg International Economic Forum (SPIEF), the scope for India in enhancing economic ties with the EEU. Initiated by Russia it has enormous market potential. To boost bilateral Russia-India - new stage partnership - their high officials projected thrust areas to boost trade and encourage private sector participation. The Working Group on Modernization and Industrial Cooperation have been set for joint ventures in the fields identified for joint ventures in areas of mineral fertilizers, power equipment, CRGO steel, pharmaceutical etc.

Henry Kissinger taught us that in foreign affairs the crucial variables are - capability and will. A more credible ambition is for India to be ‘**rule shaper**’ - one of a small number of powers with the ability to play a major role in shaping the evolution of rule of the road. Indeed this is in evidence - in India’s approach to climatic, energy and maritime security. India has adopted a principled



approach based on equity and differentiated responsibility around which it was able to mobilize broad and supportive coalition (IBSA, SCO). It is a matter of great significance that in June 2016, India became the 35th country to be admitted to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a major international anti-proliferation group of which Russia is a key member. This would enable easier space and missile collaboration for India with Russia, which could not supply cryogenic engines and other dual use technology missiles to India, because it was bound by MTCR.

This article, potentially attempts to draw upon new ties among the three nations, where Russia and Israel has come closer to each other in recent years - with the defeat of ISIS, emergence of Russia as the patron of Assad regime, and President Trump's announcement of the withdrawal of the US forces from Syria, have affected the policies and alliances of Israel, Iran, the US, and Russia with respect to that country, leading to a wide-scale conflagration. To reduce the risk of war, Israel needs to consolidate its security understanding with Russia over southern Syria. There are major areas of disagreement between Russia and Israel regarding the situation in Syria, chief among them is Israel's concern about Russia's operational reliance on Hezbollah and Iranian backed Shia militia as 'foot soldiers.' Israel fears that the involvement of these groups will lead them to play a significant role in Syria's future.

India's place in the new world order:

Today there is more recognition of fact that the more India engages with the global economy, the more its power and security will grow. It may be because of an increasing share in world trade. Also because the only sure path to peace is to create powerful constituencies in other countries that have a vested interest in supporting a nation's cause. Trade and investments create the lobbies that transform relations among States. Even more remarkably, a new way of thinking is emerging in some quarters of India that links foreign policy with pluralism and a new kind of multilateralism.

Privileged Interests:

The 'trajectory of development' of relations, between the three nations, may lead to a unique geographical and political complementarity within the Eurasian zone. While, the two countries, India in South Asia, and Israel in West Asia, occupy place of importance, on the other hand Russia's leadership, on a recent occasion, has expressed its '**privileged interest**' in the ex-Soviet Republics (its near abroad), based on 'civilizational unity.' The proposed Eurasian Union serves as an effective tool.

India has a wild nuclear card. It is one of the nine countries suspected to be having nuclear weapons. This nuclear option has given India the teeth of a major actor in global politics. It possesses second largest army in the world having 1.4



million active military personnel. India's fire power, military aircrafts and battle tanks are no less in comparison with other major powers. Being a major power in South Asia, it can cooperate with China to streamline the Asian economy and pave way for stability and peace. India's ICT sector and entertainment sector, have won worldwide approbation. India's space program has caught the attention of the world too. India's mission to Mars was appreciated by the BBC as "Thrilling" while calling it as one of the cheapest interplanetary missions ever undertaken.

The landslide victory of Modi government signals to the world that relationships made on any bilateral and multilateral issues with India will not end abruptly. In this regard, Ashley. J.Tellis, expressed the view that India under Modi is aspiring to be a leading power, rather than just a balancing force globally. The Indian diaspora is also expected to contribute to and support significantly for the development of India, so that it will play a more vital role in the coming century. India has its strategic partnership with global power and rising power and its participation in existing institutions as well as alternative institutions, such as Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, SCO, inking a Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean region with US etc. It has also made defence cooperation with France and Russia and other Middle East countries and is also building relations with Israel and Japan to improve security and equip oneself. The new challenges seen with the decline of US led hegemonic order has given rise to non-western powers, who are faced by new challenges - broadly divided into - security, economy and issues of global common interest (climatic change, human trafficking, refugee crisis, hunger and poverty). A brief reflection of India's partnership with Russia and Israel is to enhance the fact that multilateral cooperation is indispensable where regions have different political orientation, and are also experiencing different stages of development – works to bring them still closer.

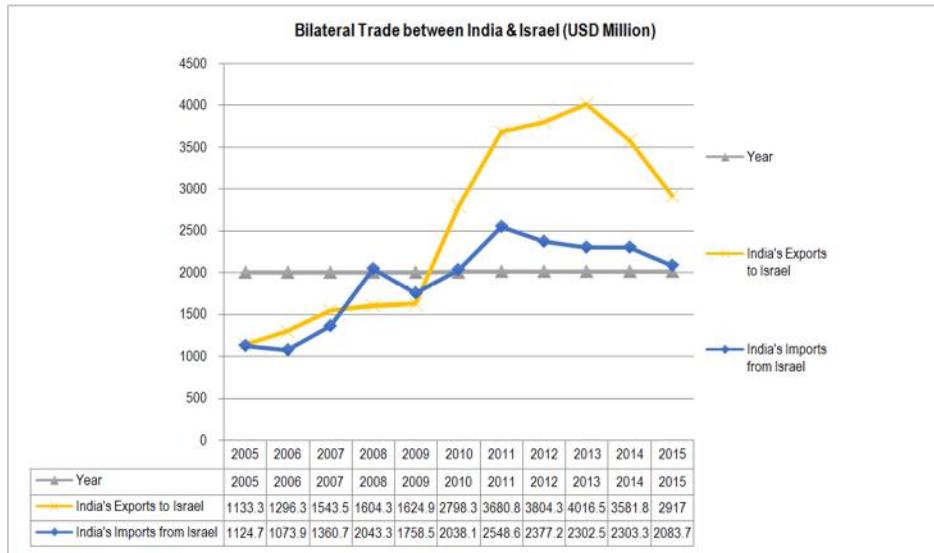
Indo-Russia relations are intensifying but Challenges persist:

India shared strong ties with the former USSR, as it was India's biggest defence and trade partner, although both have failed to find a sustainable economic logic to their ties, still continue to have 'geopolitical' convergence' with minor differences. Efforts are being made to intensify multi-dimensional ties in the areas of:

- Nuclear Energy-where the Kudankulam Nuclear plant is the primer and Russia is the first country for drafting a road-map for supporting production of components for nuclear fuel reactors of Russian design in the years to come,
- Defence Sector- -special and privileged relation, where BrahMos missiles are already operational that has strengthened India's defence capacity,



- Make in India- Russian experts has mentioned the production f India’s own regional plane by 2020,making India the third largest aircraft market,



Both are now experiencing a period of hopes and great anxieties. Under the US pressure India did not yield and refuse military-technical cooperation with Russia. It has confirmed the strength of “all power friendship” between New Delhi and Moscow.

India-Israel Strategic Partnership:

From the early 1990’s,there has been a gradual shift in India’s stand on the Palestine issue. From being a vocal supporter of Palestine and a critic of Israel,now we have become one of the major partners of Israel. India’s anti-Israel attitude was also part of larger diplomatic strategy of countering Pakistan’s influence in the Arab world and that of safeguarding its oil and gas supplies from the Arab countries. The same also ensured the security to the jobs for thousands of Indian’s in the gulf and thereby helping India to keep its foreign exchange reserves afloat. The perception of protecting Indian national interests by a negative foreign policy towards Israel was so strong among the Indian leadership, that despite Arabs failing to reciprocate positively. Yet all the efforts of the Indian government could neither ensure continued electoral support from the Muslims nor win the good will of the Arab states.

But over the years trust among the two has increased and Israel is one of the major defence partner. We also enjoy relations in agriculture ,biotechnology



space etc. Israel's knowledge and technology related to ports, desalination plants, irrigation can be helpful to India. Israel has mastered water conservation technique and India can learn from it. Another area of potential cooperation is cleaning polluted under the Indo-Israel Agricultural Project. Israel pledged to set up 28 centres of excellence. The two nations have signed an agreement to foster cooperation on urban water systems and later Israel announced that it would help India to raise yield of its fruit and vegetable crops under the Indo-Israel Agricultural Project, by offering its advanced technology. Israel has pledged to open 28 centres of excellence across India focused on providing training to Indian farmers on vertical farming, drip irrigation and soil solarization.

Israel has one of the best intelligence system in the world, and sharing of it may lead to safe India. A new partnership between Indian security firm Punj Lloyd and Israel Weapons Industries, known as PLR, to produce in India small manufacturer equipment's for local and export use. Indian military deployed an Israeli-developed comprehensive integrated border management system (CIBMS) along its border with Pakistan. India participated in the Israel Blue Flag military exercise for the first time in November 2017. Multiple collaborative agreements were signed between Israel Space agency and the Indian Space Research Organisation to foster partnership in the development of electric propulsion systems for small satellites, and creating systems to accurately measure the extreme conditions in the outer space. Even the Indian Red Cross Society and Israeli National Emergency Medical Services held a training for Indians to handle natural disasters, accidents and life-saving skills.

The year 2017 saw an increase of Indian tourists to Israel, increasing the number of direct flights between Delhi and Tel-Aviv. Even grants from India-Israel R&D and Technological fund was announced in 2018, including companies working for better the lives of people through efficient use of water, solar use and life-changing surgeries. The fund aims to help Israeli entrepreneurs enter the Indian market.

Thus the friendship need to expand and we have to do away with the normative posturing of relationships which may endanger India's international ties and also its domestic situation.

Conclusion

The Russian foreign policy is about protecting national interests in interaction with the other states and their interests. Its relation with Israel are arguably the best example. The current world has already taken a tectonic shift in the form of US and China-centric multi-polar world order. India is a freedom loving country and it is the largest democracy. Therefore, it is expected to find allies in all democratic countries in the world.



The paper has taken account of US running away from its commitment due to contraction in its economy, but China is taking lead on Climate Change and digital economy. New areas where growth has been projected : - 35% from 2017-2019 will come from China, 18% from the US, 9% from India, and 8% from Europe. By 2050 the three economies - China, India and Indonesia - will be among the largest, commanding global economies from Asia, and none from Europe.

In conclusion, the paper highlights the significance of strategic relations between the three countries India-Russia-Israel. India's national interest is better served by building multiple alliances and leverages than proclaiming Israel as its 'natural ally.' It may go beyond the current transaction relationship, but remain relevant in geopolitical terms and "India's Act West" foreign policy. Russia has been a long-standing and time-tested partner for India. This emerging new order needs to restructure the whole frame-work of global financial institutions, with more transparent and inclusive nature.

In the projected Asian Century, despite the rise of the People's Republic of China (PRC), India has found friends in Israel and Russia, which is shaped due to situation that was growing in Middle East and Asian region. Russia was against the relations with Israel because of the US connection. Today the ability to compartmentalize foreign policy issues, is one of the hallmark of Israel-Russia diplomacy. Now, with the Russian stance in the Middle-East, strengthened as a result of Russian military cooperation and diplomacy towards Syria, Israel can also secure its regional position by advancing in cooperation with Russia. The relation is characterised by a dichotomy of friendly relations coupled with serious disagreements on many regional issues. Russia hopes to present itself as a more acceptable alternative to US, in Israel-Palestinian mediation.

Realising India's potential, India has been offered trade deals and lower trade tariffs by many countries. The membership of NATO was offered to India. In the Post-India's membership in SCO, there is ample room for India and Russia to work together in Eurasia, to ensure balance of power. The American companies see a fantastic opportunity in India for their business prospects. With the Modi government, the grants from Israel Industrial R&D and Technological Innovation Fund (14f) were announced in 2018, including for companies working to better the lives of people through efficient water use, improving communications, infrastructure, solar energy use, and life-saving surgeries. The fund aims to help Israeli entrepreneurs to enter the Indian market. Thus Israel has been assiduously lining itself up alongside India's nationalist BJP government in an unspoken-and politically dangerous –'anti Islamist' coalition, an unacknowledged alliance, while India itself has now become the largest weapons market for Israeli arms trade. in the coming years and beyond. India and Russia



should also try to align their respective Look East and Look West policies and encourage respective private sector companies to work with each other, in Central Asia, in untapped sectors like IT and renewable energy.

While defence, military and nuclear energy could be sectors of cooperation between India-Israel-Russia, it makes sense to increase trade amongst themselves, to edge against disruptive forces. Much of such trade and energy flow is likely via Indian Ocean, where India is an established maritime player. India has to find critical interests in just about every major multilateral regime and vital interests in several emerging regimes.

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