

## **Evaluating Economic sanctions from the lens of war crimes: The perspective of international humanitarian law**

Shivani Chaudhary

*It is believed that economic sanctions can be used as a diversion from the path of war and bloodshed, to convey disapproval to the policies and activities of the regime that is being sanctioned. But these sanctions seldom achieve their projected purposes and so, the consequences of imposing economic sanctions are felt by the unintended parties. This article discusses the humanitarian impact of economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations and United States. We do have authorities like the United Nations and European union which shoulder responsibility to look after the sanction regimes imposed by them and individual countries, in this article I will broadly discuss economic sanctions considering the provisions under United Nations Charter. In this article, Economic sanctions and the emergence of smart sanctions has been conferred and then the humanitarian ethics of economic sanctions are discoursed from the perspectives of the rights of Civilian population. The sanctions act as a punishment for the party that should not be directly involved in the conflict and in this regard, the cases of Iran and North Korea are discussed in this article. How these sanctions have affected the population of Iran and North Korea with respect to certain parameters like economy, healthcare, quality of life, hunger, poverty and unemployment etc. This article deliberates the questions about the feasibility of these economic sanctions and if they just being used as a politically coercive tool.*

### **ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND THE EMERGENCE OF TARGETED SANCTIONS**

The very first case of economic sanctions was observed about 2400 years ago in the ancient Greece. On the face of it, international law doesn't explicitly define economic sanctions and hence we cannot put a finger on the regulatory authority that can act as a universally accepted amenable machinery to enforce these sanctions. Economic sanctions being a milder version of economic warfare is a withdrawal of trade relations and commercial penalties. These can be in

the form of trade sanctions, embargoes, commodity interdiction, asset freezes, etc. These sanctions are imposed in order to bring about a change in the policies and activities that are not in sync with international peace and security. Economic sanctions are the most commonly used sanctions in the international community. Articles 41, 52, 34, 35, 39 of the UN charter directly or indirectly talk about economic sanctions.

If weighed on a moral compass It is believed that targeted sanctions or smart sanctions are a shift away from the typical sanctions regimes, as they emerged as a result of humanitarian considerations. The traditional sanctions may have had some effectiveness, but the ill effects of these sanctions outweighed its effectiveness and this would stand true at any given day in the history. The experience of the most comprehensive sanctions regime on Iraq from 1991 till 2003, made UN rethink its decision and planning with regards to economic sanctions. The Iraqi sanctions, which caused a lot of loss concerning human lives, including child deaths, starvation and inhuman living conditions made smart sanctions came into the picture. “An approximate of 1.5 Million Iraqis, including 5,00,000 children lost their lives during this 13-year embargo (Whitty, Michael, Suk Kim, and Trevor Crick, 2020)”<sup>1</sup>After irreparable damage in terms of human lives and the economy was done to the civilian population in Iraq, this example was seen as a warning of how dangerous comprehensive economic sanctions can be. The sanctions on Iraq lasted till 2003, after which the United Nations and the United States of America, started to think about smart sanctions and ethically analyse the effects of comprehensive sanctions and the damage that they brought. While the comprehensive sanctions regime proves that the effect of such sanctions is never on the targeted parties. It is also a result of a corrupt belief of punishing the civilians to get out the desired outcome from the people who hold the power, but due to such regimes, what happens is that the sufferers suffer more and the people at fault, continue being the wrongdoers. Power gets even more concentrated and the situation gets worse. Smart sanctions were set to target the individuals who are responsible for doing or inducing some wrongdoing to the authority who is imposing the sanctions. Specific industries or individuals can be targeted under the smart sanctions regime. Usually, these sanctioned individuals or industries are those who have a lot of power concentrated in their own hands. Smart sanctions also aim to reduce the ill effects of sanctions on the civilian population of the country. But as good as it seems in theory, it is as difficult as it can get when we come to apply the smart sanction regimes. Different types of difficulties arise with regards to implementation, due process, conflict of interest, logistical challenges, etc. Smart sanctions seemed like a perfect

solution to counter the ill effects of traditional economic sanction regimes. They were seen as a powerful solution for the failings of broad economic sanctions. A lot of refinement had to be done in broad sanctions regime to bring about this change of smart sanction. Still, even after the application of these targeted sanctions, economic sanctions as a concept is problematic on diverse levels, especially with regards to humanitarian grounds. Some scholars are of the view that just because smart sanctions are impacting or trying to aim at specific individuals or goods, that doesn't mean that they are more effective and efficient than the traditional trade sanctions. The goal for imposing smart sanctions should be very specific and definitive as there's no scope for ambiguousness in smart sanctions because then it will defeat the whole purpose of their existence in the first place. Smart economic sanctions also have inadvertent consequences like, high economic cost for the neighbouring countries adverse humanitarian effects on civilian populations, criminalization of basic economic activities, and strengthening of target governments authoritarianism, corruption and most importantly the persistent violation of human rights.

The concluding annotations about targeted sanctions would be that no matter what they aim for, the impact is seen in the civilian lives as frequently as it was seen in the regimes of traditional trade sanctions. Humanitarian damage or ethical challenges have not been overcome in a manner which was desired from the specific sanction regimes. In a practical sense, the targeted sanctions regime, which is a smarter descendant of the traditional regime, is not very different from it. Some impactful and essential questions are still unanswered when it comes to smart sanctions regimes. In the coming parts of this article, I will discuss such issues in detail.

## **POLICY CONSTRAINTS ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS**

Article 25 of the UN Charter<sup>2</sup>, states that “The UN member states agree to carry out the decisions of the UNSC in accordance with the charter”, it can be interpreted to mean that states are obliged to carry out those decisions of UNSC which conform with the charter. Article 24(2)<sup>3</sup> “obliges the UNSC to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.” These two clauses show that the powers of the United Nations Security Council must be exercised in compliance with the aims and values of the United Nations, not without them.

---

<sup>2</sup> CHAPTER V: THE SECURITY COUNCIL, *United Nations Website*, <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-v/index.html#:~:text=Article%2025,accordance%20with%20the%20present%20Charter>.

<sup>3</sup> CHAPTER V: THE SECURITY COUNCIL, *United Nations Website*, <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-v/index.html#:~:text=Article%2025,accordance%20with%20the%20present%20Charter>.

Whereas, if seen from the perspective of the predicament of civilians due to the economic sanction regimes, this is counter-intuitive to the Articles 1, 8, 13, 55, 56, 62, 68 and 76.<sup>4</sup> (Syed Ali Akhtar, April 2019) of UN Charter that refers to human rights in the Preamble. Article 2(4) of the UN Charter talks about the prohibition of the threat or use of force International relations<sup>5</sup>, but there is no explicit prohibition to levying economic sanction regimes.

Article 1(3)<sup>6</sup> specifically refers to the promotion of human rights as one major purpose of United Nations and Article 55(c)<sup>7</sup> states that the United Nations shall “promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion”. The UN Secretary-General himself in a supplement to an agenda for peace, called “economic sanctions, as a “blunt instrument” and demanded inter alia that more effective team position Impact Assessment be devised, as well as an enhanced instrument for providing humanitarian assistance to vulnerable groups” (Reinisch, August, 2001).<sup>8</sup> The Martens Clause which was introduced into the preamble in 1899 Hague Convention II, also puts limitations on the economic sanctions regimes, it reads that, “Until a more complete code of the laws of war has been issued, the High Contracting Parties deem it expedient to declare that, in cases not included in the Regulations adopted by them, the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity and the dictates of public conscience.<sup>9</sup>”. Directly or indirectly, Humanitarian impact can be seen in economic sanctions regimes, but still, there is no clarity in theory and practicality of the provisions under the united nations charter or provisions of humanitarian law itself. It either depicts that the suffering of civilians this not fall under the mentioned provisions

---

<sup>5</sup> *Purposes and Principles of the UN (Chapter I of UN Charter)*, United Nation Security Council, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/purposes-and-principles-un-chapter-i-un-charter>

<sup>6</sup> *CHAPTER I: PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES*, United Nations Website: <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html>

<sup>7</sup> *CHAPTER IX: INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION*, United Nations Website: <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-ix/index.html>

<sup>9</sup> *Martens Clause; How does law protect in the war*, ICRC : INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS: <https://casebook.icrc.org/glossary/martens-clause>

and hence, cannot be redressed or it means that the United Nations is waning to comply with its promises.

## **HUMANITARIAN ETHICS AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS**

International humanitarian law is codified and developed in four Geneva conventions of 1949, and two additional protocols of 1977 (Reinisch, August 2001)<sup>10</sup>. International humanitarian law does not explicitly talk about economic sanctions, there are certain codes of conduct, which can be kept in mind while talking about economic sanctions in relation to the civilian population. For that matter article like 54, 69,70 of protocol-1, article 14 of protocol-2 or article 21, 22 and 23 or Geneva convention,1949; General Assembly resolution 3318 (XXIX); all of them put limitations on economic sanctions from the viewpoint of human rights and Humanitarian Law.

It is said that economic sanctions are feasible if compared to military conflicts as It is a concession on the cost of lives which is paid by the country which is being sanctioned. It is also believed that these economic sanctions are a humane alternative to war, but, due to economic sanctions, the civilian population is adversely affected and Article 50 of the Hague Convention and Regulations respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land of 1907 states that “No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the population on account of the acts of individuals for which they cannot be regarded as jointly and severally responsible”<sup>11</sup>. Concern is expressed about the right to life in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, but there is a significant violation of the right to life by failing to prevent the deprivation of life as a result of lack of nutrition, basic healthcare and medical services (Reinisch, August, 2020). An innocent civilian population wasn't ever a danger to world peace and security, and although certain organisations, persons or sectors can be, a general populace does not present a threat to the global community. What is troubling however, is that only the general civilian populace is adversely harmed by economic sanctions regimes.

---

<sup>11</sup> Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907. SECTION III : MILITARY AUTHORITY OVER THE TERRITORY OF THE HOSTILE STATE - REGULATIONS: ART. 50, ICRC : INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS: [HTTPS://IHL-DATABASES.ICRC.ORG/IHL/WEBART/195-200060#:~:TEXT=50-.ART..AS%20JOINTLY%20AND%20SEVERALLY%20RESPONSIBLE](https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/WEBART/195-200060#:~:TEXT=50-.ART..AS%20JOINTLY%20AND%20SEVERALLY%20RESPONSIBLE).

In nations where civilians are still struggling because of the government's illegitimacy, international sanctions are simply serving as an additional danger to their lives. Access to clean water, medication health facilities, adequate education and nutritious food, all of these aspects are essential for normal and stable human life, and economic sanctions have an effect on all of these components and have a direct impact on the civilian population. Those citizens could seldom petition their government for any support, because they are already corrupted and oppressive. In such situations, sanctions do not lead to an improvement in the regime, as the regime itself was responsible for the sanctions to be imposed in the first place. So the effect of these sanctions on people is twice the pain and suffering that should not have existed in the first place. All of this act as a reinforcement to an already illegitimate situation.

A group of scholars conducted an empirical analysis with regards to the efficiency and results of sanctions. They did not find any evidence that suggested sanctions lead to human rights improvement and nor do these sanctions pass any necessity test in those cases, in which sanctions aimed at an improvement of human rights. On the contrary, they found that the sanctions lead to further deterioration of human rights in the targeted country (Gutmann, Jerg , 2018). Sanctions have typically failed to bring about the desired behavioural or economic improvement within the target state. There is a risk that sanctions will be used opportunistically by strong nations against small and disadvantaged countries. The imposition of restrictions offer ascent to the risk that the sanctioned state may resort to the use of force, as a result of the damage inflicted on innocent citizens of the State. (Whitty, Michael, Suk Kim, and Trevor Crick, 2006).

## **IMPACT OF SANCTION REGIMES ON CIVILIANS: THE CASE OF IRAN AND NORTH KOREA**

In the Hague Convention of 1907 Regulations, Article 22 says that "The right of belligerents

to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited".<sup>12</sup> In my point of view, when we see the conditions of the general public in countries like Iran, Iraq, Syria, or North Korea, it communicates the crossed limits which have been talked about in Article 22 of the Hague convention. What we see in economic sanctions regimes, is that they give us a compelling viewpoint to think about the loopholes in their implementation. Although there are a lot of examples of human rights violations in economic sanction regimes, in this paper I have briefly discussed the plight of people in Iran and North Korea, which make economic sanctions share the same stage as war crimes.

## **IRAN**

Sanctions continue with increasingly tenuous political ties, terrorist funding, and debates about uranium enrichment, Iranian economic sanction regime continue to be a hotly debated subject. The story started from the year 1979 after the American Embassy was seized by some students in Iran and officials were taken as hostages, since that incident, the imposition of economic sanctions has been on and off between USA and Iran. In May 2018, President Donald Trump withdrew from JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) and re-imposed all the secondary sanctions on Iran, which were lifted after the Iran Nuclear deal, later in November 2018. In 2019, President Trump said that the sanctions regime on Iran now would be the “toughest ever sanctions” by the US. Iran's market and economy have fallen into severe recession due to the sanctions. Following the easing of international sanctions in 2016 under the nuclear agreement known as the Joint Comprehensive Action Plan (JCPOA), Iran experienced a booming rise of more than 13%, with oil sales of \$57.4 billion (€ 51.6 billion) in 2017 at the basis of its increased export volume, according to the IMF (Shora Azarnoush, 2019).

The International Monetary Fund predicted Iran's economy to sink down to -9.5 % in 2019 from an estimated -4.8 per cent in 2018, and the new World Economic Outlook report by the IMF suggests that the country will undergo zero percent economic growth in 2020 (Financial Tribune, 2020). We can see that there is a direct connection of sanctions, with worsening of Iran's economy. When the nuclear deal was implemented and the sanctions were lifted from Iran. From 2016 to 18, there was a high rise in the GDP growth rate of Iran, after decades of

---

<sup>12</sup> [Convention \(IV\) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907. CHAPTER I: MEANS OF INJURING THE ENEMY, SIEGES, AND BOMBARDMENTS - REGULATIONS: ART. 22. ICRC: INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, \[HTTPS://IHL-DATABASES.ICRC.ORG/\]\(https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/\)](https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/)

economic isolation, Iranians were looking forward to a future where their nation would enter into the global marketplace. But, as soon as the US sanctions were fully reinstated, the GDP declined in 2018 and 2019. “Oil shipments in Iran fell from a high of 2.7 million barrels per day to 1.7-1.9 million barrels per day(Stephanie Segal and Dylan Gerstel, 2018).” In an economic update published on 9 October concerning Iran, “The World Bank came up with a comparable statistic of 8.7% contraction for the Iranian economy in 2019 attributable to the "plummeting" of oil and gas exports, as well as new sanctions against Iran's steel, mines and maritime sectors (Shora Azarnoush,2019).” Companies with US specific concerns or influence will most likely choose to continue to comply with the US primary and secondary sanctions on Iran. Companies with legal capability and appetite for risk to engage with Iran will also face a range of logistical and operational challenges, especially in the banking and insurance sectors (Control Risks, 2019). The currency of Iran is drastically depreciating. A report by Reuters tells the story of Hosseini, she talks about growing poverty and helplessness among Iranians. She states about her daughter’s misery of not being able to continue her study abroad and having to come back because they cannot afford it anymore, due to a sharp drop in Iranian currency against the US dollar. This depreciation in the currency has a really bad impact on the civilian population of Iran (Parisa Hafezi and Davide Barbuscia,2020).

Despite being sanctioned the development of missile capabilities force and providing arms and support to a broad array of armed factions operating in Iran has continued. But the bone of contention here is that imposing these sanctions is bringing a change in the activities of the Iranian regime, or is it just serving as a means to destroying the life of civilians in Iran (Kenneth Katzman,2020).

Mahdi Mahmoudi in an interview said “we are asking those countries who claim to champion human rights, and those who claimed to be founders of human rights, why they are silent about this violation of human rights, and how refugees can tolerate these hard-economic conditions as a result of unfair US sanctions. The US sanctions and economic pressures are affecting refugee’s livelihood (Iran Press News Agency, 2020).” Majid Takht Ravanchi, Iran's permanent representative to the United Nations in New York said, "The sanctions are designed to harm the general public, particularly the vulnerable people like women, children, elderly and patients”. The most vulnerable faction of civilians is the one that is suffering the most (Zein Basravi, 2019)”.

US sanctions which are meant to punish the Iranian regime, are only punishing the civilians of

Iran. Due to such hard-hitting impact of us sanctions on the economy Iranians are facing difficulty in affording the basic means of livelihood. There is deterioration in basic health care facilities, availability of medical supplies, quality education etc. the patients who need medicines which can only be imported do not have any redressal to their misery. There is high poverty due to unemployment, and the prices are also rising due to the inflationary pressures. What happens to the standard of living of Iranian people can only be imagined from the lens of sympathy and regret. There is a catastrophic impact of all these factors on Iranians. Although, Iran is an agriculture-based economy, the global integration of the Iranian economy in recent years has made things even worse because of the increasing dependency on imports and exports. The devastation of common lives should be taken into account. And these high impact sanction regime by the USA should be immediately reconsidered in the international community. Prima facie, the ICJ found authority over the re-imposition of sanctions against Iran by the US. The court has also suggested provisional pro-Iran initiatives. For the first time, this case is going to offer judicial scrutiny to the act of coercive economic sanctions. This case may potentially shed some light on existing non-UN sanctions policies and their legal implications under international law (Syed Ali Akhtar,2019).

### **NORTH KOREA**

North Korea was sanctioned by the United States of America in the 1950s. After that, North Korea was sanctioned by the United Nations in the year 2006 after conducting the nuclear missile test. Military containment, diplomatic isolation and economic sanctions were levied against North Korea after the end of the Korean War by the US. But the Korean regime has still not been stabilised or operated according to the wishes of the international community. Due to the combination of the sanctions by the USA, and the United Nations, there are severe repercussions with regards to humanitarian conditions in North Korea. The sanctions banned the export of coal, iron ore iron lead, lead ore, and seafood for punishing the intercontinental ballistic missile test by the country's regime. North Korean labourers are also prohibited for the purposes of giving employment.

“The banking system used to get funds into the country to cover day-to-day running expenses has been discontinued since September 2017. Attempts to find a substitute channel have so far been unsuccessful. Despite this challenge, humanitarian agencies have continued to carry out their activities. Some 90% of humanitarian expenditure is spent outside the country. The

comparatively limited amount of funds needed in the country is primarily to pay running expenses, including rent, service costs and local wages (DPR Korea Needs and Priorities report,2019).” The collapse of banking channels is not being compensated by finding a replacement, since the attempt to find a replacement have been unsuccessful, it is having an adversely limiting impact on the population of North Korea.

It was explicitly discussed in one of the reports by the UN sanctions committee that there would be no effect on the civilian population of North Korea and the activities related to the humanitarian assistance, would not be restricted or negatively impacted. The UN appealed for the urgent humanitarian need in North Korea, but it is still not appropriately funded. UN agencies had decided to provide North Korean people with improved water sanitation and hygiene, but due to delays concerning sanctions, the process lagged for an extended period. It was found out in the study that North Korean children who are under the age of five are experiencing severe malnutrition and vitamin A deficiency. Although UNICEF tried to reach a lot of children in 2018, due to the funding gaps and delays the process became difficult and a lot of North Koreans were not reached and “people died due to preventable diseases and infections. Some of these deaths can also be attributed to the delays in approvals from the UN sanctions committee for a basic facility like delivery of water purification equipment (Kee B. Park, Miles Kim And Jessup Jong, 2019),” USA’s strategy of putting pressure and isolating North Korea creates political tensions, so organizations like UNICEF and the World Food Programme lack funds to provide nutrition and food to the North Korean children. “According to the DPR Korea, Needs and priorities report 2019, there is a total of 25 million population, out of which 10.9 million people require assistance and aid. The targeted population is of 3.8 million, and there is a requirement of 120 million US dollars. This situation right now has 12 humanitarian partners”. According to this study, 43.3 per cent of the population is undernourished by chronic food insecurity and an estimated 16,000 Tb related deaths are registered in North Korea each year. According to a survey by MICS, it is estimated that 39 per cent of 9.77 5 million people do not have access to healthy drinking water in North Korea. (DPR Korea Needs and Priorities report,2019).

Due to a tedious approval process in UN sanctions against North Korea, a lot of damage was caused because of the delay in providing humanitarian assistance. “Providing wheelchairs, walking sticks walkers hearing aids, etc to people with disabilities; providing safe shelters to people was delayed by months. Construction of Canals against floods was not facilitated, 1.50,000 women who are pregnant had no access to safe abortion and 22,000 at-risk patients had no access to blood transfusions (Jessup Jong and Kee Park,2019) (Jeongyoon Kim And

Kee B. Park, 2019) (South China Morning Post, 2017). In North Korea, “fishermen died in a greater number last year is an evidence of the fact that sanctions imposed on North Korea are becoming a success and the country is under severe economic pressure, but it is also evidence of the fact that pressure is not on the North Korean leader, but instead, it is on the people who are poor and powerless. (Patrick Cockburn, 2018).”

## **FINAL REMARKS AND CONCLUSION**

If seen from the lens of human rights, economic sanctions can only be perceived as an act of coercion and aggression or to put in other words, War crimes. Looking at the frequency at which the sanctions regimes are being implemented, for example by the USA, it is imperative to look at the ethical context of economic sanctions. Criminalising the exchange of goods and services on which the livelihood of the marginalised population depends, is a display of antagonism. The non-council members should be consulted inclusion of an international community, and the presence of global media should be increased, there should be a creation of a platform on which the victims of these sanction regimes can express their hardships and suffering, and bring the attention of the international communities to it. The organisation within a particular country should help such victims, put forth their point in the international community. There should be transparency in the procedures and meetings of Sanctions, answerability should be created for specific institutions to maintain humanitarian standards in the international community. Such institutions should not just work on paper, but point out and close the loopholes between the laws and reality. Clarity should be brought in the theoretical objectives of the United Nations with respect to human rights and humanitarian law, and what happens when there comes a time when these theories need a practical application. The six-prong test (Marc Bossuyt, 2012) submitted by the sub Commission on 16th August 2000, should not just be a theoretical suggestion, but should also have practical applications. These sanctions should only be imposed for valid reasons. The target goods and services under sanctions should be monitored.

Concerning the parties affected, there should be a time limit on the economic sanctions imposed, and the effectiveness of the sanctions should be checked. The efficacy of sanctions is a big factor to consider because this is one factor that can place a time limit on the suffering of the civilian population. The approach of targeting the regime, through the civilian population should never be justified as an argument in favour of economic sanctions. Formation of economic sanctions and procedures should be in such a way that humanitarian aid is provided to the people who require it.

The most efficient economies in the world and countries like the USA should not have the scope to exercise their discretionary power to such an extent that it becomes a humanitarian tragedy. Even if the international community recognises that undue power is being exercised in imposing these sanction regimes, not much can be done if collective efforts are, not all undertaken in this regard. For instance, the recent sanctions imposed by US President Donald Trump against Iran is seen as propaganda by countries like Russia, China and Europe for the upcoming presidential elections. There should be a strict check on the political motives of the sanctioning country and they should be held accountable if their motives are inconsistent with the provisions of the United Nations or the international community's welfare.

It is to be made sure that economic sanctions do not become a hegemonic instrument to be used by the powerful economies of the world or by some people in power of that economy, to maintain dominance in the international community, while simultaneously devastating, the civilian population of the international community.

## **References**

1. Whitty, Michael, Suk Kim, and Trevor Crick. "The Effectiveness of Economic Sanctions: The Case of North Korea." *North Korean Review* 2, no. 1 (2006): 50-65. Accessed September 3, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43908677>
2. Syed Ali Akhtar, *Do Sanctions Violate International Law? ENGAGE EPW*, 8 April 2019, <https://www.epw.in/engage/article/do-sanctions-violate-international-law>
3. Reinisch, August. "Developing Human Rights and Humanitarian Law Accountability of the Security Council for the Imposition of Economic Sanctions." *The American Journal of International Law* 95, no. 4 (2001): pp 851-872. Accessed September 3, 2020. doi:10.2307/2674632.
4. Gutmann, Jerg; Neuenkirch, Matthias; Neumeier, Florian; Steinbach, Armin, *Economic sanctions and human rights: Quantifying the legal proportionality principle*, ECONSTOR (Provided in Cooperation with: University of Hamburg, Institute of Law and Economics (ILE)), May 2018, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/178615/1/ile-wp-2018-12.pdf>

5. Whitty, Michael, Suk Kim, and Trevor Crick. "The Effectiveness of Economic Sanctions: The Case of North Korea." *North Korean Review* 2, no. 1 (2006): 50-65. Accessed September 3, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43908677>.
6. Shora Azarnoush, *economy plummets under weight of sanctions*, DW (DW.COM), 23 October, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/irans-economy-plummets-under-weight-of-sanctions/a-50950471>
7. Financial Tribune, *IMF Expects Deeper Slowdown in Iran Economy*, 5 September, 2020, <https://financialtribune.com/articles/domestic-economy/100376/imf-expects-deeper-slowdown-in-iran-economy>
8. Kenneth Katzman, *Iran Sanctions*, Congressional Research Service, Updated July 23, 2020 <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS20871.pdf>
9. *US sanctions adversely affect humanitarian activities: Official*, Iran Press News Agency, 9 January, 2020, <http://iranpress.com/content/14049>
10. Zein Basravi, *The economic impact of US sanctions on Iran's streets*, Aljazeera News, 7 Jul 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/middleeast/2019/07/economic-impact-sanctions-iran-streets-190706190053896.html>
11. Stephanie Segal and Dylan Gerstel, *The Economic Impact of Iran Sanctions*, *Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*, 5 November, 2018 <https://www.csis.org/analysis/economic-impact-iran-sanctions>
12. Shora Azarnoush, *economy plummets under weight of sanctions*, DW (DW.COM), 23 October, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/irans-economy-plummets-under-weight-of-sanctions/a-50950471>
13. Parisa Hafezi and Davide Barbuscia, *Currency crisis impoverishes Iranians strains economic defences*, REUTERS, July 7, 2020, <https://in.reuters.com/article/us-iran-economy-rial-analysis/currency-crisis-impoverishes-iranians-strains-economic-defences-idINKBN2480M3>
14. 2019 DPR Korea Needs and Priorities, credits: OCHA/ Anthony Burke, March, 2019 <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/DPRK%20NP%202019%20Final.pdf>
15. CONTROL RISKS, *Navigating the global sanctions landscape in 2020*, October 2019 <https://ml.globenewswire.com/Resource/Download/c0114454-5fbc-4870-ae83-936b64328d83>

16. Kee B. Park, Miles Kim And Jessup Jong, *THE HUMAN COSTS OF UN SANCTIONS AND FUNDING SHORTFALLS FOR HUMANITARIAN AID IN NORTH KOREA*, 38 NORTH, AUGUST 22, 2019, <https://www.38north.org/2019/08/parkkimjong082219/>
17. Jessup Jong and Kee Park, *Humanitarian exemptions for North Korean aid work: crunching the numbers*, *NK News*, July 16, 2019, <https://www.nknews.org/2019/07/humanitarian-exemptions-for-north-korean-aid-work-crunching-the-numbers/>”
18. Jeongyoon Kim And Kee B. Park, *How Sanctions Hurt North Korea’s Children*, *Global Health NOW*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.globalhealthnow.org/2019-08/how-sanctions-hurt-north-koreas-children>
19. SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, *North Korea sanctions*, 2017 <https://www.scmp.com/topics/north-korea-sanctions>
20. Em. Prof. Dr. Marc Bossuyt, *THE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS*, 2012 [https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Events/WCM/MarcBossuyt\\_WorkshopUnilateralCoerciveSeminar.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Events/WCM/MarcBossuyt_WorkshopUnilateralCoerciveSeminar.pdf)
21. Patrick Cockburn, *It’s Time to call Economic Sanctions what they are: War Crimes*. COUNTERPUNCH. January 22, 2018. <https://www.counterpunch.org/2018/01/22/its-time-to-call-economic-sanctions-what-they-are-war-crimes/>