

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction: The Sanctions Debate	1
The Mainstream Sanctions Debate	2
Shifting the Debate: Towards 'Mechanisms'	6
Outline of the Book	10
1. A Political Theory of Sanctions	13
Liberal Theories of Sanctions	16
Public Choice Theories of Sanctions	25
Institutionalist 'Regime Type' Approaches	30
The Neo-Weberian Theory of Sanctions	34
A Social Conflict Analysis of Sanctions	38
SCA's Basic Foundations: Gramscian State Theory	39
Social Conflict Analysis of Sanctions	42
Methodology	47
2. South Africa: Sanctioning Apartheid	52
South Africa's Coalitional Struggles	53
Classical Apartheid: from Colonial Origins to the 1960s	54
'Reform Apartheid': from the 1970s to the 1980s	59
The Impact of Early Sanctions: Oil and Arms	66
The Oil Embargo	67
The Arms Embargo	69
The Long-Term Consequences	71
Later Sanctions: Disinvestment, Finance, and Trade	75
Disinvestment	75
Finance and Trade	77
Impact on Social Conflict	81
Conclusion	90
3. Myanmar: Sanctioning Military Rule	93
Myanmar's Coalitional Struggles	94
Social Conflict in Myanmar from Independence to 1990	95
The Military Regime's Coalitional and Transition Strategy	97
The Opposition Coalition and Transition Strategy	100



## Contents

The Material and Distributional Consequences of Sanctions	104
Trade: Reorientation Towards Asia	105
Garments	107
Timber	107
Jade and Gemstones	108
Investment: Concentrating Development in Asian-Oriented Primary Sectors	108
Grass-roots Disinvestment and Boycotts	111
Disinvestment	111
Tourism	112
The Dollar Ban	112
Overseas Aid and Assistance	113
Targeted Sanctions: Visa Bans and Asset Freezes	114
Arms Embargoes	115
Summary	115
Sanctions' Impact on Coalitional Struggles	116
The Ruling SLORC/SPDC Coalition	116
The Opposition Coalition	123
Conclusion	127
4. Iraq: Sanctioning Dictatorship	130
Iraq's Coalitional Struggles	132
Iraq's Ruling Coalition	133
The Opposition Coalition	136
The Economic Impact of Sanctions on Iraq	138
Phase One: 1990–6	139
Phase Two: 1996–2003	141
The Impact of Sanctions on Iraqi Social Conflict: 1990–6	142
Regime Responses, 1990–2	142
Regime Responses, 1992–6	146
Sanctions and the Iraqi Opposition, 1990–6	154
Iraq's Coalitional Struggles under the OFFP	159
Regime Responses to the OFFP	159
The Opposition under the OFFP	166
Conclusion	168
Conclusion	175
Sanctions and Ruling Coalitions	176
Sanctions and Opposition Forces	178
Targeted Sanctions: Not So 'Smart'?	183
Rethinking the Appeal of Sanctions	185
Recommendations for Sanctions Advocates and Policymakers	189
Abandon Analogical Reasoning	189
Planning and Evaluating Sanctions	190
<i>Bibliography</i>	193
<i>Index</i>	225