

# Targeted Sanctions Bibliography

Maintained by the Targeted Sanctions Project  
Watson Institute for International Studies  
Brown University

## Contents

Introduction.....	2
Non-governmental Research.....	3-7
Sanctions Policy.....	8-12
Links.....	13

# Introduction

Thank you for using the Targeted Sanctions Bibliography, maintained by the Targeted Sanctions Project at the Watson Institute for International Studies. This bibliography is one of many tools that the Targeted Sanctions Project has developed since its establishment in 1998, and we invite you to review the Project's [website](#) for more information.

The release of this bibliography comes on the heels of renewed international debate on the use and structure of sanctions as policy tools. Even as UN and national sanctions regimes against Angola, Ethiopia & Eritrea, and the Former Yugoslavia have been dissolved, emerging and continuing crises in Liberia, Sudan, and the Middle East have thrust sanctions back onto the global agenda. Thankfully, however, this renewed debate has been accompanied by a revived concern about the efficiency and effectiveness of sanctions. Scholars and practitioners are no longer solely consumed by questions of when to apply sanctions, and are increasingly asking how sanctions can best encourage targets to change while protecting the human rights of innocents. We hope to highlight the most relevant works of such minds in the document which follows.

This bibliography is focused on developments in targeted sanctions research from 2003 through the present – those seeking earlier sources are encouraged to visit the library maintained by the [Stockholm Process](#). But before proceeding to the rest of the document, we encourage you to be not only a consumer of the knowledge therein, but also a producer. We invite you to submit suggestions and sources to [Michael.Boyce@brown.edu](mailto:Michael.Boyce@brown.edu). Your input will help ensure the relevance and usefulness of this research tool. Thank you for your assistance, and best of luck with your research.

Regards,

The Targeted Sanctions Project Team

# Non-Governmental Research

## **Books**

Cortright, D. and G.A. Lopez (2002) *Sanctions and the Search for Security: Challenges to UN Action*. London: Lynne Rienner.

Cortright, D. and G.A. Lopez (eds.) (2002) *Smart Sanctions: Toward Effective and Humane Sanctions Reform*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Elliott, K.A. et al. (Forthcoming) *Reconsidering Economic Sanctions, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics. Selected case studies available [here](#).

Elliott, K.A., G.C. Hufbauer, and J.J. Schott (Forthcoming) *Reforming Economic Sanctions*. Washington, DC : Institute for International Economics.

Wallensteen, P. and C. Staibano (eds.) (2005) *International Sanctions: Between Words and Wars in the Global System*. London: Routledge/Frank Cass.

## **Journal Articles and Book Chapters**

Andreas, P. (2005) "Criminalizing Consequences of Economic Sanctions: Embargo Busting and Its Legacy." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 335-360.

Biersteker, T.J. (2004) "Émergence, évolution, effets et défis des sanctions ciblées." *Géoéconomie*, Revue trimestrielle, No. 30, été. Available in English [here](#).

Bracken, P. (2007) "Financial Warfare." *Orbis*, Vol. 51, No. 4, pp. 685-696.

Brzoska, M. (2003) "From Dumb to Smart? Recent Reforms of UN Sanctions." *Global Governance*, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 519-535.

Cameron, I. (2003) "UN Targeted Sanctions, Legal Safeguards, and the ECHR." *Nordic Journal of International Law*, Vol. 72, pp. 1-56.

Craven, M. (2002) "Humanitarianism and the Quest for Smarter Sanctions." *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 43-61.

de Chazournes, L.B. (2007) "Collective Security and the Economic Interventionism of the UN – The Need for a Coherent and Integrated Approach." *Journal of International Economic Law*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 51-86.

Drezner, D.W. (2003) "How Smart are Smart Sanctions?" *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 107-110.

Eeckhout, P. (2007) "Community Terrorism Listings, Fundamental Rights, and UN Security Council Resolutions. In Search of the Right Fit." *European Constitutional Law Review*, No. 3, pp. 183-206.

Fitzgerald, P.L. (2002) "Managing 'Smart Sanctions' against Terrorism Wisely." *New England Law Review*, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 957-983.

Flynn, E.J. (2007) "The Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee and Human Rights." *Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 371-384.

Foot, R. (2007) "The United Nations, Counter Terrorism, and Human Rights: Institutional Adaptation and Embedded Ideas." *Human Rights Quarterly*, No. 29, pp. 489-514.

Geiss, R. (2005) "[Humanitarian Safeguards in Economic Sanctions Regimes: A Call for Automatic Suspension Clauses, Periodic Monitoring, and Follow-Up Assessment of Long-Term Effects.](#)" *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 18, pp. 167-200.

Hawkins, D. and J. Lloyd. (2003) "Questioning comprehensive sanctions: the birth of a norm." *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 441-454.

Jing C., W.H Kaempfer, and A.D. Lowenberg. (2003) "Instrument Choice and the Effectiveness of International Sanctions: A Simultaneous Equations Approach." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 40, No. 5, pp. 519-535.

Lavranos, N. (2006) "Judicial Review of UN Sanctions by the Court of First Instance." *European Foreign Affairs Review*, No. 11, pp. 471-490.

Lavranos, N. (2007) "UN Sanctions and Judicial Review." *Nordic Journal of International Law*, Vol. 76, No. 1, pp. 1-17.

Lopez, G.A. and D. Cortright (2004) "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 4, pp. 90-103. Available to non-subscribers [here](#).

Lopez, G.A. and D. Cortright (2004) "Reforming Sanctions" in D.M. Malone, ed. *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Major, S. and A.J. McGann (2005) "Caught in the Crossfire: Innocent Bystanders as Optimal Targets of Economic Sanctions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 337-359.

Rackow, P. and I. Stegmiller (2007) "EC Regulations: Targeted Sanctions." *Journal of Criminal Law*, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 25-28.

Rosand, E. (2004) "The Security Council's Efforts to Monitor the Implementation of Al Qaeda/Taliban Sanctions." *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 98, No. 4, pp. 745-763.

Shagabutdinova, E. and J. Berejikian (2007) "Deploying Sanctions while Protecting Human Rights: Are Humanitarian 'Smart' Sanctions Effective?" *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 59-74.

Vines, A. (2003) "[Monitoring UN sanctions in Africa: the role of panels of experts.](#)" In T. Findlay (ed.) *Verification Yearbook 2003*. London: Verification Information, Research, and Training Center.

### ***Reports and Papers***

Andrews, K. And T.C. Berkman. (2005) "[United Nations Mechanisms for Combating Illegal Trade in Regions of Conflict.](#)" Stimson Backgrounder. Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center.

Biersteker, T.J. and S.E. Eckert (2006) "[Strengthening Targeted Sanctions Through Fair and Clear Procedures.](#)" Report commissioned by the governments of Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden. Providence: Watson Institute for International Studies.

Brzoska, M. (2001) *Smart Sanctions: The Next Steps*. Bonn, Germany: Bonn Center for International Conversion.

Cameron, I. (2006) "[The European Convention on Human Rights, Due Process, and United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Sanctions.](#)" Report commissioned by the Council of Europe. Brussels: Council of Europe.

Chesterman, S. and B. Pouligny (2002) "[The Politics of Sanctions.](#)" New York, NY: International Peace Academy.

Cortright, D., G.A. Lopez, and A. Miller (2001) "[Smart Sanctions: Restructuring UN Policy in Iraq.](#)" Goshen, IN: Fourth Freedom Forum.

Cosgrove, E. (2002) "[The Efficacy of Sanctions.](#)" International Security Policy Paper. No. 82.

Fassbender, B. (2006) "[Targeted Sanctions and Due Process.](#)" Study commissioned by the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs, Office of the Legal Counsel. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Jacobson, M. (2007) "Easy Step to Iran Sanctions." Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near-East Policy.

Kremer, M. and S. Jayachandran (2007) "Loan Sanctions: A New Tool for Diplomacy?" Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Kreutz, J. (2005) "[Hard Measures by a Soft Power? Sanctions Policy of the European Union.](#)" Bonn International Center for Conversion, Paper 45. Bonn: Bonn International Center for Conversion.

Lektzian, D. (2003) "[Making Sanctions Smarter: Are Humanitarian Costs an Essential Element in the Success of Sanctions?](#)" Commissioned by the Norwegian Red Cross and the International Peace Research Institute. Oslo, Norway.

Strandow, D. (2006) "[Sanctions and Civil War: Targeted Measures for Conflict Resolution.](#)" Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Targeted Sanctions Project, Watson Institute for International Studies. (2004) "[Background Paper on Targeted Sanctions.](#)" Prepared for U.N Security Council Workshop 16-17 July. Providence, RI.

Targeted Sanctions Project, Watson Institute for International Studies. (2004) "[Report on the Workshop on UN Sanctions Reform.](#)" Convened at the Watson Institute for members of the UN Security Council 16-17 July. Providence, RI.

Targeted Sanctions Project, Watson Institute for International Studies. (2003) "[Report on the Workshop on UN Sanctions Reform.](#)" Convened at the Watson Institute for members of the UN Security Council, May 2-3. Providence, RI.

Targeted Sanctions Project, Watson Institute for International Studies. (2000) "[Targeted Financial Sanctions: A Primer.](#)" Background paper for the Targeted Financial Sanctions Simulation Exercise, Newport, RI, Naval War College. Providence, RI.

Targeted Sanctions Project, Watson Institute for International Studies. (2000) "Targeted Financial Sanctions Simulation: Exercise Report: A Report of the Proceedings of the Targeted Financial Sanctions Simulation." Newport, RI, US Naval War College, May 11-13. Decision Strategies Department Report 01-2, Naval War College, Newport, RI (2000). Providence, RI.

Verification Information, Research, and Training Center (2005) "[Verifying European Union Arms Embargoes.](#)" Paper submitted to the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. London: Verification Information, Research, and Training Center

Wallensteen, P. (2000) "[A Century of Economic Sanctions: A Field Revisited.](#)" Uppsala Peace Research Papers. No. 1.

Wallensteen, P., C. Staibano, and M. Eriksson (eds.) (2003) "[Making Targeted Sanctions Effective: Guidelines for the Implementation of UN Policy Options.](#)" Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Wallensteen, P., M. Eriksson, and D. Strandow. (2006) "[Sanctions for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building: Lessons Learned from Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia.](#)" Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Wallensteen, P., C. Staibano, and M. Eriksson (2004) "[Routes to Democracy in Burma/Myanmar: The Uppsala Pilot Study on Dialogue and International Strategies.](#)" Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Wallensteen, P., C. Staibano, and M. Eriksson (2005) "[The 2004 Roundtable on UN Sanctions against Iraq: Lessons Learned.](#)" Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Werner, R. (2007) "[US Efforts against Terrorism Financing: A View from the Private Sector.](#)" PolicyWatch #1251. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

# Sanctions Policy

## *European Union*

Council of the European Union. (2004) [Basic Principles on the Use of Restrictive Measures](#). Doc. 10198/1/04 REV 1. June 7.

Council of the European Union. (2006) [EU Best Practices for the Effective Implementation of Restrictive Measures](#) and [Corrigendum](#). Doc. 10533/06 and Doc. 10533/06 COR 1. June 14.

Council of the European Union. (2005) [Guidelines on Implementation and Evaluation of Restrictive Measures \(Sanctions\) in the Framework of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy](#). Doc. 15114/05. December 2.

Council of the European Union. [Common Foreign and Security Policy – Sanctions and Restrictive Measures](#).

## *United Nations*

Bonn International Center for Conversion (2001) “[Design and Implementation of Travel- and Aviation-Related Sanctions – Results of the ‘Bonn-Berlin Process’](#).” Bonn, Germany.

Bonn International Center for Conversion (1999) First Expert Seminar: Smart Sanctions, the Next Steps: Embargoes and Travel Sanctions. Bonn, Germany.

- [Executive Summary](#)
- [Conference Discussion Summary Document](#)
- Rapporteur Summaries:
  - a. Working Group I: [Travel Sanctions](#)
  - b. Working Group II: [Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes ‘On the Ground’](#)
  - c. Working Group III: [Common Understanding and Implementation of UN Arms Embargoes](#)
  - d. Working Group IV: [Monitoring and Reporting of UN Arms Embargoes](#)
- Conference Papers:
  - a. Anthony, Ian. (2000) “[Improving the Cooperation of Major Arms Suppliers](#).”
  - b. Berman, E. (2000) “[Sanctions against the Genocidaires: Experiences of the 1998 UN International Commission of Inquiry](#).”
  - c. Bondi, L. (2000) “[Arms Embargoes](#).”
  - d. Conroy, R. (2000) “[Implementation Problems of Travel Bans: Practical and Legal Aspects](#).”

- e. Cortright, D., G. Lopez, and R. Conroy (2000) "[Are Travel Sanctions Smart? A Review of Theory and Practice.](#)"
- f. Griffiths, G. (2000) "[The Experience of the ICAO in Implementation.](#)"
- g. Kulesa, M. (2000) "[Potentials, Problems and Prospects of Various Types of Travel Sanctions.](#)"
- h. Loy, M. (2000) "[Proper and Prompt National Implementation of Arms Embargoes: The German Case.](#)"
- i. Luck, E. (2000) "[Choosing Words Carefully: Arms Embargoes and the UN Security Council.](#)"
- j. Nathan, L. (2000) "[The Absent Sentry – Sanctions and the Problem of Weak Border Control.](#)"
- k. Rydell, R. (1999) "[Monitoring United Nations Arms Embargoes.](#)"
- l. United Nations Sanctions Secretariat, Department of Political Affairs. (2000) "[A Brief Overview of Security Council Applied Sanctions.](#)"
- m. United Nations Sanctions Secretariat, Department of Political Affairs. (2000) "[The Experience of the United Nations in Administering Arms Embargoes and Travel Sanctions.](#)"

Department of Peace and Conflict Research Uppsala University (2003) "[Making Targeted Sanctions Effective: Guidelines for the Implementation of UN Policy Options \(Results of the Stockholm Process\).](#)" Uppsala, Sweden.

Department of Peace and Conflict Research Uppsala University (2002) "[Working Group 1 Meeting with Experts: Report.](#)" New York, NY.

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (2002) "[Working Group 3 Meeting with Experts: Notes.](#)" Brussels, Belgium.

Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (2002)  
Discussion Papers. First Plenary Meeting. Gimo, Sweden.

- a. Working Group 1: [Measures to Strengthen the Role of the UN in the Implementation of Sanctions.](#)
- b. Working Group 2: [Measures to Strengthen the Capacity of States to Implement Sanctions. Guidelines for Effective Implementation.](#)
- c. Working Group 3: [How can the accuracy and effectiveness of targeted sanctions be improved and how can sanctions evasion be addressed?](#)

Permanent Mission of Greece to the United Nations (2007) "[Enhancing the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Sanctions: A Symposium.](#)" United Nations, New York. April 30. [Email](#) the Joan Kroc Institute for prepared statements and/or rapporteurs' reports.

Swiss Federal Office for Foreign Economic Affairs (1998) "[Report of the Expert Seminar on Targeting UN Financial Sanctions \(Interlaken I\).](#)"

Swiss Federal Office for Economic Affairs (1999) "[Report of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Interlaken Seminar on Targeting UN Financial Sanctions \(Interlaken II\).](#)"

Targeted Sanctions Project, Watson Institute for International Studies (2001) "[Targeted Financial Sanctions: A Manual for Design and Implementation.](#)" White Paper prepared in collaboration with the Swiss Confederation and the United Nations Secretariat. Providence: Watson Institute for International Studies.

UN General Assembly (2004) "[Report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change.](#)" UN Doc. A/59/565.

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2004) [Field Guidelines for Assessing the Humanitarian Implications of Sanctions](#). New York: United Nations.

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2004) [Sanctions Assessment Handbook: Assessing the Humanitarian Implications of Sanctions](#). New York: United Nations.

UN Security Council (2006) UNSCR 1699 "[Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to increase cooperation between the United Nations and Interpol in order to provide the Committees with better tools to fulfill their mandates more effectively.](#)" UN Doc. S/RES/1699.

UN Security Council (2006) UNSCR 1730 "[On de-listing procedures and a focal point for de-listing.](#)" UN Doc. S/RES/1730.

UN Security Council (2006) UNSCR 1732 "[On the Informal Working Group on General Issues of Sanctions.](#)" UN Doc. S/RES/1732.

UN Security Council (2006). "[Report of the Informal Working Group on General Issues of Sanctions.](#)" UN Doc. S/2006/997.

## **United States**

### *Congressional Testimony*

Burns, R.N. (2007) [Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. Minimizing Potential Threats from Iran: Assessing the Effectiveness of Current US Sanctions on Iran.](#) March 21.

Comras, V.D. (2006) [Testimony before the U.S. House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Financial Services. Isolating Proliferators and Sponsors of Terror: The](#)

*Use of Sanctions and the International Financial System to Change Regime Behavior.* April 18.

Dibble, E. (2007) [Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs](#). *Combating Genocide in Darfur: The Role of Divestment and Other Policy Tools.* October 3.

Foulon, M. (2007) [Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs](#). *Minimizing Potential Threats from Iran: Assessing the Effectiveness of Current US Sanctions on Iran.* March 21.

Glaser, D. and A.J. Szubin. (2006) [Testimony before the U.S. House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Financial Services](#). *Isolating Proliferators and Sponsors of Terror: The Use of Sanctions and the International Financial System to Change Regime Behavior.* April 18.

Levey, S. (2007) [Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs](#). *Minimizing Potential Threats from Iran: Assessing the Effectiveness of Current US Sanctions on Iran.* March 21.

Levitt, M. (2007) [Testimony before the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs](#). *Pulling Tehran's Purse Strings: Leveraging Sanctions and Market Forces to Alter Iranian Behavior.* March 15.

McNerny, P. (2006) [Testimony before the U.S. House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Financial Services](#). *Isolating Proliferators and Sponsors of Terror: The Use of Sanctions and the International Financial System to Change Regime Behavior.* April 18.

Schott, J.J. (2006) [Testimony before the U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee](#). *Energy and the Iranian Economy.* July 25.

Simons, P. (2006) [Testimony before the U.S. House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Financial Services](#). *Isolating Proliferators and Sponsors of Terror: The Use of Sanctions and the International Financial System to Change Regime Behavior.* April 18.

Szubin, A.J. (2007) [Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs](#). *Combating Genocide in Darfur: The Role of Divestment and Other Policy Tools.* October 3.

*General Accounting Office & Congressional Research Service Reports*

Congressional Research Service (2007) [The Iran Sanctions Act](#). Washington, DC: Library of Congress.

US General Accounting Office (2006) [Export Controls: Challenges Exist in Enforcement of an Inherently Complex System](#). Doc. GAO-07-265.

US General Accounting Office (2004) [Foreign Regimes' Assets: The United States Faces Challenges in Recovering Assets, but Has Mechanisms that Could Guide Future Efforts](#). Doc. GAO-04-1006.

US General Accounting Office (2005) [Terrorist Financing: Better Strategic Planning Needed to Coordinate U.S. Efforts to Deliver Counter-Terrorism Financing Training and Technical Assistance Abroad](#). Doc. GAO-06-19.

US General Accounting Office (2006) [United Nations: Lessons Learned from the UN Oil for Food Program Indicate the Need to Strengthen UN Internal Controls and Oversight Activities](#). Doc. GAO-06-330.

#### *Assorted Speeches and Commentary*

DeSutter, P.A. (2007) "[Are Sanctions Effective?](#)" Speech at the Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference, Washington DC. June 26.

Kimmit, R. (2007) "[The Role of Finance in Combating National Security Threats](#)." Speech at the Washington Institute for Near-East Policy, Washington, DC. May 10.

Paulson, H. (2007) "[Targeted Financial Measures to Protect Our National Security](#)." Speech at the Council on Foreign Relations, Washington DC. June 14. For more, see associated [Fact Sheet](#).

## Links

European Commission: Common Foreign & Security Policy  
[http://ec.europa.eu/external\\_relations/cfsp/intro/index.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/intro/index.htm)

Fourth Freedom Forum  
<http://www.fourthfreedom.org/>

Security Council Report  
<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/>

The Bonn-Berlin Process on Arms Embargoes and Travel- and Aviation-Related Sanctions <http://www.smartsanctions.de/>

The Interlaken Process on Targeted Financial Sanctions  
<http://www.smartsanctions.ch/>

The Stockholm Process on the Implementation of Targeted Sanctions  
<http://www.smartsanctions.se/>

United Nations Security Council: Counter-Terrorism Committee  
<http://www.un.org/sc/ctc/>

United Nations Security Council: Sanctions Committees  
<http://www.un.org/sc/committees/>

United States Department of Commerce: Bureau of Industry and Security  
<http://www.bis.doc.gov/>

United States Department of the Treasury: Office of Foreign Assets Control  
<http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/index.shtml>

United States Mission to the United Nations Political Section: Sanctions  
<http://www.un.int/usa/sanction.htm>

Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University: Targeted Sanctions Project [http://www.watsoninstitute.org/project\\_detail.cfm?id=4](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/project_detail.cfm?id=4)