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- لغة المجلة هي اللغة العربية والانكليزية على أن يراعى الوضوح وسلامة النص.
- ترحب المجلة بنشر البحوث والدراسات السياسية النظرية والتطبيقية ولا سيما التي تجعل من قضايا المنطقة والعالم محط اهتمامها، ماضياً وحاضراً ومستقبلاً، وعلى وفق الآتي:
 1. أن لا يزيد عدد صفحات البحث أو الدراسة عن (15) صفحة مطبوعة بحجم خط (14) والتباعد (1,15) ونوع الخط Simplified Arabic تقدم عبر المنصة الاليكترونية للمجلة على الرابط :
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 2. أن تتصف البحوث والدراسات بالموضوعية والدقة العلمية.
 3. أن تعتمد الترتيم العشري للعناوين الأساسية والفرعية او التصنيف المعياري العام.
 4. يرفق مع كل بحث او دراسة ملخصين (احدهما باللغة العربية والآخر باللغة الانكليزية/ يتضمن اهداف البحث ، المنهج والمعالجة ، ابرز النتائج واهم الاستنتاجات والمقترحات) مع ضرورة مراعاة ان الملخص مختلف اختلافا جذريا عن المقدمة وليس تكرارا لها .
 5. تخضع جميع البحوث المقبولة للنشر الى نظام الاستلال الالكتروني في كلية العلوم السياسية -جامعة النهريين.
 6. يرفق مع كل بحث ودراسة سيرة ذاتية مختصرة للباحث وتعهده .
- تقوم المجلة بإخطار الباحثين بإجازة بحوثهم أو دراساتهم من عدمها بعد عرضها على محكمين تختارهم على نحو سري من بين أصحاب الاختصاص.

مجلة قضايا سياسية

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- يجوز للمجلة أن تطلب إجراء تعديلات شكلية أو شاملة على البحث أو الدراسة قبل إجازتها للنشر بما يتماشى مع أهدافها.
- البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن آراء أصحابها ، ولا تعبر عن رأي المجلة .
- ترحب المجلة بالمناقشات الموضوعية لما ينشر فيها أو في غيرها من الدوريات وبأية ردود فكرية أو تصويب، وكذلك ترحب بنشر التقارير عن المؤتمرات والندوات ذات العلاقة ومراجعات الكتب وملخصات الرسائل الجامعية التي تتم إجازتها على أن تكون من إعداد أصحابها.

توجه جميع المراسلات إلى هيئة التحرير على العنوان الآتي
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The Genocide Economy: Mechanisms of Transnational Corporate Support for the Israeli Government in the Gaza War [∇]

Dr. Dhahir Abdullah Alwa *

Prof. Dr. Emad Salah Al-Sheikh Dawood**

Abstract:

The Gaza War (2023–2025) has catalyzed a shift in the political economy of conflict, revealing a profound nexus between military operations and global capital. This study introduces the concept of the "Genocide Economy," where war functions as an investment system managed by transnational corporations (TNCs) that profit from destruction and conflict prolongation.

This research investigates the mechanisms through which TNCs provide economic, technological, and logistical support to the Netanyahu government during the Gaza conflict. It specifically analyzes how corporate involvement facilitates military campaigns and constitutes a form of collective economic support for genocide.

The study adopting a descriptive approach, the study defines the multifaceted roles of TNCs in managing war. A statistical approach is further utilized to analyze quantitative data regarding arms transfers, military technology investments, and supply chain interdependencies.

Also identifies a vast network of approximately 1,000 commercial entities — including tech giants, financial institutions, and arms manufacturers — that enable structural violations through AI-driven targeting, financial services, and energy supply. Findings suggest that the "privatization of genocide" allows corporations to use conflict zones as testing grounds for "combat-proven" products, creating economic incentives for the sustainability of violence.

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The research concludes that the structural integration of global capital and military policy necessitates urgent international accountability. Recommendations include activating national courts for corporate complicity, initiating divestment campaigns, and establishing global monitors for military supply chains.

Keywords: genocide economy, war on Gaza, transnational corporations

Introduction:

The Gaza War (2023–2025) represents a watershed moment in the history of the political economy of contemporary wars. It has demonstrated a close interconnection between wars and the global economy, through which a new pattern emerged that can be termed the "Genocide Economy." In this economy, war is transformed into an investment system managed by transnational corporations moving within a utilitarian system that benefits from the destruction and continuation of conflict, engaging in the reproduction of control via numerous channels and tools (military, technological, investment, and media).

Research Objective: The study aims to understand how corporations contribute to supporting the economy of the Netanyahu government during the war on Gaza, analyze the specific dimensions of this complicity, and conclude with simple recommendations as a humble contribution to those concerned.

Research Problem: The central question of the paper relates to *how* Transnational Corporations contribute to supporting Netanyahu economically during this war. From this inquiry, several sub-questions branch out:

- What are the transnational corporations and industrial sectors most supportive of the Netanyahu government, and what is the nature of their relationship with the state and the army in the occupying state?
- What are the precise operational channels for this support (Military, Financial, Technological, Media)?

Research Hypothesis: The paper proceeds from a hypothesis stating that "The profit system, experimentation, and armament of Transnational Corporations (the Utilitarian System) benefiting from the continuation of the conflict contributed to the management of the war with an economic logic (Genocide Economy) and prolonged its duration via technical, financial, and logistical support, alongside the security logic of the Netanyahu government."

Research Methodology: The nature of the subject required the adoption of the **Descriptive Approach** to study the case and define the nature of the roles of Transnational Corporations (economic, military, technological, media) in managing the war and its continuation. To comprehend the details of the subject, the **Statistical Approach** was utilized to collect quantitative data regarding arms transfers and investments.

Research Structure: To answer the main question and prove the validity of the hypothesis, the study is divided into two main axes:

- **The First Axis:** A conceptual determinant: The Genocide Economy and Transnational Corporations and their roles in collective genocide.
- **The Second Axis:** Touches upon the engineering of transnational corporate support for the Netanyahu government in the Gaza War.

First

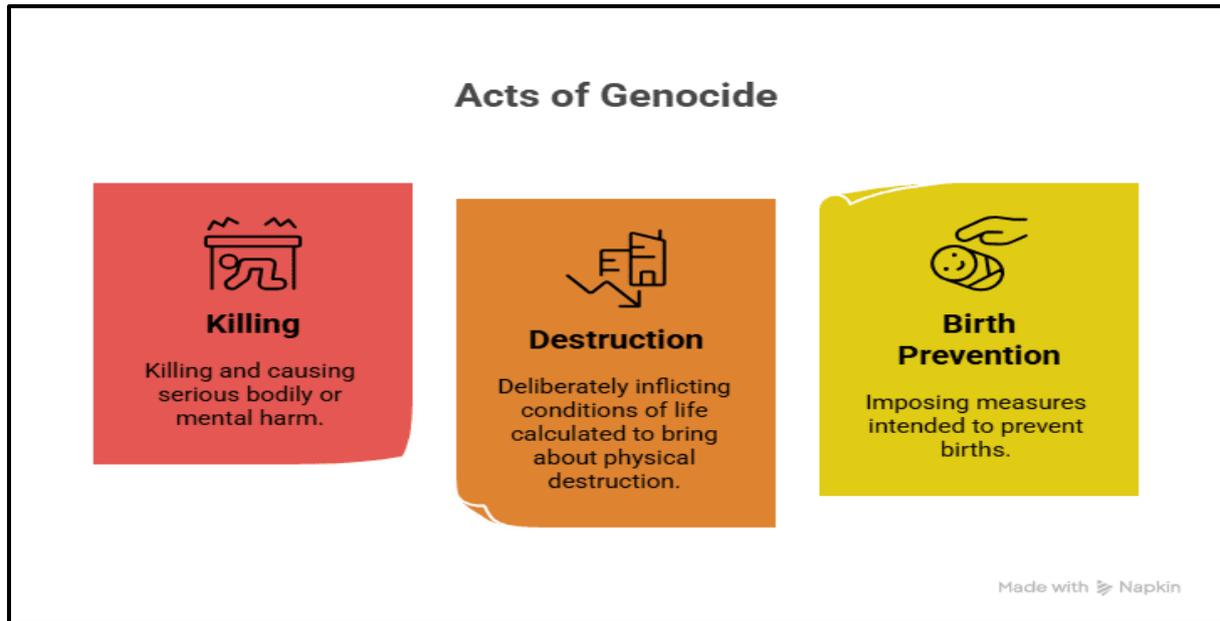
The Genocide Economy and Transnational Corporations: A Conceptual Determinant

With the aim of clarifying the points and proceeding with our study, we will address the conceptual determinants of the subject below.

1: Genocide:

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948 defined genocide in Article II as: "Acts committed with intent to destroy, in

whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group," including (Schabas, 2010).



And this has all appeared clearly in the Gaza War.

It is worth noting that the definition of genocide adopted by the Convention was initially drafted by (the Jewish lawyer) Raphael Lemkin; when he called for it to be made an international crime. However, the Convention does not cover most of what is termed "Cultural Genocide," which refers to the gradual destruction of a studied group through attacks against its social, cultural, or economic structures. It does not necessarily involve immediate physical harm but ends with undermining the conditions for the group's reproduction over the long term.

Furthermore, the concept of genocide (in its political economy dimension) in settler-colonial environments views the indigenous population as a "surplus population" that poses a continuous challenge to settler societies and their expansionist endeavors. The development of extractive industries, whether mining or industrial agriculture, creates "genocidal" conditions economically, where the "surplus population" is viewed as "value-less" economically, and obstacles to expansion by dominant political institutions, which generates incentives for genocide (Grewcock, 2018).

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This political and economic understanding of genocide can also help explain what is happening in Gaza. Since the First Intifada, Israel has made concerted efforts to replace Palestinian labor with immigrant labor in sectors such as construction and agriculture. This strategy created political and economic conditions conducive to genocide (Tzouvala, 2024).

As for the "Genocide Economy" we are addressing, it refers to the economic structure that utilizes market and profit tools to support acts of genocide via direct or indirect funding, or through complicity in the production of tools of killing and destruction. This concept evolved from the analysis of the colonial economy to a more complex description of relations with Transnational Corporations. It is not limited to providing traditional financial aid; rather, it is the integration of private capital into the engineering of systematic destruction. The most prominent mechanisms of this economy involve the systematic destruction of infrastructure, the seizure of resources, and the weaponization of starvation and blockade.

2: Transnational Corporations and their Roles in Genocide:

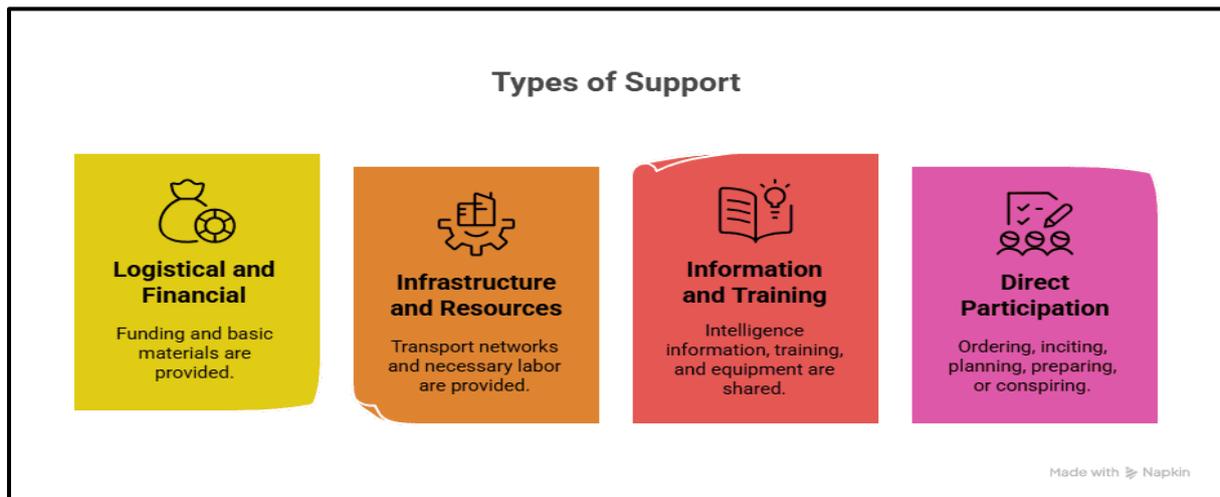
Here, a definition must be given for Transnational Corporations (TNCs) before discussing their roles in genocide. Transnational corporations are economic institutions operating in a group of countries subject to a single decision-making center settled in one country. They are defined as "an institution or large group, originating in a specific country, which has established several subsidiaries in numerous other countries, with a strategy and organization of global dimension" (Al-Sheikh Dawood, 2020, pp. 37-60). Their goals are summarized as profit, control over raw material areas, and seeking foreign markets for their products.

The roles of these Transnational Corporations in the Genocide Economy are highlighted through their direct and indirect contribution to genocide by investing in tools of destruction via the sale of weapons and military technology, and in exploiting the conflict for testing (such as using Gaza as a platform to prove the effectiveness of new weapons powered by Artificial Intelligence) (Stel, 2014).

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Corporate complicity in genocide often takes the form of "facilitation," meaning the provision of funding, materials, infrastructure, human resources, capabilities, and intelligence information to the perpetrator of genocide, which leads to their enablement or the aggravation of their crimes (Stel, 2014).

When corporations act as facilitators, they practically provide the means by which wars are fought.



As well as investment in reconstruction operations and the readiness to share huge contracts in the areas they destroyed (meaning the same companies that were complicit in the destruction came to take reconstruction contracts), as happened with (Dick Cheney) via Halliburton regarding Iraqi wealth.

According to what was mentioned previously, "self-interest is the main engine" for commercial business in all cases, including genocide and "war." Generally, war is a money-maker. Therefore, the motives for direct corporate involvement in genocide must be searched for in the realm of guaranteeing profit, preventing losses, maintaining a competitive advantage, and protecting investments and resource security (Englert & Bhattacharyya, 2024).

Second

The Engineering of Transnational Corporate Support for the Netanyahu Government

The core of this axis is what was focused on by the political report of Francesca Albanese (issued by the Human Rights Council regarding Transnational Corporations or Cross-Border Corporations in the Gaza War) (Albanese, 2025).

The subject of the role of these corporations in profiting from crises and wars is not new. Previous studies have addressed these negative roles; for example, a book published in 2020 by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies – Beirut, titled "The Role of Multinational Corporations in Arab Political Transformation." It placed under the spotlight the dangerous impact of multinational corporations, whether in the war on Iraq and its occupation in 2003, and their role described as hidden or influential in the aftermath of the confusion that followed the Arab Spring revolutions, particularly in the Libyan case, and how these corporations negatively affected Arab economies (Al-Sheikh Dawood, 2020, pp. 37-60).

Added to this, literature indicates that these corporations played negative roles in several historical contexts, including:

1_ Wars and Military Occupations: Where some corporations contributed to providing logistical and economic support that enhanced the continuation of conflicts.

2_ Political and Economic Transformations: They intervened in the economies of states during periods of political instability, leading to the weakening of local economic structures.

3_ International Political History: Where the activities of some corporations were linked to events of overthrowing regimes or weakening national governments in various regions of the world.

In this context, the war on Gaza can be viewed as an extension of the roles of these corporations in exploiting peoples and dominating their resources, whether through direct participation in the conflict or by profiting from post-reconstruction contracts.

Understanding the nature of the roles of Transnational Corporations in supporting the Netanyahu government requires understanding the nature of the occupying state's relationship with the United States. This serves as a prelude to understanding these roles in the Genocide Economy since the eighties of the last century: when capital was integrated (Israeli) with its American counterpart, which increased the ambiguity of the distinction between them. This process took multiple forms:

- 1: (Israel) was granted preferential access to the American market through a gradual Free Trade Agreement.
- 2: The United States encouraged (Israel) toward joint ventures. This was alongside the Oslo Accords, the economic basis for "peace dividends." The result of these operations was the interlinking that by the early 2000s, there were effectively 110 (Israeli) companies listed in New York, with a market value equivalent to double the value of the 665 companies listed in Tel Aviv.
- 3: The United States allowed (Israel) to specialize in American military technology. It is the only country in the world that was granted this right. A group of Israeli entrepreneurs emerged who laid the cornerstone for what is called the Start-Up Nation in (Israel). For example, the Magnum Research corporation transferred its military production to (Israel). Additionally, joint university research programs added a stamp of scientific legitimacy to technologies of repression, until Elbit Systems (the Israeli military industry giant) became the largest arms company in the occupying

state, and the twenty-eighth in terms of arms sales volume globally by 2019 (Hever, 2025).

Reference is made to the UN report issued in the 59th session held from June 16 to July 11, 2025, to the Human Rights Council concerning the human rights situation in Palestine and the occupied territories. It shows the transformation of the occupation's economy into a Genocide Economy supported by a network of corporations and investors. The report relied on a database comprising about 1000 commercial entities, collecting information from more than 200 contributors and surveys. The report reveals the vast network of interests linking the Israeli government and a wide group of local and international companies that support the occupation directly or via supply chains (Albanese, 2025).

The report highlights the responsibility of major companies and institutions, including arms manufacturing companies, technology companies, construction and development companies, extractive and service industries, banks, pension funds, insurance companies, universities, and charities. These entities enable the commission of structural violations, crimes of apartheid, and genocide, alongside attached crimes such as discrimination, forced displacement, and starvation (Marsi, 2025).

To shed light on the mechanism of complicity and economic support: In the field of Tourism, we find (Airbnb). In Real Estate, (Keller Williams). In E-commerce, (Amazon), which provides a logistical hub for distributing goods to settlements. In the field of Energy and Resources, (Chevron) supplied the occupation with coal, oil, and gas used in the siege of Gaza and the starvation of its inhabitants. In the field of Finance, (BlackRock) and (Vanguard) invested billions of dollars in Israeli treasury bonds (Foulkes, 2025).

In the Technology and Surveillance Sector, (Microsoft, Google, and Amazon) provided Artificial Intelligence systems such as "Lavender" and "Nimbus" to target Palestinians. They also provided cloud services (for information storage).

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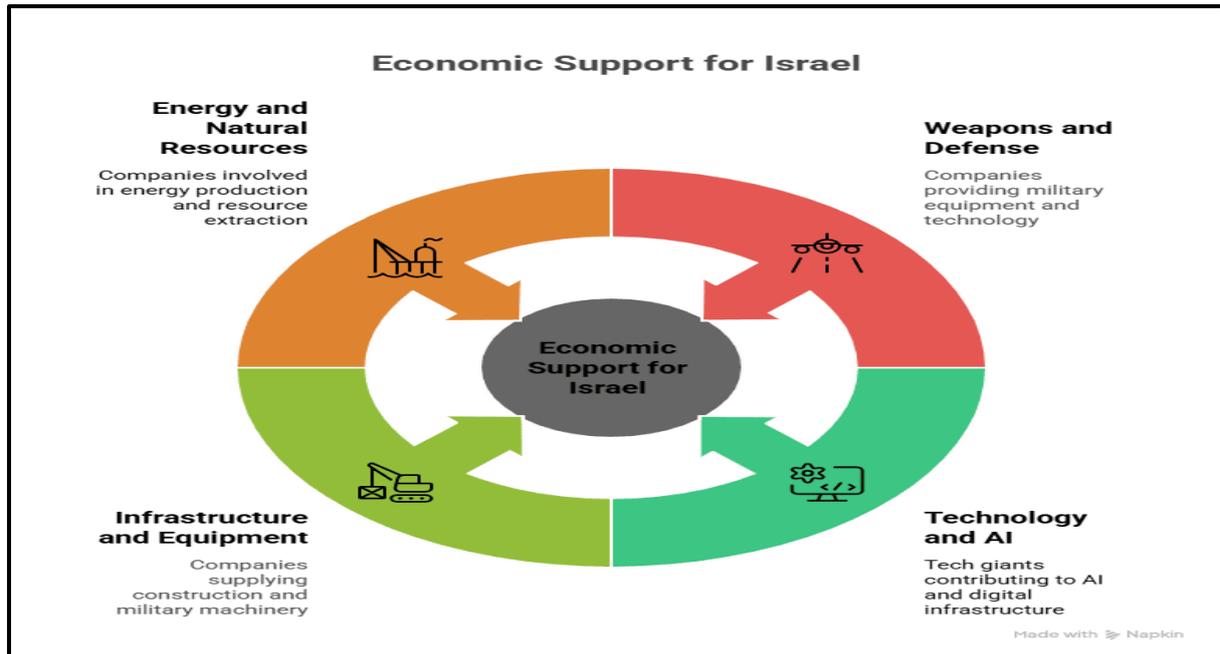
Additionally, the occupation used advanced machinery from (Hyundai, Volvo, Caterpillar) to demolish homes and infrastructure in Gaza and the West Bank (Odonovan, 2025).

In the Arms Sector, companies such as (Elbit and Lockheed Martin) supplied the Israeli occupation with "combat-proven" weapons in Gaza, including F-35 aircraft and cluster munitions. This was accompanied by support and funding from the US administration totaling no less than \$21.7 billion as military aid to Israel since the start of the war in Gaza on October 7, 2023, according to a report by the Costs of War project at (Brown University) and analyzed by the (Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft). The sum of \$21.7 billion was divided into several categories: \$8.1 billion in foreign military financing; \$725 million in foreign purchases; \$5 billion for missile defense systems; \$4.4 billion to replenish American stockpiles used by the occupying state; \$801 million to purchase ammunition; and \$198 million to enhance the production capacity of American weapons (Ibrahim, 2025).

Furthermore, leading and prestigious global universities participate with (Israeli) institutions in inflicting direct harm on Palestinians. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), research laboratories conduct research in the field of weapons and surveillance with funding from the (Israeli) Ministry of Defense. It is the only foreign military entity that funds research at MIT, having invested up to \$3.7 million in the institute as a means of funding various defense initiatives (Ropek, 2025). Similarly, the Technical University in Munich cooperates with (IBM Israel), which manages the discriminatory population registry—in cloud systems and Artificial Intelligence—with tens of millions of dollars (Al-Zubair, 2025).

In the sector of Energy Investment and Natural Resources, and to support the war effort of the Zionist entity, many companies contributed. Among them is

Chevron, in the operation of the Leviathan offshore gas field, which is a subject of dispute between the occupying state and neighboring countries.



As shown by a study on the costs of war at Brown University, between 2020 and 2024, five major companies received contracts worth \$2.4 trillion from the Pentagon. This represents nearly 54% of the total estimated expenditure for the Ministry, amounting to \$4.4 trillion during that period. These five companies—namely Lockheed Martin, Boeing, RTX (formerly Raytheon), General Dynamics, and Northrop Grumman—collectively obtained the sum of \$356 billion allocated for the budget of diplomacy, development, and US humanitarian aid (excluding military aid) during the same period. Added to the five major companies are a number of emerging military technology companies such as Palantir, SpaceX, and Anduril. These companies claim to offer a "new, more effective, less costly, and more flexible version of the military-industrial complex" (Ibrahim, 2025).

If we highlight the roles of these corporations in the genocide of the city and the genocide of the people of Gaza, we will find that all studies agree—including the Francesca report—on four main points:

The First Point: Lies in displacement via weapons and military technologies aimed at displacing Palestinians through the involvement of the military sector in the commerce of genocide, surveillance technologies, arrest, and location tracking. This is coupled with the prominent role of emerging companies in using the civilian sector in the service of colonial destruction (Albanese, 2025).

The Second Point: Relates to replacement, where companies contributed to destroying the life of the Palestinian people by inaugurating and establishing what replaces Palestinian lands and cities through the construction of settlements, infrastructure, extraction of materials, energy, and agricultural products, and trading in them, in addition to making settlements tourist destinations at the expense of human rights to housing and a dignified life (Li, 2021).

The Third Point: Relates to the fact that there are international enablers for the Genocide Economy practiced by the Netanyahu government. These international enablers are not just companies, but also legal research centers, consultancy institutions, media institutions, and advertising institutions to sustain the occupation (Jalloul, 2025).

The Fourth Point: Relates to the role of universities, as there are many universities in the West that contributed to legitimizing Zionist violations against the Palestinian people. Many law faculties, archeology departments, and Middle East studies contributed to supporting the ideological racism of the Zionist regime and developing narratives compatible with the claims of the occupying state and erasing Palestinian history (Al-Zubair, 2025).

Conclusion and Inferences

From the foregoing, it has become clearly evident that: *"The profit system, experimentation, and armament of Transnational Corporations (the Utilitarian System) benefiting from the continuation of the conflict contributed to the management of the war with an economic logic (Genocide Economy) and prolonged its duration via technical, financial, and logistical support, alongside the security logic of the Netanyahu government."* It crystallized clearly that the term "Genocide Economy" is not merely a theoretical concept, but an applied reality manifesting in its ugliest forms in the war on Gaza. These corporations contributed to the "privatization of genocide," where they provided the necessary tools to destroy the infrastructure and transform the population into a "human surplus" that can be easily disposed of. ,The research reached a set of conclusions :including

1. **Militarization of Technology and Data:** Technology giants are no longer mere providers of civilian services; they have transformed, via projects like "Nimbus" and AI technologies, into an inseparable part of the "politics of death" and a direct partner in the industry of genocide.
2. **Using Gaza as a Testing Field:** Gaza was adopted as an experimental field to market the products of Transnational Corporations. The military industries benefited from the war to transform Palestinian lands into a testing ground for these weapons to be marketed globally under the slogan "Combat Proven."
3. **Structural Integration between "Capital" and Policies of Death:** The continuation of the war for long periods would not have been possible without the funding of these Transnational Corporations, as this support compensates for the fragility of the local Israeli economy.

4. **Transformation of Research Centers and Academic Institutions:** From tools for building humanity and knowledge into tools contributing directly or indirectly to the politics of death.
5. **Blurring the Boundaries between "Civilian" and "Military":** As corporations with a civilian character, by supporting genocide, transitioned into a direct military actor.
6. **The War on Gaza Proved that Genocide is "Profitable":** For vast sectors of global capitalism, the rise in stock prices of companies in all their sectors, future reconstruction contracts, and sustainable investments, all create an economic incentive for the sustainability of the conflict and its renewal in the future, or the opening of other battlefronts.
7. **Lack of a Clear Legal Entity:** For these corporations, their clear legal status makes it easy for them to escape punishment, as these corporations operate in a legal gray zone which makes holding them accountable more complex.

Based on what has been presented, this study suggests the following:

First: The importance of activating **International Accountability**, strengthening the role of national courts regarding the role of individuals and executive directors of these corporations on charges of aiding and inciting war crimes and genocide.

Second: Forming strong **Boycott Campaigns** and withdrawing investments from corporations involved, considering it an economically and morally effective pressure.

Third: Arab and Islamic states should adopt **Immediate Sanctions** against corporations listed by human rights committees as complicit directly in military operations.

Fourth: Obliging **Sovereign Wealth Funds** and pension funds to apply blacklists prohibiting investment in corporations profiting from the conflict,

particularly investment with BlackRock, as preventing exposure to the interests of these corporations leads to economic disruption.

Fifth: Establishing a **Permanent Global Monitor** to document and analyze supply chains and military contracts linking Transnational Corporations to the conflict and providing data for legal accountability.

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