

We must also define the nature of sanctions, for the scholarly literature on the subject is, if not abundant, at least substantial, and the concept of sanctions varies from one writer to another. In her book *International Sanctions in Contemporary Perspective*,<sup>12</sup> Margaret P. Doxey defines sanctions as penalties (non-violent by convention, although the occasional use of military force with UN Security Council authorization demonstrates that this option is not ruled out in extreme cases) threatened or imposed as a declared consequence of the target's failure to observe international standards or international obligations. In other words, sanctions include virtually all possible measures short of military force, which itself cannot entirely be ruled out, if only to increase the credibility of the sanctioning countries. Sanctions can be used in support of a country which is close to war, or in a state of declared war with another, allowing it to make a last attempt to persuade its adversary to change course before confronting it militarily, on the theory that it is better to convince than to conquer.

This definition excludes coercive measures adopted by countries for the sole purpose of obtaining a national advantage of some kind (in terms of trade, borders, etc.). We may add that retaliation under the GATT against other member states that fail to observe their commitments are not sanctions for the purposes of this study.

It would however be interesting to consider what might happen in the not-so-distant future should a country be suspected of failure to observe environmental standards in its manufacturing processes, agriculture or waste management. We simply note this possibility here without further elaboration, for there is already extensive discussion on the question by environmental and trade policy experts, and it may be several years before there is agreement on the advisability of retaliation against countries deemed guilty of harmful practices (and on whether nations would be entitled to adopt such measures).<sup>13</sup>

## 2. International Survey

We will first look at 10 cases of sanctions not covered by the UN and then at 7 cases more specifically involved the UN Security Council.

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<sup>12</sup> Margaret P. Doxey, *International Sanctions in Contemporary Perspective* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).

<sup>13</sup> For more details on the central questions and measures at issue in the debate on trade and the environment, see two recent Policy Planning Staff papers: M. Hart and S. Gera, "Trade and the Environment: Dialogue of the Deaf or Scope for Cooperation" (paper #92/11); K. Christie, "Globalization and Public Policy in Canada: in Search of a Paradigm" (paper #93/01, January 1993, pp. 60-68).