

# “Shrouded in Secrecy”: The Companies Profiting from Israel’s 2023 Attack on Gaza

By [American Friends Service Committee](#)

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***The companies listed here have provided Israel with weapons and other military equipment used in its so-called “Swords of Iron” attacks on Gaza, the West Bank, Lebanon, and Syria during October-December 2023.***

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Since Oct. 7, Israel has waged [unprecedented aerial and ground attacks](#) on Gaza after Hamas-led attacks on Israel. Palestinian civilians in Gaza have been killed [at historic pace](#), and Israel has destroyed large parts of the Gaza Strip, making them uninhabitable. These attacks have been accompanied by a surge of Israeli violence against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, clashes between the Israeli military and armed groups in Lebanon, and Israeli aerial strikes in Syria.

Shortly after Oct. 7, the U.S. government started transferring to Israel massive amounts of weapons. Among these weapons, **Israel received more than 15,000 bombs and 50,000 artillery shells within just the first month and a half**. These transfers have been deliberately [shrouded in secrecy](#) to avoid public scrutiny and prevent Congress from exercising any meaningful oversight.

Some of these weapons were purchased using U.S. taxpayers’ money through the Foreign Military Sales program; some were direct commercial sales purchased through Israel’s own budget; and some were replenished U.S. military stockpiles in Israel, which the Israeli military [may also use](#). A list of known U.S. arms transfers is maintained by the [Forum on the Arms Trade](#).

**The scale of destruction and war crimes in Gaza would [not be possible](#) without this continued flow of weapons from the U.S.**

Despite massive public protests, the Biden administration has been working to give Israel over \$14 billion to buy more weapons. This is on top of the \$3.8 billion the U.S. already gives to the Israeli military annually. Israel is required to use this money to buy U.S.-made weapons. This is a form of corporate welfare for the largest weapon manufacturers, like Lockheed Martin, RTX, Boeing, and General Dynamics, [which have seen their stock prices skyrocket](#), but also for companies that are not part of the weapon industry, such as Caterpillar, Ford, and Toyota (see below).

As a Quaker organization with a [long history of work in Palestine and Israel](#), including in Gaza, AFSC supports a full arms embargo to both Israeli and Palestinian militant groups. This list focuses on weapons used by Israel because all Palestinian militant groups are already sanctioned and receive no support from Western governments or corporations.

This research relies on media sources, social media, and other open sources. This page is updated regularly as new information comes to light. If you have information that you think we should add, or if you are a researcher or journalist who needs access to the raw data, please [contact us](#).

For a more comprehensive list of publicly traded companies that are involved in the Israeli occupation, accompanied by our [divestment recommendations](#), please refer to our [Investigate database](#).

## Companies

### AeroVironment

- A military drone manufacturer headquartered in Arlington, Virginia.
- Around Oct. 30, Israel [requested](#) to purchase 200 AeroVironment Switchblade 600 Kamikaze drones, an advanced direct fire loitering missile system that acts as a “suicide drone.”
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

### AM General

- A manufacturer of military vehicles based in South Bend, Indiana. The company’s High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle (HMMWV or Humvee) has been used by the Israeli military in Gaza. The armor for these vehicles is made by Plasan (see below).
- On Nov. 5, the Israeli military [reportedly](#) used Humvees, accompanied by tanks and other armored vehicles, to lead a “supply convoy” into Gaza. Humvees were again [used](#) by the Israeli military on Nov. 8 to transport Israeli media correspondents into Gaza.
- On Dec. 6, a U.S. cargo plane [delivered](#) additional Humvees to Israel.
- In addition to Oshkosh (see below), AM General also makes the Joint Light Tactical Vehicle.

### BAE Systems

- The world’s seventh largest weapon manufacturer, UK company [BAE Systems](#) manufactures the M109 howitzer, a 155mm mobile artillery system that the

Israeli military [has been using extensively](#), firing tens of thousands of 155mm shells into the Gaza Strip.

- Some of these shells are [white phosphorus bombs](#), the use of which is [forbidden](#) in densely populated civilian areas and potentially amounts to a war crime.
- BAE also [manufactures](#) electronic missile launching kits and other components for Israel's F-15, F-16, and F-35 fighter jets, which the Israeli Air Force has used extensively in all of its attacks on Gaza, including in 2023.
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments) see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## The Boeing Company

- The world's fifth largest weapon manufacturer, Boeing manufactures F-15 fighter jets and Apache AH-64 attack helicopters, which the Israeli Air Force has used extensively in all of its attacks on Gaza and Lebanon, including in 2023.
- Boeing also manufactures multiple types of unguided small diameter bombs (SDBs) and Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) kits, which convert these bombs into precision-guided munitions.
- Israel has been using these bombs extensively, including in a [Nov. 1 bombing](#) of Gaza's Jabalia refugee camp, which killed hundreds of Palestinian civilians and [could amount to a war crime](#), according to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- On Oct. 10 and 22, the Israeli military used bombs equipped with Boeing JDAM kits to carry out what [Amnesty International](#) calls "unlawful air strikes on homes full of civilians in the occupied Gaza Strip." The attacks, which could amount to a war crime, killed 24 people of the al-Najjar family and 19 people of the Abu Mu'eileq family.
- Immediately after Oct. 7, Boeing [expedited](#) delivery of 1,000 smart bombs, and [another](#) 1,800 JDAM kits, to Israel. Both deliveries were part of a 2021 order that Israel made during its previous large-scale attack on Gaza.
- Headquartered in Chicago, the company has important production facilities outside of Los Angeles, Seattle, and St. Louis. For more locations, see [this map](#).
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## Caterpillar

- For decades, [Caterpillar](#) has been supplying Israel with the D9 armored bulldozer, which the Israeli military [routinely uses](#) to demolish Palestinian homes and civilian infrastructure in the occupied West Bank and to enforce the blockade of the Gaza Strip.
- Armored D9 bulldozers [have been crucial](#) in the Israeli military's ground invasion of the Gaza Strip, accompanying combat troops and paving their way by clearing roads and demolishing buildings.
- D9 bulldozers were also used in raids of Palestinian cities in the occupied West Bank, including [Jenin](#) and [Tulkarem](#), where a bulldozer was used to destroy a memorial to former Palestinian president Yasser Arafat. Deliberate destruction of cultural heritage sites during an armed conflict [can](#) constitute a war crime.
- Israel [placed](#) an urgent order for dozens of D9 armored bulldozers during the current attacks.

- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## Colt's Manufacturing Company

- Colt's Manufacturing Company makes firearms, including the M16, which was the standard-issue assault rifle [used](#) by the Israeli military from the 1990s to the early 2010s. Many older M16 rifles are still in use by the Israeli military and police.
- Israel [requested](#) to purchase from Colt about 18,000 M4 and MK18 assault rifles, out of 24,000 total assault rifles from U.S. companies. Israel [designates](#) these firearms for newly-formed civilian "security squads" in dozens of cities and towns, including illegal Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank.
- U.S. State Department officials, who have to approve the sale of automatic rifles, expressed concerns that these weapons will be used to expel Palestinian civilians from their land in the occupied West Bank. While Israel [guaranteed](#) that the rifles will only be used by government agencies, the U.S. has [reportedly](#) delayed a shipment of 4,500 rifles from the same order.
- Colt is headquartered in Hartford, Connecticut, and is owned by Czech firearms manufacturer Colt CZ Group (CZP).
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## Day & Zimmermann

- A privately owned munitions manufacturer headquartered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- In 1990, company subsidiary Mason & Hanger manufactured some of the 120mm rounds that Israeli Merkava tanks [fired](#) at a U.N. school in Gaza in November.
- The Israeli military also routinely uses 155mm artillery rounds made at the Iowa Army Ammunition Plant, which is operated by American Ordnance, another subsidiary of Day & Zimmermann.

## Dynamit Nobel Defence (DND)

Dynamit Nobel Defence (DND) is a German weapons company that co-developed the Matador (RGW 90) portable shoulder-fired anti-tank rocket with Rafael (see below) and the Singaporean government. It is unclear whether the Matador systems used in Gaza are made in Germany.

## Elbit Systems

- Israel's largest weapon manufacturer, [Elbit Systems](#) is one of the primary suppliers of weapons and surveillance systems to the Israeli military, including Skylark and Hermes military UAV drones, which form the majority of Israel's fleet of large drones and have been used extensively in Gaza.
- Elbit Systems' killer Hermes 450 and 900 drones have been used extensively in attacks on and surveillance missions in Gaza, the occupied [West Bank](#), and [Lebanon](#).
- It also supplies the Israeli military with 155mm artillery shells and many other

weapons systems and technologies.

- Elbit Systems spearheaded the technological aspects of the “smart” border wall surrounding the Gaza Strip, which failed on Oct. 7. It is also a prime contractor for the militarization of the U.S.- Mexico border.
- On Oct. 13, the Israeli military [fired](#) 120mm tank rounds at journalists in south Lebanon, [killing](#) Reuters journalist Issam Abdallah and injuring six others in what could amount to a war crime. The munitions used were most likely M339 rounds made by Elbit Systems, [according to Amnesty International](#).
- The company, headquartered in Fort Worth, Texas, has a large U.S. presence, with facilities in Alabama (Talladega), Florida (Boca Raton and De Leon Springs), Massachusetts (Cambridge), New Hampshire (Merrimack), Pennsylvania (Birdsboro) South Carolina (Ladson), Virginia (Reston and Roanoke), and Texas (San Antonio).
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## **Emtan Karmiel**

- A privately-held Israeli firearm manufacturer that, within a week of Oct. 7, [delivered](#) some 12,000 rifles to the Israeli military and other security forces.
- Many of these rifles, if not all of them, are MZ4P assault rifles that have been [acquired](#) by the Israeli Ministry of National Security to arm new civilian “security squads” in dozens of cities and towns, including illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank. News of these security squads [reportedly](#) caused the U.S. to halt shipments of thousands of additional assault rifles to Israel (see above on Colt).

## **Ford Motor Company**

- A U.S. automaker whose commercial pickup trucks are armored and retrofitted for the Israeli military by AM General (see above), Oshkosh (see below), and Plasan (see below).
- The Ford Super Duty F-350 XL pickup truck, for example, serves as the basis of Plasan’s SandCat light armored vehicle. On Dec. 6, a U.S. cargo plane [delivered](#) SandCat vehicles to Israel.
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## **General Dynamics**

- The world’s sixth largest weapon manufacturer, [General Dynamics](#), supplies Israel with artillery ammunition and bombs for attack jets used in Israel’s assault on Gaza.
- The company developed the F-16 fighter jet, although it has been manufactured by Lockheed Martin since 1993.
- General Dynamics is the [only company](#) in the U.S. that makes the metal bodies of the MK-80 bomb series, the primary weapon type Israel uses to bomb Gaza. The bodies of the bombs are filled with explosives by the U.S. military, and then can be made into a guided bomb using [Boeing](#)’s JDAM kits.
- It is also the [only company](#) in the U.S. that makes 155mm caliber artillery shells,

which have been used extensively to attack Gaza. One source reported that, by Nov. 25, one Israeli brigade fired some 10,000 such shells using BAE's M109 howitzer.

- 155mm shells [have been part](#) of the U.S.'s recent weapons shipments to Israel. The U.S. is [planning](#) to send "tens of thousands of 155mm artillery shells that had been destined for Ukraine" to Israel. Their use by Israel, [according to Oxfam](#), is "virtually assured to be indiscriminate, unlawful, and devastating to civilians in Gaza." On Nov. 13, more than 30 organizations [issued](#) a letter opposing the transfer.
- On an Oct. 25 call with investors, General Dynamics CFO, Jason Aiken, [said](#), "I think if you look at the incremental demand potential coming out of [the attacks on Gaza], the biggest one to highlight and that really sticks out is probably on the artillery side."
- General Dynamics is based outside of Washington, D.C., in Fairfax, Virginia. For more locations, see [this map](#).
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## General Electric

- The world's 25th largest weapon manufacturer, [General Electric](#) manufactures T700 Turboshift engines for [Boeing's](#) Apache helicopters.
- GE is headquartered in Fairfield, Connecticut.
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)

- A large Israeli state-owned weapon manufacturer, [Israel Aerospace Industries](#) makes multiple weapons systems specifically for the Israeli military, including the Heron TP killer drone.
- On a Nov. 22 call with investors, IAI CEO, Boaz Levy, [said](#) that Heron drones have "played a pivotal role" in Israel's attacks on Gaza, including in strike operations. In early October, Germany [approved](#) a request by Israel to use two Heron TP drones, manufactured by IAI, in its attacks on Gaza.
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## L3Harris Technologies

- The world's ninth largest weapon manufacturer, [L3Harris](#) manufactures components that are integrated into multiple weapons systems used by the Israeli military in Gaza, including [Boeing's](#) JDAM kits (see above), [Lockheed Martin's](#) F-35 warplane (see below), [Northrop Grumman's](#) Sa'ar 5 warships (see below), ThyssenKrupp's Sa'ar 6 warships (see below), and Israel's Merkava battle tanks.
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## Leonardo

The world's eleventh largest weapon manufacturer, Italian company Leonardo makes the Oto Melara 76/62 Super Rapid 76mm naval guns installed on the Israeli Navy's Sa'ar 6 warships, which [were used](#) for the first time on Oct. 16 against targets in Gaza.

## Lockheed Martin

- The world's largest weapon manufacturer, [Lockheed Martin](#) supplies Israel with F-16 and F-35 fighter jets, which Israel has been using extensively to bomb Gaza. Israel also uses the company's C-130 Hercules transport planes to support the ground invasion of Gaza.
- Lockheed Martin manufactures AGM-114 Hellfire missiles for Israel's Apache helicopters. One of the main weapon types used in aerial attacks on Gaza, these missiles have been used extensively in 2023. Some 2,000 Hellfire missiles were [delivered](#) to Israel sometime between Oct. 7 and Nov. 14.
- On Dec. 11, the Israeli Air Force [used](#) a Lockheed Martin C-130-J Super Hercules aircraft to drop approximately seven tons of equipment to Israeli soldiers engaging in ground attacks in Khan Younis, located in the southern Gaza Strip. This was the "first operational airdrop" that Israel has carried out since the 2006 Lebanon War.
- On Nov. 9, an Israeli missile hit journalists sitting near Shifa Hospital in Gaza City. The missile was [reportedly](#) a Lockheed Martin-made Hellfire R9X missile, a version of the Hellfire that was developed by the CIA for carrying out assassinations. Instead of exploding, the missile shreds its target using blades, allowing for a direct hit without collateral damage. The target in this case was not a military one.
- The Israeli military also uses Lockheed Martin's M270 Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS). Used to fire [Elbit Systems'](#) high-precision AccuLAR-122, the weapon was used by Israel for the [first time](#), since the 2006 war in Lebanon, on Oct. 6, according to the Israeli military.
- On an Oct. 17 call with investors, Lockheed Martin CEO, Jim Taiclet, "[highlighted](#) the Israel and Ukraine conflicts as potential drivers for increased revenue in the coming years."
- Lockheed Martin is headquartered in Bethesda, Maryland, and has key production sites in Denver, Houston, New Orleans, and San Diego. For more locations, see [this map](#).
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## MDT Armor (Shladot)

- MDT Armor, owned by Israeli company Shladot, makes the David Urban Light Armored Vehicle, the standard patrol and reconnaissance vehicle used by the Israeli military and routinely used in human rights violations in the occupied West Bank.
- On Nov. 14, the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS) [posted](#) evidence of the Israeli military using two David armored vehicles to block an ambulance carrying a wounded Palestinian in the Tulkarm Refugee Camp. The same day, the Israeli military [used](#) a David vehicle to attack Palestinian youth at the Zaatara military

checkpoint near the occupied West Bank city of Nablus.

- A shipment of David vehicles was [rushed](#) to Israel in Oct. 2023. The David is built on the basis of Toyota's Hilux and Land Cruiser pickup trucks and is retrofitted for the needs of the Israeli military at MDT's factory in Auburn, Alabama.
- For more information, see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## Nordic Ammunition Company (Nammo)

- The maker of the M141 Bunker Defeat Munition, a shoulder-fired "bunker-buster" rocket used by the Israeli military in Gaza. As of the end of October, the U.S. has [delivered](#) 1,800 out of a requested 3,000 M141 shoulder-fired rocket launchers to Israel.
- These rockets are made in the U.S., at the Nammo Talley factory in Mesa, Arizona. However, Nammo Talley's parent company, Nammo, is headquartered in Norway and [co-owned](#) by the Norwegian government and Finnish company Patria Oyj. The latter is [co-owned](#) by the government of Finland (50.1%) and Norwegian company Kongsberg Defence & Aerospace (49.9%), which is part of Kongsberg Gruppen (FRA: KOZ).

## Northrop Grumman

- The world's sixth largest weapon manufacturer, [Northrop Grumman](#) supplies the Israeli Air Force with the Longbow missile delivery system for its Apache attack helicopters and laser weapon delivery systems for its fighter jets.
- It has also supplied the Israeli Navy with Sa'ar 5 warships, which have participated in the assault on Gaza.
- Northrop Grumman is headquartered in Falls Church, Virginia, and its most important production sites are located in and around Baltimore, Denver, Los Angeles, and San Diego. For more locations, see [this map](#).
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## Oshkosh

- A specialty truck manufacturer headquartered in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, Oshkosh [manufactures](#) the hulls for the Eitan, Israel's newest armored personnel carrier, which was used [operationally for the first time](#) in the ground invasion of Gaza.
- Oshkosh also [makes](#) the trucks that Israel converts into the Panther, an armored personnel carrier used extensively in the occupied West Bank.
- On Dec. 7, the Israeli military [captured](#) dozens of Palestinians in Gaza and transported them to Israel for interrogation. Individuals were stripped down to their underwear and publicly humiliated for hours, potentially in violation of international humanitarian law. At least some were [transported](#) in Oshkosh Medium Tactical Vehicles. While Israeli media claimed that these individuals were all members of Hamas, the Israeli military later [admitted](#) that the vast majority were civilians.
- In October, Israel [requested](#) to purchase 75 Oshkosh [Joint Light Tactical Vehicles](#) for its 2023 attack on Gaza.
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments), see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.



## Plasan

- A private Israeli military vehicle manufacturer that makes the SandCat light armored vehicle for the Israeli military. At least some of these vehicles are manufactured at the company's factory in Grand Rapids, Michigan.
- Since Oc. 7, Plasan has [delivered](#) dozens of SandCat Tigris armored vehicles to the Israeli military and has produced "hundreds of ballistic plates every day" for its use.
- The company also [makes](#) the armor for Oshkosh's Joint Light Tactical Vehicles (JLTVs) (see above) and AM General's Humvees and JLTVs (see above). The Israeli military has used all of these vehicles in its 2023 attacks on Gaza.
- On Dec. 6, a U.S. cargo plane [delivered](#) Plasan-armored Humvees to Israel.

## Rafael

- A large Israeli state-owned weapons manufacturer, Rafael Advanced Defense Systems makes missiles, drones, and other weapons systems for the Israeli military.
- The Israeli military has used Rafael Spike Anti-Tank Guided Missiles extensively to target, from the ground, people inside buildings in the Gaza Strip.
- The Israeli military has also used the Matador (RGW 90) portable shoulder-fired anti-tank rocket, which Rafael developed with German company Dynamic Nobel Defence and the Singaporean government.
- Rafael's Trophy Active Protection System for armored vehicles enables Israeli battle tanks to go into Gaza and avoid being damaged by anti-tank weapons. The company [markets](#) the system as one that "increases the lethality of combat forces."
- Rafael [collaborated](#) with the Israeli military to develop the Spark, a new unmanned drone used to carry out intelligence missions, escort ground forces, and direct strikes. After first being received by the Israeli Air Force in September, Spark drones have [reportedly](#) been assisting Israeli combat teams in Gaza and acting as a "force multiplier on the battlefield."

## RTX (formerly Raytheon)

- The world's second largest weapon manufacturer and largest producer of guided missiles, [RTX](#) supplies the Israeli Air Force with guided air-to-surface missiles for its F-16 fighter jets, as well as cluster bombs and bunker busters, which have consistently been used against Gaza's civilian population and infrastructure.
- RTX subsidiary Pratt & Whitney manufactures engines for F-15 and F-16 fighter jets.
- As part of a joint venture with Israeli state-owned weapon manufacturer Rafael, RTX makes interceptors for Israel's Iron Dome air defense system, which [have been part](#) of the U.S.'s recent weapons shipments to Israel.
- On an Oct. 24 call with investors, RTX CEO, Greg Hayes, [said](#), "I think really across the entire Raytheon portfolio, you're going to see a benefit of this restocking."
- RTX' is headquartered in Waltham, Massachusetts. For more locations, see [this map](#).
- For more information on this company (not including these latest developments),

see our [company profile](#) on the Investigate database.

## SK Group

A private Israeli company that owns:

- Israel Weapon Industries (IWI): a firearms manufacturer that makes the Tavor assault rifle and Negev machine gun, both of which are standard issue weapons in the Israeli military. Since mid-October, IWI has [reportedly](#) been producing “hundreds of Tavor rifles each day” for the Israeli military as well as the domestic commercial market.
- Meprolight: a manufacturer of ‘see-through-the-wall’ radar technology used to identify targets concealed behind walls and barriers. The technology was [used](#) by the Israeli military for the first time in its 2014 attacks on Gaza.
- Israel Shipyards: a shipbuilding company that designs and manufactures missile boats, gunboats, and patrol boats for the Israeli Navy and Israel Border Police. On Dec. 5, the company [announced](#) the launch of its first Shaldag MK V patrol boat, a ship “equipped with highly advanced weapons,” for the Israeli Navy.
- Other subsidiaries include Greek company Elvo, Israeli real estate developer Oshira, and Uni-Scope, which makes optical systems for armored vehicles.

## Skydio

A drone manufacturer headquartered in San Mateo, California, that has [sent](#) more than 100 short-range reconnaissance drones to the Israeli military, “with more to come.” These autonomous drones are [used](#) to navigate and produce 3D scans of buildings in “complex urban environments.”

## SMARTSHOOTER

An Israeli company that developed the SMASH 2000L (3000) system, [marketed](#) as a ‘smart sight’ for tracking moving targets and [used](#) by the Israeli military in its 2023 attacks on Gaza. For example, in November, the Maglan special forces unit of the Israeli military [used](#) the system to target homes and infrastructure near a school in the Shati refugee camp in northern Gaza.

## ThyssenKrupp

A German engineering company that built the Israeli Navy’s four Sa’ar 6 warships, which [were used](#) for the first time on Oct. 16 against targets in Gaza.

## Toyota

A Japanese auto maker that manufactures the pickup trucks used by the Israeli military as the basis for the David Urban Light Armored Vehicle (see MDT Armor above).

## XTEND

A privately held Israeli company that manufactures drones, including the Wolverine combat drone that [requires](#) “no training.” [Operated](#) via virtual reality goggles and a one-handed joystick, the Wolverine is being used by the Israeli military in Gaza to search and gather intelligence on buildings and infrastructure. Equipped with a robotic arm, the drones can also be used for “tactical operations.”

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