



United Nations Institute for
Disarmament Research

European Union Assistance on Curbing
Small Arms and Light Weapons in the
Kingdom of Cambodia:
A Case Study on European Action on
SALW under the CFSP

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Small Arms Survey

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- 19 The fact-finding mission concluded that record-keeping and safe storage were areas of concern mainly because their interlocutors were unable to provide the fact-finding mission with the necessary information including evidence of guidelines or procedures to identify surplus weapons. Owen Greene, "Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999", 1999, pp. 4, 7)
- 20 EU-ASAC, "The European Union's Assistance on Curbing Small Arms and Light Weapons (EU ASAC) in the Kingdom of Cambodia", < <http://www.eu-asac.org/> > .
- 21 Council of the European Union, Council Decision 2000/724/CFSP of 20 November 2000 extending and amending Decision 1999/730/CFSP concerning a European contribution to combating the destabilising accumulation and spread of small arms and light weapons in Cambodia, EU document 2000/724/CFSP, 20 November 2000.
- 22 In addition to CFSP funding, the weapons registration and safe storage project received additional funding from the Netherlands of US\$ 272,950 in 2003 and €250,000 in 2004.
- 23 EU-ASAC, "Final Report on the Improved Weapons Record Keeping and Safe Storage Project in Military Region 4", pp. 3, 5.
- 24 Owen Greene had met with 12 representatives from civil society in Cambodia who shared their concerns with him. Owen Greene, "Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999", 1999, appendix 1.
- 25 At the time of the fact-finding mission, there were plans to demobilize some 55,000 personnel from the armed forces over the coming five years. This would have meant that the weapons held by the demobilized soldiers would become surplus and would require a destruction and disposal policy. Similar issues would be raised by the planned downsizing of the police force. The police is to be reduced by 24,000 to 40,000. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 26 EU-ASAC, "The European Union's Assistance on Curbing Small Arms and Light Weapons (EU ASAC) in the Kingdom of Cambodia", < <http://www.eu-asac.org/> > .
- 27 See Working Group for Weapons Reduction, "Public Opinion Survey on the Weapons Confiscation Program of the Royal Government of Cambodia", 1999. The EU-ASAC document that proposed the weapons for development project suggested that there were between 250,000 to 400,000 weapons hidden by the civilian population; Robin Edward Poulton, "Weapons for Development (WfD)—The Rationale. An Innovative Approach to Micro-disarmament and Peace-building", EU-ASAC, 2001.
- 28 See Robin Edward Poulton, "Kracheh Province Report. Weapons for Development Feasibility Study", EU-ASAC, 2000, pp. 16–17. Security needs were expressed in a simultaneous equation: fewer weapons= less violence; destroyed weapons = confidence in peace; surrendered weapons = development action; development action = human security; ergo: WfD = peace-building.
- 29 See David de Beer, "Lessons learned form development-oriented SALW programmes: Reflections on experiences in Cambodia", presentation at the Wilton Park Conference *Integrating Small Arms and Light Weapons into Development Programmes*, 14 April 2003.
- 30 The small-scale weapons for development projects were carried out in Kampot, Kompong Spue, Kompong Thom, Battambang, Pailin, Takeo, Kompong Cham, Pursat and Preah Vihear provinces.
- 31 The local authority structures had been created after the 2002 Commune Council elections. In 2004 such Commune Council training projects were implemented in Battambang, Pailin, Pursat and Kampong Thom.
- 32 The background document for a weapons for development programme repeated the rationale that the aim of the programme was to reduce violence and not crime, and stated specifically that the programme would not attempt to target criminals. Robin Edward Poulton, "Weapons for Development (WfD)—The Rationale. An Innovative Approach to Micro-disarmament and Peace-building", EU-ASAC, 2001.
- 33 For example, the fact-finding mission found evidence of cynicism among Cambodians outside the government structures, who suspected that the collected weapons would find their ways from government storage into the hands of criminals; Owen Greene, "Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999", 1999, p. 6. The report recommended that the programme should promote security sector reform as a means to establish the rule of law within the security forces. This was based on the observations that crime and violence were often perpetrated with impunity by police and government officials, or people closely associated with them. The mission noted the perception

among Cambodians that the police and other security forces are themselves a significant source of insecurity and gun violence; *ibid.*, p. 9. The evaluation of the WfD programme component also noted that high-ranking police officers and government officials and their friends, colleagues and families continued to operate above the law. Johan Buwalda, “Report of an Evaluation Mission in Cambodia from September 21 till October 19, 2002”, EU-ASAC, 2002, < <http://www.eu-asac.org/programme/vwc/evaluationReportOctober2002.pdf>>, p. 14.

³⁴ The limited crime data presently available suggests that little progress has been made in curbing gun crime since the start of the EU-ASAC programme. See Working Group for Weapons Reduction, “Gun and Livelihood”, 2003.

³⁵ It would appear from reading the phrasing “such project might include, *inter alia*” (Article 6) that a specific focus on crime could under certain circumstances perhaps be made. However, the introduction suggests that the fight against the criminal use of firearms would be left to Interpol (paragraph 9).

³⁶ Under the Treaty of European Union, the Presidency is responsible for implementing decisions under CFSP in general, but does not participate at all in the actual implementation of individual projects. Specially appointed project managers are contracted by the European Commission. The project was mentioned in a footnote in the country strategy paper in a very unspecific sentence describing several planned and ongoing activities. European Commission, External Relations. *The EC-Cambodia Country Strategy Paper 2000-2003*, 2002, < http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cambodia/csp/02_06_en.pdf>, p. 97, note 9.

³⁷ See Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 1999/730/CFSP of 15 November 1999 Implementing the Joint Action 1999/34/CFSP with a View to a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 1999/730/CFSP, 15 November 1999, art. 2(4).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, art. 2(3).

³⁹ The Working Group on Global Arms Control and Disarmament (CODUN) is one of the two preparatory bodies for the General Affairs Council (GAC), which meets at ministerial level. CODUN meets once a month in Brussels and is attended by senior disarmament and non-proliferation officials from the EU member states. The Working Groups are served by personnel from the non-proliferation and disarmament sections of the Council’s General Secretariat. Officials from the European Commissions participate in all meetings. Daniel Feakes, “The Emerging European Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Agenda on Chemical and Biological Weapons”, *Disarmament Diplomacy*, no. 65, 2002, note 13.

⁴⁰ See Owen Greene, “EU Programme on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia. Interim Evaluation and Recommendations Relating to Continuation”, 2001, p. 14.

⁴¹ The World Food Programme, Canada and Japan also contributed to the WfD programme.

⁴² For a breakdown of the budget, see annex 1.

⁴³ The amount shown here has been taken from the Council Decisions as indicated and not the EU-ASAC document (annex 1), which seems to have recorded the money actually received.

⁴⁴ Source: annex 1, EU-ASAC document. Exchange rate calculated on 29 June 2005.

⁴⁵ Source: Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 1999/730/CFSP of 15 November 1999 Implementing the Joint Action 1999/34/CFSP with a View to a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 1999/730/CFSP, 15 November 1999.

⁴⁶ Source: Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 2000/724/CFSP of 20 November 2000 Extending and Amending Decision 1999/730/CFSP Concerning a European Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 2000/724/CFSP, 20 November 2000.

⁴⁷ Source: Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 2001/796/CFSP of 15 November 2001 Extending and Amending Decision 1999/730/CFSP Concerning a European Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 2001/796/CFSP, 15 November 2001.

- 48 Source: Council of the European Union, *Council Decision of 11 November 2002 Extending and Amending Decision 1999/730/CFSP Concerning a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 2002/904/CFSP, 11 November 2002.
- 49 Source: Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 2003/806/CFSP of 17 November 2003 Extending and Amending Decision 1999/730/CFSP Implementing the Joint Action 1999/34/CFSP with a View to a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 2003/806/CFSP, 17 November 2003.
- 50 Source: Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 2004/792/CFSP of 22 November 2004 Extending and Amending Decision 1999/30/CFSP Implementing Joint Action 1999/34/CFSP with a View to a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 2004/792/CFSP, 22 November 2004.
- 51 Source: Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 1999/730/CFSP of 15 November 1999 Implementing the Joint Action 1999/34/CFSP with a View to a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 1999/730/CFSP, 15 November 1999, art. 2(1). When the EU–ASAC Project started in April 2000, the European Commission had only a Technical Cooperation Office (TCO). A Delegation of the European Commission in Cambodia was not opened until December 2001. The Head of Delegation remained accredited in Bangkok and the office is run by a Chargé d'affaires. The Chargé d'affaires, however, had been part of the original fact-finding mission and therefore had intimate knowledge of the background to the EU–ASAC project.
- 52 See European Commission, “The EU’s Relations with Cambodia: Overview”, <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cambodia/intro/index.htm>; and European Commission, “Common Foreign & Security Policy (CFSP)—Financing Ongoing Joint Actions Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management”, <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cfsp/fin/pja.htm>. However, the website of the Delegation of the European Commission in Cambodia does refer to the EU–ASAC programme and the EU–ASAC website refers to the European Commission’s external aid programmes in Cambodia (see EU–ASAC, “EU ASAC—The EU’s Assistance on Curbing Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Kingdom of Cambodia”, <<http://www.eu-asac.org/>>).
- 53 European Commission, External Relations. *The EC–Cambodia Country Strategy Paper 2000–2003, 2002*, <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cambodia/csp/02_06_en.pdf>, p. 97, note 9: “Ongoing and planned activities include support to the decentralization process, conflict resolution activities under the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights and the EU Joint Action on Small Arms, actions addressing trade infrastructure, customs procedures and regulations, tariff and none-tariff barriers and support to the development of NGOs in the agro-business.”
- 54 The three priorities of the 2005–2006 NIP are increasing economic growth, social sector support and governance. The Governance priority will target the Ministry of Economy and Finance. European Commission. External Relations, *The EC–Cambodia National Indicative Programme 2005–2006, 2005*, <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cambodia/csp/nip_2005-2006.pdf>, pp. 2–3.
- 55 Commission officials from the CFSP unit in charge of the contract with the project manager generally visit EU–ASAC once a year.
- 56 The term “visibility” is frequently used by EU officials to describe the need to be seen to be active in particular areas that are of interest to its citizens and the wider world; Daniel Feakes, “The Emerging European Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Agenda on Chemical and Biological Weapons”, *Disarmament Diplomacy*, no. 65, 2002, p. 2.
- 57 See Owen Greene, “Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999”, 1999, p. 9.
- 58 Council of the European Union, *Joint Action of 17 December 1998 Adopted by the Council on the Basis of Article J.3 of the Treaty on European Union on the European Union's Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons*, EU document 1999/34/CFSP, 17 December 1998.
- 59 EU member states diplomats attending the CODUN meetings usually come from Foreign Affairs desks tasked with CFSP or disarmament. These diplomats are rarely familiar with typical

development procedures, which are usually dealt with in specialised Ministries for Development Cooperation or special development desks within Foreign Affairs ministries.

⁶⁰ Council of the European Union, *Council Decision 1999/730/CFSP of 15 November 1999 Implementing the Joint Action 1999/34/CFSP with a View to a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 1999/730/CFSP, 15 November 1999, art. 1: “The European Union shall contribute to promoting the control, collection and destruction of weapons in Cambodia. For this purpose the European Union shall: a) assist the Government of Cambodia in the development of appropriate laws and regulations on the ownership, possession, use, sale and transfer of arms and ammunition; b) assist the Government of Cambodia and the police and security forces to develop guidelines for improved record-keeping and security for weapons held by them; c) assist the Government of Cambodia and the police and security forces in developing procedures for voluntary surrender of small arms, particularly in the connection with the planned demobilization and restructuring of the armed forces; d) support civil society programmes to raise public awareness on problems related to small arms and light weapons, and further to develop civil society cooperation with the weapons collection destruction process, in particular supporting activities by NGOs.”

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, art. 2: “1. In order to carry out the objectives specified in Article 1, the Presidency will appoint a project manager based in Phnom Penh. 2. The Project Manager will perform his tasks under the responsibility of the Presidency in accordance with the terms of reference set out in the annex. 3. The Project Manager shall report regularly to the Council or its designated bodies through the Presidency assisted by the Secretary General / High Representative for the CFSP. 4. In carrying out his activities, the Project Manager will cooperate as appropriate, with local Missions of Member States and the Commission.”

⁶² See Council of the European Union, documents 2004/792/CFSP, 2003/806/CFSP, 2002/904/CFSP, 2001/796/CFSP, 2000/724/CFSP, 1999/730/CFSP and 1999/34/CFSP.

⁶³ The EU-ASAC project manager was the head of the office whereas most project managers within the EC work under the supervision of more senior officials, including Heads of Delegations.

⁶⁴ See Johan Buwalda, “Report of an Evaluation Mission in Cambodia from September 21 till October 19, 2002”, EU-ASAC, 2002, <<http://www.eu-asac.org/programme/vwc/evaluationReportOctober2002.pdf>>, p. 13.

⁶⁵ See Owen Greene, “Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999”, 1999; Robin Edward Poulton, “Weapons for Development (WfD)—The Rationale. An Innovative Approach to Micro-disarmament and Peace-building”, EU-ASAC, 2001; and EU-ASAC, “EU ASAC Programme—Registration and Safe Storage”, <http://www.eu-asac.org/programme/reg_safe_storage.htm>.

⁶⁶ See Owen Greene, “EU Programme on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia. Interim Evaluation and Recommendations Relating to Continuation”, 2001; Johan Buwalda, “Report of an Evaluation Mission in Cambodia from September 21 till October 19, 2002”, EU-ASAC, 2002, <<http://www.eu-asac.org/programme/vwc/evaluationReportOctober2002.pdf>>; EU-ASAC, “Final Report on the Implementation of the Capacity Building Project for Community Relations and Code of Conduct of the Cambodian National Police Force in Selected Provinces”, 2003; and EU-ASAC, “Final Report on Weapons in Exchange for Development Project in Four Districts in Preah Vihear Province”, 2003.

⁶⁷ See Owen Greene, “Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999”, 1999, annex 1.

⁶⁸ The fact-finding mission included recommendations on how to integrate the programme into the planned demobilization programme. However, the demobilization programme that was finally implemented did not include a SALW component.

⁶⁹ However, they moved out of the same building in April 2005; see Owen Greene, “EU Programme on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia. Interim Evaluation and Recommendations Relating to Continuation”, 2001, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Council of the European Union, *Council Decision of 11 November 2002 Extending and Amending Decision 1999/730/CFSP Concerning a European Union Contribution to Combating the Destabilising Accumulation and Spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia*, EU document 2002/904/CFSP, 11 November 2002.

- ⁷¹ Owen Greene, "EU Programme on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia. Interim Evaluation and Recommendations Relating to Continuation", 2001, p. 17.
- ⁷² In fact, cooperation with civil society and NGOs has been one of the four points of instruction given to the project manager by the Council in 1999 and was repeated in 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004.
- ⁷³ Owen Greene, "Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999", 1999, p. 2.
- ⁷⁴ Working Group for Weapons Reduction, "Public Opinion Survey on the Weapons Confiscation Program of the Royal Government of Cambodia", 1999.
- ⁷⁵ See Owen Greene, "EU Programme on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia. Interim Evaluation and Recommendations Relating to Continuation", 2001, p. 10.
- ⁷⁶ See Owen Greene, "Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999", 1999, p. 13.
- ⁷⁷ These were the Cambodian Institute for Development and Human Rights and the Cambodian Institute for Human Rights; see Owen Greene, "EU Programme on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia. Interim Evaluation and Recommendations Relating to Continuation", 2001, p. 16.
- ⁷⁸ Owen Greene spoke with 16 representatives from the Cambodian government, including officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Defence, the Prime Ministers Office, the Ministry of Interior, the Police, as well as Special Advisors and some provincial governors. See Owen Greene, "Mission on Small Arms in Cambodia, 12–19 July 1999", 1999, appendix 1.

ANNEX I

EU-ASAC Funding 2000-2005

2000:

European Union	€1,447,584	Core funding
United Kingdom	US\$ 20,000	Code of Conduct, National Police

2001:

European Union	€1,190,113	Core funding
Netherlands	€363,024	Weapons for Development, Snuol district, Kratie province
Japan	US\$ 137,323	Weapons for Development, Bakan district, Pursat province
Germany	US\$ 100,000	Security Sector Reform, Bakan district, Pursat province
Canada	CAN\$ 40,800	Security Sector Reform, Snuol district, Kratie province

2002:

European Union	€1,768,200	Core funding
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2003:

European Union	€1,567,792	Core funding
Netherlands	US\$ 272,950	Weapons Registration and Safe Storage, Military Region 4
Germany	US\$ 100,000	Security Sector Reform, Police-Community Relations training
United Kingdom	US\$ 96,079	Security Sector Reform, Preah Vihear province

2004:

European Union	€1,436,953	Core funding
Netherlands	€250,000	Weapons Registration and Safe Storage, Military Region 3

2005:

European Union	€1,375,565	Core funding
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ANNEX II

Changes in EU-ASAC manager's job descriptions 1999-2004

	Law	Record Keeping and Safe Storage	Voluntary Surrender and Destruction of Surplus Stocks	Awareness Raising	Other tasks
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist in the development of appropriate laws and regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist government and police to develop guidelines for improved record keeping and security for weapons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist the government, police and security forces to develop procedures for voluntary surrender and for identifying and destroying surplus small arms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support civil society programmes to raise public awareness 	
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • work with relevant officials • may organize training visits for them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • organize workshops for Cambodian authorities • work out a pilot project for suitable courses of conduct 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist the government, police and security forces to develop procedures for identifying and destroying surplus small arms • supervise and monitor implementation of 'Arms versus development' pilot projects • assist weapons destruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support the working group for weapons reduction in awareness raising and educational and training programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish procedures for effective monitoring and evaluation of activities
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist the government and parliament in the process to adoption of draft law • a assist development of secondary laws regulations • support public awareness around the law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • continue to work with the government and armed forces • monitor the project in military region 1 • develop a project in a further military region • conduct training and systems development at national level • carry out feasibility study for work with the police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support the national programme of weapons destruction ceremonies • limited support for capacity-building of national commission • supervise and monitor "Arms versus development" pilot projects and may extent them to neighbouring areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support NGOs and in particular the working group for weapons reduction in awareness raising and educational and training programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish procedures for effective monitoring and evaluation of activities • encourage other donors to support SALW control • support project implementation by other donors
2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist the government and parliament in the process to adoption of draft law. • a assist development of secondary laws regulations • support public awareness around the law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • continue to work with the government and armed forces • monitor the project in military region 2 and 5 • develop a project in a further military region • conduct training and systems development at national level • implement a pilot project with the police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support the national programme of weapons destruction ceremonies • limited support for capacity-building of national commission • supervise and monitor "Weapons for Development" large scale and small scale programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support NGOs and in particular the working group for weapons reduction in awareness raising and educational and training programmes • particular attention will be paid coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish procedures for effective monitoring and evaluation of activities • encourage other donors to support SALW control • support project implementation by other donors

	Law	Record Keeping and Safe Storage	Voluntary Surrender and Destruction of Surplus Stocks	Awareness Raising	Other tasks
2003/ 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if necessary and to a limited extent support the National Commission on education projects on the new Arms Law when it comes into force 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • continue to work with the government and armed forces • monitor the project in military region 2, 5 and 4 • develop a further project in a military region 1 • conduct training and systems development at national level • if funds are available implement a further project with the police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support the national programme of weapons destruction ceremonies • assist the government in searching for weapons caches • supervise and monitor “Weapons for Development” the small scale programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support NGOs and in particular the working group for weapons reduction in awareness raising and educational and training programmes • particular attention will be paid coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish procedures for effective monitoring and evaluation of activities • encourage other donors to support SALW control • support project implementation by other donors • restructure support to allow continuation of work related to record keeping and safe storage once activities will end in 2004

