

of economic warfare, but in any case the predominant voice of collective world opinion was that the crisis should be resolved as rapidly as possible to forestall irreversible destruction of the Kuwaiti state.

3.5 Enforcement

Sanctions enforcement in the Kuwait crisis was fairly effective, largely because of the extent of support throughout the world for the United Nations operation, although there was some unhappiness in the Security Council about the extent to which control of United Nations operations had been "privatized," in the words of the Cuban ambassador.³⁸ Member nations enforced their own export and import controls, and the pipelines from Iraqi oil fields were shut down where they crossed into Saudi Arabia and Turkey. Moreover, naval forces from a coalition of states were used to monitor enforcement by controlling the shipping entering and leaving Iraqi seaports and those seaports in close land contact with Iraq. The Canadian navy made 25% of the interceptions. No systematic effort was made to ration the imports into neighbouring countries of civilian supplies, but it appears that the limited traffic that crossed into Iraq was consistent with the provision that food and medicine should be permitted Iraq for humanitarian purposes. The importance to international business of restoring Kuwait as an independent state, and of preventing Iraq from acquiring control of additional middle eastern oil resources, discouraged any attempt to make quick profits by smuggling oil out of Iraq.

In the longer span of the history of the United Nations and League of Nations sanctions, however, enforcement has been a major problem, because sanctions have created major problems for international commerce and for the national economies based on it. The problem of control is identical to that experienced in the belligerent use of blockade. The discussion which led to the Declaration of London in 1911 defining "contraband" was heavily influenced by the needs of trading nations which might be neutral in a war. The resistance of neutral nations, especially of the United States, was a major problem in the enforcement of measures of economic warfare against Germany in the two world wars. When the United States unilaterally imposed economic sanctions on Cuba in 1960, sanctions that are still being enforced, the whole range of measures employed by Britain in wartime to impose economic controls on unwilling neutrals was employed. The "neutrals", however, have nonetheless been able to maintain an

³⁸ Alarcón de Quesada, SCVR, Provisional, 2977th meeting, 13 and 15 February 1991; and see 18 August S/PV 2937 Discussion of draft resolution S/21562.