

cases are not anomalies, but part of a broader imperialist pattern in which the rhetoric of relief is deployed to subjugate populations and control their survival.

The eighth article, by Salma Hamza, investigates the role of Israel's security and military industries in supporting the Argentine dictatorship during the Cold War. The study uncovers how Israel emerged as Argentina's primary arms supplier between 1976 and 1983, circumventing U.S. and European embargoes while exporting technologies of repression rooted in its colonial experience in Palestine.

The ninth article, by Manal Allan, analyzes the deepening security and defense ties between India and Israel, with particular emphasis on the institutional frameworks of military cooperation amid escalating regional confrontations. Allan shows how both states invoke the rhetoric of "counterterrorism" to justify pre-emptive strikes and to advance joint research and technology projects—especially in drones and co-production. The article notes that India has become the largest importer of Israeli arms, while simultaneously seeking to align this partnership with its "Made in India" strategy.

In the archives section, we present two texts that illuminate the early debates on Zionism at the end of the nineteenth century, particularly in the context of the First Zionist Congress of 1897. The first, *Maushel* by Theodor Herzl, draws a stark line between the "true Jew," who embraces Zionism, and the "Maushel," who rejects it—depicting the latter as a degenerate and alien figure to be isolated and confronted. In sharp contrast, the second essay, Karl Kraus's *A Crown for Zion*, delivers a biting critique of the Zionist project, casting it as a form of "Jewish anti-Semitism" and serving as a direct rejoinder to Herzl's thesis. Read together, these two texts reveal the profound intellectual rift within European Jewry between advocates and opponents of the Zionist call at its very inception.

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Qadaya Israelya

a deep structural crisis that touches the very identity of the state. It situates the issue within the broader internal conflict between constitutional-liberal forces, on the one hand, and the ascendant religious-populist right, on the other. Combining demographic and economic analysis of the Haredi community with a historical account of judicial and legislative interventions, the article gives special attention to the pivotal moment in 2024, when the Supreme Court imposed conscription on the Haredim and suspended state funding for religious schools.

The third article is a translation of a text co-authored by Neve Gordon, Guy Shalev, and Osama Tannous, which exposes the complicity of Israel's medical system in the war on Gaza—whether through silence or direct involvement in practices of torture, medical negligence, and the denial of treatment to Palestinian prisoners.

The fourth article is a modified translation of a study by Nadim Kirkabi, which examines Israel's assimilation policies through a tripartite framework: Ashkenazim as settlers, Palestinians as natives, and Mizrahim as the constructed middle category. The article's originality lies in showing how Mizrahim have been instrumentalized to advance Jewish demographic dominance, while simultaneously fostering an image of "settler indeginy" that lends legitimacy to the settler project. At the same time, it highlights the structural impossibility of assimilating the Palestinians of 1948 into Israel's socio-cultural and political fabric, where religious affiliation functions as the ultimate barrier. The analysis also examines miscegenation and religion conversion as selective and highly regulated channels for Palestinian assimilation. This contribution speaks directly to scholarship on settler colonialism, identity politics, and ethno-religious relations.

The fifth article, by Abdel Hadi Al-Azzazi, explores the dominance of Israeli algorithms and the ways western consciousness is shaped through search engines, communication platforms, and AI to reinforce the Zionist narrative. The study traces the shift from traditional propaganda to a digital environment that systematically excludes the Palestinian perspective by labeling it as "incitement." Particular attention is given to organized campaigns aimed at silencing pro-Palestinian activists, journalists, and critics of the genocidal war.

The sixth article, by Walid Habbas, investigates the lethal role of AI in Israel's war on Gaza, showing how so-called "smart" systems are transformed into automated genocidal mechanisms that generate mass killings without meaningful human oversight. The article's originality lies in deploying philosophical and critical concepts—such as "machine bias," "scenario realization," "misplaced concreteness," and "epistemic opacity"—to expose the genocidal logic embedded within algorithmic warfare. It also underscores the incapacity of international law to hold this new mode of violence accountable.

The seventh article, by Hind Shraydeh, examines the militarization of humanitarian action in Gaza through two central cases: the US floating pier (2024) and the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation (2025). Drawing on the frameworks of "famine engineering" and the literature on "neo-humanitarianism," the study demonstrates how humanitarian aid has been transformed into a tool of siege and extermination. Distribution centers, rather than serving as spaces of relief, become "death traps" and mechanisms of displacement. Shraydeh argues that these

Introduction

The current issue of *Qadaya Israelya* is released as a double volume, combining Issue 98 (Summer 2025) and Issue 99 (Fall 2025). It arrives in the final quarter of the year, a period marked by intersecting local and regional political shifts that raise profound questions about the fate of the Palestinian cause and the very essence of Palestinian existence. The accelerating events remain ambiguous: new rounds of international recognition of the State of Palestine unfold alongside intensified Israeli moves to entrench “Jewish sovereignty” over the West Bank or parts of it; threats and projects to transfer Gaza’s population evoke the darkest memories of the Nakba; and an ongoing destructive war—widely described in scholarship as a genocide—reshapes the region amid new alliances, conflicts, fast-tracked normalization processes, and renewed forms of international intervention.

In this moment, certainty is absent and the boundaries between what is established and what remains under negotiation blur into one another. Conflicts are intensifying between an Israeli narrative determined to impose “facts on the ground” through force, and a Palestinian narrative anchored in rights, memory, and the will to endure. Internationally, the Palestinian narrative is gaining an accumulated presence, making global power balances and international relations increasingly dependent on the trajectory of these unfolding dynamics.

This issue of *Qadaya Israelya* does not aim to provide ready-made answers, but to open critical spaces that interrogate the drivers of current developments and the possibilities of their outcomes. As we write this Introduction, events are still unfolding, decisions have yet to crystallize, and discourses remain open to sudden shifts. Against this backdrop, the contributions in this issue are organized around interconnected themes: dismantling the policies of settlement control; tracing the evolving trajectories of international law; and analyzing the controversy over Jewish identity at a time when Jewish “theology” is being forcefully reasserted. The issue also includes translations, book reviews, and other research contributions.

The issue opens with a translated article by Dirk Moses that examines Israel’s alleged genocide in Gaza through a historical-legal lens, linking today’s debates to those that emerged during the Vietnam War (ended in 1973) over the very “diagnosis” of genocide. The text demonstrates how the Vietnamese case shaped the legal framework that later required proof of “*dolus specialis*” (i.e. clear intent) to exterminate—a requirement that complicates the characterization of Israeli violence in Gaza as genocide. What is particularly innovative in this article is its analysis of the overlap between the military and genocidal logics of Israeli politics, and its use of earlier debates to expose both the limits of international law and its embedded colonial structures. This contribution provides valuable insights for scholars of genocide studies and international law, especially in the context of the ongoing war on Gaza.

The second article, by Walid Habbas and Shireen Younis, examines the controversy over military service exemptions for students in Israel’s Haredi yeshivot, tracing the evolving tensions between the Supreme Court and successive governments from the 1970s through 2025. The novelty of this study lies in showing how a limited administrative exception has evolved into