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# U.S. Diplomatic relations

- How has it been used in Iran and North Korea?

Bachelor Thesis in Political Science

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## **Abstract**

This is a study of how the United States has used different diplomatic strategies towards Iran and North Korea. The concept of coercive diplomacy is defined and explained, in order to see if it has been used by the United States, and if so, to what extent. After giving a brief historical background between the U.S and the two countries, the study will put a focus on what and why the Bush administration has acted the way they have in their diplomatic relation with Iran and North Korea. The study presents cases where you can see parallels between strategies used, but also some significant differences.

The latter part of the study will examine the reasoning behind the different strategies used. Conclusion drawn from this study was that, in the case of Iran, the United States has been forced to act in a certain way due to the other conflicts they are involved with in the region, i.e. the war in Iraq and the situation in Afghanistan. Due to the fear for North Korea's already existing nuclear arsenal, the U.S. has shown a more restricted diplomatic policy towards the country, not wanting to push them towards starting a nuclear war.

*Keywords: Bush, diplomacy, coercive diplomacy, Iran, North Korea, United States*

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# 1 Introduction

Conflicts and crisis between states has been present just as long as states themselves. Different political leaders have different ways of solving conflicts and crisis. Many leaders see war as a solution, but there are different methods that can be used such as diplomacy and sanctions towards the country you are in conflict with. Communication through diplomacy should always be the primary tool used to solve conflicts between states.

## 1.1 Problem

Contrary to what many Americans believe, senator Obama will not be able to turn the country around overnight. Even though the U.S. is struggling in many different areas, both politically and economically, the effects of Obama and his fellow Democrats' new policies and programs will not give immediate results after 8 years of Republican governance. Change takes time.

This essay will focus on and analyze how the U.S. and especially the Bush administration has used, or not used, diplomacy in Iran and North Korea.

## 1.2 Aim and questions

The purpose of this thesis is to study how and why the U.S. has acted as they have in their diplomatic relations towards Iran and North Korea. Further, the thesis studies if there have been any changes in the diplomatic relations with the two countries under President George W. Bush.

The aim of this thesis is to answer the following question:

- Are there any major differences and similarities in the United States' use of diplomacy in Iran compared to North Korea?
- Has there been significant changes in the Bush administration's use of diplomacy towards Iran and North Korea, with respect to the diplomacy used before Bush?

### **1.3 Method**

This study is a comparative descriptive study between different diplomatic approaches a country can use to manage threatening conflicts. The choice of method was made because the intention was to answer the questions how? and why? These are the questions you can ask when you want to describe a current event, only to describe a situation in which the author is unable to influence.<sup>1</sup>

To find the facts about the various diplomatic strategies that the U.S. has used against Iran and North Korea searches has been done through the Internet, where relevant links have been used. In addition to the databased information I have also gathered evidence in the literature of the subject. The aim was to describe the political situation in the various countries and diplomatic relations that prevailed, with respect to the issue of nuclear weapons production. For this purpose, material was chosen that described the facts. The inclusion of newspaper articles can be difficult, but in the selected newspaper articles the writer was careful to sort out subjective claims and only include relevant facts to the topic. If this target is fully met, you can not be sure.

### **1.4 Disposition**

The second chapter of this thesis gives a background to the subject. It starts of by giving a general definition of the concept of diplomacy and a more specific definition of the concept of coercive diplomacy. Further, it describes different types of sanctions that can be used against a country. The latter part of chapter 2 describes the current political situation in the three countries.

Chapter 3 starts of by describing diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Iran in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up until the year 2000. It continuous by looking at what diplomatic tactics President Bush has had against Iran. After examining U.S. and North Korean diplomatic in the same way as described above, the final part of chapter 3 gives the reasons behind the different diplomatic tactics used in the two countries.

The thesis is tied together in chapter 4 and 5 with a discussion and a conclusion. In this part, the purpose and the two questions are discussed.

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<sup>1</sup> Yin, R K, *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*, p. 6-7

## 2 Background

The background has been structured through the definition of the concept of diplomacy, and specifically coercive diplomacy. Then various sanctions has been described, followed by the currently prevailing political situation in the U.S., Iran and North Korea.

### 2.1 Definition of Diplomacy

The most common definition of diplomacy is the one stated by Sir Ernest Satow in his book, *A Guide to Diplomatic practice* (1917). “Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states”.<sup>2</sup> From ancient times until well into the nineteenth century, all messages, including diplomatic messages, were carried by hand. Even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, diplomatic couriers are still sometimes employed for the delivery of certain top-secret packages.<sup>3</sup>

The word Diplomacy comes from the Greek verb “diploein” which means double folding and which in turn evolved to the Latin diploma. The working title diplomat emerge during the renaissance period and especially during the late seventeenth century, up until this point the word had been used foremost for the administration of diploma and archiving of such, first during the eighteenth century the word diplomacy was used in dealing with international relations and people doing so where called diplomats.<sup>4</sup>

### 2.2 Coercive diplomacy

Under this headline, the author is trying to give a summary of the concept of coercive diplomacy, according to Alexander George.

Author of the book *Forceful Persuasion* (1991), Alexander George, states that the general idea of coercive diplomacy is to back one’s demand on an adversary with a threat of punishment for

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<sup>2</sup> Örn, T *Varför diplomati* p.14

<sup>3</sup> Berridge, G.R *Diplomacy Theory and Practice* p. 90

<sup>4</sup> Örn, T *Varför diplomati* p.14

non-compliance that he will consider credible and potent enough to persuade him to comply with the demand.<sup>5</sup>

According to Alexander George, there are different variables, which leaders must think of if they choose to use coercive diplomacy. They must decide; what to demand of the opponent, how to create a sense of urgency for compliance with the demand, what kind of punishment to threaten for non-compliance and whether to rely solely on the threat of punishment or also to offer conditional inducements of a positive character to secure acceptance of the demand. All forms of coercive diplomacy is characterized by 1) a demand; 2) a threat; 3) a time pressure; 4) positive inducements; 5) use of force. This different kind of forms can be combined with each other. To make a harder pressure on the opponent it is often more powerful to combined the forms.

When it comes to strategies, Alexander George differs between four variations of strategies;

- The explicit ultimatum
- The tacit ultimatum
- The try-and see approach
- The gradual turning of the screw

The first “the explicit ultimatum” is the strongest form of strategy. This strategy consists of a specific demand, a time limit for the compliance and some sort of punishment if the opponent does not comply. In the “tacit ultimatum”, you have either the time limit or a threat of punishment. This tactic is giving the opponent an unsecured feeling that might force him to a positive response to the demand.

If “the try-and see approach” is used the coercer is just waiting for the opponent to comply. No threat has been given, no time limit just a demand. The coercer just hopes that the demand is strong enough to make the opponent to comply. The fourth step “the gradual turning of the screw” is a strategy that is using a gradually stronger pressure towards the opponent. The pressure will arise if he does not respond the demand. There will be more and more punishment but the opponent does not know when. During a conflict, it is possible to move between above strategies.

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<sup>5</sup> George, A, *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* p.4-9

## **2.3 Different types of sanctions**

Sanctions have a duty to protect peace and security. Sanctions may be international, diplomatic, economic, and military or take the form of trade barriers. Sanctions can be established by international groups. It can be taken a collective decision of, say, persuade a country to end the threat to any other country, to stop civil conflicts in a particular country or repeated violations of human rights.<sup>6</sup>

The sanctions decided by the UN member countries have to comply with and incorporate into their own legal systems. In the case of EU-sanctions, members must follow those in the field of foreign policy and security policy. If there is a special EC regulation, issued by EU on trade restrictions against a country, member countries have to comply with this.

Sanctions by the UN has increased rapidly during the last 20 years, from 1989 when South Africa was the only country sanctioned by the UN to today's 10 countries being sanction in different degrees by the UN.

## **2.4 Current political situation in the U.S.**

Many will remember November 4th 2008 as a historical day; it was the day that Senator Barack Hussein Obama became the first ever Afro-American man to be elected President of the United States of America. The hype surrounding Obama has been astonishing; many of his followers look upon him as a Messiah of our time, coming to save us. If there is any truth to that, only time can tell.

Senator Obama is taking on quite the challenge when he moves in to the White House to pick up the torch that has been held by the Bush administration for the past 8 years. The country is struggling with the worst financial crises since the 1930's, not to mention the situations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Bush Administration has for many years devoted a lot of time to maintain good diplomatic relations with the international community to resolve the various crises in the Middle East. Over the years, it has drifted between regular "day to day" diplomacy and diplomacy with the element of threats, coercive diplomacy. Much is yet to be resolved, and these issues are something that Senator Obama now inherits.

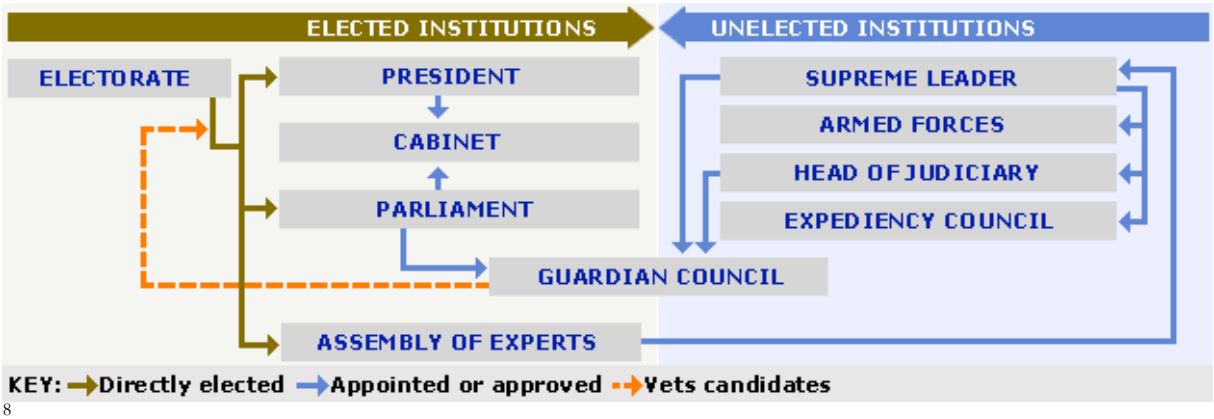
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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/9230>

## 2.5 Current political situation in Iran

Governance in Iran is described as a mixture of democracy and theocracy. Iran is currently governed by religious leaders and by an elected body. The elected President, which is elected every four years, has legislative and executive powers, but the ultimate power lies with the Head of State who is a senior priest, called Ayatollah. The Ayatollah has power over the courts, newspapers and radio and television stations. Under Iran’s constitution, the country is an Islamic republic and it follows that the country during the Islamic laws, known as sharia laws. The power lies with the religious leaders and they create their legitimacy from the claim to follow God.<sup>7</sup>

### A graphical explanation over the governing bodies of Iran



## 2.6 Current political situation in North Korea

After World War II, Korea forms an independent state. This Constitution collapsed immediately when the Americans came and appointed their own president in their occupied part of Korea, South Korea. UN takes up the Korean issue in 1947 and want general elections for the whole of Korea. This is not put into effect, because the Soviet Union does not allow this in North Korea, instead there are two separate elections held. Soviet chooses to accept the elected government of North Korea and withdraw their troops, while the Americans stays military active in South Korea. The Korean War is now a fact, and goes on between 1950-1953. This is a war between South Korea supported by the U.S. and North Korea, which has a voluntary assistance of the Chinese military. After the end of the war North Korea builds up its military power, by starting to develop

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.dn.se/DNet/road/Classic/article/76/jsp/Render.jsp?a=643922#>

<sup>8</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle\\_east/03/iran\\_power/html/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/iran_power/html/default.stm)

nuclear weapons. The venture to develop nuclear weapons was made to counter a possible attack from the U.S.<sup>9</sup>

North Korea is today a socialist state governed by a parliament that appoints a government. The government is headed by a Prime Minister, since 1994 Kim Yong-il. North Korea had previously a president, Kim II Sung but when he died in 1994, the presidency was abolished and today the legislative power lies with the Supreme People's Assembly President, while the Prime Minister holds the executive power. The Prime Minister holds the post as supreme commander, giving him power over military resources. North Korea is still a very closed country for the outside world, but today North Korea attempts to get foreign companies to invest in the country, while they still want to protect their independence and power position.

### **3 Result**

The result is structured so that first the U.S. diplomatic strategies against Iran and North Korea are described. After that the similarities and differences in diplomacy against the two countries are studied. The final section describes the question of why the U.S. has used these strategies.

#### **3.1 US diplomatic strategies towards Iran 1950-2000**

The conflict between Iran and the US stretches far back in time. Already in the 1950, in 1953 to be precise, the US joins forces with Great Britain and together they overthrow the democratically elected Prime Minister. This was because of economic interests from Britain's point of view, they wanted to protect the oil industry where they had major interests. At the time the oil industry had been nationalized by the incumbent Prime Minister Mossadeq. The US took part in the removal of Mossadeq, because they were worried about a communist takeover and that Iran would become a country too much turned against the Soviet Union. A general from the Iran military was chosen by the U.S. and Great Britain and appointed Prime Minister and the former banished

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<sup>9</sup> Hagström, L & Karelid, L, *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 8-9

shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi returned from his exile. There after Iran quickly turned into a dictatorship controlled by the shah.<sup>10</sup>

The Shah had during the 60's strong support from the U.S., apart from Jimmy Carter who dismissed the shah's repeated violations of human rights. Earlier, the shah, with support from the U.S, persecuted both the communists and Islamists. In September 1978 demonstrations broke out in Iran against the regime of the shah, and a revolution was a fact. The shah was forced to resign and Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Iran after life in exile and proclaimed Iran as an Islamic republic. The Shah received refuge in the U.S., which definitely closed the diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Americans were portrayed as spies and their embassy was stormed and several hundred people were taken hostage.

David Patrick Houghton describes in his article a link between this event and what happened in 1953 when Prime Minister Mossadeq was allocated. Houghton tries to explain what goes on in the mind of a person, in this case the Iranian students' minds, when performing these acts. Jimmy Carter tried to use diplomatic measures to get the hostages free, but that was not a success, so he gave orders for a rescue operation, called "operation eagle claw", an operation that also failed. The hostage situation could not be solved until Jimmy Carter resigned and was succeeded by Ronald Reagan.<sup>11</sup>

In autumn 1980, Iraq invaded Iran. At that time, Iraq had developed good relations with the United States. Reagan had removed Iraq from the list of terrorist countries. Despite the good relations between Iraq and the U.S., Iran was supported by the United States during the invasion with arms, intelligence and development of biological and chemical weapons. The war between Iran and Iraq were to last for eight years with constant military support for Iran from the United States.<sup>12</sup>

During the mid-80's the U.S. began secretly supplying arms to Iraq despite a ban by the U.S. Congress. President Reagan was in the situation that he needed funds to resolve a hostage situation in Lebanon. The situation had arisen when the Iran-supported Hezbollah had taken Westerners hostage. Reagan authorized the rescue mission himself and this scandal came to be known as the "Iron Gate". Another incident occurs in 1988, an American warship shoots down a com-

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.sr.se/cgi-bin/ekot/artikel.asp?Artikel=139294>

<sup>11</sup> Houghton, D P, "*Explaining the Origins of the Iran Hostage Crisis: A Cognitive Perspective*", p. 259-279

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.sr.se/cgi-bin/ekot/artikel.asp?Artikel=1392947>

mercial Iranian aircraft. The U.S. tries to come up with excuses why this happened at first, but later they admit their mistake.

In the mid-1990's, Iran's development of nuclear weapons comes to the world's attention. As a response to this, President Bill Clinton imposes trade sanctions against Iran. The relationship between the two countries is once again fragile and it is not until year 2000 the next meeting takes place between the foreign ministers of the United States and Iran. There had been no diplomatic relations between the two countries since 1979. During this meeting, the U.S. admitted that they had been involved in the removal of former Prime Minister Mossadeq in 1953, but Iran never received an apology for the Americans' actions.

### **3.2 Bush diplomacy against Iran**

When President George W. Bush takes office in 2000, Iran is once again put on the list of countries that are stamped for terrorist activities. When addressing the nation in 2002, in the President's annual "State of the Union speech", he calls Iran one of the three "axis of evil" along with Iraq and North Korea.<sup>13</sup>

Iran, on the other hand, sees the U.S. as "the Great Satan". Bush accuses Iran of developing nuclear weapons in hostile purposes and says that satellite images published are proof of his claim. The President is no stranger to a military attack, to prevent Iran from producing nuclear weapons. The United States do not believe Iran's assurances that they develop nuclear weapons in only peaceful purposes and see it as their mission to fight terrorism.<sup>14</sup>

The U.S. supports Germany, Britain and France attempts to influence Iran through diplomacy to terminate the development of nuclear weapons. In these trials, there are also economic incentives for Iran to renounce nuclear weapons production. However, Iran does not care about the calls from the UN Security Council or the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to renounce nuclear weapons development, but instead they explain in 2006 that they have now reached the point where they can enrich uranium. According to President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran will use its nuclear technology to supply the country with power. Despite the fact that Iran completely ignores the world demands to suspend nuclear development, the United States declares that it wants to continue to affect Iran through diplomacy. However, there are rumours saying that the

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<sup>13</sup> Brown, L. C., *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, p. vii and 248

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=2492&a=550991>

U.S. is preparing a nuclear strike against Iran. Iran is urged to immediately allow inspections by the IAEA, the International Atomic Energy Commission.

In 2007, Bush declares that he is not interested in any military attack on Iran, at the same time as reports from the inspection of Iran's alleged nuclear arsenal are published. It states that Iran probably already in 2003 terminated the production of nuclear weapons and that the situation remains the same. Despite this, Bush believes that Iran is still a dangerous country and that there is a need for stricter sanctions.<sup>15</sup>

In summer of 2008, there is a further reversal of U.S. policy towards Iran. The United States declares there intention to re-open a diplomatic office in Tehran. Iran welcomes this initiative. Thirty years has passed since the hostage situation at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. A hostage situation that did not expire until after 1.5 years. This reversal comes after that Bush for seven years has had a totally irreconcilable attitude towards Iran. The Bush administration is not united on the issue. Vice President Dick Cheney believes that there should be continued heavy demands on Iran and do not think that a military attack is ruled out, while Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, advocated a solution through diplomacy. Even at other diplomatic levels, the opinions were divided. Iran continues to refuse to stop enriching uranium and Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad says that they never promised to halt the enrichment, which leads the UN Security Council to yet once again tighten the sanctions against the country.<sup>16</sup>

The UN Security Council has three times previously imposed sanctions against Iran for the regimes refusal to suspend enrichment of uranium. UN calls for all three resolutions that Iran shall suspend all nuclear activities where uranium is produced.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> [http://www.svd.se/nyheter/utrikes/artikel\\_311274.svd](http://www.svd.se/nyheter/utrikes/artikel_311274.svd)

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=148&a=833485>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/9364>

## **Sanctions against Iran;**

- Ban on export of dual use products listed by the NSG and MTCR
- Ban on import of dual use products listed by the NSG and MTCR
- Prohibition of assistance and investments related to dual use products listed by the NSG and MTCR
- Requirements for the licensing of exports of certain dual use products
- Permit requirements for assistance and investments related to certain dual use products
- Travel Restrictions
- The freezing of assets and ban on the provision of assets
- Education Restrictions
- Stop for government grants, financial assistance and concessional loans
- Arms embargo: a ban on the export
- Prohibition of assistance related to arms and related materiel
- Arms embargo: the prohibition of the purchase, import and transport

Israel is another party that has an interest in restrictions towards Iran's opportunity to further develop nuclear weapons. Israel does not want a country in close proximity with the opportunity to carry out nuclear attack. U.S. calls on Israel to refrain from military violence and instead to continue with economic sanctions and the gathering of intelligence on Iran's uranium enrichment.

In autumn 2008, the UN Security Council issues a new resolution stating that Iran will cease to enrich uranium. The resolution is an urgent request to the government, but contains no new sanctions against the country of Iran. In the three previous resolutions, there have been sanctions in the form of a travel ban and frozen the assets of Iranian individuals and companies. Iranian negotiators believe that the Security Council instead of a new resolution, should work for cooperation with Iran and work out proposals for joint commitments. The member countries of the Security Council feel that they have worked together to try to persuade Iran to cease activities that is suspected aim to develop nuclear weapons. However, Tehran has persistently argued that its program has only peaceful nuclear aims.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=148&a=833485>

Sean Patrick Hazlet wrote a masters thesis at Harvard University in 2006. A political analysis of, among other things, the relations between the U.S. and Iran during the Bush administration. It describes that when you are in that position that you have used "coercive diplomacy" you must be prepared for a strong response in the form of military action from the country that is being subjected to it. As described above, Iran has suffered a series of sanctions by the UN Security Council, so it can be a risk that Iran would respond to them with violence.<sup>19</sup>

### **3.3 U.S. diplomatic strategies against North Korea**

North Korea kept their development of nuclear weapons a secret for a long time. The world has, however, regarded the country as a potential nuclear power. Little is known about what is happening in North Korea, and many times pure speculation because the rest of the world does not have a particularly great transparency in the country. It has been argued that the U.S. has been spreading false information about North Korea's nuclear arsenal, just to make themselves appear in a better light. In July 2006, North Korea conducted a test firing.<sup>20</sup>

If the U.S. has seen North Korea as a threat in terms of nuclear weapons in a little over decennium, North Korea has feared that U.S. as a nuclear weapons state for half a century. The U.S. had in 2005 some 37 000 men located in Korea and about 47 000 soldiers were in Japan. In addition, the U.S. had until 1991 nuclear weapons located in South Korea. The population of North Korea looks upon the United States as a hostile nation and is told at an early age that the U.S. is the cause of many of their problems.

North Korea began in the 1950s with the help of China and the Soviet Union to prepare for nuclear weapons production. They have long seen a threat themselves and now they start to produce nuclear weapons themselves. During the 1960s, the country had finished two reactors, but those were in 1977, following pressure from the Soviet Union, put under the control of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In 1986, yet another reactor was put in operation which could be used to produce plutonium. This last reactor North Korea kept in secret without the knowledge of the IAEA. The outside world suspects that the country continues to develop its reactor design, but there is lack of evidence of such a scenario.

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<sup>19</sup> Hazlett, S P, *Responding to Iran's Nuclear Weapons Program Absent Diplomatic Agreement*, p. 6 and 28

<sup>20</sup> Hagström, L. & Karelid, I., *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 2-3

UN Security Council with its five permanent members (France, China, Russia, Britain and the U.S.) allows only the permanent members to keep their nuclear weapons, thru the Non-Proliferation Treaty of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). In 1985, North Korea joins this agreement. However, North Korea does not fulfil their agreement when they refuse to sign an agreement (Nuclear Safeguards Accord, NSA) with the IAEA, which gives the UN an opportunity to inspect North Korea's Atomic Energy installations. The reason that North Korea does not sign the agreement is that they demand a written guarantee from the U.S. that they will not attack North Korea. They also demand that the U.S. will remove its nuclear weapons from South Korea and that the annual military exercise between the U.S. and South Korea, the so-called "Team Spirit", are cancelled.<sup>21</sup>

In 1991, the U.S. met North Korea's demand that they would remove its nuclear weapons from South Korea. In connection with the withdrawal from the U.S. side the South Korean president suggested to make the whole Korean Peninsula nuclear-free, thus a call for North Korea to end its nuclear weapons production. Now followed a more open relationship with North Korea and on December 3, 1991, "The Joint Declaration for a Non-Nuclear Korean Peninsula" was signed by the two Korean states. This agreement promised that they would "neither test, produce, receive, possess, store, distribute nor use nuclear weapons". They also promised not to build re-processing facilities, but only use nuclear power in peaceful purposes. To this, the two states committed to that mutual inspections would take place.

Apart from the above, the two countries affected each other in other ways. North Korea prompted South Korea to stop its annual joint military exercises (Team Spirit) with the U.S. South Korea, in return, demanded that North Korea would allow monitoring of all suspected sites by the IAEA. These agreements led to that North Korea signed the NSA in January 1992. The IAEA was able to inspect all North Korea's declared facilities. It was not long before North Korea claimed that the IAEA inspections showed that the country was innocent to charges of production of nuclear weapons. They evaded further inspections and pressure from other countries. This meant that North Korea violated the agreement they made with South Korea regarding common mutual inspections. The situation resulted in the U.S. and South Korea resumed their joint military exercises (1993). North Korea, on their part refused to negotiate as long as these exercises proceeded, why the communication between the countries at that time died out.

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<sup>21</sup> Hagström, L. & Karelid, L., *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 9-11

IAEA now started to suspect that North Korea was not honest in its display of what the country had in nuclear weapons. IAEA requested to make expanded inspections of North Korea's undeclared facilities. This request was denied by North Korea and the IAEA threatened North Korea to raise the issue in the UN Security Council. Which in turn could lead to sanctions against North Korea. North Korea counters with threats to exit the NPT Agreement (Non-Proliferation Treaty for nuclear weapons) and see any sanctions as a declaration of war. In addition to this, the U.S. and South Korea carries out its military exercise "Team Spirit", an exercise that North Korea denotes as a "nuclear war exercise". North Korea declares its intention to pursue its threat and leave the NPT. This means that the outside world through the United Nations can not issue any sanctions against the country, when they are no longer apart of the agreement. North Korea wants to highlight that the reason for the resignation were disagreements with the U.S. and force the super power to direct bilateral negotiations. North Korea progresses forward in these negotiations, but then the U.S. backs of on the negotiations, since North Korea has failed in their support of the agreement both with the IAEA and South Korea. The political situation is intensifying now and it is only because the Security Council five Member States have different views that North Korea avoids further sanctions. In 1994, it is not an alien idea in Washington to make a pre-emptive strike against North Korea.<sup>22</sup>

In 1994, North Korea's leader talks with Jimmy Carter, talks that resulted in an agreement between U.S. and North Korea. The agreement went under the name "The Agreed Framework between the United States and North Korea on the Nuclear Issue" (Agreed Framework). Under that contract, North Korea promised to freeze its nuclear program and comply with their agreement against NPT. In return, they would be helped to replace their old reactors and in 2003-2004 receive modern American reactors. North Korea would also follow up its previous agreement in 1991 with South Korea, a transparency between the two countries and mutual inspection of each country's reactors. North Korea also promised normal diplomatic relations with the United States and that during a transitional period to obtain crude oil.

Furthermore, it was decided to open diplomatic offices in the capitals, offices that later could act as embassies. "Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization" (KEDO) was formed to coordinate and finance oil and reactor supplies to North Korea. Members of the organization were the United States, Japan and South Korea. The agreements with North Korea was already in

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<sup>22</sup> Hagström, L. & Karelid, L, *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 13-14

the beginning stages about to collapse when North Korea were opposed to the reactors being manufactured in South Korea.<sup>23</sup>

"Agreed Framework" meant that North Korea pledged to stop producing more plutonium for nuclear weapons production, but no one knew if the country already had enough plutonium for a bomb or not and if they in that case had the intention to produce nuclear weapons. Neither the United States nor North Korea followed what was agreed on. U.S. had not delivered the promised oil, nor was the promised new reactors delivered as promised in 2003 and 2004. The U.S. still had their trade barriers against North Korea and no diplomatic offices had been established from any side. The situation was that North Korea stopped the IAEA's inspections. They believed that the U.S. breached the agreements. North Korea's cooperation with South Korea also died out.

Since the agreement "Agreed Framework" was made, there were continued efforts to normalize relations between the U.S. and North Korea. Since 1996, there had been constant so-called quadrilogue. These included North Korea, U.S., China and South Korea. At the end of President Clinton's term in office, there was an open relationship, which the Bush administration rejected and called "concession policy."

### **3.4 Bush diplomacy against North Korea**

In 2002, President Bush sent a delegation to North Korea in order to ascertain whether it had a secret program to produce highly enriched uranium. According to "Agree Framework" this was not allowed. North Korea would neither confirm nor deny the U.S. claim, but stressed that because of the Bush administration's threat had the right to develop nuclear weapons. Then there were strong suspicions that there was a secret program and North Korea at one point acknowledged that, even if they took back the recognition, which led to that the U.S. and its allies in KEDO suspended the delivery of oil to North Korea. North Korea responded by explaining that "Agree Framework" is now a closed chapter. North Korea also ordered the international inspectors to leave the country. In 2003 North Korea left the NPT agreement, then the country abandons the IAEA Safeguards Agreement and the outside world is now completely without transparency of North Korea's possible production of highly enriched uranium. North Korea has

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<sup>23</sup> Hagström, L. & Karelid, L, *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 15

moved the 8 000 spent fuel rods, which was previously located in appropriate refrigeration equipment, and the fear is that these are now used for weapons production.<sup>24</sup>

North Korea has consistently sought bilateral negotiations with the U.S., while the U.S., for its part believes that such can not happen until there has been multilateral negotiations with North Korea closest nations. The U.S. is the most controlling player in the case of North Korea and its nuclear weapons. President Bush has, in a speech to his country designated North Korea along with Iran and Iraq as "an axis of evil". Bush believes that these countries are a threat to world peace and accuses North Korea of spreading weapons of mass destruction to terrorists. The Bush Administration is running a tough policy against North Korea and believe they have the right to disarm "rogue states". The issue was raised during this period in Washington, where Bush was considering an armed attack against North Korea.

The U.S. and its allies in the nuclear issue against North Korea (China, South Korea and Japan) in 2003 continued their attempts to get North Korea to set up the multilateral negotiations. Also Russia took part so that North Korea would accept the meeting form. Here are the problems that the meeting would to try to resolve;<sup>25</sup>

- A complete and irrevocable settlement, possible control of nuclear weapons program. Here the United States stated as a requirement that North Korea must ship everything from the country that would enable nuclear weapons production.
- The prevention of nuclear proliferation. This both in terms of material and know-how.
- The regime's status. This may mean a change in the current regime or the overthrow of. There are different approaches.
- Safeguards. North Korea wants guarantees that the U.S. will not attack. The U.S. refuses to agree to that before North Korea is demonstrating real disarmament. The U.S. does not intend to give in to North Korea's "nuclear blackmail".
- Financial assistance. North Korea needs significant contribution to development and energy supply.

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<sup>24</sup> Hagström, L & Karelid, L, *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 16-17

<sup>25</sup> Hagström, L & Karelid, L, *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 23-24

- Future nuclear status. North Korea left the NPT. Americans are suspicious of the combination of North Korea and any form of atomic energy. According to NTP, Member States may use the atomic energy for peaceful context.
- Sanctions. It will be difficult for the U.S. to get support for this in the UN. North Korea are already receiving aid from, among others, China and South Korea. Moreover, North Korea has previously stated that they see all forms of sanctions as a declaration of war.
- Use of force. All parties agree that this will be resolved thru diplomatic means and without violence.

The first talk, which was held in Beijing in August 2003 on the above points, was not a success. Both the U.S. and North Korea want the other one to take the first step. North Korea came up with a proposal that the U.S. refused to discuss which had the effect that North Korea threatened to carry out nuclear tests. A second meeting took place in February 2004. Here, a task force was appointed to prepare for the next meeting. The U.S. declared, however, that their demands remain for complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantling of North Korea's nuclear program must take place before the U.S. was willing to some form of assistance to the country. North Korea, on their part insisted on defence guarantees and economic aid before the settlement of the nuclear program.

In June 2004, a third meeting was held. Here, the U.S. presented a more concrete proposal on how North Korea would scrap its nuclear weapons program. The U.S. proposal was that North Korea would freeze in its nuclear program for three months. During this time, North Korea would themselves write down how a settlement of the nuclear program would take place and also in this phase any materials and equipment brought out of North Korea was shown to the rest of the world so they could be convinced that nuclear weapons decommissioning was irreversible. The U.S. said that if they could agree to these terms, North Korea would get oil supplies once again. In addition, North Korea's commitments to the decommissioning was met they would get multilateral security assurances, help with energy supplies and help in building the country's infrastructure. North Korea did not perceive the U.S. proposal as positive, but felt that the proposal was unacceptable when North Korea was forced to re-take the first step. North Korea's leaders believed that the U.S. had a "hostile attitude" and refused to participate in the next meeting.

North Korea has continued to impose conditions similar to the previous conditions, but even more than before, conditions that for them is a prerequisite for the start to dismantle its nuclear program. The U.S. will not fold and requires settlement first before anything promised on their part.

Bush second term starts in 2005 and the world now fear that the Bush administration is tired of North Korea and that the President with the assistance of the United Nations will seek sanctions against North Korea. North Korea has previously stated that they see sanctions as declaration of war and no one knows how the country's leaders now will react.<sup>26</sup>

These prophecies will not be reality though; instead a U.S. delegation is sent to North Korea in early 2005 for a diplomatic meeting and comes home optimistic. They now believe that there can be a resolution to the nuclear crisis diplomatically. However, it takes not more than a few weeks after their visit, before North Korea declared itself a nuclear state. North Korea's declaration comes after a statement by U.S. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, that she sees North Korea along with some other countries as "the outposts of tyranny".

In July 2006, there was a unanimous decision in the Security Council on a resolution against North Korea, where they demanded that the country would end all forms of activities that have to do with robots. The resolution also contained sanctions banning UN member states in any way to promote North Korea's missile programs.

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<sup>26</sup> Hagström, I. & Karelid, I., *Nordkorea och kärnvapenfrågan*, p. 24-26

## Sanctions against North Korea:<sup>27</sup>

- That it is prohibited to export military equipment to North Korea
- That it is forbidden to export goods and technology that could contribute to North Korea's programs related to nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction or ballistic missiles
- It is prohibited to provide technical and financial services related to such goods and technology or to war material
- That it is forbidden to buy such goods and technology from North Korea
- That it is forbidden to export luxury goods to North Korea
- Assets and economic resources belonging to certain persons, entities or bodies involved in or supporting the North Korean programs to be frozen, and that it is forbidden to make funds or economic resources available to them
- The restrictions on entry into or transit through the EU Member States for certain persons deemed to be responsible for North Korea's policies on programs related to nuclear weapons, etc.
- Member States will work together to inspect shipments to and from North Korea

North Korea has now admitted that they have a nuclear arsenal. They have done an underground test of a nuclear device in October 2006. They conduct an aggressive policy in which they constantly confront the outside world. They use their access to nuclear weapons to demonstrate their strength, a strength that they believe they can gain advantage in its negotiations with the U.S. and other countries. Besides the mentioned test North Korea in July 2006 fired missiles containing a long-range missile. North Korea's government considers this exercise only as a way to develop their military to better self-defence. They also point out that they are not governed by international law, why they have the right to make these test launchings. Despite the "incidents", North Korea still talks about a solution to the nuclear crisis peacefully. North Korea's leaders are aware

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<sup>27</sup> <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/9564>

now that the U.S. no longer regards them as enemies and therefore it is not necessary to possess nuclear weapons.

*”Last night the government of North Korea proclaimed to the world that it had conducted a nuclear test. We are working to confirm North Korea's claim. Nonetheless, such a claim itself constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The United States condemns this provocative act. Once again North Korea has defied the will of the international community, and the international community will respond”<sup>28</sup>*

In his statement, made from the White House, President Bush said that he had discussed the situation with the leaders of China, South Korea, Russia and Japan. Together they reaffirmed their commitment to a nuclear free Korean peninsula, and they all agreed that the proclaimed actions by North Korea were unacceptable and deserved an immediate response by the Security Council. Further, Bush stated that the United States remained committed to diplomacy, but would continue to protect themselves and their interests.

On February 13, 2007 North Korea signed an agreement with South Korea, U.S., Russia, China and Japan, under which the country dismantle a nuclear reactor in Yongbyon in exchange for economic and energy policy assistance. In return, North Korea was promised to be removed from the list of terrorist states. North Korea began dismantling of parts of their plant and the UN International Atomic Energy Agency seal some plants. Dismantling shares ended in August 2008 when North Korea now accuses the United States for breaking the agreement. The United States has not removed North Korea from the list of states labeled as terrorist states. United States declares that they have no intention to do so until North Korea can present evidence that the destruction is continuing.<sup>29</sup>

In December 2008, there were further talks in Beijing, the so-called six-party talks concerning North Korea's nuclear weapons possession, but these were unsuccessful.

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<sup>28</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061009.html>

### 3.5 Reasons for the different diplomatic strategies used

The previous part dealt with the diplomatic strategies used by the U.S., while this part will go into the reason behind the diplomatic strategies used respectively in the two countries, and describe some differences and similarities in the separate cases.

As the facts describes in previous parts, the U.S. has, with the assistance of the UN Security Council, during the last decades stated four resolutions obtaining sanctions against not only the government of Iran, but also against the whole Iranian society. Towards North Korea there has only been one resolution containing sanctions against the country.

In order to understand the diplomatic strategies used by the United States in North Korea and Iran it is vital to know some fundamental differences between the two countries.

For starters, Iran has crude oil, lots of crude oil. This gives the country a certain independence and power position towards the U.S. and the rest of the world. North Korea on the other hand is an extremely poor country suffering from starvation and scarce natural resources, which inevitably creates a dependency for North Korea towards the rest of the world.<sup>30</sup>

The most important difference would be that Iran has a nuclear **program** and North Korea has nuclear **weapons**. There are also significant differences in the power structure of the two countries. Iran is governed by a radical Islamic government, while North Korea has a communistic government.

Equally important, though, Iran is in a far stronger position to press for its terms than North Korea is. North Korea is an economic basket case with nuclear weapons, and as mentioned above, Iran doesn't yet have nuclear weapons, but it is one of the world's top five oil exporters, and its regional influence has grown exponentially as a result of the removal of two of its key enemies, Saddam Hussein in Iraq and the Taliban in Afghanistan.<sup>31</sup>

Despite concerns over its transparency and compliance with all requirements of the international monitoring system, Iran is not currently accused by the UN of maintaining a nuclear-weapons program, as they are by the U.S. It remains within the terms of the Non-Proliferation Treaty; the Security Council's major concern is that Iran's defiance of demands over its uranium enrichment program may be a sign that they are assembling the means to build nuclear weapons. North Ko-

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<sup>29</sup> <http://www.sr.se/cgi-bin/ekot/artikel.asp?Artikel=2503848>

<sup>30</sup> <http://politicalinquirer.com/2008/06/26/the-differences-between-north-korea-and-iran/>

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1668374,00.html>

rea, on the contrary, walked out of the NPT and tested a nuclear weapon, leaving no doubt over its capacity or intent.<sup>32</sup>

Unlike North Korea's hermit kingdom, Iran is an integral part of the world economy as its fourth largest supplier of oil, with much of its output consumed by China, India and Japan. Most of the international community will view comprehensive sanctions against Iran as unthinkable in light of the impact they would have on global oil prices, and therefore on the global economy as a whole.

As stated above, geography is an important aspect of U.S. relations with the two countries. North Korea is of no immediate geographical importance to the United States, While Iran has an advantage that can influence U.S. prospects in difficult conflict zones, i.e., Iraq and Afghanistan.

Iran will also be encouraged by the similarities between the two cases, the fact that military action is widely seen as carrying risks that outweigh benefits in each case. Seeing that the U.S. and its allies have only managed to muster support for sanctions by diluting them to the point of being largely symbolic, because of opposition by key Security Council players such as Russia and China.

The experience from the so-called six-party talks also underlines the difficulty of using sanctions as a negotiating tactic: North Korea used the revived six-party process to talk not about the nuclear issue, but about sanctions. Similarly, Iran, rather than buckle to the demands by the U.S. and the rest of the international community, may be inclined instead to test Washington's diplomatic muscles.

## **4 Discussion**

Being the superpower that it is, the U.S. has, for over half a century, played a key role in Iran. Not only thru the use of diplomacy, but also with the use of force, as exemplified with the removal of Prime Minister Mossadeq in 1953. During the 1960's and 1970's the diplomatic relations between Iran and the U.S. were fairly stable. At least up until the point of the revolution in Iran in 1978, where all diplomatic ties between the states were cut after the U.S. had given sanctuary to the overthrown Shah. Even though the U.S. supports Iran in the invasion from Iraq, the diplomatic relations are not restored between the countries until President Bush takes office in 2000. Then, once again, the U.S. Secretary of State and Iran Foreign Minister meet, for the first time since 1979.

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1572828,00.html>

Early in his presidency, Bush shows a hostile attitude towards Iran when he proclaims the country as one of the three "axis of evil", together with Iraq and North Korea. On the contrary, facts show that Bush has wavered on his stand on Iran, when he in 2002 seems to consider taking military action against Iran, but further along in his presidency shows a more willing attitude to solve the situation through a joint diplomatic effort with their allies of France, Germany and Great Britain. The ongoing situation in Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq by the U.S. and their allied forces in 2003, obviously played a role in their decision not to take any military actions yet in Iran.

In North Korea, the U.S. has more than once acted in accordance with the strategy "the gradual turning of the screw" stated by Alexander George. They have done so by again and again shown strong military presence in the region, with the "team spirit" exercises with South Korea and the constant military presence by U.S. armed forces in Japan.

A notable distinction between the diplomatic tactics used by the U.S. in Iran and North Korea is that they have been considerably more active and coercive towards Iran than towards North Korea. The reason for the more active presence by the U.S. in Iran, can be explained by the fact that Iran seems to be seen as a dominant power in a region where the U.S. are involved in both military and political matters. Iran, being one of the world's largest oil producers, also plays a vital role in the world economy, which gives them certain independence towards the international community. Iran's dominant position in the world's oil market imposes a fear on the international community that heavy sanctions against the country can lead to a significant rise in the price of oil in the world market.

North Korea on the other hand, being surrounded by U.S. allies, for example Japan and South Korea, does not play an equally important role geographically as Iran. A communistic governed North Korea, with their limited trading with the rest of the world does not have any natural resources that can be matched to the importance of Iran's crude oil.

A fact that could both strengthen and question the arguments for a hard-line policy towards Iran by the U.S. is that North Korea already possesses nuclear weapons. While Iran, at least to the world's knowledge, only has a nuclear program, and has yet developed a nuclear arsenal. This might have been a major factor behind the more lenient and less forceful diplomacy towards North Korea by not only the U.S. but also the UN, based on fear for its nuclear arsenal. North Korea has on numerous occasions stated that they would perceive any sanctions against them as an act of war. On the other hand, one would think that there could be more pressure put on North Korea by the international community, due to their dependence on imports of goods, like oil, that is vital for the functioning of the country.

In both cases, you can see coercive diplomatic actions taken by the U.S. and UN in accordance with the four out of the five characteristics for coercive diplomacy, as stated by Alexander George. The only one of the five characteristics not found in the researched material, is the one that clearly states any time pressures in the demands by the U.S. and the UN.

## **5 Conclusion**

The study has confirmed what the author believed to be the case before starting the research. That is, that there has been a considerably more forceful approach in diplomatic strategies towards Iran than towards North Korea. The more lenient approach towards North Korea by the U.S. is understandable. Since they are already in possession of nuclear weapons, too forceful demands and pressure might push them over the limit, and the risk of a nuclear war would be imminent.

In the case of Iran, U.S. involvement in Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 must be viewed as a major factor in the United States decision not to have yet used force to solve the nuclear conflict in Iran. It would have been impossible for the U.S, even with the help of their allies, to fight a three front war in the Middle East under almost the same timeframe. In addition, seeing that Iran has yet managed to develop nuclear weapons, they are not seen as much of an imminent threat as North Korea.

With regards to the second question that this thesis sought the answer for, I felt that I got a partial answer. There is clear evidence of a more forceful acting by President Bush towards Iran than by his predecessors. One aspect that supports this statement is that diplomatic relations were virtually non-existent between the countries between 1979 and until Bush took office in 2000. In the case of North Korea, on the other hand, the study does not present any clear evidence that shows any differences between the diplomacy used before and by Bush towards the country.

## **6 Appendix**

1. List of abbreviations.

**List of abbreviations**

EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
KEDO	Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NSA	Nuclear Safeguards Accord
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty of Nuclear Weapons
UN	United Nations

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