

- Banning or restricting the export of technology or intellectual property.

The range of foreign policy objectives pursued through sanctions has been broad. These include encouraging a country to desist from military operations (the U.S. grain embargo of the USSR in 1980 in response to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan), destabilizing foreign governments (USSR measures against Yugoslavia in 1948), and to alter domestic policies (U.S. sanctions on China in 1989 after China's repression of political dissent, most visible in the Tiananmen Square incident). Sanctions have also, of course, accompanied military actions directed toward the unconditional capitulation of military adversaries (e.g., the two World Wars).

While foreign policy objectives are expected to be fulfilled, or at least meaningfully contributed to, by economic sanctions, the employment of sanctions may also be linked to domestic public opinion. A country's use of sanctions could well have major domestic political goals. As David Lloyd George remarked in respect to sanctions against Italy in 1935, "sanctions came too late to save Abyssinia, but they are just in the nick of time to save the British government."<sup>1</sup> Sanctions may be an effective means of demonstrating to the domestic constituency, as well as the international community, that "something is being done." Yet this may pose the political danger that the imposition of sanctions may raise public expectations that cannot be met. The public may perceive sanctions as being a more powerful foreign policy instrument than a given situation may warrant. Consequently, any use of economic sanctions may require a domestic awareness campaign to clarify the goals and inherent limitations of their employment.

### Sanctioner and Target Characteristics

The two key points to consider when analyzing sanctions or considering their imposition are the characteristics of the sanctioner or sanctioner group, and the characteristics, i.e., vulnerability, of the target country or countries. The fundamental question is: are there some characteristics, economic but also political and social conditions, that improve the prospects for the successful use of sanctions? In considering the characteristics of the sanctioner group, besides the "economic size" of the group, the comprehensiveness and political will to enforce sanctions must be considered. Sanctions are unlikely to be effective in achieving their objectives when applied against a developed or a large developing country in a non-rigorous manner or

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<sup>1</sup>Gary Clyde Hufbauer, Jeffrey J. Schott, and Kimberly Ann Elliott, Economic Sanctions Reconsidered, Institute for International Economics, 1990, p. 3.