

**Gary Clyde Hufbauer, Jeffrey J. Schott, and Kimberly Ann Elliott**

# **Economic Sanctions Reconsidered**

## **HISTORY AND CURRENT POLICY**

**Second Edition**

Institute for International Economics  
Washington, DC 1990

# Contents of *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*

## ***Ht*STORY AND CURRENT POLICY**

<b>Preface</b> <i>C. Fred Bergsten</i> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>xii</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
A Case Study Approach.....	2
Historical Overview.....	4
The Cyclical Popularity of Sanctions.....	9
Sender Countries and Their Motives.....	10
Limitations on the Use of Sanctions.....	12
Plan of the Book.....	14
<b>2 Anatomy of a Sanctions Episode</b> .....	<b>35</b>
Senders and Targets.....	35
Types of Sanctions.....	36
Foreign Policy Goals.....	38
Overview of the Variables.....	39
The Success of an Episode.....	41
Companion Policy Measures.....	43
Duration of Sanctions.....	43
International Cooperation.....	44
International Assistance to the Target Country.....	45
Economic Health and Political Stability.....	46
Prior Relations Between Sender and Target.....	47
Estimating the Costs.....	47
Country Size and Trade Linkages.....	48

<b>3 Political Variables.....</b>	<b>49</b>
Modest Changes in Policy.....	49
Destabilizing a Government.....	51
Disrupting Military Adventures.....	52
Impairing Military Potential.....	54
Other Major Policy Changes.....	55
<b>4 Economic Variables.....</b>	<b>63</b>
Size of Sender and Target Countries.....	63
Trade Linkages.....	64
Type of Sanction.....	65
The Cost of Sanctions.....	71
<b>5 Conclusions and Recommendations.....</b>	<b>91</b>
Are Sanctions Effective?.....	92
Nine Commandments.....	94
Recent Experience and Prospects for the Future.....	105
Do's and Don'ts.....	114
<b>General Bibliography.....</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	
A Estimating the Costs of Sanctions: Methodology.....	120
B Selected Case Histories.....	123
48-5 US and COCOM v. USSR and COMECON (1948- : Technology Controls).....	125
78-8 US v. Libya (1978-: Gadhafi).....	140
79-1 US v. Iran (1979-81: Hostages).....	153
80-1 US v. USSR (1980-81: Afghanistan).....	163
81-1 US v. Nicaragua (1981- : El Salvador; Destabilize Sandinistas).....	175
81-2 US v. Poland (1981-82: Martial Law).....	192
81-3 US v. USSR (1981-82: Poland).....	205
85-1 US v. South Africa (1985- : Apartheid).....	221
87-1 US v. Panama (1987-90: Destabilize Noriega).....	249
89-2 US v. China (1989- : Tiananmen Square Massacre).....	268
90-1 US and UN v. Iraq (1990- : Kuwait).....	283