

Looking Ahead 2025

virtual
event series

January 13-17, 2025

RECOMMENDATIONS AND RESOURCES

Arms Trade Issues in Europe in 2025

January 13
16:00-17:00 CET
10:00-11:00 AM EST



SAM
PERLO-
FREEMAN



RUTH
ROHDE



WENDELA DE
VRIES



FRANK
SLUIJPER
(moderator)



Moving the Humanitarian Disarmament Agenda Forward

January 15
16:00-17:00 CET
10:00-11:00 AM EST



ERIN
HUNT



HINE-WAI
LOOSE



SUSI
SNYDER



ROOS
BOER
(moderator)



Evolving Legal Challenges to the Arms Trade in 2025

January 14
16:00-17:00 CET
10:00-11:00 AM EST



MARINA
AKSENOVA



SHAH
HAMMOURI



JAMES
YAP



LEÓN
CASTELLANOS
-JANKIEWICZ
(moderator)



U.S. Border: Understanding the Guns and Immigration Link

January 16
2:00-3:00 PM EST

Frontera de EE. UU.: Entendiendo el vínculo entre armas e migración

16 de enero
2:00-3:00 PM EST



JOHN
LINDSAY-POLAND



JONATHAN
LOWY



LAURA
VARGAS



CHRISTINA
DELGADO
(moderator)



Advice for the Next U.S. Congress and President

January 17
11:00 AM-noon EST



SARAH
HARRISON



WILLIAM
HARTUNG



JOSH
PAUL



JEFF
ABRAMSON
(moderator)



The Forum on the Arms Trade's **Looking Ahead 2025** event [series](#) was held as daily virtual sessions from January 13 to 17, 2025. Over the course of the week, 164 unique individuals participated in at least one event, joining from 38 countries. Select sessions of the conference were co-hosted with the Campaign Against Arms Trade (UK), PAX, Shadow World Investigations, and Global Exchange

The Forum is an independent non-profit organization that does not itself take positions. It has the following institutional partners: Amassuru (Network of Women in Security and Defense in Latin America and the Caribbean); Center for International Policy; Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM) in the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland; Gender Equality Network for Small Arms Control (GENSAC); PRISME (Pathways to Renewed and Inclusive Security in the Middle East), Security in Context; SEHLAC (Seguridad Humana en Latinoamérica y el Caribe - Human Security in Latin America and the Caribbean); Shadow World Investigations; and Women for Weapons Trade Transparency (W2T2). Philanthropic support for events such as these is currently provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

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January 13: Arms Trade Issues in Europe in 2025

Panelists:

- **Sam Perlo-Freeman**, Research Coordinator, Campaign Against Arms Trade (UK)
- **Ruth Rohde**, Researcher and Project Coordinator, Shadow World Investigations
- **Wendela de Vries**, Researcher/Activist, Stop Wapenhandel
- **Frank Slijper**, Project Leader, Arms Trade, PAX (moderator)

Video:

Video available at the Forum website ([link](#)) and can also be watched directly at <https://youtu.be/cfhIvMMieGk?t=83>.



click image to launch video

Recommendations and Resources:

Panelists provided recommendations during and after the conference, which the Forum synthesized and added suggested resources for this report. *The Forum on the Arms Trade does not itself take positions, but does provide a mechanism for the sharing of experts' ideas. Inclusion here does not indicate endorsement or agreement by the Forum, other panelists, or event co-sponsors.*

Sam Perlo-Freeman, Research Coordinator, Campaign Against Arms Trade (UK)

- European nations involved in the F-35 should individually and collectively tell the United States that they will only continue to supply components for the F-35 provided a system is established to ensure no such components are supplied to Israel
- The United Kingdom (and other countries) should impose a complete two-way arms embargo on Israel, and halt all forms of military cooperation.
- The UK and other partner nations should refuse sales of Eurofighters to Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Türkiye. The UK should work with partner nations to form a plan to allow for continued Eurofighter production without arming repressive regimes or countries in conflict, or rethink its prioritisation of retaining domestic combat aircraft production over human rights and international peace and security.

Ruth Rohde, Researcher and Project Coordinator, Shadow World Investigations

- Countries and the European Union (EU) should introduce a two-way arms embargo on Israel. This is not only a humanitarian imperative and arguably a legal requirement but crucial for the credibility of a rights- and value-based European foreign policy.
- European countries should re-focus their foreign policy on establishing Europe as a peace broker rather than an arms dealer, investing in better peace research and diplomacy, rather than in an increasingly unrestrained arms industry.
- The EU should introduce additional legislation that prevents the undue influence of arms lobbyists on European foreign and security policy as part of a concerted effort to address systemic corruption in arms transfers.

Wendela de Vries, Researcher/Activist, Stop Wapenhandel

- Arms export control and transparency should remain a national responsibility including accountability to national parliaments, and including component trade between EU companies and EU countries. Small European countries should not hand over this responsibility to big countries or any European institution.

Component export control is even more relevant when production includes cooperation with non-European countries. The Treaty of Aachen (or Toulouse) is undermining component export control and should be abolished.

- Ukraine should become an affiliated partner to the Common Position, like e.g. Norway, and an effective controlling system should be established. The EU should develop a post-ceasefire policy for Ukraine to prevent that the ramped-up war production – notably ammunition – will find its way into new global markets and feed new conflicts.
- Peace and human rights organisations should intensify their public education on the risks of arms export, exposing the commercial interests and corruption and the lobby of the military-industrial complex. There is a strong push to favor military production in Europe over all other investments and we will not be able to keep up export control without strong public support.

Suggested Resources:

- [*Monstrous Anger of the Guns: How the Global Arms Trade is Ruining the World and What We Can Do About It*](#), Rhona Michie, Andrew Feinstein and Paul Rogers, Pluto Press, August 2024.
 - Sam Perlo-Freeman, “[The UK arms trade in 2025 – controversies and challenges](#)” Looking Ahead 2025 blog, Forum on the Arms Trade, January 16, 2025.
 - Sam Perlo-Freeman “[From Revolving Door to Open Plan Office - the Ever Closer Union Between the UK Government and the Arms Industry](#),” World Peace Foundation & Campaign Against Arms Trade, September 18, 2024
 - [Israel/Palestine](#) resources, Campaign Against Arms Trade (UK)
 - Arms Trade Litigation monitor - see [website](#)
-

January 14: Evolving Legal Challenges to the Arms Trade in 2025

Panelists:

- **Marina Aksenova**, Associate Professor of International Criminal Law, IE University (Madrid), and founder, Art and International Justice Initiative
- **Shahd Hammouri**, Lecturer in International Law, University of Kent; non-resident Fellow, Al Haq for Applied International Law (Palestine, Jordan, United Kingdom)
- **James Yap**, Acting Director, International Human Rights Program, and Faculty of Law, University of Toronto (Canada)
- **León Castellanos-Jankiewicz**, Senior Researcher, Asser Institute for International and European Law, The Hague (moderator)

Video:

Video available at the Forum website ([link](#)) and can also be watched directly at <https://youtu.be/aZXRUC6kZ4E?t=128>.



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Recommendations and Resources:

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Marina Aksenova, Associate Professor of International Criminal Law at IE University in Madrid and founder of Art and International Justice Initiative

- We need to expand our understanding of due diligence obligations when it comes to corporate accountability in the area of weapons trade. Due diligence obligations under international law do not serve as an independent basis for generating rights and obligations but rather it is a standard of care to assess compliance of certain actions (e.g. granting export licenses as a state or exporting weapons as a company) with specific duties under international humanitarian or human rights law.
- The regulation of the weapons industry is often limited and lacks scrutiny due to national security exceptions. The role of civil society is to direct the conversation towards mitigating this exception in favour of more transparency. There needs to be an expectation of compliance with the Arms Trade Treaty.
- The arrest warrants issued by the ICC against Mr. Netanyahu and Mr. Gallant might serve as a basis for investigating and expanding on the crime of indiscriminately targeting civilians, which includes the analysis of automated and AI-driven weaponry.

Shahd Hammouri, Lecturer in International Law, University of Kent; non-resident Fellow, Al Haq for Applied International Law (Palestine, Jordan, United Kingdom)

- An arms embargo against Israel as an international legal obligation. The combination of genocide in Gaza, aggression in Syria and Lebanon, and illegal occupation constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Sources and rationale for this obligation includes duty to prevent genocide, duty to protect, duty to cooperate to end the illegal occupation, and the Arms

Trade Treaty (article 6 (3)). These are affirmed by the Human Rights Council last April, and countless UN Experts, and officials. (See A/HRC/RES/55/28.)

- This duty extends to transit of arms and the supply of jet fuel based on relevant precedents of other cases of decolonisation. Further, under the duty to prevent genocide among others states have the duty to refuse the transit of arms by sea, land and air. (Reference cases of Spain, Namibia and Morocco.)
- The duty to stop the arms trade overrides other obligations. NATO obligations do not override international legal obligations (pay attention to the cases of UK and Netherlands regarding the F35 Program). Adherence to Jus Cogens norms provides an exception to treaties under the Vienna Convention (Article 53) [case of the Suez Canal]. Side note: under the ICJ AO states have a green light to terminate trade agreements (Article 51 GATT) and investment agreements.
- Some additional approaches could include freedom of information requests (focus on special laws like environment related); Judicial review; cease and dissent letters; UN Mechanisms; OECD NCP; criminal case against corporation/CEOs/State Officials.

James Yap, Acting Director, International Human Rights Program, and Faculty of Law, University of Toronto (Canada)

- Address/stop U.S. and other arms exports to Israel by focusing on indirect exports. Advocacy can be done at many levels, including via a number of international bodies and mechanisms, as well as via national strategic litigation. Supply chains are highly international, and therefore possibly vulnerable to a coordinated international campaign.

Suggested Resources:

- Shahd Hammouri, "[The legal case for imposing embargoes on Israel](#)," *AlJazeera*, April 3, 2024.
 - Shahd Hammouri, "[NATO obligations cannot override international law](#)," *AlJazeera*, September 16, 2024.
 - Shahid Hammouri, "[Shipments of death](#)," LPE Project, July 15, 2024.
 - Marta Bo, "[Netanyahu and Gallant ICC Arrest Warrants: Tackling Modern Warfare and Criminal Responsibility for AI-enabled War Crimes](#)," *OpinioJuris*, June 12, 2024.
 - Marta Bo and Jessica Dorsey, "[The 'Need' for Speed – The Cost of Unregulated AI Decision-Support Systems to Civilians](#)" *OpinioJuris*, April 4, 2024.
 - Arms Trade Litigation monitor - see [website](#)
-

January 15: Moving the Humanitarian Disarmament Agenda Forward in 2025

Panelists:

- **Erin Hunt**, Executive Director, Mines Action Canada
- **Hine-Wai Loose**, Director, Control Arms
- **Susi Snyder**, Programme Coordinator, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)
- **Roos Boer**, Project Leader, Humanitarian Disarmament, PAX (moderator)

Video:

Video available at the Forum website ([link](#)) and can also be watched directly at <https://youtu.be/4dbQatmzH1k?t=124>.



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Recommendations and Resources:

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Erin Hunt, Executive Director, Mines Action Canada

- Keep the focus on people - this work is about protecting people and communities. What sets humanitarian disarmament apart from other approaches to peace and security is the focus on reducing harm to civilians and the environment. We need to stay focused on that goal in order to achieve better outcomes for all.
- Promote inclusive bodies to make decisions and avoid bodies that operate under the consensus rule. Too many disarmament discussions are happening in bodies that are hamstrung by the consensus rule, where one bad actor prevents progress wanted by the majority of states. This is additionally problematic when civil society and other observers can be removed from the room eliminating the witnesses to such behaviour.
- Speak up even when it is your friends violating the norms. Norms must be equally applied to all states. Currently, it seems that allies are not criticized when they violate the norms of humanitarian disarmament, or the treaties or international humanitarian law (IHL) more broadly when similar actions by an opposing state are widely condemned.

Hine-Wai Loose, Director, Control Arms

- Both states and NGOs should keep in mind the overall objectives of these treaties. For the Arms Trade Treaty, it is to prevent the human suffering caused by the irresponsible arms transfers. Those objectives should guide our actions and lead to better implementation.
- Despite challenges being faced, much can be done. States, international organizations and NGOs need to build strong communities of practice that identify and promote good practices and clarify the interpretation of treaties. Must focus on core work to strengthen norms, which includes States establishing implementing legislation and submitting national reports in support of transparency.

- Need to focus on those weapons that continue to cause greatest harm. More commitment and work is needed on small arms and light weapons. All states should have legislation on the ownership and control of small arms and light weapons.
- Multilateral processes must not get caught in endless administrative discussions and instead need to focus on work that will have an impact on the ground. Role of NGOs is to raise difficult and sensitive issues, and in particular to call out cases of non-compliance.

Susi Snyder, Programme Coordinator, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)

- We have to also find ways to undermine the incentive for weaponisation - that means looking at the profit motives and challenging it- and there are more ways to do so than we might realise when we look towards the human rights landscape, including human rights due diligence obligations and expectations.
- There are a lot more allies in our work than we might have realised - there is a growing field of sustainability professionals who are also considering key areas related to humanitarian and human rights protection, especially as they try not to repeat mistakes of the past
- Public conversation - raising awareness raises the cost of contravening these norms and agreements. While the devil can be in the details with a lot of this, we know from social science and public polling - like that done by the Human Security Lab - that overwhelming humans do not want to cause indiscriminate harm to other humans.

Roos Boer, Project Leader, Explosive Weapons in Populated Areas, PAX, moderator

- Signing treaties and declarations is only step one. Universalization, interpretation and implementation will dictate how much effect these norms will have for civilians.
- Continued commitment and collaboration is needed to continue to defend norms that were already set, and set a progressive agenda for the future.

Suggested Resources:

- Humanitarian disarmament website - [humanitariandisarmament.org](https://www.humanitariandisarmament.org) - including links to [campaigns](#)
 - Daniel Mack, “[Has the firearms industry even heard of Human Rights Due Diligence?](#)” Global Rights Compliance, December 2024.
 - “[What private businesses need to know about international humanitarian law,](#)” *Humanitarian Law & Policy* blog, ICRC, November 26, 2024.
 - Voting results at the UN General Assembly, in particular 79.L30 (mines) and 79/L.77 (lethal autonomous weapons) - see Reaching Critical Will [resolutions](#) page and [First Committee](#) resources
 - Human Security Lab - <https://www.humansecuritylab.net/>
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January 16: U.S. Border: Understanding the Guns and Immigration Link in 2025 *Frontera de EE. UU.: Entendiendo el vínculo entre armas e migración en 2025*

Panelists/Panelistas:

- **John Lindsay-Poland**, Coordinator, Stop US Arms to Mexico // *Coordinador, Stop US Arms to Mexico*
- **Jonathan Lowy**, Founder and President, Global Action on Gun Violence // *Fundador y Presidente, Global Action on Gun Violence*
- **Laura Vargas**, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Colorado School of Medicine Anschutz Medical Campus // *Profesora Asistente, Departamento de Psiquiatría, Universidad de Colorado, Escuela de Medicina del Campus Médico Anschutz*
- **Christina Delgado**, Southwest Regional Advocacy Associate, Community Justice Action Fund (moderator) // *Socio para Incidencia Regional en Suroeste, Fondo de Acción para la Justicia Comunitaria (moderadora)*

Video:

Video available at the Forum website ([link](#)) and can also be watched directly at https://youtu.be/s_daO4DqH8I?t=24. *Vídeo disponible en la web del Foro ([enlace](#)) y también puede verse directamente en <https://youtu.be/DqXZG-cgotI>.*



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Recommendations and Resources // *Recomendaciones y recursos:*

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John Lindsay-Poland, Coordinator, Stop US Arms to Mexico // *Coordinador, Stop US Arms to Mexico*

- Constructive action is possible and should be sought at the local and state level, even when difficult at the federal level. Assault weapons bans and similar approaches make a huge difference to gun homicides in Mexican states, as seen in the differences across the border from Texas and Arizona, as opposed to California. *Es posible adoptar medidas constructivas que deben buscarse a nivel local y estatal, incluso cuando es difícil hacerlo a nivel federal. Las prohibiciones de armas de asalto y otras estrategias similares marcan una enorme diferencia en los homicidios con armas de fuego en los estados mexicanos, como se ve en las diferencias entre Texas y Arizona y California.*
- The Trump administration should not liberalize the commercial sale of firearms to non-governmental end users, undoing a new Biden administration rule. This has a large impact on Central American and Caribbean countries. *La administración Trump no debería liberalizar la venta comercial de armas de fuego a usuarios finales no gubernamentales, anulando así una*

nueva norma de la administración Biden. Esto tiene un gran impacto en los países de América Central y el Caribe.

Jonathan Lowy, Founder and President, Global Action on Gun Violence // *Fundador y Presidente, Global Action on Gun Violence*

- Manufacturers and irresponsible gun dealers are feeding the pipeline of guns to Mexico. They must be held accountable, which the lawsuits filed by Mexico are aiming to do. *Los fabricantes y los comerciantes de armas irresponsables están alimentando el flujo de armas hacia México. Deben rendir cuentas, y eso es lo que pretenden hacer las demandas interpuestas por México.*
- Link the problem of guns to migration, to fentanyl, to gang violence. The gun trafficking pipeline is at the heart of this. These issues cut across partisan politics and if better understood, we could have tremendous popular support. *Hay que relacionar el problema de las armas con la migración, el fentanilo y la violencia de las bandas. El tráfico de armas es el eje central de todo esto. Estas cuestiones trascienden la política partidista y, si se las comprendiera mejor, podríamos contar con un apoyo popular enorme.*

Laura Vargas, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Colorado School of Medicine Anschutz Medical Campus // *Profesora Asistente, Departamento de Psiquiatría, Universidad de Colorado, Escuela de Medicina del Campus Médico Anschutz*

- Media coverage in Latin America and the U.S. should more specifically focus on the pipeline of firearms coming from the U.S., how those firearms shape violence in the region, and how conditions of violence facilitated by firearms directly impact migration. // *La cobertura de los medios de comunicación en América Latina y Estados Unidos debería centrarse más específicamente en el flujo de armas de fuego procedentes de Estados Unidos, en cómo esas armas de fuego configuran la violencia en la región y en cómo las condiciones de violencia facilitadas por las armas de fuego inciden directamente en la migración.*
- Just as drug trafficking has become an interconnected issue when it comes to migration policy discussions in the U.S., firearms trafficking from the U.S. should also be fundamental to shaping the conversation of migration to the U.S. from Latin America and the Caribbean. // *Así como el tráfico de drogas se ha convertido en un tema interconectado en lo que respecta a las discusiones sobre políticas migratorias en los Estados Unidos, el tráfico de armas de fuego desde ese país también debería ser fundamental para dar forma a la conversación sobre la migración a ese país desde América Latina y el Caribe.*
- More policy discussions should center on public health and societal costs for the U.S., Latin America, and the Caribbean of firearms as commercial products that are proliferated through trafficking and diversion, benefiting private companies and actors. // *Se deberían centrar más debates sobre políticas en los costos para la salud pública y la sociedad de las armas de fuego como productos comerciales que proliferan a través del tráfico y el desvío, beneficiando a empresas y actores privados.*

Christina Delgado, Southwest Regional Advocacy Associate, Community Justice Action Fund (moderator) // *Socio para Incidencia Regional en Suroeste, Fondo de Acción para la Justicia Comunitaria (moderadora)*

- Make the connections to root causes of violence, some of which include lack of resources such as housing, food shortages, food deserts, after school care and activities, mentors for education, after school activities. *Establecer conexiones con las causas fundamentales de la violencia,*

algunas de las cuales incluyen la falta de recursos como vivienda, escasez de alimentos, desiertos alimentarios, cuidado y actividades después de la escuela, mentores para la educación y actividades después de la escuela.

Suggested Resources / Recursos sugeridos:

- [“Mexico’s legal battle against the U.S. gun industry,”](#) video, *60 Minutes*, December 22, 2024.
 - [Amicus briefs](#) before the Supreme Court in Mexico’s lawsuit against gun manufacturers, *Estados Unidos Mexicanos v. Smith & Wesson et. al.*
 - [Slides](#) from John Lindsay-Poland’s presentation (English)
 - Arindrajit Dube, Oeindrila Dube, and Omar García-Ponce, [“Cross-Border Spillover: U.S. Gun Laws and Violence in Mexico,”](#) *The American Political Science Review*, August 2013.
 - Websites for Stop Us Arms To Mexico (stopusarmstomexico.org), Global Action on Gun Violence (actiononguns.org/), Community Justice Action Fund (cjunctionfund.org/), Peoples Movement for Peace and Justice ([info](#))
 - [“The Iron River of Weapons to Mexico: Its Sources and Contents,”](#) [“El río de hierro de armas a México: Sus fuentes y contenidos”](#) Stop US Arms to Mexico, June 2024.
 - Forum on the Arms Trade [resource page](#) on international commercial sale of U.S. firearms
-

January 17: Advice for the Next U.S. Congress and President

Panelists:

- **Sarah Harrison**, Senior Analyst, U.S. Program, International Crisis Group
- **William Hartung**, Senior Research Fellow, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft
- **Josh Paul**, Director, A New Policy
- **Jeff Abramson**, Senior Fellow, Center for International Policy and Director, Forum on the Arms Trade (moderator)

Video:

Video available at the Forum website ([link](#)) and can also be watched directly at https://youtu.be/1VN_pL44KEU?t=89.



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Recommendations and Resources:

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Sarah Harrison, Senior Analyst, U.S. Program, International Crisis Group

- Comply with the law. The executive branch should comply with the law and Congress should ensure that compliance or make the laws clear. This has been an ongoing problem in relation to, for example, the Leahy laws and other provisions in the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act (AECA).
- Policymakers need to work towards making peacemaking a U.S. national security interest. The U.S. is very good at going to war, but not very good at exiting or helping others end it. We have decided as a country to make arms transfers a main pillar of our foreign policy and we need to shift towards making peacemaking a significant part of our foreign policy.

William Hartung, Senior Research Fellow, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft

- There should be greater transparency over a wide array of arms sales-related issues: commercial sales, when U.S. arms are actually delivered, details of coproduction and offset arrangements.
- A shadow hearing on humanitarian and strategic impact of U.S. military support for Israel (organized by key members as a press and public education event) should occur as a way to get attention to the issue given that Republican chairs of key committees would not be likely to allow formal hearings on the topic.
- An updated, independent study on jobs sustained via U.S. arms sales should be conducted.

Josh Paul, Director, A New Policy

- Focus on process. The absence of process leads to the absence of good quality outcomes. While there may be many specific decisions that many will dislike, need to also pay attention to attacks on the underlying process. One important one will be the tiered review process, for which we

may see a quick test on weapons to Israel and whether the Trump administration honors the process or breaks it. Similarly, there should be efforts to strengthen transparency and oversight.

- Focus on framing and whether what is being done is in America's interest. Such framing can be used to expand the debate whether talking about the export of technology and surveillance systems, offshoring technologies, the role and influence of corporations in public, and the cost to America of fueling conflicts around the world.

Jeff Abramson, Senior Fellow, Center for International Policy (moderator)

- Members of Congress should call for greater public transparency in the arms trade. Depending on the issue, members of both parties have made the case for transparency (whether that be in arms for Ukraine, often by Republicans) or arms to the Middle East (often by Democrats).
- The Trump administration should end the provision of weapons that are generally banned by customary international law, particularly antipersonnel landmines and cluster munitions to Ukraine.

Suggested Resources:

- Sarah Harrison, "[A Model Leahy Law Legal Memo on Assistance to Israeli Security Forces](#)," *Just Security*, December 12, 2024.
- William Hartung, "[Will a Trump Presidency Supercharge U.S. Arms Trading?](#)" *Forbes*, November 6, 2024.
- William Hartung, "[Promoting Stability or Fueling Conflict? The Impact of U.S. Arms Sales on National and Global Security](#)," Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft, October 20, 2022.
- William Hartung, "[Arsenal of Autocracy?The Major Weapons Makers Cash in Worldwide, Not Just in Ukraine](#)," *TomDispatch*, May 24, 2022.
- Josh Paul, "[Security Assistance and Arms Transfers: Human Rights Frameworks and Recommendations for Strengthening](#)," Institute for Middle East Understanding, November 10, 2023.
- Isaac Chotiner, "[Q. & A. Why Israel's Approach to Civilian Casualties May Not Affect U.S. Support](#)," *The New Yorker*, April 8, 2024.
- US Campaign to Ban Landmines and US Cluster Munition Coalition statements on transfers to Ukraine, such as [December 3](#) (landmines) and [October 17](#) (cluster munitions)