Economic Sanctions and US Power

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Economic Sanctions Reconsidered (3rd Edition)

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Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2007 (www.piie.com)

Sanctions database

- 204 observations from WWI to 2000
- All sanctioners, not just US
- Variety of goals, from release of political prisoners to inducing Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait in 1990-91
- 12 economic, political explanatory variables

Caveats

Data is qualitative

Cases are heterogeneous

Foreign policy is complicated omitted variables (pseudo r-squareds < 0.25)

>>> difficult to generalize

Defining success

 Instrumental goals, not symbolic or domestic political goals

- Two elements:
 - policy result
 - sanctions contribution

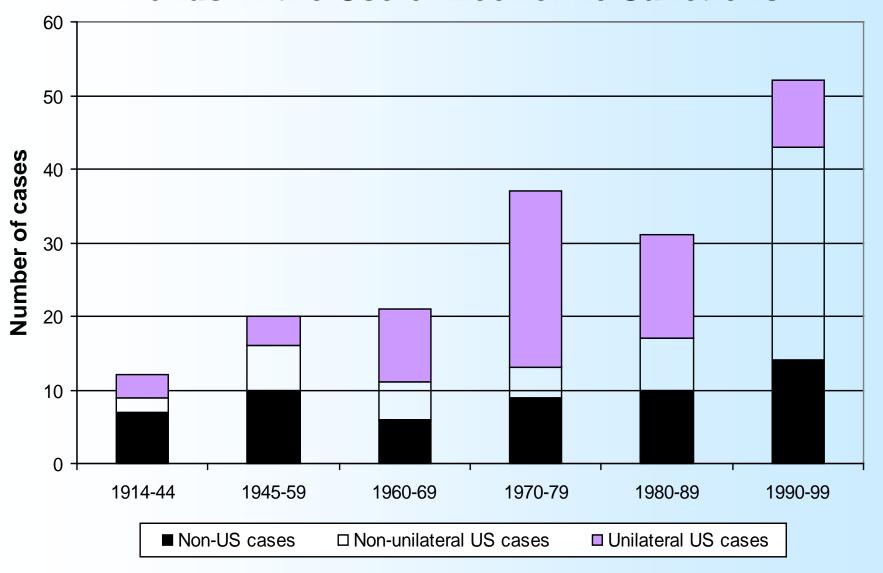
Factors affecting probability of sanctions success

Costs of defiance

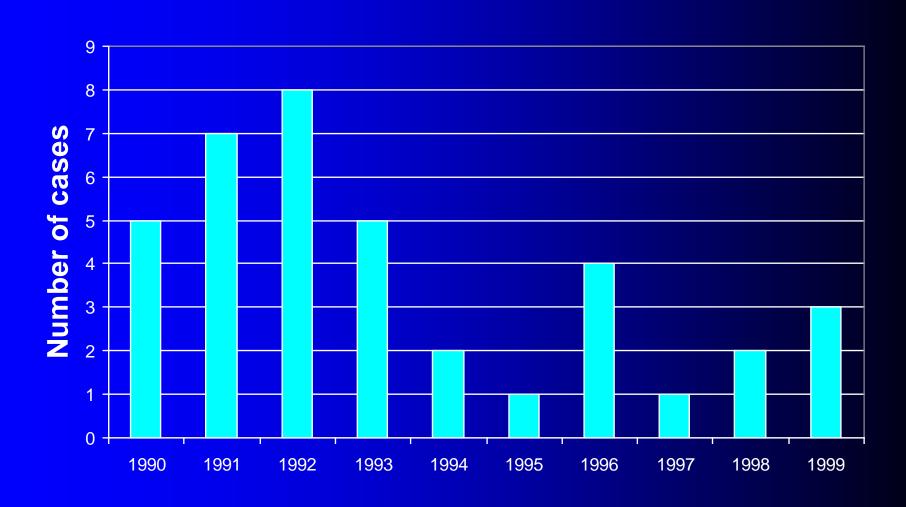
- Direct cost of sanctions
- Escalation threat
- Relations with sender or third parties
- Political response in target

- Costs of compliance
- External security
- Internal security and stability
- Political, personal well-being

Trends in the Use of Economic Sanctions



US Sanctions Trends in the 1990s



Who hits...

1970-89 1990-99 (number per decade)

US 24.5 38

EC/EU 4.5 19

USSR/ Russia 0 6

UN 1 11

...and who gets hit?

1970-89 1990-99 (number per decade)

 Africa
 4.5
 18

 Asia
 7
 8

Lat. America 9.5 8

Middle East 4 3

USSR/ FSU 3

8

The results overall...

All observations:

1914-2000 70/204 = **34%**

Non-US observations:

1914-2000 23/64 = **36%**

1970-2000 17/37 = 46%

And for the US

All US observations:

1914-2000 47/140 = **34%**

1945-69 14/27 = **52%**

1970-2000 30/105 = **29%**

Unilateral US observations:

1914-2000 20/71 = **28%**

1945-69 10/16 = 63%

1970-2000 10/52 = **19%**

Sanctions more likely to be effective when:

- Goals are limited and clearly defined (50% vs. 30%)
- •Costs are in line with goals (5.5% of GNP with major goals vs. 2.6% when goals modest)
- Targets are friendly or democratic countries, rather than enemies, autocrats

	Sanctions only		Sanctions with mil. force	
Goal category	% of cases	Success rate*	% of cases	Success rate*
Modest	84	56	5	50
Regime change	69	29	13	60
Conflict management	74	29	5	100
Military impairment	52	13	28	63
Other major	48	38	36	67
All cases	67	35	16	64

Do sanctions lead to war?

Of 204 sanctions episodes, only 30 involve military force

In most, sanctions, military force complemented one another

 Only sanctions against Japan prior to WWII possible trigger for war

Failed sanctions and escalation

US cases:

- Panama
- Somalia
- Iraq—pre-Gulf War I; Gulf War II
- Yugoslavia—Bosnian war; Kosovo
- Haiti—sanctions as trigger for failed intervention?

Did sanctions tie hands? Or buy time, weaken adversary?