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Sanctions Without Humanitarian Implications - An Impossible Feat

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SANCTIONS WITHOUT HUMANITARIAN IMPLICATIONS—
AN IMPOSSIBLE FEAT

by

SANGITHA PALANIAPPA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in Political Science
in the College of Sciences
and in the Burnett Honors College
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

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Thesis Chair: Houman Sadri, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the humanitarian implications of economic sanctions. States are increasingly using sanctions as a foreign policy tool, but the ramifications for the citizens of the country have yet to be analyzed in depth. Although sanctions are an extremely powerful foreign policy tool, the humanitarian implications are too drastic. There are two main outcomes of sanctions that states seek: the pressure of the sanctions forces the government to change their policy or the humanitarian implications force the citizens to revolt against the government. These outcomes rarely occur as we can see clearly in cases such as Cuba or North Korea.

This thesis will use three case studies: Cuba, Iraq, and Iran. The three cases differ in the type of sanctions which in return varies the degree of humanitarian implications. The types of sanctions are unilateral, multilateral, and universal. The four sectors of humanitarian implications are economic growth, health and drugs, food and nutrition, and education.

Cuba has sustained unilateral economic sanctions imposed by the United States for years and the sanctions have not made a change in the attitudes of the government. Instead the sanctions have created humanitarian implications in Cuba. Because the government refuses to allow any dissent from citizens, the sanctions will neither change the policy of the government nor pressure citizens to revolt against the government. Therefore the sanctions in Cuba have been quite ineffective and have solely had the effect of hurting the ordinary citizens of Cuba.

The second case study is of Iraq. Iraq is the most publicized case of humanitarian implications of universal sanctions. The infamous interview with Madeleine Albright stating that the half a million children that died in Iraq because of the sanctions and war were 'worth

it.' Although this statement was later clarified, it shed light on the dramatic implications of the sanctions. The sanctions hurt almost every sector of Iraq and left the state in shambles.

The last case study is on Iran. The US has imposed sanctions on Iran for years, but the UN community got involved after the Iranian nuclear program. These sanctions are for the most part multilateral. The sanctions against Iran have also had significant humanitarian implications, specifically economic growth and the health and drugs sector. It is unknown if the new government of Iran will prompt a change in the sanctions imposed by the international community.

All three case studies will present a strong correlation between the economic sanctions imposed and the humanitarian implications. The three states that are used as case studies were showing progress in at least one of the humanitarian sectors prior to the imposition of sanctions. We can see decay in economic growth, health and drugs, and food and nutrition most prevalently.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

In the past few decades the use of economic sanctions as a foreign policy tool has become more and more common yet devastating. What is the goal of economic sanctions? Some proponents will argue that the goal of economic sanctions is to hinder the power of the government. Opponents disagree and argue that the goal of economic sanctions is to hurt the citizens of the targeted country in order to force citizens to become disgruntled by their governments. Others believe the targeted government may change its policies because of the sanctions.

Regardless of the goal, economic sanctions do lead to humanitarian implications. The extent to which sanctions lead to humanitarian implications is debatable. Arguably, many factors must be taken into consideration before coming to a conclusion on the strength of the relationship. The severity of the humanitarian effects caused by economic sanctions vary in each case due to factors such as a) unilateral versus United Nations sanctions, b) targeted versus general sanctions, c) the situation before economic sanctions were imposed, d) the strictness of the sanctions, and e) the response by the targeted country's government. There are other variables that illustrate how viable and permeable sanctions are, including geography. These various factors make it difficult to pinpoint the causal effects and decipher whether the effects are direct or indirect. The following research will focus on various aspects of humanitarian implications, including the limiting of economic growth, the reduction of access to drugs and health care, the restriction of food and nutrition, and the lowered rates of education. This

research will analyze the economic sanctions imposed, the humanitarian implications, and the external factors that contribute to the severity of the implications.

Cuba, Iraq, and Iran are three extremely different, yet intriguing, case studies. The three case studies all have one feature in common. At least one humanitarian indicator that I studied (economic growth, access to drugs and healthcare, food and nutrition, and education) was improving before the economic sanctions were imposed. Iraq and Iran's economies were energized by oil revenues, while Cuba's pre-revolutionary economy focused on tourism. Although Cuba's system of health care and education before sanctions were socialized, the system touted statistics comparable to developed countries like the US. Iraq was making major strides toward reducing hunger and raising education standards before the sanctions were imposed. Iran's health indicators were among the most promising in the Middle East.

The primary difference in the sanctions between each case study is unilateral versus UN sanctions. The Cuban embargo has been set forth by the US for over 50 years, but has been a unilateral sanction. The US has attempted to gain support from the international community for the sanctions, but thus far no efforts have sustained. The sanctions against Iraq were UN mandated sanctions. UN sanctions carry more weight due to their wide-spread support; this could depict a reason why the humanitarian implications in Iraq were so much direr than in Cuba. The Iran sanctions were both unilateral and UN sanctions. The UN imposed sanctions against Iran for their negligence in halting nuclear power creation, increasing international support. The US and the European Union also created unilateral sanctions against Iran.

Economic sanctions have caused humanitarian implications, but each case study shows a varying degree. The purpose of my research is to answer the extent to which economic sanctions have caused humanitarian implications in each case study. I will then analyze the differences among the cases.

Significance

The US and the UN have both been using economic sanctions as a tool of foreign policy more often. Researching the extent to which these economic sanctions cause humanitarian effects is vital. The significance lies within policy; more in-depth research on these humanitarian implications could steer foreign policy towards a different direction, such as more targeted sanctions. Many international organizations, including Amnesty International and the Office of Coordination for Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) at the UN believe more consideration must be taken on the humanitarian effects before sanctions are utilized as a foreign policy tool. Studying why certain sanctions have caused more humanitarian implications than others will also help refocus sanctions on the primary 'politically correct' objective: to force the government to change policy.

The literature that exists on the topic mainly focuses on a methodology to test the humanitarian implications of economic sanctions or one specific case. Most of the research does not to what extent sanctions have caused humanitarian implications in different sectors. My research will focus on this issue by using the three case studies.

Sanctions against Cuba

The embargo against Cuba is a unilateral US sanction adopted in 1960, after the Batista regime was overthrown by the Cuban Revolution and Fidel Castro assumed power. In 1917, the

Trading with the Enemy Act was passed by Congress and this allowed the president of the US to impose economic sanctions with hostile countries during national emergencies.¹ The act was amended various times in order to suit the needs of the president or limit the scope of the president's power. In 1961, the Foreign Assistance Act was passed by Congress. The act allowed the president to establish a total embargo on trade with Cuba.² The 1992 Cuban Democracy Act was the next big piece of legislation on the Cuba embargo. The act depicted the fault of Fidel Castro and urged other governments to restrict trade with Cuba.³ In 1996, Congress passed the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. The act pressed for international sanctions against the Castro government and prohibited any indirect financing of Cuba.⁴

In 1984, the Institute for Food and Development Policy came out with *No Free Lunch: Food & Revolution in Cuba Today*. The book provides insight on the food situation in Cuba throughout the years, from pre-revolution to present. The book details how the supply for food lagged behind the demand in Cuba due to the embargo. Agricultural production was stifled, and the country relied heavily on imports of food, specifically wheat, rice, beans, lard, poultry, and dairy products. According to the book, 70% of these imports came from the US, and therefore left Cuba without an extremely large sector of their food imports.⁵

In January of 1997, Richard Garfield and Sarah Santana produced a report, "The Impact of the Economic Crisis and US Embargo on Health in Cuba," in the *American Journal of Public Health*. The article details the effects the US embargo against Cuba has had on the health system in Cuba. The article discusses how the severe economic situation due to the embargo caused health and health care in Cuba to deteriorate. The article uses data from surveillance systems on key health indicators. Data from the national health system and interviews were also included.⁶

In February of 2001 the US International Trade Commission (USITC) investigated the impact of the sanctions against Cuba. The US House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee requested a report to assess the impact. The book, *The Economic Impact of US Sanctions with Respect to Cuba*, details the Cuban economy before the revolution and during the sanctions. The book reviews the role of the Soviet Union in upholding Cuba's economy before the collapse of the Soviet Union. The report also discusses how each act of Congress has affected the economy of Cuba. The book does not necessarily detail the humanitarian effects that stem from the economic impact.⁷

In September of 2009, Amnesty International published *The US embargo against Cuba, Its Impact on Economic and Social Rights*, a detailed report on the humanitarian effects of the Cuba embargo that focuses the first section on each provision of the embargo. It then discusses the human rights violations that are directly correlated with the embargo. The report emphasizes the medical equipment and laboratory testing instruments that were not being imported into Cuba from the US and greatly hurt the medical care of Cuban citizens.⁸

Sanctions against Iraq

The sanctions against Iraq are UN sanctioned. In August of 1990, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 660. This resolution stated the Council's awareness of the situation in Iraq and Kuwait and demanded that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait.⁹ Resolution 661 passed by the UN Security Council in the same month, decided that Iraq did not adhere to the previous resolution and prevented the importation of all commodities originating in Iraq or Kuwait and the sale of any supplies unless for medical or humanitarian purposes.¹⁰ Resolution 687 was adopted by the UN Security Council in April of 1991 and stated that the Council was aware of

Iraq threatening to use biological weapons, ballistic missiles, and acquiring a nuclear weapon program. The resolution demanded that Iraq destructs all of these types of weapons under international supervision.¹¹

In 1991, the Secretary-General of the UN dispatched a mission to Iraq in order to assess the humanitarian needs. The mission was led by the Under-Secretary General Martti Ahtisaari and other representatives from various UN agencies. The USG Ahtisaari created a report for the UN Secretary General and the Security Council in order to inform them of the humanitarian needs of Iraq and Kuwait. Ahtisaari stated that the conflict had brought “near-apocalyptic results upon the economic infrastructure.” The report discusses the crisis in regards to water sanitation treatment facilities that were electrically operated. These facilities seized to function after the war and could not be rebuilt because of the lack of revenue. Garbage disposal and sewage treatments were the two main concerns in regards to sanitation. The mission reaffirmed the WHO-UNICEF mission report from February of 1991. The end observation of the report states that “the Iraqi people may soon face a further imminent catastrophe, which could include epidemic and famine, if massive life-supporting needs are not rapidly met.”¹²

Sarah Zaidi and Mary C Smith Fawzi from the Center for Economic and Social Rights in New York and the Harvard School of Public Health published a report in *The Lancet* in December of 1995. “Health of Baghdad’s Children” was a study under the UN FAO that created a community survey of the nutritional status and mortality of children in Baghdad. The study used the UNICEF standard for assessment of nutritional status and studied how many children were suffering from stunting, underweight, or wasting from 1991 to 1995. The study also surveyed the infant mortality rate and child mortality rate from 1989 to 1994.¹³

In March of 1996, the World Health Organization published a report, *The Health Conditions of the Population in Iraq since the Gulf Crisis*, in order to analyze the epidemiological data collected by the Health Ministry of Iraq. The report also includes surveys and assessments done by the WHO and various UN agencies. The report concludes that the Gulf War in 1991 caused the destruction of numerous public facilities and the sanctions have caused the government to stop repairing the damaged facilities. The report uses selected indicators before the sanctions such as infant mortality rate and under 5 mortality rates. It then supplies the statistics given by the Iraqi Health Ministry on the same indicators during 1990 to 1994. The study also focuses on the incidence rate of diseases such as malaria, cholera, typhoid, diphtheria, and pertussis.¹⁴

In 2005, Agustin Velloso De Santisteban published a study, *Sanctions, War, Occupation and the De-Development of Education in Iraq*, on the effects of the Iraqi sanctions on the education system in the International Review of Education. The study shows the situation of Iraq's education system pre-sanctions and shows the rapid deterioration of education after the Gulf War and the sanctions. The study cites UNICEF and UNESCO studies that show the deterioration of the system, and includes a clear conclusion of the impact the sanctions have had and will have on future generations.¹⁵

In December of 2007, Nasir Ahmed Al Samaraie, the former ambassador at the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wrote a report in the International Review of the Red Cross. The report, *Humanitarian Implications of the wars in Iraq*, describes the situation in Iraq as "a war on civilians." The report gives an overview of the deteriorating health and education system in Iraq due to the wars and the sanctions. Al Samaraie focuses in particular to the effects of the current

situation on women and children. The report concludes that Iraqi society could lose its basic structure of social justice, education, and health services.¹⁶

Sanctions against Iran

The sanctions against Iran were imposed both by the UN as well as individual countries. The European Union imposed several restrictions against Iran, as did the US. Resolution 1696 of the UN Security Council was adopted in 2006 and demanded that Iran suspend uranium enrichment or face various sanctions.¹⁷ Resolution 1737 in 2006 was unanimously adopted and imposed sanctions against Iran for the failure to adhere to resolution 1696.¹⁸ The sanctions blocked the import or export of nuclear material and equipment, as well as froze the financial assets of people supporting the nuclear activities. Resolution 1803 tightened the restrictions on Iran's proliferation of nuclear activities. The resolution pushed states to monitor financial institutions in Iran.¹⁹ UN resolution 1929 banned Iran from activities relating to ballistic missiles, proposed inspections of cargo from Iran. It also mandated a panel of experts that would gather information from states and compile recommendations to the Council on Iran's program.²⁰

A report released by The Iran Project in 2012 focused on the benefits and the costs of the sanctions against Iran. The report, "Weighing the benefits and costs of sanctions against Iran," analyzed the potential benefits, including the reduction of Iran's ability to build a nuclear weapon program. The report also assesses the drawbacks of the sanctions, including increased corruption and control of the economy by factions, disempowering civil society, and humanitarian effects. In regards to humanitarian effects, the report does emphasize that sanctions are not purposefully targeting humanitarian goods, but the lengthy licensing process

causes groups to halt humanitarian relief to Iran. The report uses the August 2012 earthquakes in Northern Iran as an example of how difficult it was to provide humanitarian assistance to the country.²¹

The National Iranian American Council reported in March of 2013 that outlines the history of the sanctions against Iran. The report focuses on both unilateral US sanctions as well as the UN Security Council imposed sanctions. The report analyzes how some policy makers in Tehran are using the impact of the sanctions on ordinary Iranians to create a negative attitude toward the US. The authors assess the deterioration of the economy and the humanitarian effects that it has caused.²²

The Atlantic Council, a non-partisan institution, wrote a report in April of 2013, "Time to Move from Tactics to Strategy on Iran." The report, written by Atlantic Council's Iran Task Force, focuses on how the US administration can change policy on Iran in order to further our foreign policy goal. The report outlines the drastic reduction in revenues from oil exports from the Security Council Resolutions. It also focuses on how the US should protect Iranians from the humanitarian implications of the sanctions in order to further US influence.²³

Congressional Research Service researched the effects of the Iran sanctions and debated whether the sanctions were effective without humanitarian implications. The report came out in June of 2013 and outlines the economic effects of the sanctions on Iran's economy. The report also focuses on the population's ability to receive western medicines for diseases such as cancer. Most of the criticisms of the sanctions on Iran are focused on the lack of chemo-therapy medicines.²⁴

Research Design

The humanitarian implications of economic sanctions must be a range of case studies.

The first chapter will focus on the case study of Cuba. Each of the acts and resolutions regarding the economic sanctions against Cuba will be analyzed as the independent variable. The constant baseline dependent variables will then be studied; these will include economic growth, health and access to medication, food and nutrition, and education. Any effects unique to its case will also be documented and investigated. The second chapter will focus on the economic sanctions against Iraq and the third chapter, on Iran.

By analyzing each particular case study, the humanitarian implications of economic sanctions can be determined. Other factors that can affect the correlation between the independent and dependent variables will also be taken into consideration, including unilateral versus UN sanctions, and the pre-sanction situation.

The three case studies examine a variety of sanctions and their effects on specific populations. Each case had varying humanitarian implications and it is vital to understand why each of these cases had different results.

Conclusion

A comprehensive study on the humanitarian implications of economic sanctions allows for a more constructive and targeted version of sanctions. Because the US and other countries are looking at sanctions as a useful, legal (although questionably so), and valid tool for foreign policy, the humanitarian implications must play a vital role in the assessment.

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- ¹ The Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 (TWEA). US Code, Title 50, Appendix-War and National Defense, (ACT Oct. 6, 1917, CH. 106, 40 STAT. 411).
- ² 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, Sec. 620
- ³ US Department of the Treasury. 1992 Cuban Democracy Act or the Torricelli Act, *US Code, Title 22, Foreign Regulations and Intercourse, Chapter 69*.
- ⁴ Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996. US Congress.
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- ⁹ United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 660 (1990)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 2932nd meeting, on 2 August 1990, S/RES/660 (1990).
- ¹⁰ UN Security Council, *Resolution 661 (1990)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 2933rd meeting, on 6 August 1990. S/RES/661 (1990).
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- ¹² S/22366. *Report to the Secretary-General on humanitarian needs in Kuwait and Iraq in the immediate post-crisis environment by a mission to the area led by Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, Under-Secretary General for Administration and Management, dated 20 March 1991*.
- ¹³ Zaidi, Sarah, and Mary C Smith Fawzi. *Health of Baghdad's children*. The Lancet. Vol. 346 (Dec. 1995): 1485.
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- ¹⁵ Velloso De Santisteban, Agustin. "Sanctions, War, Occupation and the De-Development of Education in Iraq." *International Review of Education* 51.1 (2001): 59-71. Francis.
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- ²¹ Luers, William, Iris Bieri, and Priscilla Lewis. "Weighing Benefits and Costs of International Sanctions against Iran." *The Iran Project* (2012). N.p.
- ²² Khajepour, Bijan, Reza Marashi and Trita Parsi. "The Impact of Sanctions on Tehran's Nuclear Calculations." *National Iranian American Council* (2013).

²³ Iran Task Force. "Time to Move from Tactics to Strategy on Iran." *The Atlantic Council*. April 2013.

²⁴ Katzman, Kenneth. "Iran Sanctions." *Congressional Research Service*. 7-5700.

CHAPTER TWO: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA AND THE HUMANITARIAN IMPLICATIONS

The economic sanctions against Cuba began in 1960, shortly after the Batista regime was overthrown by the Cuban Revolution and Fidel Castro came into power. The United States embargo against Cuba was initiated in 1960 with an executive order because of Cuba's decision to nationalize all US businesses without compensation.¹ The Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 (TWEA), the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the 1963 Cuban Assets Controls Regulations, the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act, the 1996 Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, and the 2000 Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act were all acts that strengthened the embargo against Cuba.²

The various acts inextricably caused humanitarian implications in the targeted state, Cuba. Economic indicators show the stagnation of Cuba's economy after the passage of the various economic sanctions. Cuba's access to health technology and drugs has decreased and attributed to an increase in certain diseases. Food and nutrition has been limited due to the lack of trade with the US; certain foods now have to be shipped from further countries like China and have much more expensive shipping costs.³ Lastly, education is an indicator of humanitarian effects. Cuba has surprisingly continued to have a highly regarded education system even though the US has a strict embargo. I will further analyze why this may be the case.

There are other variables that must be taken into consideration before making a cause and effect conclusion between economic sanctions and the humanitarian implications. The sanctions imposed on Cuba are unilateral, with only the US participating. The sanctions are

general in nature, they are strict and regulated, and the situation before the sanctions was fairly decent. Another factor that must be considered is the evidence of a large black market in Cuba. The statistics of the Cuban black market are not used in any of the data collection for economic indicators.

Economic Sanctions against Cuba

The Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 (TWEA)

TWEA gave the president of the US the power to impose economic sanctions by prohibiting, limiting, or regulating trade with hostile countries during national emergencies.

“During the time of war, the President may, through any agency that he may designate, and under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, by means of instructions, licenses, or otherwise –

(A) investigate, regulate, or prohibit, any transactions in foreign exchange, transfers of credit or payments between, by, through, or to any banking institution, and the importing, exporting, hoarding, melting, or earmarking of gold or silver coin or bullion, currency, or securities, and

(B) investigate, regulate, direct, and compel, nullify, void, prevent or prohibit, any acquisition holding, withholding, use, transfer, withdrawal, transportation, importation, or exportation of, or dealing in, or exercising any right, power, or privilege with respect to, or transactions involving any property in which any foreign country or a national thereof has any interest, by any person, or with respect to any property, subject to the jurisdiction of the US. TWEA has been amended several times, with Congress occasionally attempting to limit or expand the scope of the act.

In 1933, the act was amended and allowed the president to impose comprehensive embargoes against foreign countries during “the time of war or during any other period of national emergency declared by the President (TWEA).” This was a change from the original act because the original act only granted the president the power to impose economic sanctions

during 'times of war.' President Dwight Eisenhower used "national emergency" to suspend trade with Cuba.

TWEA was amended in 1977 as well. It limited the scope of the president's power by only allowing the embargoes during times of war, instead of both at times of war and national emergencies. It essentially reversed the amendment made in 1933. Although it reversed the 1933 amendment, Congress allowed the continuance of previous economic sanctions that were based on 'national emergencies' if the current president extended the exercise for another year. If the president were to decide not to extend the exercise, the sanctions would be terminated. All presidents since President Eisenhower have extended Cuba's sanctions.

"The authorities conferred upon the President by section 5(b) of the Trading with the Enemy Act which were being exercised with respect to a country on July 1, 1977, as a result of a national emergency declared by the President before such date, may continue to be exercised with respect to such country, except that, unless extended, the exercise of such authorities shall terminate at the end of the two-year period beginning on the date of enactment of the national Emergencies Act. The President may extend the exercise of such authorities with respect to such country for another year if in the national interest of the US."⁴

1961 Foreign Assistance Act

In 1961, the Foreign Assistance Act was passed by Congress. This act prohibited the furnishing of any assistance to the government of Cuba. It also allows to the president to "establish and maintain a total embargo upon all trade between the United States and Cuba."

Because of the Foreign Assistance Act, President John F. Kennedy issued Proclamation 3447. This proclamation stated that due to the power vested in the president by the Foreign Assistance Act, he "may proclaim an embargo upon trade between the United States and Cuba" and "prohibit the importation into the US of all goods of Cuban origin and all goods imported

from or through Cuba.” President Kennedy also ordered the Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of Commerce to carry out the prohibition.⁵

1963 Cuban Assets Controls Regulations

The 1963 Cuban Assets Controls Regulations was another sanction set by the US that banned travel to Cuba without a general or specific license. This was issued under the Trading with the Enemy Act “in response to certain hostile actions by the Cuban government.” The regulations have been amended several times, changing the stringency of the ability to travel to Cuba.⁶

1992 Cuban Democracy Act

The 1992 Cuban Democracy Act, also known as the Torricelli Act was signed in by President George H. Bush. The act contained several findings by Congress on the actions of the Castro regime, a statement of policy, international cooperation, support for Cuban people, sanctions, and policy towards a transitional Cuban government. In this act, Congress found that Castro has no regard for human rights and democratic values and that the Cuban people have increased opposition to the Castro regime. The main stated goal is for the US to seek the peaceful transition of Cuba into a democracy through sanctions directed at the Castro government. The act states that the sanctions will continue as long as the Cuban government refuses to move towards a democracy.

In regards to international cooperation, the act states that the president should urge other governments to restrict trade with Cuba. This section also allows the president to impose sanctions on any country that provides assistance to Cuba. This includes ineligibility for assistance through the Foreign Assistance Act and ineligibility for debt forgiveness or

reduction. The President of the US may not impose sanctions on a country that assists Cuba if the assistance is in the form of “donations of food to nongovernmental organizations or individuals in Cuba or exports of medicines or medical supplies, instruments, or equipment that passes US inspection.”

The act specifically contains a section for the support of the Cuban people. This section states that the donations of food to nongovernmental organizations or individuals in Cuba are not prohibited. It also states that exports of medicines and medical supplies will not be restricted UNLESS the item will likely be used for torture or human rights abuses, be reported, or used for any biotechnological product. Certain exports require onsite verifications and licenses.

The sanctions set by the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act are prohibition on transactions between subsidiaries of US companies and Cuba, prohibition on vessels, and restrictions of remittances.

In the policy towards a transitional Cuban government, the act states that “food, medicine, and medical supplies for humanitarian purposes should be made available for Cuba if the government in power in Cuba has made a public commitment to hold free and fair elections for a new government within 6 months and is proceeding to implement that decision, has made a public commitment to respect human rights, and is not providing weapons or funds to any group that seeks the violent overthrow of the government of that country (Cuban Democracy Act).” If the president determines that the Cuban government is democratic and held free and fair elections, permitted opposition parties to organize, shows respect for basic

human rights, and moves towards a free market economy, then the US may consider ending the embargo.⁷

1996 Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (Helms-Burton Act)

The 1996 Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act or the Helms-Burton Act “sought international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes.” This act basically strengthened the Cuban Democracy Act and was signed by President Bill Clinton.

This act found that the steep decline of the Cuban economy has hurt the welfare and health of the Cuban people. The act states that the regime has decided not to engage in any political reforms. The act believes that as long as there are no free elections, the economic condition will not improve, and therefore the welfare of the Cuban people will not improve.

In regards to strengthening international sanctions against the Cuban government, the act emphasizes the role of the president in advocating and instructing the Security Council to obtain a mandatory international embargo against the Cuban government because of their extraordinary violations of human rights. The act also focuses on the threat to national security if the Cuban government or another government makes operational any nuclear facility in Cuba. The act restates that the president should immediately apply sanctions to countries that are assisting Cuba. The act also opposes Cuba’s membership in international financial institutions. The act also prohibits any indirect financing of Cuba.

The act also provides for steps to ending the embargo if/when the Cuban government makes substantial political reforms, specifically holding fair and free elections and moving towards a free market economy.⁸

Humanitarian Implications

Economic growth

Undoubtedly, the US economic sanctions against Cuba have caused a downturn in the Cuban economy. During the principal years of the economic sanctions, Cuba did not feel the implications of the economic sanctions due to the help of the Soviet Union and China. Economic assistance from the Soviet Union was almost \$6 billion in the 1980s. This large scale economic assistance off set the economic implications for Cuba. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Cuban economy struggled: “The Cuban government estimates that the cumulative cost of US economic sanctions on the Cuban economy was \$67 billion through 1998, including such costs as reduced trade and tourism, higher shipping costs, inability to procure spare party, frozen bank accounts, foreign debt problems, and emigration of skilled workers.”⁹

Pre-sanctions situation (1950s): The US accounted for 67 percent of Cuba’s exports and 70 percent of its imports in 1958. The US gave \$11 million for development projects in 1958. In the late 1950s, approximately 275,000 to 350,000 tourists visited Cuba annually. ¹⁰

Post-sanctions situation (1960-1989): The economic sanctions against Cuba began in 1960 with an executive order after the Batista regime was overthrown by Castro. When Fidel Castro gained power, he made several changes to the Cuban economy, including the nationalization of the means of production, reorganization of the public sector for direct management, and centralized planning of all economic activity. Cuba increased spending on

healthcare, education, and armed forces dramatically. The US sanctions against Cuba hardly made an impact on the Cuban economy from 1960 to 1989 because of the Soviet Union's assistance. The Soviet Union gave three types of aid to the Cuban economy: export markets for sugar and nickel, supply and delivery agreements with favorable prices for Cuba, and trade credits.

Situation during sanctions (1990s): Due to the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Cuban economy suffered greatly. Cuba suffered an energy crisis in the early 1990s because the Soviet Union was their source of low-cost oil. Agricultural production fell 54% from its previous 1989 levels. Cuba has to import \$2.3 billion in food stuffs in 2008 to feed its population because of the agricultural downturn.¹¹ In 2010, the median salary per month in Cuba was 448 Cuban pesos in 2010. Many educated people in Cuba seek jobs that offer access to foreign currency.¹² The GNI per capita in Purchasing Power Parity terms (constant 2005 international \$) was 5,539 for Cuba in 2011. This puts Cuba in the medium human development category according to UNDP, but lagging in comparison to other Latin American countries. The industrial sector has continued to lag in Cuba, still not recovering to 1989 levels. The service sector has expanded in Cuba, but the growth has been distorted and has not led to profitable gains in the economy.¹³

Health and Drugs

When focusing on health and drugs in Cuba, there is extremely contradictory data and research on the topic. Cuba has a nationalized health system and grants every person with the right to health. The expenditure on public health as a percentage of GDP shows Cuba at 9.7% while the United States is at 9.5% as of 2010. UNDP also calculates a 'health index' which is the "life expectancy at birth expressed as an index using a minimum value of 20 years and observed

maximum value over 1980-2010. Cuba falls into the category between high and very high human development in the health index. As of 2012, Cuba had a life expectancy at birth of 79.3, beating the US, which stands at 78.7 as of 2012. As of 2010, the under-five mortality per 1,000 live births rate was at 9, compared to the US at 8.

Although health index indicators show that Cuba has a strong healthcare system and that health and drugs have not been affected by the sanctions set by the US, there are a few indicators that show otherwise. The decline in Cuba's ability to produce chlorine to sanitize water has caused increases in mortality rates due to diarrheal diseases from 2.7 in 1989 to 6.8 in 1993 (per 100,000). The incidents of tuberculosis also increased in the period of 1990 to 1994 due to the lack of medication. The medication shortage is associated with a 47% increase in tuberculosis deaths from 1992 to 1993.¹⁴ Some medications are only produced by the US and cannot be acquired from other countries. Some of these medications include treatment for pediatric leukemias, specialized x-ray machine film for breast cancer detection, respirators, pacemakers, and medical books. According to *The Impact of the Economic Crisis and the US embargo on Health in Cuba*, "the medical products produced outside the US cost Cuba an estimated 30% more and require 50% to 400% higher shipping charges. The World Health Organization reports that Cuba has a "lack of diagnostic materials and equipment, replacement parts, surgical supplies and drugs hinders the operations of emergency services and care for patients in serious condition. The resources for treating patients who need this type of care, adults and children alike, are limited. In the case of patients with psychiatric disorders, state-of-the-art drugs are unavailable." A biotechnology firm based in California was penalized for shipping three types of vaccines for infants and children from factories in Germany to Cuba.

Another penalty was imposed on a company based in Massachusetts for exporting x-ray film processors to Cuba via Canada.¹⁵

Food and Nutrition

Pre-Castro Cuba in the 1950s touted a per-capita income of about \$500 per person, higher than all Latin American countries except Venezuela and Argentina. Food was highly available, especially meat. Meat availability was at 70 pounds per person annually. However, this availability was concentrated in the wealthiest of Cuba, and did not accurately reflect the amounts available to the impoverished in the country. The inequality in income was extremely high during the Batista regime. The World Bank studied the economy of Cuba in the 1950s and Cuban doctors stated that “more than 30 to 40 percent of the people in the cities and over 60 percent of those in rural areas were undernourished.”

When Castro came into power, the government attempted to equalize income, which worked but the supply of food lagged behind the demand for food. Many more people had enough money to spend on food, therefore leading to a food shortage. In a free market, the food prices would increase steadily and therefore, limit the demand on food and equalize the supply and demand. But Castro did not want to set this policy and instead stated that “a price policy to compensate for this imbalance would have been nothing short of a ruthless sacrifice of that part of the population with the lowest income.”

Cuba relied on food imports, such as wheat, rice, beans, lard, poultry, dairy products, and eggs. Over 70% of these imports came from the US, but the trade embargo left Cuba without its largest food importer. The cost of importing from other countries is much higher due to the increase in transportation costs. Cuba also depended on packaging materials,

machines for processing, and transportation from the US. The removal of all these products caused hunger to increase significantly in Cuba. Cuba began to control prices of commodities. Wholesale food businesses were nationalized. In regards to the food rationing system, Cubans were rationed approximately 1,900 calories per day. By 1985, the number of calories available for every Cuban rose to 3,155. Meat makes up approximately 30% of the Cuban diet, but the diet is mostly made up of carbohydrates. The major issue has been the absence of highly fibrous foods that reduce constipation.¹⁶

Although malnutrition was a significant problem in the early stages of the revolution and pre-revolution, Cuba has made significant strides in reducing the number of malnourished. Low birth rate was high in the 1970s, but fell under 10% in 1980. The percentage as of 2012 was 5% of all births.

Relationship between the two variables and other factors

Relationship between Economic sanctions and humanitarian implications in Cuba

The relationship between economic sanctions and the humanitarian implications is difficult to directly make a causal conclusion. The two variables are inextricably correlated, but various other factors must be taken into consideration. Many scholars argue that the collapse of the Soviet Union hurt the Cuban economy more so than the US sanctions that have lasted over 50 years.

The first factor to take into consideration is unilateral versus UN sanctions. Cuba's sanctions have been fully implemented only by the US, which has caused the sanctions to be much less powerful than multi-lateral sanctions. The UN General Assembly has now urged the

US to end the trade embargo against Cuba for 21 years; this has been an annual ritual.¹⁷ In 2012, 188 nations of the 193 GA voted for the non-binding agreement to stop the US embargo against Cuba. The only two states that voted against with the US are Israel and Palou. Two countries abstained: Marshall Islands and Micronesia. Cuba's foreign minister, Bruno Rodriguez, called the sanctions "qualifying as an act of genocide." The US Envoy, Ronald Godard, stated at the GA last year that the US is not stopping productivity and development but the Cuban government itself must take responsibility. He also insisted that the US has not hurt the Cuban people and has authorized over \$1.2 billion in humanitarian assistance to Cuba. The overwhelming opposition from the UN community about the sanctions has reduced the effectiveness of the sanctions, but it has admittedly also reduced the humanitarian implications.

The second factor to take into consideration is the pre-sanction and sanction situation. Before the sanctions were implemented, Cuba was receiving much of its aid from the US and the Soviet Union. When the sanctions were implemented, the Soviet Union came to the rescue of Cuba and increased the aid and subsidies sent to Cuba substantially. The Soviet Union help before its collapse made the US sanctions virtually obsolete. Cuba finally began to feel the downturn of the economy in the early 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The pre-sanction or pre-revolution situation was also highly unequal. The inequality in the country was eased because of the communist reforms that Castro implemented.

Conclusion

Sanctions imposed on Cuba by the United States, although unilateral, have certainly created humanitarian implications. The extent of these humanitarian effects has unfortunately

been inconsistent. The data by the Cuban national statistics center shows that the economic indicators have been strong even with the imposed sanctions. Contrary to this data, a citizen of Cuba still residing in the state disclosed in an interview that the economic conditions are dire in the country. According to this source, there is one class in Cuba, poor, and feeding a family is extremely difficult because the lack of supply of basic necessities.¹⁸ This contradiction leads me to believe that the status of Cuban humanitarian indicators is largely misrepresented and continues to be unknown.

¹ Suddath, Claire. "US-Cuba Relations." *Time Magazine*. (2009).

² Amnesty International. "The US Embargo Against Cuba. It's Impact on Economic and Social Rights." 2009.

³ Benjamin, Medea, Michael Scott, and Joseph Collins. *No Free Lunch: Food & Revolution in Cuba Today*. N.p: San Francisco, CA: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1984.

⁴ The Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 (TWEA). US Code, Title 50, Appendix-War and National Defense, (ACT Oct. 6, 1917, CH. 106, 40 STAT. 411).

⁵ 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, Sec. 620

⁶ Cuban assets control regulations

⁷ US Department of the Treasury. 1992 Cuban Democracy Act or the Torricelli Act, *US Code, Title 22, Foreign Regulations and Intercourse, Chapter 69*.

⁸ Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996. US Congress.

⁹ US International Trade Commission. "The Economic Impact of US Sanctions with Respect to Cuba." 2001.

¹⁰ Peters, Philip. 2002. *Survival Story: Cuba's Economy in the Post-Soviet Decade*. Arlington, Virginia: Lexington Institute.

¹¹ Oficina Nacional de Estadística, ONE.

¹² Feinberg, Richard. "The New Cuban Economy." *Latin American Initiative at Brookings Institute*. (2012).

¹³ United Nations Development Programme. "Country Statistics."

¹⁴ Cuban Ministry of Health. "Tuberculosis Report."

¹⁵ Garfield, Richard, and Sarah Santana. "The Impact of the Economic Crisis and the US Embargo on Health in Cuba." *American Journal of Public Health* 87.1 (1997): 15-20.

¹⁶ Benjamin, Medea, Michael Scott, and Joseph Collins. *No Free Lunch: Food & Revolution in Cuba Today*. N.p: San Francisco, CA: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1984.

¹⁷ Charbonneau, Louis. "UN urges end to US Cuba embargo for 21st year." *Reuters*. 2012

¹⁸ Anonymous interview with a Cuban citizen still residing in Cuba. October 15, 2013.

CHAPTER THREE: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ AND THE HUMANITARIAN IMPLICATIONS

The economic sanctions against Iraq were imposed by the UN Security Council in 1990, after Iraq invaded Kuwait. The stringent economic sanctions lasted approximately 20 years and there are still sections of the sanctions intact. The sanctions began a few days after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait with the Security Council Resolution 661. This resolution demanded that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait and imposed sanctions on all importation of Iraqi exported products and commodities. The resolution did allow supplies for medical purposes and humanitarian circumstances. Security Council Resolution 687 called for the removal of all chemical and biological weapons, and ballistic missiles.

The humanitarian implications of the economic sanctions against Iraq are probably the most well-known and publicized. The "60-Minutes" interview with Madeleine Albright (then US ambassador to the UN), shed light on the half a million children that had died and that it was 'the price we had to pay' to stabilize Iraq. A UNICEF report on the infant mortality rate during the sanctions against Iraq had publicized the 500,000 Iraqi children that had died. Education in the country also collapsed, and importation of medicines was made virtually impossible.

The reasoning for the more blatant effects of the economic sanctions against Iraq is the near total embargo that was enforced multi-nationally. Because these sanctions were not just US sanctions, but UN sanctions, the humanitarian implications were much more prevalent and serious.

Economic Sanctions against Iraq

Table 1: UN Security Council Resolutions against Iraq

United Nations Security Council Resolutions against Iraq	Date
660-Condemning the invasion of Kuwait	August 1990
661-Placed economic sanctions	August 1990
678-Authorized use of force	November 1990
687-Formal ceasefire ending the Persian Gulf War	April 1991
715-UN Special Commission on Iraq	October 1991
986-Created Oil for Food Programme	April 1995
1441-Final request for disarmament obligations	November 2002
1483-Removed sanctions imposed during Gulf War	May 2003
1956-Terminated supervised arrangements of the Development Fund	December 2010
1957-Lifted sanctions regarding weaponry	December 2010

Security Council Resolution 661

Resolution 660 on August 2, 1990 stated that the Security Council was aware of and alarmed by the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. The resolution demanded Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait immediately. On August 6, 1990, the UN Security Council passed resolution 661 regarding the situation between Iraq and Kuwait. The resolution reaffirmed Resolution 660 and found that Iraq had not adhered to the resolution and therefore, the Security Council decided

that all states prevent the import of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait, the sale or supply by their nationals unless supplies are “strictly for medical purposes and in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs, to any person or body in Iraq or Kuwait.” The resolution also called on all states to protect assets of the legitimate government of Kuwait and to not recognize any regime set up by the occupying power.¹

Security Council Resolution 687

The Security Council Resolution 687 was adopted on April 3rd of 1991 by 12 votes to 1 (Cuba) with two abstentions (Yemen and Ecuador). Resolution 687 stated that the Security Council was conscious of “Iraq threatening to use weapons in violation of its obligations under the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.” The resolution listed the conventions that Iraq had signed and violated with the threat of using biological weapons, the use of ballistic missiles, and attempted acquisition of materials for a nuclear-weapon program. The resolution then decided that “Iraq shall unconditionally accept the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless, under international supervision, of:

All chemical and biological weapons and all stocks of agents and all related subsystems and components and all research, development, support and manufacturing facilities related thereto;

All ballistic missiles with a range greater than one hundred and fifty kilometers, and related major parts and repair and production facilities;

Iraq was required to submit a declaration of all locations, amounts, and types of these items for an on-site inspection by a special commission. Iraq was required to allow the special commission to destruct and remove these items. Iraq was also forced to agree not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons.²

Security Council Resolution 1956 and 1957

Security Council Resolution 1956, adopted on December 15, 2010, recognized the improvements that Iraq had made since the passing of Resolution 661. The resolution decided to terminate the arrangements for depositing Iraq proceeds from sales of petroleum into the Development Fund for Iraq.³

Security Council Resolution 1957 adopted on the same day decided to terminate Resolution 687, and acknowledged the signing and adherence to various conventions on chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles.⁴

Humanitarian Implications

Economic growth

Figure 1: Iraqi Oil Revenue



Iraq's oil dependency before the imposition of the economic sanctions is vital to understand in order to evaluate the consequences of the sanctions. Iraq was dependent on their single export, oil. The fluctuation of oil prices caused Iraq's economy to be extremely unstable. The impact of the Iraq-Iran war was another important setback to Iraq's economy previous to the sanctions.

Iraq's total oil production in 1989 was 2,994.5442 thousand barrels per day. In 1991, after the sanctions were imposed, this number plummeted to 301.523 thousand barrels per day. Iraq's

oil production was the first sector to take a hard hit from the sanctions and war. The *Middle East Economic Digest* suggests that the embargo-induced economic loss was estimated to be 24% of GDP.⁵

Iraq's GDP stood at approximately \$38 billion in 1989. Between 1990 and 1996, GDP was less than 30 percent of the 1989 level. Per capita GDP went from \$2304 in 1989 to \$938 in 1990. From 1991 to 1996, the GDP per capita stayed under \$507.⁶ This statistic shows the real effects of the economic sanctions versus the Gulf War. The sanctions were introduced in 1990, which caused the GDP per capita to reduce significantly. The Gulf War was in 1991, which caused even worse effects for the GDP per capita.

The economic sanctions imposed on Iraq and the Desert Storm campaign created detrimental effects on the Iraqi economy. William H. Webster, then CIA director, stated in front of the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee that the trade embargo deprived Iraq of more than 90% of the goods and services previously imported and exports had been "virtually shut-off."⁷ UN Under-Secretary General Martti Ahtisaari released a report to the Security Council about his trip to Iraq to assess the humanitarian implications of the economic sanctions. The report was released on 20 March 1991 and outlined how detrimental the sanctions were proving to be.

"The recent conflict has wrought near-apocalyptic results upon the economic infrastructure of what had been, until January 1991, a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society. Now, most means of modern life support have been destroyed or rendered tenuous. Iraq has, for some time to come, been relegated to a pre-industrial age, but with all the disabilities of post-industrial dependency on an intensive use of energy and technology."

The damage the sanctions and the war had on energy levels was unparalleled. The war damaged the electrical facilities of Iraq and caused the output of power to be 4% of the pre-war level. Four months after, the level was still at around 20-25% of the pre-war level.⁸

Education

Historically, Iraq's education system has been considered advanced for a developing country. In 1975, the Congress of Iraq created a law that required the state to provide compulsory, free basic education to all children.⁹ Education was provided with no charge at all levels, including higher education. In 1976, Congress passed a law to make primary education compulsory. In 1974/1975, Iraq spent 18.3% of their regular national budget for education. The number of students enrolled in secondary schools increased from 315,600 in 1971 to 1,023,710 in 1990.

Because of the strict economic sanctions imposed by the UN, Iraq's education system suffered. Iraq's largest revenue generator, oil, was stifled because of the sanctions. Iraq could not spend the money necessary to continue its advanced educational system. There was a loss of qualified teachers, educational facilities, and teaching materials.¹⁰ The education system in Iraq quickly deteriorated because of the sanctions. The 'Oil-for-Food Programme,' created by the UN, was used to allow Iraq to sell oil but only use the revenue for humanitarian purposes. The education system was allocated very minimal revenue. Teachers' salaries were approximately \$500 to \$1000 per month before 1990, while in 2003, the level dropped to \$5 to \$40 per month. This dramatic decrease caused teachers to leave the system. The level of participation in primary schooling declined due to the economic conditions. In rural areas,

approximately 50.8% of girls were out of school and 27.9% of boys. The Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) in secondary education went from 47% in 1990 to 38.3% in 2003.¹¹

Health and Drugs

The humanitarian implications of the economic sanctions in regards to health are likely the most appalling data. The infant mortality rate (IMR) in Baghdad was 80 per 1000 in 1989 to 1990. The IMR in Baghdad in 1994 to 1995 was 161. This shows a doubling of the IMR in the capital city. The mortality rate in children less than 5 years old went from 257 per 100,000 in 1990 to 884 per 100,000 in 1991 to 1,536 per 100,000 in 1994.¹² A community survey conducted under the UNFAO analyzed the mortality rates of children under the age of 5 in Baghdad in 1995. The survey showed a two-fold increase in infant mortality from children born between August of 1989 and July of 1990 to children born between September of 1994 and August of 1995. There was a five-fold increase in under-5 child mortality. The cause for these dramatic increases can be attributed to malnutrition, but also the three-fold increase in diarrheal disease related mortality in children under five.¹³

Pre-sanctioned Iraq had fairly advanced medical school programs. There are three medical schools in Baghdad itself and others outside the capital. Because of the strict sanctions imposed by the UN, Iraq could not import basic necessities for the medical profession such as medical textbooks, medical journals, and modern equipment. There was a lack of laboratory equipment, chemicals, anesthetic agents, sterile gloves, and surgical instruments. A survey shows that there was a 50 percent drop in laboratory services because of the lack of materials, and a 60 percent drop in surgical interventions.¹⁴ The Ministry of Health from the Government of Iraq showed that the number of major surgical operations in Iraq went from 90,318 in 1990 to

56,153 in 1994. This is a 40% decrease. The number of laboratory investigations in Iraq went from 11,370,183 in 1990 to 6,316,611 in 1994. This shows a 50% reduction.¹⁵

The sanctions have also hurt the importation of vital drugs. Before the sanctions, Iraq imported drugs from UK and US based companies. The restrictions on drugs were due to their possible multi-purposes. The drugs could be used as instruments of warfare. Antifungal and antibacterial treatment had become almost nonexistent, and easily treatable health problems became fatal after the sanctions were imposed.

Malaria became a severe epidemic in Iraq after the imposition of the sanctions. The malaria incidence rate in the 15 governorates of Iraq went from 1,510 in 1989 to 22,169 in 1994. The malaria incidence rate in the 3 northern governorates went from 1,918 in 1989 to 67,462 in 1994. These serious jumps in numbers show the severity of the impact of the economic sanctions in Iraq. According to the WHO, malaria is a serious determinant of low birth weight (LBW) births.¹⁶ In 1990, the percentage of LBW was 4.5%, and by 1994 the rate increased to 21.1%.

The hygiene situation in Iraq was greatly severed because of the destruction of water-purification, sewage treatment, and sanitary facilities in the 1991 war. The incidence of infections such as cholera and typhoid increased alarmingly. Prior to 1990, the incidence of cholera was 0, and the incidence of typhoid was at 1,686. In 1994, the incidence of cholera rose to 1,344 and the incidence of typhoid rose to 24,474.¹⁷

Vaccinations were also not readily made available during the period of 1991 to 1993. The incidence of measles in children less than 5 years old went from 5,049 in 1989 to 20,160 in 1992. This was largely due to the absence of vaccines available for children during the period. The

UN made a large effort in 1992 to make vaccines available for children and the level decreased to 10,657 in 1994. This was still not as low as the pre-sanction level.¹⁸

UNICEF reported that if Iraq had continued in their path of decreasing the under-five child mortality rate as the country did in the 1980s, Iraq would have had a half a million fewer deaths of children in the period of 1991 to 1998. The statistic of the death of half a million Iraqi children stemmed from this report/survey done by the UN children's fund.¹⁹ This is one of the most publicized numbers of the Iraqi sanctions that contextualizes then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright stating that "we think the price is worth it."²⁰

Food and Nutrition

Food and nutrition was another sector that was extremely hard hit by the sanctions imposed by the UN. A survey conducted under the UNFAO showed a strong correlation between the economic sanctions, an increase in child mortality, and an increase in malnutrition rates.²¹ Between 1991 and 1995, there was a two-fold increase in stunting and a four-fold increase in wasting. Stunting levels went from 12% in 1991 to 28% in 1995. Underweight levels went from 7% in 1991 to 29% in 1995. The malnutrition levels in Baghdad in 1995 were similar to levels in Ghana and Mali.

Local food production in the pre-war/pre-sanction Iraq was approximately 30%. Food imports in 1989 valued approximately \$2000 million.²² The food market was controlled by the government; therefore, food prices were affordable and the nutritional assets were made readily available. Nutritional deficiencies were extremely minimal and the daily caloric intake was at a highly acceptable rate for the country. In September of 1990, a food rationing system was

implemented to curtail the upcoming food problems. The ration was extremely deficient in certain nutrients. Animal protein was very minimal. Baby milk food was rationed at a monthly rate of 1800 gm , leading to protein-energy malnutrition in infants and children. The price of wheat flour on the regular market in 1995 was 400 times the price of the pre-war era. The increase in prices and decrease in purchasing power caused immense food shortages in Iraq.

Two severe protein-energy malnutrition diseases, Kwashiorkor and marasmus, appeared in Iraq in 1991. The number of cases of Kwashiorkor went from 41 in 1990 to 1,748 in 1994. The number of cases of Marasmus went from 433 in 1990 to 16,025 in 1994. Before 1991, these diseases were rarely evident in developing nations.

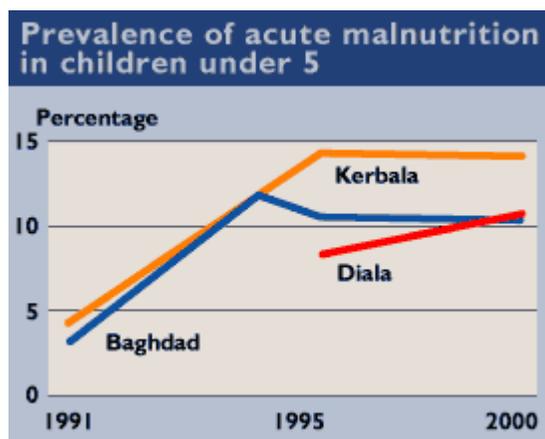


Figure 2: Prevalence of acute malnutrition in children under 5

Source: FAO

Relationship between the two variables and other factors

Relationship between Economic sanctions and humanitarian implications in Iraq

One of the major factors to consider first when analyzing the relationship between economic sanctions and humanitarian implications in Iraq is the effects of the Gulf War. The relationship between the economic sanctions and the humanitarian implications in Iraq is

difficult to decipher. A large amount of the infrastructure damage that caused major sanitation problems and hospital functionality decreases can be attributed to the Gulf War and the bombing of most facilities in Iraq. Separating the Gulf War from the economic sanctions is extremely difficult because the two overlapped in time.

Another factor to take into consideration is that the sanctions were UN sanctions and therefore strictly enforced by all member states. The US and Britain had major impacts on the level of the sanctions and the enforcement of keeping out anything that could possibly be used as a weapon. Because the sanctions were kept on the country for so long and were so stringent, Iraq suffered greatly.

All the available statistics show a grave consequence from both the war and sanctions and depict an immense disparity between the pre-sanction numbers and during the sanctions. Iraq was combating nutritional deficiencies before the sanctions and succeeded in bringing the levels very low, the infant mortality rate was low, the health system was superior to most developing countries, and the education system was flourishing before the sanctions. The sanctions had detrimental effects to all these indicators of development. Again, determining whether the effects were due to the economic sanctions or the war is difficult.

Conclusion

The sanctions against Iraq have created some of the worst humanitarian implications. The combination of sanctions and the Gulf War culminated in a situation in which the citizens of Iraq were dramatically affected. Although it is difficult to separate the indicators and the

specific cause, it is obvious that the four indicators depict significant humanitarian implications. The economic factors showed that Iraq's economy was unable to withstand the sanctions due to the single product revenue dependency (oil). The health and drugs sector displayed an appalling infant mortality rate and malaria incidence. The increases in malnutrition were also extremely high. This data exemplifies how universal sanctions have committed grave humanitarian implications.

¹ UN Security Council, *Resolution 661 (1990)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 2933rd meeting, on 6 August 1990. S/RES/661 (1990).

² UN Security Council, *Resolution 689 (1991)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 2983rd meeting on 9 March 1991. S/RES/689 (1991).

³ UN Security Council, *Resolution 1956(2010)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 6450th meeting on 15 December 2010. S/RES/1956(2010).

⁴ UN Security Council, *Resolution 1957(2010)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 6450th meeting on 15 December 2010. S/RES/1957(2010).

⁵ Simon, Edge. "Iraq: Counting the Cost of Credit." *Middle East Economic Digest*.

⁶⁶ "Iraq's Economic Data." *Central Intelligence Agency*.

⁷ "Standoff in the Gulf; Excerpts from Remarks by Webster and Baker on Embargo" *New York Times*. 1990

⁸ S/22366. *Report to the Secretary-General on humanitarian needs in Kuwait and Iraq in the immediate post-crisis environment by a mission to the area led by Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, Under-Secretary General for Administration and Management, dated 20 March 1991.*

⁹ UN Economic and Social Council. *Revolutionary Command Council Decision No. 102*

¹⁰ UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. "Iraq Education in Transition, Needs and Challenges." 2004.

¹¹ Santisteban, Agustin. "Sanctions, war, occupation and the de-development of education in Iraq." *International Review of Education*. 2005

¹² World Health Organization. "Child health. Infant Mortality by country."

¹³ Zaidi, Sarah and Mary Fawzi. "Health of Baghdad's Children." *The Lancet*. Vol. 346 (Dec. 1995): 1485

¹⁴ Akunjee, M. "Healthcare under Sanctions in Iraq: an elective experience." PubMed.

¹⁵ Ministry of Health of Iraq. Web.

¹⁶ World Health Organization. *The Health Conditions of the Population in Iraq since the Gulf Crisis*. March 1996. WHO/EHA/96.1.

¹⁷ Ministry of Health of Iraq. Web.

¹⁸ Samaraie, Nasir. "Humanitarian implications of the wars in Iraq." *International Review of the Red Cross*. 2007.

¹⁹ UN Children's Fund. 'Iraq surveys show 'humanitarian emergency.'" *UNICEF*. 1999.

²⁰ *60-Minutes* Segment on Iraqi Sanctions with Madeleine Albright. May 12, 1996.

²¹ Zaidi, Sarah, and Mary C Smith Fawzi. "Health of Baghdad's children." *The Lancet*. Vol. 346 (Dec. 1995): 1485.

²² UN Food and Agriculture Organization. "Food Supply and Nutrition Assessment Mission to Iraq." *UNFAO*. 1997.

CHAPTER FOUR: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAN AND THE HUMANITARIAN IMPLICATIONS

Sanctions were first imposed by the US on Iran after the Islamic Revolution in 1979. Under Shah Reza Pahlavi before 1979, the gap between the rich and the poor was growing and positions of office were given to friends and relatives. Citizens of Iran became disgruntled with the government and began the Islamic Revolution in Iran. After the takeover of the US embassy and the hostage crisis, the US imposed strict sanctions against the newly formed government. The sanctions imposed by the US were then expanded in 1995. The UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Iran much later in 2006 because of their failure to halt the uranium enrichment program. The US supported the Security Council sanctions very much and urged states to impose stringent sanctions.

Similar to the sanctions imposed against Iraq, sanctions imposed on Iran hindered their ability to export oil, the major fund for Iran's government expenditures. The humanitarian effects of these sanctions, although not as publicly known as the effects in Iraq, were dramatic and were recognized by the UN Secretary General in 2012. The sanctions have drastically hurt the amount of revenue from oil and therefore hurt the economy of Iran immensely. The unemployment rate, inflation, and commodity prices have all increased. The state of the economy has caused major shortages of medicine and humanitarian aid needed in Iran. Organizations with proper licenses are unable to find third-country banks to use to import medicine and food.

The combination of unilateral sanctions from the US and the EU plus the UN sanctions has hampered the economy of Iran and will continue to do so unless Iran makes significant

changes. Russia and China were both extremely reluctant to agree to the UN sanctions, but did so after watering down the sanctions. It is unlikely that there will be an increase in the UN sanctions, but the US and EU may increase unilateral sanctions. The US has already imposed stricter sanctions on Iran, most recently right before the June 2013 election of the new president Hassan Rohani.

Economic Sanctions against Iran

Executive Order 12170-Blocking Iranian Government Property

The executive order 12170 signed by President Jimmy Carter in November of 1979 stated that the situation in Iran caused an immediate and direct threat to the national security of the US. The order declared a national emergency and blocked all property and interests in the property of Iran. This essentially froze any American assets in Iran, including banks.¹

List of State Sponsors of Terror

In January of 1984, Iran was placed under the list of State Sponsors of Terror which created various sanctions against Iran. States under the list are subject to the Foreign Assistance Act, Section 620A which denied foreign assistance to Iran other than humanitarian aid. Iran was also placed under the Arms Export Control Act which banned the exportation of arms to them. The Export Administration Act allows the President to prohibit the exportation of any good or technology to the extent necessary to further US foreign policy. This does not include medical supplies. This meant that the US could prohibit the export of any good that could be of dual usage. Lastly, the International Financial Institutions Act, section 1621 states that US representatives are required to vote against international organizations that will grant loans to Iran. This last measure has been one of the most controversial. This halted the granting of loans to Iran from international financial institutions; important money for humanitarian growth.²

Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Act of 1992

This 1992 act made it the policy of the US to oppose any transfer of goods or technology that could contribute to Iran or Iraq acquiring WMDs. The act also urged other countries to follow suit with this policy. The act included the ability for the President to apply sanctions to any persons or nations that assisted Iran or Iraq in acquiring WMDs.³

Table 2: UN Security Council Resolutions against Iran

United Nations Security Council Resolutions against Iran	Date
1696-Demanded that Iran halted their uranium enrichment program	July 2006
1737-Imposed sanctions for failure to adhere to resolution 1696	December 2006
1747-Tightened the imposed sanctions	March 2007
1803-Required Iran to cease and desist any uranium enrichment	March 2008
1929-Imposed additional sanctions, and expanded an arms embargo	June 2010
1984-Mandated an expert panel to monitor the sanctions	June 2011
2049-Extended the mandate of the panel of experts	June 2012
2105-Requested to extend the panel of experts	June 2013

Security Council Resolution 1696

This was the first resolution from the UN Security Council that dealt with the issue of Iran. Although the US had already for many years applied unilateral sanctions, the UN involved themselves only after the reports from the IAEA discovered serious concern over Iran's nuclear programme. This resolution only demanded that Iran halt all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities. Paragraph 5 of the resolution did call upon states to individually prevent the transfer of any items that could contribute to Iran's nuclear program.⁴

Security Council Resolution 1737

Resolution 1737 reaffirmed the situation with Iran's nuclear program and required Iran to suspend the proliferation of nuclear activities and enrichment. The resolution decided that all states should take measures to halt the supply, sale or transfer directly or indirectly from their territories of goods that could contribute to the enrichment process. The resolution also decided that all states must freeze funds and assets of persons that are associated with Iran's nuclear proliferation.⁵

Security Council Resolution 1929

This resolution reiterated that Iran had yet to halt their enrichment program and expanded the sanctions. The resolution strengthened the arms embargo to include any activities with ballistic missiles. The sanctions were also expanded to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. This resolution also prevented Iranian banks that may contribute to the nuclear program from working with member states.⁶

Humanitarian Implications

Economic Growth

Economic growth has been significantly stunted by the sanctions imposed by the US, UN, and international community. The largest revenue producer for Iran is from crude oil exports, a similar case to Iraq, with over half of its government revenue coming from oil. Embargoes set forth by various countries, including the US, on the importation of crude oil from Iran has reduced the revenue of Iran drastically. In 2012, both South Africa and Greece oil companies, Engen Petroleum and Hellenic Petroleum respectively, suspended the importation of Iranian oil. This shows the immense pressure and power the West has had on other countries in the international community. In 2011, the estimated petroleum net export of Iran was approximately 2.5 million barrels per day, while the number significantly dropped in 2012 to 1.8 billion barrels per day.⁷

Another major problem for the Iranian economy is the chokehold on Iran's use of international banks. The US and European countries have closed off Iran from participating in international banks. They have done so by creating extreme restrictions on any international banks that work with Iran. One of the major cut offs was from the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication. This is the most important service for financial transactions and cut various Iranian banks, specifically the Iranian Central Bank. These limitations set forth require Iran to become self-sufficient in sectors where they have relied heavily on imports, including pharmaceuticals. This has essentially caused the inability of Iran to make payments to Western suppliers of important goods.⁸

Health and Drugs

The pharmaceutical aspect of the humanitarian implications is the worst hit by the economic sanctions for Iran. Exemptions exist in the sanctions for the trade of medical supplies, but that has not changed the fact that the Iranian economy plummeted. Pharmaceutical companies refuse to take the risk of fines for trading with Iran. Iran's Minister of Health from 1991 to 1993, Reza Malekzadeh, stated that "We don't have the figures, but I can say that almost 60% of cancer patients in Iran – and we have about 50,000 cancer cases per year – are in trouble." Iran was a fairly self-sufficient country when it came to producing drugs with the Iran national pharmaceutical company (approximately 90% are produced internally), but the economic plummet has caused both the trade in and the internal production of drugs to decrease drastically. The decrease in the value of Iranian currency as mentioned previously is a major cause for the heightened prices of medicine in Iran, as well as the lack of medications there. Payment problems and international financing has created significant problems in importing/purchasing drugs for Iranians.⁹ Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon in August of 2012 stated that because the sanctions include bank transactions, foreign banks are halting any business with Iran and making it difficult for Iranians to transfer funds and to obtain credit. This has led to the inability to purchase life-saving medicines. He also asserts that companies with the required license to import medicine cannot find third-country banks to process the transactions. Many reports discuss how pharmacies have to make cash transactions because of the inability to transfer funds through banking.¹⁰

Even with the hardship of economic sanctions, Iran's health system has continued to show substantive improvements and has made strides towards a health statistics close to that of

developed countries. Life expectancy from 1970 to 1975 was approximately 53.9 years, and increased to 68.9 years in 2000. Iran spends approximately 6% of their GDP on health care. One of the major issues of the health system in Iran is the increasingly high individual expenditure on health. The Human Development Index shows the major strides made by Iran. HDI rose from 0.443 in 1980 to 0.742 in 2012. This ranks Iran 76. The infant mortality rate dropped from 45 in 1990 to 24 in 2003. Unfortunately, the prevalence of stunting and wasting has not decreased enough.¹¹

Food and Nutrition

With the decrease in imports, the increase in prices, food and nutrition has become a major issue since 2012. According to the manager of the Dairy Industries Union, Mohammad-Reza Esmaili, the sale of dairy products declined by 30% because of the increase in prices. There are mixed statistics on the rate of inflation in Iran, but food price inflation has hit over 50% since 2012. Iran imports approximately a quarter of its food requirements.¹² A leading nutritionist at an Iranian University stated that the nutritional value and balance of the consumption basket has plummeted for many Iranians due to the sanctions. In the past year, there have been significant increases in the rate of hunger and malnutrition in Iran. The rate of inflation and the rise in food prices have caused middle and lower class families many difficulties in purchasing basic food necessities.¹³

Relationship between the two variables and other factors

Relationship between economic sanctions and humanitarian implications in Iran

The economic sanctions have clearly had an impact on Iran and have had humanitarian implications. Although US unilateral sanctions previous to 2012 had not been strong enough to curtail Iran's economy, the multilateral sanctions imposed during 2012 have essentially cut the Iranian economy off from the international community, leaving the economy to fend for itself. The sharp reduction of oil exportation from Iran, the rising inflation for food, and the increasing difficulty of receiving drugs in Iran have left Iran in a difficult position.

The major factor contributing to the humanitarian implications of the sanctions are the international consensus and will to enforce the sanctions strongly. Led by the US and many European countries, the pressure for other countries to follow suit and impose sanctions against Iran and the extreme stringency of the sanctions has yielded effective sanctions, particularly in the past year.

The difficulty in deciphering the exact humanitarian implications in Iran is the lack of proper statistics and figures from the Iranian government. Due to the exile of Iran from international banks and the covering of implications by the Iranian government, the results of the sanctions have been difficult to understand. This case is extremely different from the case in Iraq in the fact that Iraq's government wanted to show the international community the grave humanitarian consequences from the sanctions imposed. Iran's government, on the other hand, has criticized the sanctions, but has attempted to show that the Iranian economy is still strong and able to continue even with stringent sanctions.

Conclusion

The sanctions against Iran have also had strong humanitarian implications in almost all the sectors except education. Similar to the situation in Iraq, Iran's extreme dependency on crude oil export caused the economy to plummet after the sanctions. Another major problem with the economy was the limitations on international bank usage and payment resources. The pharmaceutical industry suffered because there was no way to make payments to outside pharmaceutical companies and most companies did not want to deal with the possible fines for collaborating with Iran. The multilateral sanctions most certainly did hurt ordinary Iranian citizens in three of the four indicators studied.

¹ National Archives. "Executive order 12170-Blocking Iranian Government property."

² US Department of State. "List of state sponsors of Terrorism." 1984.

³ US Department of State. "Iran-Iraq Arms Non-proliferation act of 1992." 50 U.S.C. 1701 note.

⁴ UN Security Council, *Resolution 1696 (2006)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 5500th meeting on 31 July 2006. S/RES/1696 (2006).

⁵ UN Security Council, *Resolution 1737 (2006)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 5612th meeting on 23 December 2006. S/RES/1737 (2006).

⁶ UN Security Council, *Resolution 1929 (2010)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 6335th meeting on 9 June 2010. S/RES/1929 (2010).

⁷ US International Energy Agency. "Country Report-Iran, Islamic Republic of." 2010.

⁸ Cordesman, Anthony, Bryan Gold, Sam Khazai, and Bradley Bosserman. "Sanctions, Energy, Arms Control, and Regime Change." *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. 2013

⁹ Mohammadi, Dara. "US-led economic sanctions strangle Iran's drug supply." *The Lancet*. Vol. 381. 2013.

¹⁰ Nichols, Michelle and Louis Charbonneau. "UN Chief says sanctions on Iran affecting its people." *Reuters*. 2012.

¹¹ UN Development Programme. "International Human Development Indicators-Iran." UNDP.

¹² Najmeh Bozorgmehr, "Iran warned on food security," *Financial Times*, April 3, 2013

¹³ International Campaign for Human Rights in Iran interview on September 28, 2012, with a nutritionist in Iran, who has asked for anonymity.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Major Findings

Through this study it is apparent that there is a causal relationship between sanctions put forth by the international community and humanitarian implications. The main determinant of the strength of sanctions is the unilateral vs. UN sanctioned approach. The US has continually disobeyed international law by setting sanctions against Cuba unilaterally. Although these sanctions have had some effect, specifically in the nutrition and drugs sectors, the sanctions have not reached their primary goal nor have they stiffened Cuba enough to create significant humanitarian implications. The primary goal of the Cuban sanctions set forth by the US is to remove Castro from power and initiate democratic practices in their elections and government. The irony of the US problem with Cuban communism versus China communism (one of the largest trading partners with the US) has created growing questions of why the US continues to sanction Cuba. Cuba has made some significant reforms since Raul Castro has come into power, yet the US sanctions are not easing. The question remains as to how many reforms Cuba has to undergo in order to relieve themselves from the sanctions imposed by the US.

The sanctions against Iraq have been much more severe in terms of humanitarian implications. The sanctions against Iraq were UN sanctioned and therefore much stronger than the sanctions against Cuba. Although the sanctions did hurt Iraq undoubtedly, the war had a severe impact on the infrastructure and left many of vital facilities unusable. Madeleine Albright, former US ambassador to the UN highlighted the humanitarian effects and stated that “the price was worth it.” This comment made breaking news and showed the world the

devastating humanitarian implications in Iraq and the half a million children that died. Various UN reports show how the sanctions hurt the economic growth, education, health, and drugs in the country. Because the sanctions targeted Iraq's largest revenue maker, oil, the country had to rely on other ways for expenditures. The infant mortality rate doubled in Iraq during the sanctions period and malaria and other diseases became fairly prevalent after near eradication.

The sanctions against Iran also had significant humanitarian implications. The sanctions were UN sanctioned and strengthened by the US and the EU. Similar to the situation in Iraq, the sanctions against Iran halted the exportation of oil, the major revenue source for the government. Because of this dramatic loss in revenue, the economic indicators of the state plummeted. The unemployment rate and inflation increased immensely, while export revenue decreased. Medicine importation was a major problem for Iran due to the sanctioned international banking systems. Iran was not allowed to receive loans from any international financial institutions and third-party banks were extremely reluctant to work with Iran because of the potential consequences.

The four factors I chose-- economic indicators, health and drugs, food and nutrition, and education-- cover a broad range of sectors that can be adversely affected by the sanctions. These factors directly affect the well-being and the standard of living of citizens and therefore are considered humanitarian implications. The three case studies-- Cuba, Iraq, and Iran--depict a difference in the type of sanctions and therefore a difference in the humanitarian implications that resulted. To summarize the relationship between each case study and the humanitarian implications, the chart below measures the level of humanitarian impact, from low to high in each sector.

Table 3: Levels of Humanitarian Implications-Low Impact to High Impact

Humanitarian Implications State and type of Sanctions	Economic Indicators	Health and Drugs	Food and Nutrition	Education
Cuba (Unilateral)	Low Impact	Medium Impact	High Impact	Low Impact
Iraq (Universal)	High Impact	High Impact	High Impact	Medium Impact
Iran (Multilateral)	High Impact	High Impact	High Impact	Low Impact

As reflected in the chart above, Cuba felt the least impact by the sanctions. This of course has much to do with the fact that the sanctions are unilateral. Within the economic indicators of a state, such as unemployment, inflation, and government revenue, Cuba saw very little impact. Health and drugs faced medium impact in Cuba because Cuba could import from other states readily, but the transportation costs were tremendous comparatively to the cost of importing the good from the US. Food and nutrition was highly impacted by the sanctions in Cuba. Because the US was the largest food exporter for Cuba before the sanctions, Cuba was left with

a lagging supply of food and a large population demanding. Because of Castro's policy of now allowing the food prices to increase, the population demanding food remained stable. The education sector in Cuba was not impacted by the sanctions. Castro ensured that the education system stayed stable, and, generally speaking, sanctions do not have a hard hitting effect on the education system because it does not rely heavily on external factors.

The sanctions against Iraq were universal (UN sanctioned) and therefore had much graver effects than did most other sanctions. The economic indicators in Iraq were highly impacted by the sanctions imposed on the country. The sanctions targeted Iraq's oil revenue, the largest revenue maker for the country, and therefore almost all economic indicators were affected dramatically. Inflation increased and the revenue that was essential for the government was stripped away. Iraq's health and drugs sector was most hit by the sanctions. The infant mortality rate skyrocketed because of the high incidence of diseases such as malaria. Because of the inability to attain vaccinations and other vital drugs, many diseases that could have been curable were not in Iraq. The food and nutrition sector in Iraq was also highly impacted by the sanctions. The rate of malnutrition, wasting, and stunting were alarming in Iraq after the imposition of sanctions. Two types of malnutrition diseases became much more prevalent in Iraq after the sanctions as well. The education system in Iraq was impacted in the medium range. This is largely because the education system in Iraq was highly advanced prior to the sanctions. The sanctions led to a decrease in revenue for the government and therefore a loss in spending for education.

The last case study is Iran. These sanctions are multilateral; they are UN imposed sanctions as well as US and EU sanctions. The sanctions against Iran had a high impact on

economic indicators. Similar to the situation in Iraq, the sanctions against Iran targeted oil revenues, which Iran needs for the government to sustain regular budgetary spending. The lack of ability to use international banks or third party banks also hurt Iran's economy tremendously. The health and drugs sector in Iran was also highly impacted. Iran could not secure payments to pharmaceutical companies for essential drugs because of the ban on international banks and third party banks. Although medical supplies are exempt from sanctions, companies still did not want to risk the possibility of fines. Food and nutrition was highly impacted as well. The rise in inflation and the spike in food costs have caused many lower and middle class families to be unable to afford food. The education system in Iran was minimally affected by the sanctions. Iran continued to supply an education similar to before the sanctions.

It is evident in the table that the Food and Nutrition sector is the first to be impacted by sanctions at any level. Cuba, Iraq, and Iran all felt a high impact in the food and nutrition sector regardless of the type of sanctions. Health and Drugs sector is the next sector that was impacted in all three case studies. The sector only had medium impact in Cuba largely because of the contradictory data that exists on the subject. Education is the only sector that was not severely hurt by the economic sanctions. Economic indicators have varying levels due to the fact that sanctions from one country, the US, will not have a severe economic impact in Cuba comparatively to universal sanctions in Iraq. This enables us to realize that the type of sanctions have a significant effect on the types of humanitarian implications that will result. The unilateral sanctions against Cuba had minimal humanitarian implications comparatively to Iraq and Iran sanctions. Iraq's universal sanctions coupled with the invasion of Iraq caused a great

deal of humanitarian implications but it is difficult to separate the two when analyzing the humanitarian effects. Iran's multilateral sanctions had tremendous humanitarian implications as well. One of the major reasons for this is the blocking of international financial institutions from Iran. Although at first glance this act would not seem to have humanitarian implications, in fact it may have had the strongest humanitarian implications. The table concludes the primary question of this study, the strength of the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable; the sanctions and the humanitarian implications.

Subsequent Questions for Further Research

This study focuses primarily on the comparative aspect of the three case studies and how each differs in its humanitarian implications. A more detailed study on why the levels in a particular case differed in each humanitarian implication sector would be vital. This study concluded that food and nutrition was the primary sector to be impacted by the sanctions, why is this? Another subsequent study could be on the implications solely of the hindered oil export revenue. One of the most severe problems in both Iraq and Iran were that the two states relied heavily on exporting oil for government revenue. When that was hindered dramatically, what were the specific ramifications? How did the government of each of those countries react to the decrease in revenue? Which country dealt with the loss in revenue in a more efficient and proper manner? A comparative study between Iraq and Iran's reactions to the sanctions could be beneficial in understanding how a state may be able to minimize humanitarian implications.

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