

# Sanctions history and key actors

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## Contents

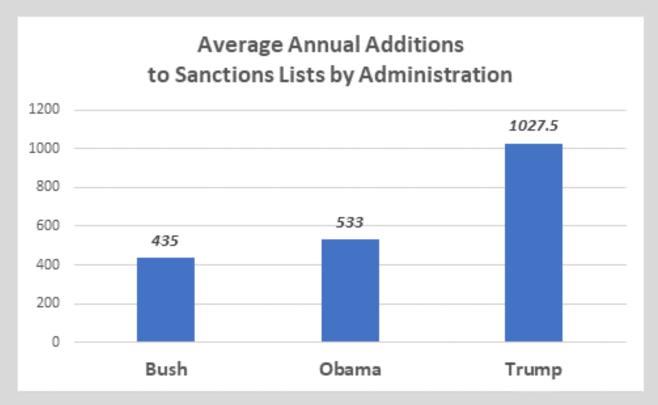
- Pre-cursors to modern sanctions
- Sanctions decade
- UN structures and practice
- US structures and practice
- EU structures and practice

# Departing debate

If you see this sign – it's your time to take over the conversation ©

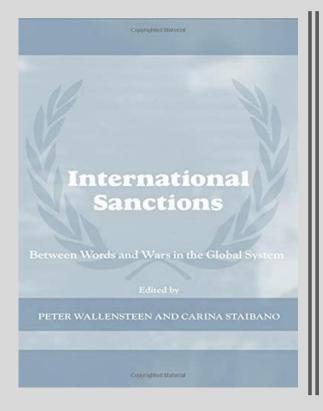


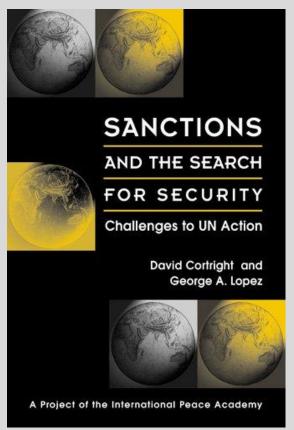
- What would you infer from this graph?
  - About the goals of sanctions
  - About the style/procedure of sanctions
  - About the character of sanction regimes
  - About the various sanction actors we cover

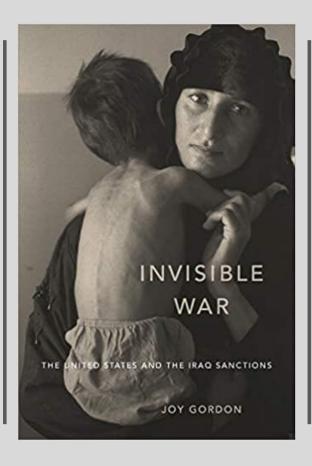


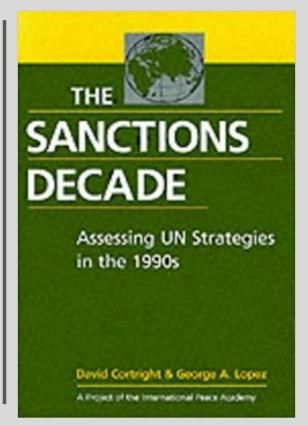
## Sanctions history as punitive and bargaining measures

- As Farral states "precedents existed for most of the forms of coercion short of the use of force envisaged by Article 41" (assigned chapter)
- Historical uses of blockades, tariff hikes, embargoes, citizen exclusion, fishing rights limitation, asset seizure (or indeed person seizure or detention)
- The distinguishing feature is the use of sanctions as part of economic statecraft or warcraft rather than to uphold or safeguard agreements, standards, treaties, or norms
- League of Nations sets first coordinated international peace-time precedent of norm-upholding sanctions imposition – Italy 1935-36

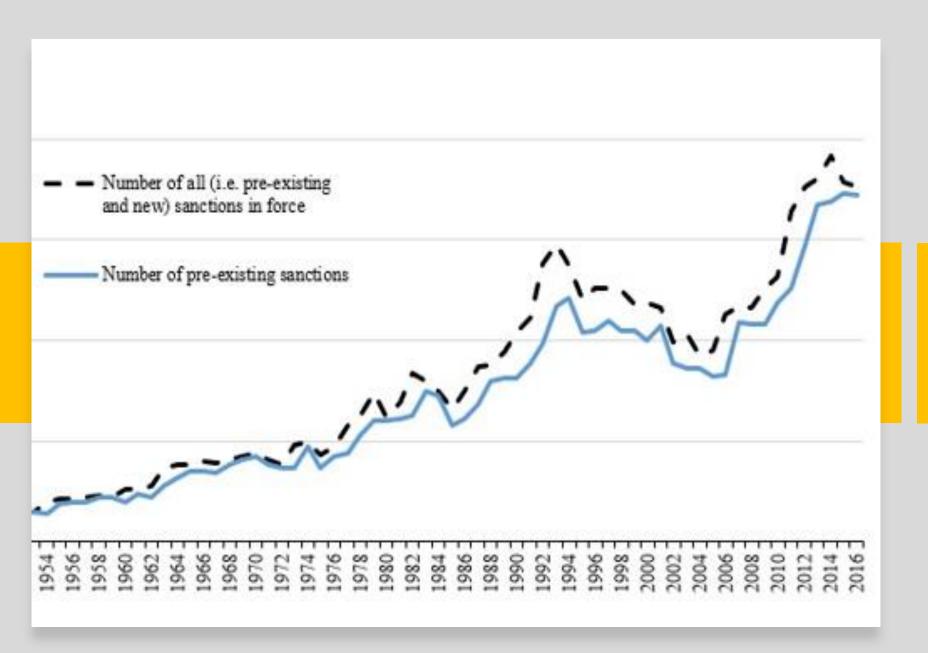








## Sanctions decade 1990-2000



# Decade impact on actors

- Severe impact on targets, but also on actors
- Significantly more nuance introduced requiring created and altered institutions
- Altered goals
- UN Sanction Committees
- UN Panels of Experts
- UN Ombudsperson
- OFAC privileges
- EU CFSP and horizontal

## Sanction senders

- UN sanctions
- EU sanctions
- US sanctions
- ECOWAS Sanctions and moratoriums
- AU sanctions and suspensions
- UK, Japan, Australia, China
- League of Arab states sanctions

#### **U.S. Sanctions**

Counternarcotics
Cuba
Cyber
Magnitsky (Russia)
Nicaragua
Nonproliferation
Rough Diamond Trade
Transnational Criminal
Organizations

#### **UN Sanctions**

Al-Qaeda
CAR¹
DRC²
Guinea-Bissau
Iran
Iraq
Lebanon
Libya
Mali
North Korea
Somalia/Eritrea
South Sudan
Sudan
Taliban
Yemen

Belarus Burundi Former Yugoslavia Myanmar Russia/Ukraine Syria Venezuela Zimbabwe

#### **EU Sanctions**

China
Egypt
Haiti
Maldives
Moldova
Tunisia
United States

## **UN** action

- Nonexistent legal term in the UN Charter
- Article 39
  - The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.
- Article 41
  - The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.
- definition:
  - dependent on initiator body/agent
  - general: the deliberate, government- inspired withdrawal, or threat of withdrawal, of customary trade or financial relations in order to achieve behavior change in the target
- Southern Rhodesia 1966-1979
  - white minority rule unilaterally imposed
- South Africa 1977-1994
  - apartheid, arms embargo

## Sanction senders – UN

## GOALS

#### Interstate conflict

- specifically useful to signal the commitment of the international community to the resolution of the crisis
- leverage toward negotiation if economic
- arms embargos as standard to support mitigation
- typically less targeted
- Eritrea/Ethiopia, Iraq

#### Intrastate conflict

- sanctions not utilized at outset (save arms embargoes)
- heavier sanctions post-peace agreement violation
- commodity sanctions increasingly useful against non-state actors
- targeted approach fostered
- focal point of sanctions improvement
- Liberia, Angola, Yemen

## Sanction senders – UN

## **GOALS**

#### norm-breaking states

- sanctions on the balance should not isolate target
- sanctions as crucial bargaining chip for punishment and incentive
- specific circumstances (what to do with failed states?)
- no human rights enforcement post-CW
- North Korea, Iran, South Africa, Libya to 2003
- includes reciprocity/secondary sanctions (sanctions for violating of sanctions)
   Liberia 2001, Eritrea 2009

#### terrorism

- new type of sanctions targeting
- extreme monitoring challenges, geographical distribution
- sanctions primarily a form of containment and disapproval signaling
- different result versus state actors Sudan 1996, Libya, and non-state actors primarily Al-Qaeda and Taliban since 1999
- the only horizontal regime applied by the UN

## <u>UN</u> structures

- UN Charter reliance, requires triggering, initiation by members or GA
- UN SC veto power
- UN DPA
  - censorship role, filter
- UN Sanction Committees
  - remaining veto/consensus quorum
- UN Panels of Experts / Monitoring groups
  - monitoring role, first in 1997
  - institutional limitations
- UN Ombudsperson for Al'Qaeda regime
  - Delisting POC, <a href="https://youtu.be/4V4AuckG-OU">https://youtu.be/4V4AuckG-OU</a>
- UN DPKO
  - enforcement role

# UN naming and shaming?

# <u>Sanctions</u> committees

	Consolidated Number of Listings	Committee Meetings	Notes by Chair*	Communications by Chair*	Communications Received*
Somalia/Eritrea 751/1907	14	10	114	72	135
Al-Qaida 1267/1989	284	16	124	126	207
raq 1518	297	0	0	0	1
Liberia 1521	64	3	25	31	68
DRC 1533	40	4	29	50	68
Côte d'Ivoire 1572	8	4	20	27	33
Sudan 1591	4	7	38	18	20
Lebanon 1636	0	NA	NA	NA	NA
DPRK 1718	31	5	116	27	154
ran 1737	121	4	49	44	88
Libya 1970	22	7	129	197	157
Taliban 1988	134	8	73	47	74
Guinea-Bissau 2048	11	2	2	18	2

7. In the absence of a specific monitoring mechanism to ensure the effective implementation of the arms embargo, the Committee would like to recall its previous observation that it relies solely on the cooperation of States and organizations in a position to provide information on violations of the arms embargo. During the reporting period, no violations of the arms embargo were brought to the attention of the Committee.

5/2007/782



- President Executive Order (based on prolonged emergency), or Act of Congress, or both initiate
- OFAC Office of Foreign Assets Control of the US Treasury administrator
  - administers and enforces Executive orders implementing sanctions
  - very broad powers of action without external scrutiny

#### • 26 regimes in force

• these however include general type regimes as Non-proliferation regime, Diamond trade control regime, Transnational criminal organizations, Counter-terrorism sanctions regime, etc.

#### Country regimes

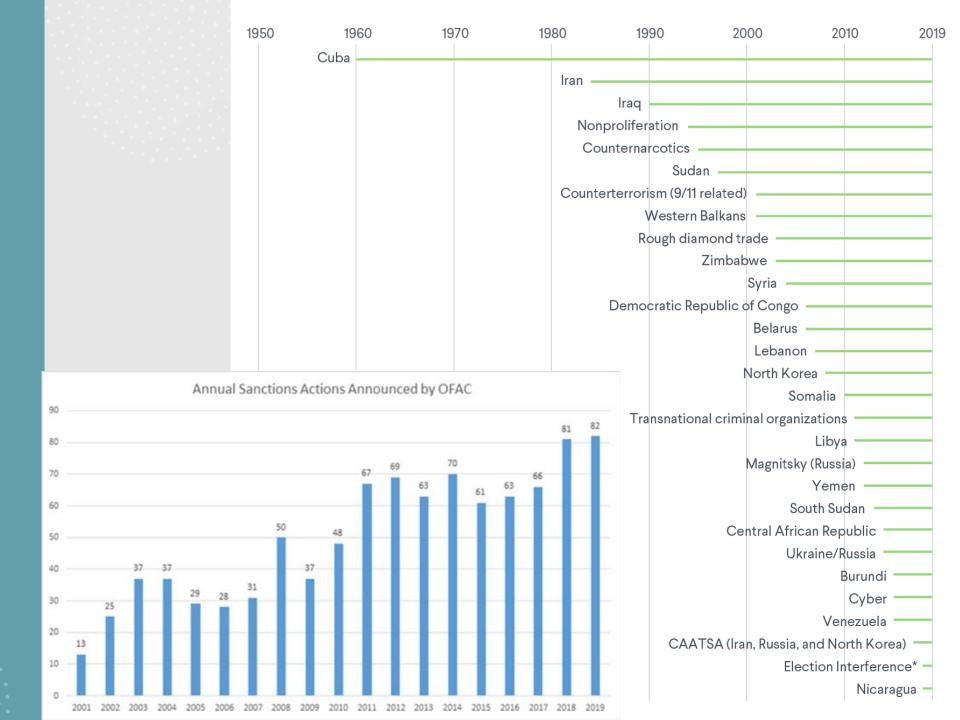
- Iran, DPRK, Cuba
- Prohibits citizens and entities from commerce with any entity form these countries in the field of the imposed sanctions

#### Horizontal regimes

• Counter-terrorism, counter-money laundering, counter-organized crime, counter-proliferation, diamond trade, election interference, Magnitsky

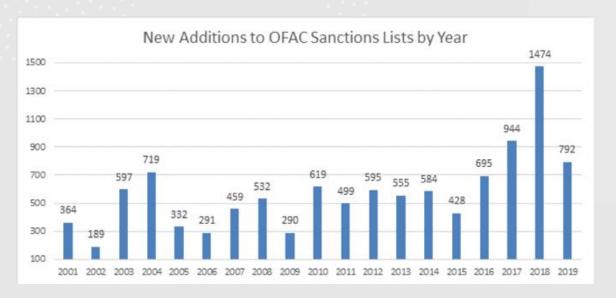
#### SDNs

- Over 7000 individuals (most produced by horizontal regimes)
- CAATSA 2017 Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act Iran, DPRK, Russia – extends extraterritorial sanctions by automatically compelling the president to enact sanctions against violators of US sanctions



#### **OFAC**

- Considerably more occlusive listing/delisting than UN and EU procedures
- Enforces strict liability
- Holds access to US financial system
- Applies 50% ownership rule
- No minimum dollar value of transaction
- Requires establishment of OFAC compliance and screening procedures





## <u>Sanction</u> senders - EU

- "restrictive measures" under CFSP (i.e. not our debate on GSP or tarrifs)
- European Commission (now High Representative) proposes Common Position, adopted by Council regulations or decisions unanimously!
- subsequently 28 legislative bodies implement measures
- is not bound by "triggering" but rather consensus in the Council
- EEAS prepares designations, CJEU vets designations
- currently 42 measures in force
- EU China arms embargo since 1989
- Maastricht 1992
  - first legal basis for <u>political</u> sanctions
  - Chapter 2 of TEU, under CFSP, Article 29
- first cases
  - Nigeria 1993 1999, arms and travel ban
  - Sudan 1994 2005, arms
  - Afghanistan 1996 1999, arms
  - Belarus 1998 travel ban and financial

## Sanction senders – EU

Asset freezes and travel bans to support human rights and democracy have increased as has precise targeting

2018 - Guidelines On Implementation And Evaluation Of Restrictive Measures (Sanctions) In The Framework Of The Eu Common Foreign And Security Policy

2018 - EU Best Practices for the effective implementation of restrictive measures

Table 4. Why sanctions are imposed.

Triggering cause	Frequency	share
Democracy promotion	37	44%
Crisis management	28	33%
Post-crisis management	23	27%
Non-proliferation	8	9%
Terrorism	6	7%
EU Interests	11	13%
International norms	13	15%

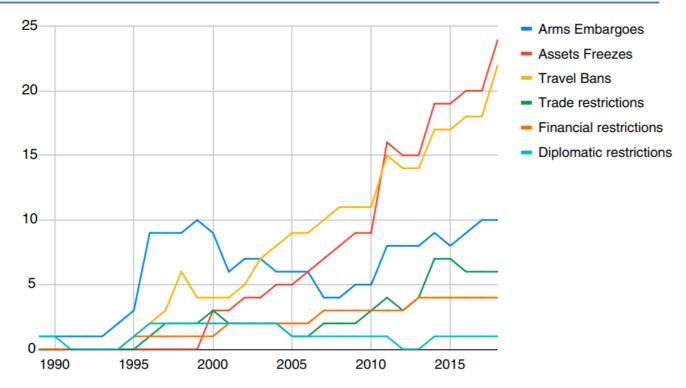
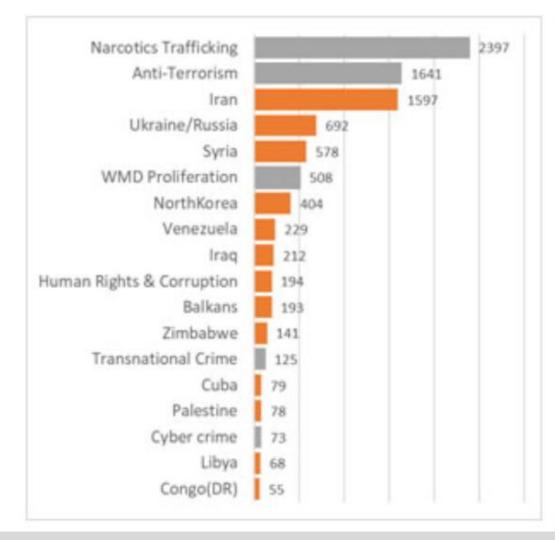


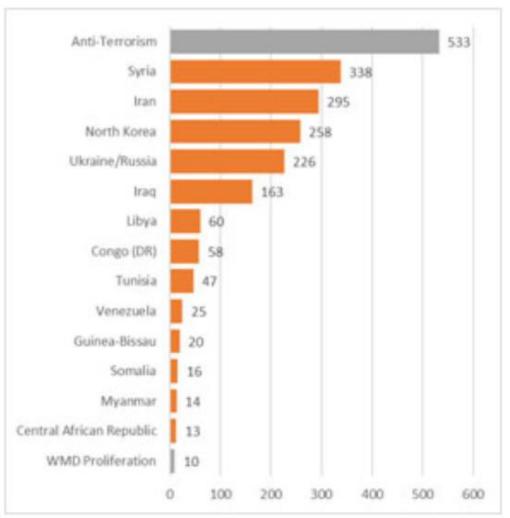
Figure 2. Types of EU sanctions. Giumelli et. al 2021

### EU

- 2018 first horizontal regime
  - Chemical weapons CFSP 2018/1544 allowing the EU to apply travel bans and asset freezes to those "involved in the development and use of chemical weapons anywhere"
  - Syria, Skripal
- Cyber attacks,
- 2020 (December) Global Human Rights Sanctions Regime
  - 22/3/2021 11 individuals + 4 companies The violations targeted today include the large-scale arbitrary detentions of, in particular, Uyghurs in Xinjiang in China, repression in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances in Libya, torture and repression against LGBTI persons and political opponents in Chechnya in Russia, and torture, extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions and killings in South Sudan and Eritrea.
  - Asset freeze, travel ban, AND prohibition of trade with (including partial oweership)

#### U.S. Designated entities per Sanctions Regime / E.U. Designated entities per Sanctions Regime





U.S. Types of Designated Entities / E.U. Types of Designated Entities

