E.MA in Human Rights and Democratisation

Questioning the effectiveness of the EU Arms Export Control Regime in curbing irresponsible arms exports: A greater role for the European Parliament?

by Helen Sheridan Academic Year 2009/2010

Under the supervision of

Prof. Dr. Horst Fischer

Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict

Ruhr-Universität Bochum

Abstract

The EU is largely seen as playing a unique role in the international arena due to its commitment to normative values such as peace, liberty, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights, which are enshrined in the EU's founding treaties. However, the EU's member states are also among the largest arms exporters in the world, and these weapons have the power to exacerbate conflict and aid in the abuse of human rights. This thesis examines this relationship between the EU member states economic interests in the field of arms trade and the normative values they are obliged to uphold. It questions the effectiveness of the EU's arms export control regime by examining the EU Code of Conduct and recent Common Position. The result is a mixed picture but when coupled with examples of how EU member states have undermined these norms in their actions in the field of arms exports, we can conclude that both the Code of Conduct and Common Position have not been effective. The study then considers ways to improve the situation by looking at a greater role for the European Parliament in this area, given the increasing competences of the EU in security and defence policy. Finally, it takes a brief look at the future of the arms industry and arms control and the need to find more innovative solutions to control irresponsible arms exports.

Acknowledgements

There are many people whose support and guidance helped me through this research topic and the second semester in general. While I cannot list them all, there are a few I would like to name in particular. First of all, I would like to thank Prof. Fischer for allowing me the opportunity to study in Bochum and for his helpful comments. I would also like to thank all the masterini for their encouragement and motivation, but particularly Marie, who kept me sane throughout this process! Most of all, however, I would like to thank my parents and my brothers who were always there for me, and who gave me much invaluable advice. Thank you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATT Arms Trade Treaty

COARM Council Working Group on Conventional Arms Exports

CFSP Common Foreign Security Policy

CSDP Common Security and Defence Policy

DAC Development Assistance Committee (part of OECD)

G8 Group of 8

EC European Community

ECHR European Court of Human Rights

EPC European Political Community

ESDA European Security and Defence Assembly

ESDP European Security and Defence Policy

EU European Union

HIPC Heavily Indebted Poor Countries

IMF International Monetary Fund

MEP Member of European Parliament

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

OCCAR Joint Armaments Co-operation Organisation

ODA Official Development Assistance

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OP Operational Provision

SALW Small Arms and Light Weapons

SEDE Sub-Committee on Security and Defence (European Parliament)

TEC Treaty on the European Community

TEU Treaty on the European Union

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UK United Kingdom

US United States

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

WEU Western European Union

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	,	p.1
Chapter 1 – T	The EU and Arms Export Control	p.6
1 1 The FII as	s a 'Normative Power'	n 6
	ry of EU Arms Export Control	
	ode of Conduct on Arms Export Control.	
	nents in EU Arms Export Policy after the Adoption of the Code	-
	Publication of the EU Annual Report	
	Approval of an EU Common List of Military Equipment	
1.4.C		
1.4.D		
1.4.E	Arms Brokering.	-
1.4.F	The User's Guide	p.21
1.4.G	End-Use Certificates	p.22
1.4.H	The Common Position: A legally binding instrument	p.23
Chapter 2 –]	EU Member State Action in the Field of Arms Exports	p.25
2.1 The 'Social	alisation' of EU Member States?	n 25
	State Interest and the Adoption of the Common Position	-
	The EU Arms Embargo on China	
	A Common European Defence Market: Loosening Restrictions	
	nunity Transfers	
	oorts to Israel	
_	The EU's Relationship with Israel	_
	EU Arms Exports during the Israel-Lebanon conflict in 2006	-
	UK Arms Exports during 'Operation Cast Lead' in Gaza	-
2.4 EU Arms	Exports and Sustainable Development	p.36
2.4.A	UK Arms Exports to Tanzania	p.37
2.4.B	Lack of Clarity with regard to Sustainable Development	p.38
2.5 Material Interest vs. Normative Values		p.39
2.5.A	EU Member States as Rational Actors	
2.5.B	Belgium and the Nepal Arms Deal	p.42
2.5.C	Both Material Interests and Normative Concerns at play	p.43
Chapter 3 – T	The Way Forward	p.46
3.1 A Greater	Role of the European Parliament?	p.47
	Security and Defence Policy and National Parliaments	

Bibliography	(2)
Conclusion.	p.59
3.2.B Arms Export Control at the Internatio	nal Levelp.56
3.2.A EU Arms Export Controls and Global	
3.2 Globalisation of the Arms Industry	
3.1.E Multi-Level Parliamentary Cooperation	onp.52
Control	p.50
3.1.D Improving the Role of the European I	Parliament in Arms Export
3.1.C Different Forms of Democratic Legiti	macyp.49
3.1.B The Increasing Role of the EU in Sec	urity and Defence Policyp.48