Who is arming Israel?

A briefing review of UK, US and other arms suppliers to Israel

Action on Armed Violence (AOAV)
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Introduction

This report exposes the extent of military support provided by the United Kingdom and United States and other states to Israel, despite ongoing allegations of war crimes committed by the Israeli armed forces. Even in the face of such allegations, the flow of military hardware and support to Israel has not waned, with potential arms deals since the 7th October 2023 exceeding $23 billion from the US alone, the details of much of which remains undisclosed. This report underlines the necessity to enhance transparency in arms exports to Israel as a matter of public interest, particularly given these weapons are implicated in civilian harm. The report also analyses varying global approaches to arms control policies to Israel. Assessing discrepancies between public government statements and actual practice, the report sheds light on the ethical and legal controversies surrounding these arms sales, including recent legal challenges in arms export policies. This investigation also reveals a significant increase in profits and share prices for arms manufacturers, with an exclusive assessment of individual wealth accumulation credited in part to increased share prices following the 7th October attacks.

Key Findings

- The Biden administration has sanctioned over $23 billion in military aid to Israel since the 7th October, with over 100 foreign military sales.
- Despite the UK government having previously asserted they have not supplied lethal aid to Israel since 7th October, UK firms like BAE Systems continue to supply military components for Israeli fighter jets.
- German arms exports to Israel saw a tenfold increase in 2023, reaching €326.5 million.
- Range of legal challenges have emerged in various jurisdictions, including the Hague Court of Appeal suspending transfers of F-35 related equipment from the Netherlands to Israel.
- Arms manufacturers, especially from the US and UK, are reporting record earnings.
- Quarter 1 of 2024 witnessed a surge in the selling of personal shares by a number of executives of the largest arms manufacturers currently selling weapons to Israel.
  - Raytheon RTX witnessed a significantly high value of executive sales of personal shares during Q1 of 2024. Q1 of 2024 saw $3.45 million worth of sales made by executives, compared to just $357k for the whole of 2023.
  - Lockheed Martin saw a surge in the value of executive sales of personal shares in Q1 of 2024. Q1 of 2024 saw $7.25 million sales made by executives compared to $2.38 million for the whole of 2023.
  - BAE Systems also witnessed a significantly higher value of executive sales of personal shares during Q1 of 2024, as a result of CEO Charles Woodburn’s sale. Q1 of 2024 saw a value of £4.16 million shares sold compared to just £217k for the whole of 2023.
  - General Dynamics saw its highest value of executive share sales in one financial quarter in Q1 of 2024 since the beginning of 2021, with $28 million worth of shares sold by executives, more than the whole of 2023 combined.
  - L3Harris Technologies witnessed around $10 million worth of shares sold by insiders, compared to $3,631,000 for the whole of 2023.
Context

In the six months following Hamas’ attack on Israel, the population of the Gaza Strip has suffered a severe humanitarian crisis, marked by rampant disease, acute food shortages accredited by the UN to Israel blocking food convoys, public health crisis caused by the cutting off of water and electricity in Gaza by Israel, and a staggering death toll that includes a significant number of children killed and many maimed in Israeli strikes among the Palestinian population. The Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) has classified North Gaza and Gaza Governorates as Class 5 (Famine), describing the situation as ‘man-made starvation’.

Amidst the violence and suffering, Israel finds itself internally fractured, grappling with the ramifications of its military response, a strategy that has led to a rare fissure in its relations with the United States, traditionally its staunchest ally.

At the time of writing in April 2024, over 33,000 Palestinians have been killed in Israeli attacks and more than 1,200 Israelis have been killed by Hamas. The Israeli Defence Force (IDF) disputes the Hamas-run Gazan Health Ministry’s data, saying many of the dead are militants, but the numbers of civilians killed is universally seen to be extremely high. An AOAV analysis of the Ministry’s published data found that “analysis of the fatalities data in the current war provides no reason to doubt the MoH” and that the analysis “points towards the deaths being heavily civilian”.

The overall violence has also rekindled tensions across the broader Middle East. Iran’s threats of revenge following the assassination of a high-ranking general in Syria, coupled with ongoing confrontations with Hezbollah, signal the potential for an escalation into a full-scale regional conflict. Of note, English-language media has reported some 234 civilian casualties from Israeli strikes in Lebanon since October 7th, with 90 of those civilians harmed, killed.

International scrutiny has intensified, with allegations of war crimes committed by both Israel and Hamas under investigation by the International Criminal Court. In January 2024, South Africa filed a case to the International Court of Justice, alleging that Israel is committing genocide against the people of Palestine. The ICJ found there was a “plausible risk of genocide”. Israel has rejected all such accusations.

The international community’s reaction, particularly following the killing of international aid workers by the Israeli army on the 1st April 2024, has put additional pressure on Israel, isolating it further on the global stage.

And, amidst all the political wranglings and the terrible burden of suffering that afflicts civilians in the region, one question persists: who is arming Israel?

Answering that question is the central purpose of this report.

Dr Iain Overton  
Executive Director  
AOAV  
London, 12 April 2024

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Methodology
This report's investigation into UK and US defence policies was carried out through a systematic review of diverse sources. The methodology incorporated an analysis of media reports, data from open-source intelligence, official pronouncements from government bodies, and findings from prominent research institutions, including the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

Additionally, specialist organisations focusing on the global arms trade, such as the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Forum on the Arms Trade, and Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), provided essential data. While acknowledging that export licensing details are often withheld from public disclosure, this study has integrated information unveiled through recent judicial actions initiated by civil society organisations to bridge information gaps. For the assessment of individual financial gains, this research scrutinised publicly accessible records detailing trading activities of corporate insiders.

Verification of these records involved cross-referencing reported transactions with independent news outlets and official company disclosures to ensure reliability. Extracted data included transaction dates, identities and roles of the individuals involved, transaction types (purchase/sale), volume of shares traded, transaction-specific share prices, and the total value realised from these trades. Historical share price data were retrieved from reputable financial tracking services, including Yahoo Finance, facilitating the analysis of financial trends subsequent to October 6th.

Calculations of specific interest encompassed the comparative increase in share prices from October 6th to the transaction dates and the financial differential resulting from these variances. AOAV has published extensive reports on the dissemination of precursor materials for Improvised Explosive Devices and other weaponry systems used by Hamas. Those reports can be found on www.aoav.org.uk and are, as such, not the focus of this piece of work.

All companies noted in this report were approached for comment. None replied.

Legal Disclaimer
The information presented in this report, including data, analysis, and conclusions, is based on a thorough and comprehensive investigation conducted by Action on Armed Violence. The findings and views expressed herein are intended to contribute to the public understanding and discussion of the complex issue of arms exports to Israel, particularly in the context of the ongoing conflict in the region. While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the information contained in this report, the nature of the subject matter and the reliance on publicly available data, as well as information obtained from various sources that are deemed reliable, mean that we cannot guarantee the absolute correctness of every detail presented.

The dynamic and evolving nature of international arms trade and geopolitical relations also means that some information may become outdated or subject to reinterpretation in light of new evidence or developments. The opacity of the arms trade means that errors can be made albeit in good faith. The interpretations and opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and contributors and do not necessarily reflect the views of any government, organisation, or entity referenced herein.

Inclusion in this report of information regarding specific companies, governments, or individuals does not imply wrongdoing or legal culpability on their part; rather, it is meant to shed light on the intricacies of arms exports to Israel within the broader context of international law, ethics, and the pursuit of
peace and security. This report is intended for informational purposes only and should not be construed as legal advice or a definitive statement on the legality or morality of arms exports to Israel or any other country.

Readers are encouraged to consult original sources and conduct their own research to form their own informed opinions on the matters discussed. We welcome constructive feedback and dialogue from all stakeholders, including governments, industry representatives, civil society organisations, and the public, to enhance the quality and impact of our research and to contribute to a more informed and nuanced discussion on the subject of arms exports and their implications for global peace, security, and human rights.
UK Exports to Israel

- UK manufacturers, like BAE Systems, continue to supply arms to Israel, including components for F-15, F-16, and F-35 fighter jets.
- There are 28 existing and 28 pending licences for military equipment from the UK that may be used by Israel in Gaza.
- The UK government declined AOAV’s request for information on arms export licences since October 7th, citing exemptions under the Freedom of Information Act.
- The UK government’s claims of “very minor” arms exports to Israel are contradicted by the nature of the exports, whereby the UK’s arms manufacturers have had a hand in 15% of every F35 that Israel has received since 2016, worth at least £368 million.
- Over £448 million worth of arms have been licenced by the UK government to Israel since 2015 in single licences.
- The actual size of the market is unclear, due to the use of open licences, including for F-35 components.
- Data for export licences since the 7th October will not be made public until July 2024. AOAV’s request for this data under FOI was refused.
- The UK government clarified that their claim of not supplying lethal weapons since October 7th referred only to government direct exports, not private manufacturers.

UK context
On the 9th April, 2024, the UK Foreign Secretary, David Cameron, stated that the UK will not suspend arms to Israel after “reviewing the latest legal advice.” Cameron asserted that continuing the transfer of arms to Israel put the UK in line with “other like minded countries”.

“We don’t publish legal advice, we don’t comment on legal advice but we act in a way that is consistent with it, we’re a government under the law and that’s as it should be” Cameron claimed.

This follows a statement made by the UK Deputy Prime Minister on the 7th April 2024, who told the BBC that selling arms to Israel remains lawful, despite raised concerns UK arms might be fuelling the human rights violations catalogued in the massive bombardment of Gaza.

"The key thing is, 'is it legitimate, can we lawfully sell arms to Israel?' and yes, that is the case and on that basis... that position has not changed," Oliver Dowden said, in light of recent calls for a halt on UK arms sales following the tragic deaths of seven aid workers in Gaza in an Israeli air strike.

Labour’s, the main opposition party, response has reflected a growing pressing concern for legal compliance in line with international humanitarian law. Shadow Foreign Secretary David Lammy has called for greater transparency, stating, "It's hugely important that the UK is not complicit in a breach of international law," emphasising the importance of scrutinising the legal advice received by the government.

The call for the publication of this legal advice, reminiscent of the demands made during the Iraq War, is a testament to the public's demand for transparency and accountability. Baroness Amos has echoed this sentiment, stressing the need for openness: "The public want to see the legal advice because they have lost trust in the government and what the government is saying."

The ethical dimensions of the UK’s arms sales are brought to the forefront by Lord Mark Sedwill's remarks, "Even if it's lawful, is it right to continue these arms sales?" This question encapsulates the broader concerns about the implications of the UK’s military support and its potential influence over Israel's conduct.
UK government’s position
As the UK grapples with its position and responsibilities on the international stage, the Deputy Prime Minister’s assertion that the nation will “act in accordance with our obligations under law in respect of arms sales” needs to be explicitly examined and critiqued.

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak has said the UK has a “very careful export licensing regime” and said Israel must “act in accordance with international humanitarian law”.

This report calls into question the validity and accuracy of such claims. It hopes to inform the UK government, which is preparing an assessment that will advise on the risk of Israel breaching international law in its actions from early 2024.

Pushback
In early April 2024, more than 600 legal figures, including former Supreme Court Justices Lady Hale, Lord Sumption, and Lord Wilson, collectively wrote to the UK government against its continued arms sales to Israel, arguing the worsening situation in Gaza and the International Court of Justice’s conclusion that there was a “plausible risk of genocide” obliged to UK to suspend arms sales to the country. In their correspondence, these legal experts, among them over 60 King’s Counsels (KCs), highlighted the UK’s legal duty to prevent genocide, referencing the International Court of Justice’s findings. They called for a halt to arms exports to Israel and restoration of funding to The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNWRA) to ensure humanitarian aid to Gazans.

Notably, the letter, backed by former appeal court judges like Sir Stephen Sedley and legal luminaries such as Matthias Kelly KC, criticised the UK government’s stance as falling short of its international obligations. They urged the government to reassess its arms export licences to Israel, suggesting their revocation should Israel be determined to have violated international law during its operations in Gaza.

So what arms are the UK sending to Israel?
The debate over whether the UK should be arming Israel is further complicated by the fact that, over the years, UK arms export control policies have been repeatedly and heavily criticised both for their lack of transparency and their lack of response to human rights concerns. Such opacity has given rise to misreporting and a lack of clear understanding of what arms the UK exports to Israel both directly and indirectly.

Of note, the UK government refused to tell AOAV what arms export licences it had issued since October 7th, when asked to do so following a Freedom of Information request. The Department of Business and Trade (DBT) stated in its refusal: “I can confirm that the DBT holds the information that you have requested. However, this information is exempt from disclosure by virtue of section 22 (information intended for future publication), section 36(2)(c) (4) (prejudice to the effective conduct of public affairs), and section 44 (prohibitions on disclosure) of the Act.”

The UK government has previously asserted that “the UK has provided no lethal or military equipment other than medical supplies to Israel” since the 7th October. However, in a closed meeting with civil society members on the 19th March 2024, UK government officials said they had meant the “UK government” rather than the UK. This clarified position was updated on the UK parliament’s ‘Written questions, answers and statements’ section, with the wording changing from: “Since 7 October 2023, the UK has provided no lethal or military equipment other than medical supplies to Israel” to “Since 7 October 2023, the UK Government has provided no lethal or military equipment other than medical supplies to Israel.”
To be clear, then, the UK government (as of 12 April 2024) does not claim to be directly supplying Israel with weapons but appears to be still granting export licences for British companies to sell arms to the country.

It is also clear the UK government wants to underplay the impact any UK arms might have on Gazan civilians. During that meeting with civil society, representatives of the Export Control Joint Unit (ECJU), the organisation that administers the UK’s system of export control for military and dual-use items, said that UK government approved arms exports to Israel are “very minor”. Business Minister Greg Hands had previously told MPs the figure for 2022 - £42m - represented 0.02% of Israel’s military imports that year. Whilst UK Secretary of State for Defence, Grant Shapps also stated in November 2023 that UK “defence exports to Israel are relatively small”.

However, despite claims of the exports being ‘relatively small’, between May 2015 and August 2022, the UK government licenced over £448 million worth of arms to Israel, including varying licences for aircrafts, missiles and a number of other lethal military technologies.

This includes, according to the Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT):

- £183 million worth of ML22 licences (military technology)
- £117 million worth of ML10 licences (aircraft, helicopters, drones)
- £22 million worth of ML4 licences (grenades, bombs, missiles, countermeasures)
- £4.6 million worth of ML6 licences (armoured vehicles, tanks)
- £1.9 million worth of ML3 licences (ammunition)
- £1.1 million worth of ML1 licences (small arms)

Either in addition or as part of the above (again, it is unclear), the UK government has reportedly approved 88 open licences, which lack a specified total value, permitting unlimited quantities and value of arms exports. Among the items that could be included under these licences are parts for the F35 stealth combat aircraft, body armour, military-grade communications and electronic devices, as well as parts for military radars, targeting systems, and components for naval vessels.

Further, following a legal challenge brought by Al-Haq, a Palestinian non-governmental human rights organisation based in Ramallah, West Bank, it was revealed there are 28 existing UK licences and 28 further pending applications for military equipment that could be used by the Israeli forces in Gaza. It is not known who holds these licences or if they are in addition to the above approvals.

Opacity clearly reigns. In March 2024, the UK government refused to comment on whether Israel had bombed a medical compound in the Gaza Strip housing British doctors from Medical Aid for Palestinians (MAP) using F-16 jets produced at least in part with UK-supplied components.

Has the UK banned arms exports to Israel in the past?

Precedent, however, might show a path forward in terms of banning UK arms exports. Of note, the UK government previously refused to export weapons components to Israel in 2011 and 2012 over concerns that Israel did not adhere to international humanitarian law or respecting human rights.

Between 2017 and summer 2023, some 28 licence applications for exports to Israel were also either rejected or refused. In a specific instance, a request to export spectrometers - devices designed for analysing chemical compositions - was denied due to concerns over a possible association with "WMD" - shorthand for weapons of mass destruction. Additionally, during the same timeframe, three licences for visual imagery technology, referred to as focal plane arrays, were also rescinded.
Such denials have to be seen within the UK’s own international commitment. The UK is a signatory of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). The ATT aims to create common international standards for regulating the international trade in conventional arms, in order to contribute to international peace, security and stability and to reduce human suffering. Before authorising exports of certain arms or items, exporting states must objectively assess, under their national controls, the potential for these exports to affect peace and security or to be used in serious human rights violations, refusing export if risks outweigh benefits.

States such as the UK, supplying weapons to Israel may, then, be in breach Article 6 of the ATT and risk complicity in genocide and serious international law violations, with such arms transfers also violating ATT’s Article 7 by contributing to breaches of humanitarian and human rights law, including gender-based and violence against women and children.

In addition, the UK is a signatory to the November 2022 Dublin Political Declaration on Explosive Weapons in Populated Areas (EWIPA). That declaration laid out the UK’s commitment to avoid the use of explosive weapons in densely-populated civilian areas such as cities and towns. Israel’s conduct and the UK’s subsequent continued transfer of arms might bring the integrity of their commitment into question.

**Populated areas under attack**

Certainly populated areas are being impacted. The Gaza Strip has a population density of near 14,000 people per square mile, roughly the same as London. United Nations Satellite Centre Data has revealed that 35% of the buildings in the Gaza Strip have been destroyed or damaged by Israel’s assault. An estimated 1.9 million people, nearly 85% of the population of Gaza have become internally displaced, as a result of evacuation orders by the Government of Israel to ‘safe zones’.

The UNRWA has reported that nearly 1.72 million of these IDPs were registered in severely overcrowded facilities of the UNRWA, whilst the rest took shelter in public infrastructure, including schools, hospitals and community shelters. Euro-Med Monitor has documented several cases whereby Israel has targeted shelter centres with aerial bombardment, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of civilians and the injury of many more, including the bombing of Al-Fakhoura School.

In an assessment released on the 4th April 2024, Human Rights Watch (HRW) claimed that Israel’s strike on a residential building on 31st October 2023 that killed 106 people in the Gaza Strip including 54 children constitutes a war crime. HRW’s investigation found no evidence of any military targets in the vicinity of the building at the time of the attack, thereby making the strike “unlawfully indiscriminate under the laws of war”. Israeli authorities have provided no justification for the attack. Also, in December 2023, it was reported that up to 50% of all munitions dropped on Gaza were unguided, something that Marc Garlasco, former UN war crimes investigator, has argued undermines Israel’s claim of minimising civilian harm.

Given these facts, it is in the interest of the British public for a thorough explanation to be provided from the UK government as to why the bombardment of these areas sheltering civilians, potentially using British-made components, has not crossed a red-line for the UK’s commitments within both the ATT and the Dublin Declaration.

The UK’s slowness to assert an arms control approach that prioritises civilian protection in the Gaza Strip stands in stark contrast to its swift suspension of future funding to the UNRWA in January 2024, following Israel’s accusation that 12 UNRWA staff collaborated with Hamas in the 7th October attacks. In March 2024, the UN reported that Israel had yet to provide evidence to back up these claims. Despite this, the UK government announced in January that the UK will “temporarily (pause) any future funding of the UNRWA while we review these concerning allegations”.


Perhaps in light of all of this, employees at the UK Department of Business and Trade, who oversee arms exports to Israel, are reportedly considering a walkout due to concerns about their legal liability, according to a PA news agency report.

**British suppliers and international manufacturers based in the UK linked to arms exports to Israel**

This report will now turn to what specific companies are linked to arms exports to Israel. Their inclusion does not indicate any illegality; rather they are included to highlight which companies are arming the Israeli state in light of the above concerns.

**BAE Systems**

The UK’s leading arms manufacturer, BAE Systems, is involved in the production and maintenance of the Israeli Air Force (AIF) fleet of F-15, F-16 and F-35 fighter jets, as part of a joint venture programme with other arms manufacturers. Britain supplies around 15 percent of the F-35 fighter aircraft, which is built in the US by Lockheed Martin. The Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) estimates that, given Britain’s share of the programme, the value of UK parts in the F-35s delivered to Israel has been worth £336m since 2016. Online postings by the Israeli army show F-35s in the bombing of targets in Gaza City and elsewhere along the strip.

A significant portion of the military hardware supplied to Israel by BAE Systems is financed through the US Foreign Military Financing program. Partnerships with Israeli defence firms have further enhanced BAE’s role in upgrading and supplying advanced military technology, including for naval and artillery systems. The American Friends Service Committee has outlined that not only has BAE Systems collaborated with US manufacturers Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman in the development of the tail of the F-35 fighter jet used in Israel’s indiscriminate bombardment of the Gaza Strip, it also provided the AIF with electronic missile-launching kits for the F-16 aircraft. (Of note, the UK subsidiary of Italy’s Leonardo makes the “advanced targeting laser” for the F-35 at a site in Edinburgh).

When questioned why the current licences for UK manufacturers to produce components for the F-35 are yet to be revoked, the representatives of the ECJU asserted that ‘Israel export licences are under constant review and considered on a case-by-case basis’ (Civil Society Participants, 2024).

BAE Systems has, since 2005, been the manufacturer of the M109-52 howitzer, a 155mm mobile artillery system. In 2023, it was reported the Israeli military was using the M109A5 Self-Propelled Howitzers along the Gaza Strip, though the age of these M109A5s is unknown.

BAE Systems, which constructs the rear fuselage section of the F-35 jets at its factory in Samlesbury, Lancashire, told the Financial Times it has “no operations or employees in Israel or Gaza, nor do we sell military equipment directly to Israel”.

**Elbit Systems**

The Israeli company Elbit’s involvement in the United Kingdom dates back to 1995 with the acquisition of ’Alvis UAV Engines Limited’ from Alvis plc. This company, established in 1992 by engineer David Garside, specialised in developing Wankel engines for Unmanned Air Vehicles (UAVs). This acquisition marked the beginning of Elbit becoming a leading global UAV Engine supplier. The expansion continued with the establishment of ‘Elbit Systems UK Ltd.’ on September 24, 2004, serving as a holding entity for Elbit’s UK operations.

This move followed Elbit and the Thales Group winning a tender, known as the “Watchkeeper program,” to supply the British Army with unmanned aerial vehicles, which included a mandate to
create a local manufacturing base. By the end of 2005, Elbit and Thales formed a joint venture, UAV Tactical Systems Ltd (U-TacS), in Leicester, producing the Watchkeeper WK450 and establishing a flight testing facility in ParcAberporth, Wales.

Today, Elbit Systems supplies 85% of Israel’s drones and land-based military equipment and has lauded its Hermes 450 drones used in Israeli strikes in Gaza as “the backbone of the Israeli Defence Forces”.

The UK government also issued a new contract to Elbit Systems on the 15th January 2024 worth £25,000 for training to be delivered to American, Lithuanian and NATO military personnel. Among Elbit’s UK subsidiaries is UAV Tactical Systems Ltd (U-TacS), which has seen collaboration with the UK government on UAV technology since at least 2005, under a deal initially valued at over £1 billion aimed at developing the Watchtower drone project. The Ministry of Defence (MoD) contracted U-TacS, a joint venture between Thales UK and Elbit Systems UK, for this development. U-TacS remains under the ownership of these two companies.

Another subsidiary, Instro Precision Ltd, manufactures targeting equipment for troops and vehicles, holding export licences to Israel. This gear is presumably utilised in Israel’s ground operations. Additionally, Elite KL Ltd, another part of Elbit’s network, is reportedly linked to producing military-grade components critical to the assembly of Israel’s Merkava tanks.

Elbit Systems has noted that the October 7th attacks and the Israeli bombardment of the Gaza Strip have led to increased demand for their products in addition to a closer relationship with the Israeli Ministry of Defence. Recent protests outside their factories have reportedly culminated in the 2024 forced sale of the ‘Elite KL’ factory in Tamworth.

Lockheed Martin
Lockheed Martin has been implicated in a number of weapons used in the Gazan conflicts. The MLRS M270 rocket launcher, produced by a consortium including Lockheed Martin (alongside Diehl BGT Defence, Krauss-Maffei Wegmann and Aérospatiale-Matra) has been reportedly and recently deployed by the Israeli army in Gaza. Lockheed Martin is also the lead contractor for the F-35 stealth bombers, with several key components being manufactured in the UK.

It is not known what specific role the UK arm of Lockheed Martin produces in relation to these two weapon systems. Their Ampthill-based facility employs 550 workers and “the facility’s skills and expertise support a range of capabilities, including air-land integration, battlespace management, ground-based air defense and weapons safety, integration and support”.

J.C. Bamford Excavators Limited (JCB)
In 2021, Amnesty International issued a report accusing the UK’s JCB, a leading manufacturer of construction equipment, of not taking sufficient steps to prevent its machinery from being used in the demolition of Palestinian homes and the building of illegal Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Their report, titled “JCB Off Track,” documents instances where JCB’s equipment was allegedly used in activities that violate international law.

JCB maintains that its business dealings, through its Israeli agent Comasco, absolve it of direct responsibility for how its products are used, a stance Amnesty challenges based on international human rights standards.

The investigation by Amnesty International pointed out that Comasco, JCB’s agent in Israel, provided maintenance services for JCB machinery used by the Israeli Ministry of Defence, implying a direct link between JCB’s equipment and its controversial use in the region. Amnesty International called for
JCB to implement controls to prevent the misuse of its equipment in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, emphasising that JCB has the means to track and manage its machinery remotely. Following the report, the UK’s National Contact Point for the OECD Guidelines found JCB in breach of certain human rights obligations, suggesting a broader issue of corporate accountability.

**Teledyne Defence and Space**

Teledyne Defence and Space, situated in Shipley, Bradford, UK, is integral to the production of key technologies for military use, specifically focusing on missile filters and drone components. These components are crucial for the precision targeting capabilities of missiles, including those seemingly used by Israel.

The company’s involvement in arms to Israel extends to components for the AGM-114R9X Hellfire missile (as well as the AGM-Harpoon, AIM-120 AMRAAM missiles). Due to this, the Teledyne facility has become a focal point for activism, with Palestine Action leading protests, direct actions, and blockades against the company’s operations in Shipley. From 2009 to 2014, the UK government issued at least 86 arms export licences to Teledyne’s owners for the shipment of weapons technologies to Israel, indicating the company’s significant role in the UK-Israel arms trade.

**Leonardo UK**

Leonardo UK, a leading aerospace company in the UK and one of biggest suppliers of defence equipment to the UK MoD, has operations in London, Luton, Edinburgh, Lincoln, Yeovil, Bristol, Basildon, and Southampton. Leonardo UK, a branch of Italy’s leading defence manufacturer, expanded its influence in the defence sector when its American counterpart, Leonardo DRS, merged with the Israeli radar firm Rada in November 2022.

Rada’s radar systems notably provide comprehensive coverage across the Gaza Strip. Furthermore, Leonardo equips Israel with Aermacchi M-346 aircraft and parts for Apache attack helicopters. The company’s site in Edinburgh is responsible for producing the laser targeting system used in F-35 fighter jets.

Among Leonardo’s subsidiaries is Selex ES International Limited, which has faced controversy regarding its Gabbiano radars’ presence in Israel. Despite a 2014 denial from Selex about these radars being located in Israel, earlier statements from 2011 contradicted this, revealing that Selex Galileo (now part of Leonardo) agreed to supply Gabbiano-series radars for Elbit Systems’ Hermes 450 and 900 UAVs.

Additionally, Selex Galileo announced a collaboration with Italian and Israeli space agencies to develop a hyperspectral instrument for the SHALOM mission (Spaceborne Hyperspectral Applicative Land and Ocean Mission) is a joint mission by the Israeli Space Agency and the Italian Space Agency to develop a hyperspectral satellite.

AgustaWestland International Limited, another subsidiary, now reportedly functions as Leonardo’s helicopter division. This subsidiary has been accused by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign for producing components for Apache attack helicopters utilised by Israel in Gaza.

**Moog**

Moog specialises in creating motion control technology for sectors such as the military, aerospace, medical, and industrial applications. According to the company, it manufactured components for the M-346 training aircraft at its facilities in Tewkesbury and Wolverhampton. In 2013, it was reported that Israel had ordered from Alenia Aermacchi, a Finmeccanica company, a total of 30 M-346s as advanced trainers to replace the TA-4 Skyhawks currently in service. The first delivery arrived in 2014.
Redmayne Engineering
Redmayne Engineering is a privately-held British company operating in the aerospace sector. In 2006, it was reported by the Guardian to have supplied parts for Israel's Apache helicopters. Presently, it holds approvals that it has met the required standards to engage in contracts with several firms involved in arms sales to Israel, including Leonardo, BAE, and Boeing.

MPE
MPE, a manufacturing company located in Liverpool with distributors in Israel, was reported in 2006 to have sold to Israel electromagnetic filters that are integrated into the bomb racks installed on all F-15 fighter jets and the specific models of F-16s operated by Israel.

Martin-Baker
Martin-Baker has previously supplied the ejector seats for the F-35, while Dunlop Aircraft Tyres has provided the aircraft's tyres. The F-35 refuelling probe, a vital component for mid-air refuelling, is produced by Mission Systems Wimborne Ltd.
US Exports to Israel

- The Biden administration has upheld strong military support for Israel with $23 billion in arms transfers supplied since the 7th October, 2023.
- Over 100 undisclosed military sales to Israel, including advanced munitions, have been approved since the 7th October, 2023.
- 69% of Israeli arms imports are from the US; actual figures may be higher due to non-transparent transfer processes.
- The US State Department authorised a $2.5 billion transfer of F-35A jets to Israel without the usual Congressional notification.
- Despite setting ‘red lines’, the US continues to supply Israel with heavy munitions like MK84 and MK82 bombs, previously linked to high civilian casualties in Gaza.

According to data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the United States remains the primary source of military hardware for Israel, providing 69% of its arms imports between 2019 and 2023. However, the actual figure could be higher or lower due to the overwhelming lack of transparency regarding US arms transfers. US arms transfers routinely bypass Congressional oversight to avoid public scrutiny. Under a 10-year deal, the US supplies Israel with $3.8 billion in military aid annually, aimed at ensuring Israel's qualitative edge over its neighbours.

This aid has enabled Israel to purchase advanced equipment, such as the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter aircraft. Israel has ordered a reported 75 of these planes, receiving more than 30 to date. A significant portion of the aid, $500 million annually, is allocated for missile defence systems, including the Iron Dome, Arrow, and David's Sling. These systems are deemed crucial for Israel's defence against threats from various fronts, including rocket and missile attacks from Gaza and other regions.

Following the events of the 7th October, the United States initiated significant arms transfers to Israel. By December 25th, over 10,000 tons of military hardware worth $2.4 billion had been delivered via 244 aircraft and 20 naval vessels. This arsenal included upwards of 15,000 bombs and 50,000 artillery rounds, all within the initial six weeks. Specifically, the US authorised the transfer of over 1,800 MK84 2,000-pound bombs to Israel and 500 MK82 500-pound bombs. The MK84 bomb has been previously linked to mass-casualty events throughout Israel's bombardment of Gaza. These sales and transfers have been criticised for having been conducted with a lack of transparency and limited Congressional oversight.

From October 2023 to early March 2024, over 100 military sales to Israel were authorised by the US, although details of just a fraction of these were made public. These sales include thousands of precision-guided munitions, small-diameter bombs, bunker busters, small arms, and other lethal aid. The three sales where details are known include two transfers in November and one sale of components in December 2023, totaling over $532 million. A substantial portion of these arms were financed by American taxpayers through the Foreign Military Sales program, though Israel also allocated funds from its national budget for some purchases.

Any delivery of supplemental military assistance is in addition to the yearly $3.8 billion provided through the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed by Israel and the US in 2016. April 2024 is also a key month to determine whether $14.1 billion in additional ‘security assistance’ will be provided as part of a potential Foreign Aid Bill. In March 2024, the US State Department also authorised the transfer of 25 F-35A fighter jets and engines worth roughly $2.5 billion. This case was approved by Congress in 2008, hence the department was not required to inform lawmakers again.
Beyond these publicised sales and transfers, there have been numerous smaller transactions aimed at bolstering Israel's arsenal with precision-guided munitions and other critical supplies. Reports note that a pipeline deal involves the sale of up to 50 more F-15 fighter jets to Israel for $18 billion, pending Congressional approval. Senior figures like Senator Elizabeth Warren have voiced opposition to this deal, citing concerns over the conduct of operations in conflict zones.

Of note, the US has failed to rigorously add conditionality to its military support, particularly in the wake of the blocking of aid to the North of the Gaza Strip and Israeli settlement expansion in Palestinian territory. White House officials have reaffirmed the notion that 'conditioning aid (to Israel) has not been our policy', legitimising the delivery of the aid in the echoed notion of 'Israel's right to defend itself', without comment on the purported threat posed to Palestinian civilians. Similarly to the transfer of F35-As, this transfer was approved by Congress years prior, and thus does not require further scrutiny.

Finally, it is worth noting that Israel hosts a large US arms depot, established in 1984, which serves a dual purpose: it pre-positions supplies for US forces in the event of regional conflicts and provides Israel with rapid access to weapons during emergencies. A non-specified quantity of weaponry came from US military reserves located in Israel, under the War Reserves Stock Allies-Israel (WRSA-I) program, further complicating the ability to track the full extent of U.S. arms transfers due to the absence of a public inventory. Reports indicate that since the beginning of the conflict in Gaza, Israel has received munitions from this stockpile to bolster its own arsenals.

The continued transfer of 'unconditional' military aid stands in contrast to the US' immediate suspension of funding to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) following Israel's accusation in January that 12 UNRWA staff were collaborating with Hamas. The US government suspended funding to the UNRWA despite Janez Lenarcic, the Head of Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management at the European Commission, asserting that no evidence had been provided by Israel to back up the serious claim.

Key US companies involved in exporting to Israel:
US companies that are currently reported to have been involved in arms exports to Israel include:

**AeroVironment**
This company's involvement with the Israeli military appears to have included a request from Israel to purchase 200 Switchblade 600 Kamikaze drones, enhancing Israel's unmanned aerial capabilities for precision strikes.

**AM General**
Their military vehicles, specifically the Humvee, have been utilised by the Israeli military in various operations, including supply convoys.

**Boeing**
Boeing has supplied the Israeli Air Force with F-15 fighter jets and Apache AH-64 attack helicopters, in addition to JDAM kits for converting unguided bombs into precision-guided munitions. These supplies have been used extensively in attacks, including those on Gaza, demonstrating Boeing's significant role in augmenting Israel's aerial attack capabilities.

**Caterpillar**
The supply of D9 armoured bulldozers to Israel, which have been used for military purposes, including ground invasions, and the demolition of structures, represents a direct provision of military-grade equipment.
**Colt’s Manufacturing Company**
A request from Israel for the purchase of 18,000 M4 and MK18 assault rifles led to a direct supply of small arms to the Israeli military by Colt.

**Day & Zimmermann**
Their production of artillery munitions and high explosive rounds used by the Israeli military, including those fired by Israel's M109 howitzer guns, shows their significant role in providing the ordnance used in military operations against Gaza.

**General Dynamics**
This company's role in supplying artillery ammunition and bomb bodies used by Israel in its assaults on Gaza directly ties it to the provision of critical military hardware used in conflict situations.

**General Electric**
GE's manufacturing of engines for Boeing's Apache helicopters, which have been used by Israel in attacks on Gaza, marks a direct contribution to the military aviation capabilities employed in combat operations.

**General Motors**
The provision of engines and transmission units for military vehicles used by the Israeli military underscores GM's role in supporting the mobility and operational effectiveness of military ground forces.

**Ghost Robotics**
Supplying robotic systems like the Vision 60 robot dogs for use in Gaza points to a direct involvement in enhancing the surveillance and operational capabilities of the Israeli military with advanced robotics technology.

**Lockheed Martin**
The supply of F-16 and F-35 fighter jets, C-130 Hercules transport planes, and Hellfire missiles directly supports Israel's air force and ground operations.

**Oshkosh**
The production of the Eitan armoured personnel carrier and other military vehicles for Israel shows direct involvement in providing armoured mobility solutions critical for ground operations.

**Palantir Technologies**
Providing AI-powered tools for data analysis and surveillance used by Israeli security forces directly contributes to the technological capabilities of Israel's intelligence and security operations.

**Raytheon Technologies (RTX)**
RTX's supply of guided missiles, defence systems like the Iron Dome interceptors, and other advanced weaponry directly supports Israel's defence infrastructure, showcasing a significant contribution to Israel's military capabilities.
Other Global Exports to Israel

- Germany is the second-largest arms exporter to Israel, comprising 30% of its arms imports. In 2023, Germany licensed €326.5 million in munitions to Israel, a tenfold increase from the previous year.
- France has confirmed licensing components for Israel's Iron Dome missile defence system.
- The Netherlands' Court of Appeal identified a substantial risk of Israel using F-35 jets in violation of international humanitarian law, leading to a ban on exporting F-35 parts to Israel.
- Canada has continued to arm Israel despite previously stating it will halt all future direct arms shipments to Israel, citing uncertainties over compliance with its export regulations.
- Other nations, such as Belgium, Italy, Slovenia and Norway, are restricting, though not necessarily ending all, arms sales/transfers to Israel.
- Between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from EU States to Israel totalled almost €6.3 billion.

The following countries are reported on in order of quantity of recorded sales to Israel:

**Germany**

Germany emerges as the second-largest arms supplier to Israel, contributing 30% of its arms imports from 2019 to 2023, according to data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Notably, last year Germany’s arms exports to Israel surged to €326.5 million - a tenfold increase from the previous year, where the total value of approved licences amounted to €32.3 million. 185 individual export permits were approved between October 7th and November 2nd alone, according to Tagesschau. Further, data compiled by Forensic Architecture shows that since 2003, Germany has authorised 4,427 arms export licences to Israel, with a value of up to €3.3 billion. Between 1st January and 21st February 2024, Germany approved individual export licences with a combined value of over €9 million, €32,499 worth of which was reportedly for ‘war weapons’.

Germany’s exports to Israel are largely made up of air defence and communications equipment. Chancellor Olaf Scholz’s administration has consistently advocated for Israel’s right to defend itself, asserting that exports to Israel would be processed and approved as a priority. However, the investigative unit Forensic Architecture’s detailed analysis of German exports to Israel reveals that 17 licences were issued to Israel in 2023 for bombs, torpedoes, rockets, missiles and other explosive devices and charges. Furthermore, in January 2024 Der Spiegel reported that Germany had agreed to Israel’s request to deliver 10,000 rounds of 120mm tank ammunition that is produced by Germany’s largest arms manufacturer Rheinmetall.

Despite six months of unwavering support for Israel, pressure is slowly mounting in Germany to suspend arms sales. A group of 600 German civil servants have demanded that Chancellor Scholz cease arms deliveries to Israel immediately, asserting that Israel is committing crimes in Gaza that are in contradiction of international law. In recent months, Germany has deployed a crackdown of protestors and public officials who support Palestine and a critical approach to arms exports to Israel.

Simultaneously, Germany has been brought to the International Court of Justice by Nicaragua, alleging that Germany has breached its obligation to prevent genocide. Tania von Ulsar-Gleichen, legal adviser for the German foreign ministry, told the court that “Germany’s history is the reason why Israel’s security has been at the core of Germany’s foreign policy”.

On the 5th April 2024, Germany voted against a UN Human Rights Council resolution calling on countries to not transfer weapons, ammunition and military equipment to Israel. Similarly to the US
and the UK, Germany has adopted a policy of ‘maximised protection’ for Israel by cutting its funding to the UNRWA, despite Israel having not yet provided evidence for its claims.

Italy
Italy ranks as the third-largest supplier of military equipment to Israel, contributing a 0.9% to Israel’s total arms imports from 2019 to 2023. The exports have mainly consisted of helicopters and naval artillery. According to Italy’s national statistics bureau, ISTAT, the value of these arms sales reached €13.7 million last year. Notably, between October and December, Italy approved exports worth €2.1 million, despite previous government statements suggesting a halt on arms sales to nations engaged in conflict or accused of human rights violations. Defence Minister Guido Crosetto clarified to the parliament that Italy continued to fulfil its existing contracts after thorough reviews and that each contract was evaluated individually to ensure the exported materials could not be used against civilian populations, aligning with Italy’s regulatory framework on arms exports. CAAT data shows that between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Italy to Israel totalled €114 million, including licences related to warships, light weapons/artillery, aircrafts and ammunition.

France
On the 26th March 2024 the French Defence Minister, Sébastien Lecornu, denied allegations made by investigative websites Disclose and Marsactu, which asserted that France is supplying components for ammunition used by the Israeli army. In their article, Disclose and Marsactu stated that Marseille-based firm Eurolinks had sold Israel M27 links, used to join rifle cartridges into ammunition belts for machine guns which “could have been used against civilians in the Gaza strip”. Disclose and Marsactu have issued photos of the links asserting that the pictures were taken on the 23rd October 2023. French MP, Mathilde Panot, leader of the La France Insoumise, has asserted that Lecornu is lying and that France must stop the delivery of all weapons to Israel. Lecornu has since confirmed that France has issued licences for parts of Israel’s “Iron Dome” missile defence system. Between 2014-2022 France provided Israel with the second highest value of export licences globally worth €2.5 billion.

French components have previously been used in the killing of Palestinian civilians. In July 2014, 8-year-old Afnan Shuheibar, her 16 year old brother Oday and their three cousins aged 8 to 11, were killed by a missile lettered ‘EUROFARAD PARIS FRANCE’. Eurofad, in addition to other French manufacturers including Thalès, are facing charges in France over ‘complicity in war crimes’. France abstained on the UNHRC’s April resolution to stop arms sales to Israel to “prevent further violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of human rights”.

Romania
CAAT data shows that between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences between 2014-2022 totalled €427 million. The majority of these licences pertain to aircraft-related transfers, totalling €62 million. In addition, Romania has transferred exports related to vehicles/tanks, explosive devices and ammunition. Elbit Systems operates in Romania, owning three companies and four factories with over 500 employees, including AE Electronics in Bâcău, Simultec Măgurele and two Elmet factories in Bâcău and Bucharest.

Like France, Romania abstained on the UNHRC’s April resolution to stop arms sales to Israel to “prevent further violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of human rights”.

Czech Republic
CAAT data reveals that between 2014-2022, the Czech Republic has transferred over €127 million worth of export licences, including ammunition, vehicles/tanks and small arms. In October 2023, it
was reported that Czech arms company STV Group was set to deliver 3,000 ballistic vest plates to Israel and that the relevant Czech ministries had already granted required licences for their export.

**Slovakia**
CAAT data outlines that between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Slovakia to Israel totalled €117 million, including €12 million worth of exports related to vehicles and tanks. The Slovak company MSM Group has previously stated that it has transferred Dana-M1 systems and RM-70 rocket launchers to Israel.

**Spain**
In January 2024, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, José Manuel Albares, stated that Spain had not sold arms to Israel since the 7th October. However, according to research conducted by Centre Delàs, Spain transferred €987,000 worth of ammunition to Israel in November 2023. Data obtained from CAAT transfer registers show that the value of export licences from Spain to Israel between 2014-2022 totalled €99 million, including the transfer of ammunition, vehicles/tanks and explosive devices.

**Bulgaria**
CAAT transfer registers show that between 2014-2022 the total value of export licences between Bulgaria and Israel total €49 million, including €11 million worth of explosive devices and €8 million worth of small arms. On the 5th April 2024, Bulgaria was one of six countries to vote against a United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) resolution that called “to cease the sale, transfer and diversion of arms, munitions and other military equipment to Israel”.

**Belgium**
From 2014 to 2022, CAAT data reveals that Belgium has transferred €46 million worth of arms to Israel, including explosives, small arms and aircraft components. In February 2024, the local government of the Walloon region in Belgium suspended two licences for ammunition exports to Israel, given to the manufacturer PB Clermont in early 2023. Christophe Collignon, a minister at the Walloon parliament, referred to the ICJ’s ruling (see above) as a determining factor in suspending the licences. Belgium voted yes on the UNHRC’s April resolution to stop arms sales to Israel to “prevent further violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of human rights”.

**Austria**
CAAT arms register transfer registers outline that the total value of export licences from Austria to Israel between 2014-2022 reached €33 million, with over €5.6 million of ‘kinetic weapons’ transferred in this timeframe. Further, according to data from the European Network against Armasrade, arms transfers from Austria to Israel increased dramatically in 2016 twenty-seven-fold and have continued to increase each year since. Austria has previously applied diplomatic pressure through conditioning military transfers to Saudi Arabia over the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, and called for a EU-wide halt in arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

**Canada**
The Canadian government previously stated it will halt all arms shipments to Israel, noting it cannot be fully assured that Israel is complying with Canada’s export regime. However, it has since been revealed that the Canadian government’s pledge only applied to export permits that had not yet been approved. Data revealed in February 2024 showed that the Trudeau Government had authorised $28.5 million worth of new military exports to Israel since October. $18.4 million was categorised in the first two months since 7th October as covering “electronic equipment”, whilst an additional $9.2 million worth of permits included “Aircraft”, “Unmanned aerial vehicles”, amongst other aircraft related equipment and components.
Netherlands
In February, the Court of Appeal in The Hague stated that there is “a clear risk that Israel’s F-35 fighter jets might be used in the commission of serious violations of international humanitarian law”. The court ordered the Netherlands government to block the export of all F-35 fighter jet parts to Israel over the “undeniable” risk. CAAT arms registers show that the value of export licences from the Netherlands to Israel totalled €19 million between 2014-2022, peaking in 2022 with €10m worth of export licences transferred in that year alone. The Netherlands abstained on the UNHRC’s April resolution to stop arms sales to Israel to “prevent further violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of human rights”.

Malta
CAAT’s arms transfer register reveals that between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from Malta to Israel totalled over €17.5 million.

Hungary
Between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Hungary to Israel reportedly totalled over €15 million. In August 2023, it was reported by AP that Hungary had signed an agreement to manufacture combat drones in Zalaegerszeg in cooperation with Israeli and German companies, including Israeli company UVision and Germany’s largest manufacturer Rheinmetall. In February 2024, Hungary blocked fellow EU foreign ministers from formally asking Israel to not go forward with its planned and widely criticised Rafah offensive where most Palestinian IDPs are located.

Serbia
Serbia’s main state-owned arms manufacturer, Yugoimport-SDPR, reportedly exported arms worth €14 million to Israel in March 2024. Two major arms or ammunition shipments to Israel have taken place since October 2023 according to BIRN, however these deals are shrouded in secrecy. Serbia has previously transferred €780,000 worth of goods to Israel from the state-owned ammunition production factory Prvi Partizan in Uzice, Western Serbia in March and April 2023.

Following a Freedom of Information Request made by Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) in March 2024, the Serbian Ministry for Trade rejected their request, asserting that the data was “strictly confidential”.

Portugal
CAAT’s arms transfer register shows that between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from Portugal to Israel was over €12.5 million, with most licences relating to aircraft-related goods.

Greece
CAAT transfer data outlines that between 2014-2022 the total value of export licences between Greece and Israel reached €7.6 million from 21 licences.

Slovenia
CAAT transfer registers reveal that between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences between Slovenia and Israel was €6.1 million, including transfers related to vehicles/tanks and small arms. In January 2024, the Slovenian Defence Ministry confirmed that “Slovenia denied an export licence based on the defence law, which stipulates a refusal when exports would escalate or allow conflicts in the country that is the end-user of exported arms.”

Latvia
Between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Latvia to Israel totalled €5.9 million from 11 licences. €4.1 million worth of export licences were made in 2022.
Poland
Between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Poland to Israel totalled just shy of €4.9 million, with over €2 million related to explosive devices and explosives. Other licences pertain to small arms transfers, vehicles/tanks and ammunition.

Finland
Data from CAAT shows that between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Finland to Israel totals over €2.4 million, including the transfer of electronic equipment, armour and weapon sights. In November 2023, Finland signed a deal worth €317 million to purchase Israel’s ‘David’s Sling’ missile defence system, a move that sparked national criticism. Finland voted yes on the UNHRC’s April resolution to stop arms sales to Israel to “prevent further violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of human rights”.

Sweden
Between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from Sweden to Israel was just shy of €1.3 million, with many licences relating to weapons sights and control systems. Swedish arms tracker, Svenska Freds, have claimed that Swedish exports to Israel have been ‘historically small’. However, in 2022 this saw a significant boost with over SEK 4.7 million (roughly €400,000 at the time of writing) of exports transferred to Israel. Svenska Freds claim that the Swedish export control authority, the Inspectorate for Strategic Products (ISP) has withheld exactly what military equipment was held. The transfer, listed as ‘Category 5’, likely relates to a transfer or surveillance and warning equipment, fire control, test and firing equipment or general components and accessories specifically designed for military use. At the end of October 2023, the Swedish Defense Materiel Administration signed a 10 year deal worth approximately $170 million with Elbit Systems.

Denmark
CAAT’s arms transfer register reveals that between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from Denmark to Israel was over €1 million, peaking in 2022 with €403,000. Information and Danwatch have revealed that Danish components are used in the production and maintenance of Israeli F35s, which likely have been used in the bombardment of Gaza. In March 2024, it was reported that a group of NGOs, namely the local branches of Oxfam, Amnesty, Action Aid and Al-Haq had sued the Danish government over arms exports to Israel. Denmark is a signatory to both the ATT and EU Common Rules for Arms Exports, obliging Denmark to ensure that military exports from Danish companies do not risk contributing to violations of international law.

Croatia
Between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from Croatia to Israel was just shy of €681,000, with licences relating to armour and ammunition.

Luxembourg
Between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Luxembourg to Israel totalled close to €671,000, with certain licences related to aircrafts. Luxembourg voted yes on the UNHRC’s April resolution to stop arms sales to Israel to “prevent further violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of human rights”.

Estonia
Between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Estonia to Israel totalled €321,000, with certain licences relating to the transfer of small arms.

Lithuania
Data from CAAT shows that between 2014-2022, the value of export licences from Lithuania to Israel totals over €310,000, including the transfer of imaging equipment. Lithuania abstained on the
UNHRC’s April resolution to stop arms sales to Israel to “prevent further violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of human rights”.

Ireland
CAAT’s arms transfer register shows that between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from Ireland to Israel was over €127,000 from 2 licences relating to vehicles and tanks. Both licences were approved in 2014.

Cyprus
CAAT’s arms transfer register reveals that between 2014-2022, the total value of export licences from Cyprus to Israel was €97,000, related to the transfer of small arms. Despite this seemingly small number, Cyprus has potentially played a significant role in Israel’s surveillance and bombardment of Gaza. Reports have indicated that RAF Akrotiri, the UK Ministry of Defence’s base in Cyprus, has facilitated over 30 military transport flights to Tel Aviv since Israel began its bombardment of Gaza and the West Bank. These flights are believed to be transporting military personnel and equipment, but the nature of the cargo and the personnel remain undisclosed by the Ministry of Defence, citing reasons of “national security”. In the first month of Israel’s siege and bombardment of Gaza, Haaretz reported that “more than 40 US transport aircraft, 20 British transport aircraft and seven heavy transport helicopters arrived at the British Akrotiri base on the island. They carried equipment, arms and forces.” Parliamentary questions regarding the nature of these transports have been blocked by the British government in a highly unprecedented move.

Norway
Norwegian law asserts that the sale of weapons to Israel and other countries in war is prohibited. However, according to Norwegian Church Aid, a loophole in Norwegian law exists that allows Norwegian arms manufacturers to sell arms to Israel through foreign companies. Nammo, 50% owned by the Norwegian government, has a subsidiary in the US state of Arizona called Nammo Talley, which produces M72 anti-tank missiles amongst other weapons. Norwegian media outlet NRK has stated that a M72 rocket launcher has been seen used by Israel’s soldiers. The CEO of Nammo, Morten Brantzaeg, has claimed that they are a ‘tiny player’ in the US and that they have little influence over the way in which US export licences are applied to their products. In an article posted by Norwegian media outlet Aftenposten, Nammo’s Director of Information, Thorstein Korsvold, defended Nammo, arguing that there is extensive misinformation about the company and its relationship to Israel. His main argument was that ‘Norwegian law does not apply in the USA’ and that ‘the country that makes the final product determines where you can export’. This argument, if accurate, outlines how countries that deploy strict export control regulations can have their decisions undermined through re-exports to third parties, under scoring the need for definitively more transparency in how arms are transferred between countries.

Japan
Japanese company Itochu Corporation ended its cooperation with Elbit Systems in February 2024, following the ICJ’s findings (see above). Itochu CFO, Tsuyoshi Hachimura, stated “taking into consideration the International Court of Justice’s order on January 26, and that the Japanese government supports the role of the Court, we have already suspended new activities related to the MOU, and plan to end the MOU by the end of February.”

Australia
According to trade figures, Australian arms and ammunition exports to Israel have totalled over $13 million over the last 5 years, including $2.3 million worth of transfers related to “arms and ammunition” in 2022. Australia has issued 350 defence export permits to Israel since 2017, including 52 permits in 2023 alone.
Arms Manufacturer Profits Examined

Arms manufacturers globally are reporting record profits amidst conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine. Companies like Lockheed Martin, RTX Raytheon, BAE Systems, and Rheinmetall are among those most benefiting.

- BAE Systems and Raytheon saw significant share price increases post-October 7th, 2023
- Executives from these companies have profited by selling shares since the Hamas attack, indicating a financial benefit from the conflict.
- Arms executive share sales in Q1 of 2024 dramatically increased compared to the previous years, suggesting a correlation with the ongoing conflict.

Against the backdrop of ongoing conflicts, such as Russia's engagement in Ukraine and Israel's operations in Gaza, major global arms manufacturers from the US, the UK, and Germany, including Lockheed Martin, RTX Raytheon, BAE Systems, General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, L3Harris Technologies, and Rheinmetall, have all reported substantial profits or share price hikes.

For instance, BAE Systems reported profits before interest and tax of £2.7 billion for 2023, on sales of £25.3 billion, a spike attributed to increased defence expenditures amid growing global instability. Lockheed Martin, meanwhile, noted an order backlog worth $160.6 billion in 2023, with sales up by 2% to $67.6 billion.

The early part of 2024 saw a marked increase in the stock prices of these companies, particularly those arming the Israeli military, after October 7th. Notably, Northrop Grumman and Lockheed Martin, key suppliers to the Israeli Air Force, experienced significant share price increases following Hamas' assault on Israel, with Northrop Grumman shares jumping by 11.43% and Lockheed Martin's by nearly 9%. The trend of climbing stock prices persisted into 2024, with BAE Systems and Raytheon RTX seeing notable gains, exacerbated by Germany's increased arms sales to Israel after October 7th, including a doubling of Rheinmetall's share price. Additionally, the conflict's aftermath has seen a significant boost in the personal wealth of these companies' chief executives, as evidenced by a surge in insider share sales in the first quarter of 2024.

This increase in executive stock sales, particularly at General Dynamics and L3Harris Technologies, suggests a direct correlation between the Gaza conflict and improved financial outcomes for these executives and their firms.
Individual Arms Executive Wealth Generation

This report has identified 17 executives of some of the world's leading arms manufacturers, companies reported to be selling weapons to Israel, that have recently benefited from substantial share sales post October 7th, 2023.

The examples provided below, in addition to the complete list (see annexes 2a and 2b), suggest that executives of the world’s leading arms manufacturers sold a significant amount of personal shares during Q1 of 2024 and Q4 of 2023 following the 7th October 2023. Whilst there is nothing illegal in such sales, it raises ethical questions regarding those who profit from arms sales, given the deaths in the region.

Examples of Individual Wealth Generation

- On March 8, 2024, Charles Woodburn, the CEO of BAE Systems, executed a sale of 331,716 shares. The sale’s value on the day of the transaction was £4,163,035.80, significantly higher than the £3,252,807.10 it would have been valued at on October 6, 2023. As a result, Woodburn’s earnings were £910,228.70 more than if the shares had been sold in early October 2023.
- Mark C Roualet, EVP of General Dynamics, sold 73,330 shares on January 26, 2024. The value of this transaction was $19,414,117, compared to $16,128,200.20 on October 6, 2023, resulting in a gain of $3,285,917 had the shares been sold earlier.
- Phebe N Novakovic, CEO of General Dynamics, completed the sale of 32,355 shares on January 29, 2024. The shares sold for a total of $8,551,750, exceeding their October 6, 2023, value of $7,116,159, and netting Novakovic an additional $1,435,591.
- Armin T. Papperger, CEO of Rheinmetall, sold 10,350 shares on March 19, 2024. The transaction amount on that day was €4,906,493, nearly double the €2,486,663 value on October 6, 2023. This resulted in Papperger earning €2,419,830 more than if the sale had occurred before October 2023.
- Christopher E Kubasik, CEO of L3Harris Technologies, sold 40,000 shares on March 25, 2024. The sale was valued at $8,488,800, compared to a potential value of $6,555,600 on October 6, 2023. This meant an increase of $1,933,200 in Kubasik’s earnings from the sale.

Broader Trends

- Raytheon RTX witnessed a significantly high value of executive sales of personal shares during Q1 of 2024. Q1 of 2024 saw $3.45 million worth of sales made by executives, compared to just $357k for the whole of 2023.
- Lockheed Martin saw a surge in the value of executive sales of personal shares in Q1 of 2024. Q1 of 2024 saw $7.25 million sales made by executives compared to $2.38 million for the whole of 2023.
- BAE Systems also witnessed a significantly higher value of executive sales of personal shares during Q1 of 2024, as a result of CEO Charles Woodburn’s sale. Q1 of 2024 saw a value of £4.16 million shares sold compared to just £217k for the whole of 2023.
- General Dynamics saw its highest value of executive share sales in one financial quarter in Q1 of 2024 since the beginning of 2021, with $28 million worth of shares sold by executives, more than the whole of 2023 combined.
- L3Harris Technologies witnessed around $10 million worth of shares sold by insiders, compared to $3,631,000 for the whole of 2023.

To be clear, nothing illegal is being claimed by AOAV or any of its employees to have been done in these insider share sales (which is also not a claim of insider share trading). It is reported to alert the eye to the profits made by individuals in the face of global events. AOAV approached the companies
listed above for comment, and from its senior executives named, but no right to reply was given at the time of writing.
Conclusion

This investigation into the arming of Israel by the UK, US, and other global suppliers offers a stark portrayal of the controversies embedded within international arms trade practices. Despite widespread international scrutiny and allegations of war crimes committed by the Israeli armed forces, significant military support for Israel persists, underpinned by multibillion-dollar deals, many shrouded in secrecy. This enduring support comes amidst growing calls for accountability and transparency, challenging the ethical and legal frameworks governing global arms exports.

The United States and the United Kingdom, in particular, have been highlighted as steadfast allies, providing Israel with a substantial influx of military hardware and financial aid in the face of accusations of widespread and - on occasion - apparently deliberate civilian harm. Concerns over the US's unilateral cuts to UNRWA funding and the UK's disputed claims regarding the rigorous scrutiny of lethal weapon exports are also raised. Furthermore, the revelation of Germany's increased arms exports to Israel and the soaring profits enjoyed by arms manufacturers like BAE Systems underscore the deep financial and strategic interests driving these military engagements.

Amidst this backdrop, legal challenges, public protests, and calls from within the political spheres of these supplying countries for a reevaluation of military support to Israel are growing louder.

These calls are not just about the legality of arms sales but also their morality, urging a reassessment of the role that such support plays in fueling conflict dynamics and impacting civilian lives. As nations grapple with their positions and responsibilities on the international stage, this investigation serves as a crucial reminder of the urgent need for a more transparent, ethical, and legally compliant international arms trade regime.

The need for stringent oversight, transparency, and adherence to international legal standards in arms exports has never been more apparent.
Recommendations

This analysis of arms supplies to Israel by the UK, US, and other nations highlights concerns regarding the adherence to international humanitarian and human rights law, transparency, and ethical considerations. The following recommendations are proposed to address these concerns and promote a more responsible and legally compliant international arms trade:

1. **Enhance Transparency in Arms Exports**: Governments should commit to greater transparency in their arms export practices by publicly disclosing details of all military sales and transfers, including those conducted through private manufacturers. This would include the nature, quantity, and recipients of arms exports.

2. **Implement Strict Export Controls**: Introduce and enforce stricter export control measures that rigorously assess the potential impact of arms exports on human rights and international humanitarian law. These controls should be based on comprehensive risk assessments that consider the end-use of the weapons and the human rights record of the receiving country.

3. **Establish Independent Oversight Mechanisms**: Create independent oversight bodies with the authority to review and veto arms export licences where there is a significant risk of contributing to human rights violations or breaches of international humanitarian law.

4. **Adhere to International Arms Trade Treaties**: Ensure full compliance with international treaties and agreements governing arms exports, such as the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), including provisions related to human rights and conflict escalation.

5. **Review and Reevaluate Existing Arms Export Policies**: Regularly review and reevaluate arms export policies and practices in light of their outcomes and impacts on international peace and security, making necessary adjustments to ensure alignment with international legal standards and ethical considerations.

These modest recommendations aim to foster a more responsible global arms trade, one that prioritises the promotion of peace, the protection of human rights, and adherence to international law, while also addressing the challenges posed by the current practices of arms exports to Israel and other conflict-affected regions.
## Annex 1: Arms Company Share Prices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Average Share Price - 06/10/2023</th>
<th>Average Share Price - 09/10/2023</th>
<th>% Increase From 06/10/2023 to 09/10/2023</th>
<th>Peak Share Price Since 06/10/2023</th>
<th>Average Share Price - 27/03/2024</th>
<th>% Increase From 06/10/2023 to 27/03/2024</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAE Systems plc</td>
<td>£9.806</td>
<td>£10.25</td>
<td>4.53%</td>
<td>£13.69 - 26/03/2024</td>
<td>£13.54</td>
<td>38.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lockheed Martin Corporation</td>
<td>$400.73</td>
<td>$436.53</td>
<td>8.93%</td>
<td>$463.18 - 12/01/2024</td>
<td>$456.78</td>
<td>13.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raytheon - RTX Corporation</td>
<td>$69.77</td>
<td>$72.99</td>
<td>4.62%</td>
<td>$101.88 - 08/04/2024</td>
<td>$97.45</td>
<td>39.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northrop Grumman Corporation</td>
<td>$423.24</td>
<td>$471.61</td>
<td>11.43%</td>
<td>$490.76 - 18/10/2024</td>
<td>$477.36</td>
<td>12.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Dynamics Corporation</td>
<td>$219.94</td>
<td>$238.48</td>
<td>8.43%</td>
<td>$295.18 - 05/04/2024</td>
<td>$281.90</td>
<td>28.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheinmetall AG</td>
<td>€233.80</td>
<td>€250.50</td>
<td>7.14%</td>
<td>€560.80 - 08/04/2024</td>
<td>€511.60</td>
<td>118.82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Annex 2a: Executive Share Price Sale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Job Role</th>
<th>Total # Shares</th>
<th>Transaction Date</th>
<th>Avg. Share Price - At Date Shares Sold</th>
<th>Avg. Share Price - On 6th October</th>
<th>Share price change %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Woodburn</td>
<td>BAE Systems</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>331,716</td>
<td>08/03/2024</td>
<td>£12.55</td>
<td>£9.806</td>
<td>27.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark C Roualet</td>
<td>General Dynamics</td>
<td>EVP</td>
<td>73,330</td>
<td>26/01/2024</td>
<td>$264.75</td>
<td>$219.94</td>
<td>20.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phebe N Novakovic</td>
<td>General Dynamics</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>32,355</td>
<td>29/01/2024</td>
<td>$264.31</td>
<td>$219.94</td>
<td>20.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory S Gallopoulos</td>
<td>General Dynamics</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>33,200</td>
<td>30/10/2023</td>
<td>$238.37</td>
<td>$219.94</td>
<td>8.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shane G Eddy</td>
<td>RTX Raytheon</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>35,456</td>
<td>14/02/2024</td>
<td>$91.19</td>
<td>$69.77</td>
<td>30.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neil G Mitchell Jr.</td>
<td>RTX Raytheon</td>
<td>CFO</td>
<td>1,545</td>
<td>07/02/2024</td>
<td>$92.36</td>
<td>$69.77</td>
<td>32.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armin T Papperger</td>
<td>Rheinmetall</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>10,350</td>
<td>19/03/2024</td>
<td>€487.80</td>
<td>€233.80</td>
<td>108.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank St. John</td>
<td>Lockheed Martin Corp.</td>
<td>COO</td>
<td>6,648</td>
<td>01/03/2024</td>
<td>$425.35</td>
<td>$400.73</td>
<td>6.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryanne Lavan</td>
<td>Lockheed Martin Corp.</td>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>4,022</td>
<td>05/03/2024</td>
<td>$434.39</td>
<td>$400.73</td>
<td>8.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory M Ulmer</td>
<td>Lockheed Martin Corp.</td>
<td>EVP</td>
<td>6,204</td>
<td>05/03/2024</td>
<td>$431.19</td>
<td>$400.73</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark A Caylor</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>06/11/2023</td>
<td>$472.62</td>
<td>$423.24</td>
<td>11.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathryn G Simpson</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>1,273</td>
<td>16/02/2024</td>
<td>$450.37</td>
<td>$423.24</td>
<td>6.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathryn G Simpson</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>20/02/2024</td>
<td>$453.22</td>
<td>$423.24</td>
<td>7.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roshan S Roeder</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>1,007</td>
<td>09/10/2023</td>
<td>$465.00</td>
<td>$423.24</td>
<td>9.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael A Hardesty</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>CAO</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>21/02/2024</td>
<td>$454.68</td>
<td>$423.24</td>
<td>7.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael A Hardesty</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>CAO</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>16/02/2024</td>
<td>$450.37</td>
<td>$423.24</td>
<td>6.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher E Kubasik</td>
<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>25/03/2024</td>
<td>$212.22</td>
<td>$163.89</td>
<td>29.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott T Mikuen</td>
<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>1,292</td>
<td>15/03/2024</td>
<td>$211.14</td>
<td>$163.89</td>
<td>28.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott T Mikuen</td>
<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>3,363</td>
<td>18/03/2024</td>
<td>$212.86</td>
<td>$163.89</td>
<td>29.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward J Zoiss</td>
<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>4,742</td>
<td>24/11/2023</td>
<td>$190.00</td>
<td>$163.89</td>
<td>15.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward J Zoiss</td>
<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>3,707</td>
<td>27/02/2024</td>
<td>$211.47</td>
<td>$163.89</td>
<td>29.03%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Annex 2b: Executive Share Price Value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Job Role</th>
<th>Total Share Value - At Date Shares Sold</th>
<th>Total Share Value - On 6th October</th>
<th>Total Amount Made</th>
<th>Total For Individuals With &gt;2 Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Woodburn</td>
<td>BAE Systems</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>£4,163,035.80</td>
<td>£3,252,807.10</td>
<td>£910,228.70</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark C Roualet</td>
<td>General Dynamics</td>
<td>EVP</td>
<td>$19,414,117.5</td>
<td>$16,128,200.2</td>
<td>0 $3,285,917.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phebe Novakovic</td>
<td>General Dynamics</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>$8,551,750.05</td>
<td>$7,116,158.70</td>
<td>$1,435,591.35</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gregory S Gallopooulos</td>
<td>General Dynamics</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>$7,913,884.00</td>
<td>$7,302,008.00</td>
<td>$611,876.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shane G Eddy</td>
<td>RTX Raytheon</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>$3,233,232.64</td>
<td>$2,473,765.12</td>
<td>$759,467.52</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neil G. Mitchell Jr.</td>
<td>RTX Raytheon</td>
<td>CFO</td>
<td>$142,696.20</td>
<td>$107,794.65</td>
<td>$34,901.55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armin T Papperger</td>
<td>Rheinmetall</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>€4,906,492.60</td>
<td>€2,486,662.60</td>
<td>€2,419,830.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank St. John</td>
<td>Lockheed Martin Corporation</td>
<td>COO</td>
<td>$2,827,726.80</td>
<td>$2,664,318.96</td>
<td>$163,407.84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maryanne Lavan</td>
<td>Lockheed Martin Corporation</td>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>$1,747,116.58</td>
<td>$1,611,896.94</td>
<td>$135,219.64</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Lockheed Martin Corporation</td>
<td>EVP</td>
<td>$2,675,102.76</td>
<td>$2,486,377.08</td>
<td>$188,725.68</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
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<td>$789,275.40</td>
<td>$705,875.40</td>
<td>$83,400.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kathryn G Simpson</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>$573,321.01</td>
<td>$538,061.63</td>
<td>$35,259.38</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>$322,239.42</td>
<td>$300,525.48</td>
<td>$21,713.94</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roshan S Roeder</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>$468,255.00</td>
<td>$425,638.76</td>
<td>$42,616.24</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael A Hardesty</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>CAO</td>
<td>$95,482.80</td>
<td>$88,880.40</td>
<td>$6,602.40</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael A Hardesty</td>
<td>Northrop Grumman</td>
<td>CAO</td>
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<td>$26,443.95</td>
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<tr>
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<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>$8,488,800.00</td>
<td>$6,555,600.00</td>
<td>$1,933,200.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott T Mikuen</td>
<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>$272,792.88</td>
<td>$211,384.12</td>
<td>$61,408.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Position</td>
<td>Salary 1</td>
<td>Bonus 1</td>
<td>Salary 2</td>
<td>Bonus 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>$715,848.18</td>
<td>$550,220.43</td>
<td>$165,627.75</td>
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<tr>
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<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>$900,980.00</td>
<td>$775,838.62</td>
<td>$125,141.38</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward J Zoiss</td>
<td>L3Harris</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>$783,919.29</td>
<td>$606,502.27</td>
<td>$177,417.02</td>
<td>$302,558.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex 3 - Sources


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