

suggested that, given the ineffectiveness and humanitarian consequences of long-term economic sanctions, the use of force is sometimes preferable to such measures.

*b) Type of sanctions used*

Participants stressed that senders must closely examine the structure of the target state, its economy, and its society, and design measures with a clear understanding of *who* they are intended to influence, and *how* the sanctions will cause these actors to feel pressure to change their policies.

It was also noted that travel bans, visa denials, and sporting and cultural sanctions have tremendous symbolic importance and psychological impact, and have been undervalued as means of influencing target elites.

Finally, participants supported the use of appropriate targeted sanctions against elites in most circumstances. However, they cautioned that targeted sanctions alone are unlikely to prove effective as coercive measures: they can often be evaded, and in most cases, are not painful enough to cause entrenched target elites to alter their behaviour. Targeted sanctions are most effective when combined with other measures, such as the threat of force.

*c) Canada and the Security Council*

In order to maximize Canada's influence over a given sanctions debate, participants agreed that four conditions must be met. First, Canada requires timely political and military intelligence and high-level connections to relevant parties. Second, in order to facilitate a swift