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# Guardian: European missiles sold to Israel linked to Gaza strikes that killed children

An investigation shows that revenues from the GBU-39 bomb generated by the US division of MBDA pass through the UK and the EU



by **Sebastian Robustelli Balfour** — 17 July 2025 in **World politics**



A Palestinian man stares at the rubble of the Alloush family's house, levelled in an Israeli strike in Jabalia in the northern Gaza Strip on November 10, 2024. Israel's military has been conducting a sweeping air and ground assault in northern Gaza since October 6, 2024, particularly around Jabalia, Beit Lahia and Beit Hanoun, saying it aims to prevent Hamas regrouping. (Photo by Omar AL-QATTAA / AFP)

Brussels – According to an exclusive by the [Guardian](#), Europe's largest missile manufacturer, [MBDA](#), sells key components for bombs that have been shipped by the thousands to Israel and used in numerous air strikes that killed Palestinian children and other civilians, according to research. This European company is part of a group that comprises Britain's largest defense company, BAE Systems, France's Airbus, and Italy's Leonardo.

As concerns grow over the extent to which European companies might profit from the devastation in Palestine, an investigation by the Guardian, in collaboration with independent newsrooms [Disclose](#) and [Follow the Money](#), examined the supply chain of the GBU-39 bomb and its use during the conflict.

MBDA has a factory in the United States, which produces the 'wings' that are fitted to the GBU-39, manufactured by Boeing. They unfold after their launch, allowing the bomb to be guided to its target.

The revenues of the US company MBDA Incorporated go through MBDA UK, based in England, which then transfers any profits to the MBDA Group, based in France. Last year, the company distributed dividends of nearly 350 million pounds (400 million euros) to its three shareholders.

In September, **British Foreign Secretary David Lammy suspended certain arms export licenses to Israel**, citing the risk of "serious violations" of international humanitarian law. Lammy stated that the move was designed to target "items which could be used in the current conflict in Gaza."

Using open-source information and analysis by weapons experts, the Guardian investigation verified **24 cases where GBU-39s were used in attacks that resulted in civilian deaths**. Each one included children among the fatalities. Many of the attacks occurred at night, without warning, in school buildings and tent camps where displaced families were sheltering. A number were investigated by the United Nations and the humanitarian group Amnesty International, which flagged them as suspected war crimes.

Cases verified in 2023 suggest that **the Israeli army dramatically scaled up its use of GBU-39s in 2024**. One of the most devastating attacks occurred on the night of May 26, 2024, when jets bombed Kuwait Peace Camp 1 in Rafah, triggering a fire that set rows of tents alight. A toddler and a woman were decapitated by fragments of the explosive, Amnesty reported. The Gaza Health Ministry counted 45 dead and 249 wounded.

**"The GBU-39s have been used a lot to target schools and areas where other people are sheltering,"** said Trevor Ball, an associate at Armaments Research Services, which receives some funding from the EU.

Despite strong words and threats of further sanctions after Israel broke the ceasefire in March, and the **United Nations** conclusion according to which “the methods of warfare in Gaza are consistent with genocide, **European leaders have taken no further steps to prevent domestic arms companies from profiting.**”

In a report last month, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in the occupied Palestinian territory, **Francesca Albanese**, examined corporate profits from the conflict. She concluded that: “This report shows why the Israeli-led genocide continues: because it is profitable for many.”

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# EU monitors agreement with Israel on humanitarian aid to Gaza: “Positive signs, but more is needed”

The foreign ministers of the 27 postponed any action against Tel Aviv until after the summer break, freezing the options put on the table by the High Representative. "We will be ready to act if Israel does not fulfil its commitments," promises Kallas



by **Simone De La Feld**

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— 15 July 2025 in **World politics**



L'Alta rappresentante Ue per gli Affari esteri, Kaja Kallas, a Bruxelles, 15/07/25

0:00 / 0:00



Brussels – The European Union is simultaneously trying to save face and its valuable relationship with Israel. The **agreement** reached in extremis last week between Brussels and Tel Aviv for the massive entry of humanitarian aid into Gaza allows the 27 to free themselves from the urgency of taking stronger measures against Benjamin Netanyahu’s government. So, for now, **Brussels welcomes “the positive signals” coming from the Strip and calls for “more concrete measures”**, freezing possible actions to be taken if the humanitarian situation does not improve.

These are the conclusions reached today by the foreign ministers of the 27, gathered in the European capital for the last Council meeting before the summer break. Following the review exercise of the EU-Israel Association Agreement, which **confirmed** violations on the Israeli side, it was the EU heads of state and government themselves who asked the High Representative, **Kaja Kallas**, to put on the table a range of possible measures to be taken against Tel Aviv. **“We will keep all options open and be ready to act** if Israel does not fulfil its

“positive signals” coming from the Strip: “We are seeing more trucks and supplies coming in, more open crossings and repairs to power lines.” In short, enough to hope that something has been set in motion. “This is clearly not enough, the EU will continue to closely monitor the implementation of this joint agreement and **will provide updates every two weeks**,” the High Representative assured.

The outcome seemed a foregone conclusion, to the extent that the Israeli foreign minister himself, **Gideon Sa’ar**, said last night in Brussels, during a summit of Mediterranean countries, that “none of the 10 proposals in the report will be implemented by the 27 member states tomorrow.”

The agreement brokered by Kallas on 10 July **provides that “large-scale aid will be delivered directly to the population”**—cutting out the controversial Gaza Humanitarian Foundation—and that Israel will allow a substantial increase in the number of daily trucks transporting food and non-food items into Gaza, the opening of several more border crossings in the north and south, the reopening of the Jordanian-Egyptian humanitarian routes, the distribution of food through bakeries and public canteens throughout the Strip, the resumption of fuel supplies for humanitarian facilities, the protection of aid workers, and the repair and facilitation of work on vital infrastructure.

While it is true that some measures were already implemented over the weekend by Tel Aviv, it is also true that the raids on Gaza continued, killing dozens of Palestinian civilians. “For the first time in 130 days, **a small amount of fuel entered Gaza** this week. This is a positive development, but it is only a small part of what is needed every day to ensure daily life and relief operations,” several UN agencies in the territory said in a joint **statement**. Meanwhile, today, six Palestinian citizens died in an attack in Gaza City.

“The only guarantee we have is that all options are on the table, and if the situation does not improve, we can use them,” Kallas admitted to reporters, pointing out the fragility of the terms of the understanding with Israel. On the sidelines of the meeting, Irish Foreign Minister **Thomas Byrne** said, “**We have nothing written**, Kallas only told us about the forecasts.”

satisfied with an agreement on the delivery of humanitarian aid and simple monitoring, when Israel is guilty of genocide and continues to have the freedom to exterminate an entire population,” he said in a note.

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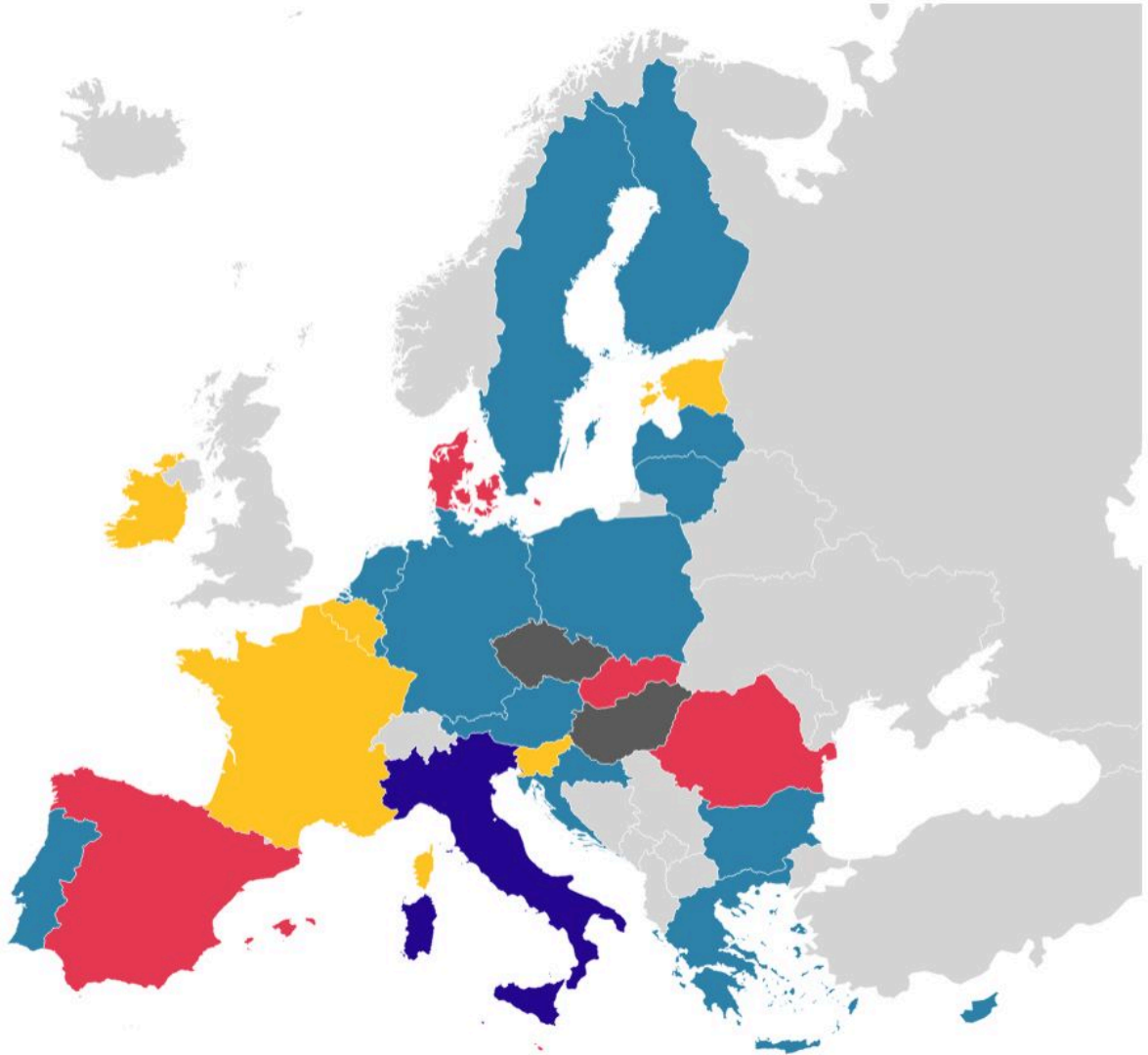
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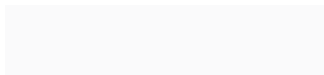
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