

Shrewd Sanctions

Statecraft and State Sponsors of Terrorism

Meghan L. O'Sullivan

Contents

Foreword .	vii
Acknowledgments	xi
CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction	1
Economic Statecraft in American Foreign Policy 1 A Map to What Lies Ahead 5	
CHAPTER TWO	
Sanctions, Globalization, and American Preeminence	11
Post-Cold War Trends in the Use of Sanctions 11	
Changing U.S. Interests	
Bringing New Actors to the Fore	
Domestic Dynamics in the Making of Foreign Policy	
The Sanctions Debate 24	
Outstanding Issues to Be Addressed 32	
Appendix 2A 35	

CHAPTER THREE	
Influencing Iran	45
The Historical Context of Sanctions 48	
Judging the Effectiveness and Utility of Sanctions on Iran 61	
Economic Impact / Political Impact	
Goals Achieved / Costs Borne	
Explaining the Record of Sanctions on Iran 88	
Accounting for the Achievements and Disappointments of Sanctions	
Comparing the Utility of Sanctions to Alternatives	
Looking Ahead 95	
Appendix 3A 98	
CHAPTER FOUR	
Inhibiting Iraq	105
The Historical Context of Sanctions 106	
1991–1993 / 1994–1998 / 1998–2002	
Judging the Effectiveness and Utility of Sanctions on Iraq 122	
Economic Impact / Political Impact .	
Goals Achieved / Costs Borne	
Explaining the Record of Sanctions on Iraq 154	
Accounting for the Achievements and Disappointments of Sanctions	
Comparing the Utility of Sanctions to Alternatives	
Looking Ahead 163	
Appendix 4A 167	
CHAPTER FIVE	
Limiting Libya	173
The Historical Context of Sanctions 175	1,3
Judging the Effectiveness and Utility of Sanctions on Libya 186	
Economic Impact / Political Impact Goals Achieved / Costs Borne	
Explaining the Record of Sanctions on Libya 217	
Accounting for the Achievements and Disappointments of Sanctions	
Comparing the Utility of Sanctions to Alternatives	
Looking Ahead 224	
Appendix 5A 230	

233

Judging the Effectiveness and Utility of Sanctions on Sudan 247 Economic Impact / Political Impact
Goals Achieved / Costs Borne Explaining the Record of Sanctions on Sudan 269
Accounting for the Achievements and Disappointments of Sanctions Comparing the Utility of Sanctions to Alternatives
Looking Ahead 275 Appendix 6A 280
CHAPTER SEVEN
Shrewd Sanctions: Economic Tools and U.S. Foreign Policy 284
Economic Tools in an Age of Global Terrorism 284 The Shrewd Use of Sanctions 287
Assessing the Past Record / Explaining Past Failures Toward the Better Use of Sanctions 299
Securing Multilateral Sanctions / Making the Most of Unilateral Sanctions Gauging the Political Response of the Target / Putting Costs in Perspective
Prioritizing Goals / Making Sanctions Regimes More Flexible The Wise Policymaker 318
Notes 321
Index 407

CHAPTER SIX

Sanctioning Sudan

The Historical Context of Sanctions 236