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CHINA'S STRATEGIC CHOICES TOWARDS NORTH KOREA AND IRAN

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A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Josef Korbel School of International Studies

University of Denver

_____

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

_____

by

Kang-uk Jung

August 2015

Advisor: Suisheng Zhao

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Title: CHINA'S STRATEGIC CHOICES TOWARDS NORTH KOREA AND IRAN
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Abstract

This study tests two hypotheses. First, China cooperates with the United States only when it is able to obtain material rewards. Second, without material incentives from the United States, China straddles between the United States on one hand and Iran and North Korea on the other. My findings show that neither Structural Realism, which holds anti-hegemonism alliance, nor Constructivism, which holds positive assimilation of the nuclear nonproliferation norm explains Chinese international behavior comprehensively. My balance of interest model explains Chinese foreign policy on the noncompliant states better. The cases cover the Sino-North Korean and Sino-Iranian diplomatic histories from 1990 to 2013 vis-à-vis the United States. The study is both a within-case comparison—that is, changes of China's stance across time—and a cross-case comparison in China's position regarding Iran and North Korea.

My comparisons contribute to theoretical and empirical analyses in international relations literature. Theoretically, the research creates different options for the third party between the two antagonistic actors. China will have seven different types of reaction: balancing, bandwagoning, mediating, and abetting that foster strategic clarity versus hiding, delaying, and straddling which are symptomatic of strategic ambiguity. I argue that there is a gradation between pure balancing and pure supporting. Empirically, the test results show that Chinese leaders have tried to find a balance between its material

interests and international reputation by engaging in straddling and delaying inconsistently.

There are two major findings. First, China's foreign policy has been reactive. Whereas prior to 2006, balancing against the U.S. had been a dominant strategy, since 2006, China has shown strategic ambiguity. Second, Chinese leaders believe that the preservation of stability in the region outweighs denuclearization of the noncompliant states, because it is in China's interest to maintain a manageable tension between the U.S. and the noncompliant states. The balance of interest model suggests that the best way to understand China's preferences is to consider them as products of rough calculation of risks and rewards on both the U.S. and the noncompliant states.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The three main security challenges facing the international community are nuclear proliferation, China's ascendancy, and noncompliant states, such as Iran and North Korea. These factors will change the world distribution of power and influence the probability of war in the Middle East, and East Asia. Thus, we need to address the intersection of these challenges, and examining intermittent evolution of China's policies on the noncompliant states against the United States.

China's stance gradually evolved from a staunch opposition against sanction on the noncompliant states to reluctant advocacy of deterrence against these "rogue states" through cooperation with the United States. Yet, this shift in China's international behavior has not been given the close scrutiny that it deserves. How China's interests in the strategic behaviors of both the United States and the aforementioned noncompliant states influence its strategic choices is the central question of the research. Examination of China's attitude shift in policies towards the noncompliant states provides insights into the sources and patterns of change in Chinese foreign policy.

This study tests two hypotheses: (1) China cooperates with the United States only when it is able to obtain material rewards. (2) Without material incentives from the United States, China straddles between the United States and the noncompliant states.

The underlying logic for the passivity inherent in the Chinese leadership is that a close alignment with either the United States or the noncompliant states will create an unstable environment, which may ensnare China into an undesired conflict. Adopting the middle ground and straddling between the two conflicting parties is the safest option for China, unless there is an obvious economic or political incentive. China usually attempts to stake out positions between the stark alternatives of balancing and bandwagoning.

The study is about China's stance in which has oscillated between receptiveness towards the United States on the one hand and the noncompliant states on the other to manage the perceived challenges to its parochial interests with instrumental calculations. Rather than actively incorporating with nonproliferation norms helping the United States, China limits its actions by shying away from stalwart alignment with the West, and hedging its bets in various ways.

China's cooperation for preventing the noncompliant states from nuclearization has been mostly reluctant, but sometimes its cooperation has reaped substantial progress as was the case with the North Korean nuclear deal in 2005 (S. S. Kim 2007b). Its intermittent shifts are puzzling, because they sometimes seem to run counter to its economic and security interests. How China handles conflicts between the United States and the noncompliant states shows how it tries to make its way in the international community and how it defines its relationship with others in the world. This study documents and explains China's hesitant cooperation with the United States in sanctioning the two recalcitrant states over the past twenty-four years because China's uneven reactions demand an explanation.

Puzzling Behavior

China has become increasingly involved in managing nuclear and missile nonproliferation challenges, and its behavior is a major factor in determining the success of nonproliferation efforts. However, its willingness to undercut sanction initiatives on Iran and North Korea complicates the United States efforts to stop nuclear proliferation. Given the fact that the United States has experienced difficulty in bringing China in line with its nonproliferation drive, the research raises the question as to why China sometimes pursued cooperation with the United States, but other times not. For the United States, this raises a salient question as to whether the United States can "truly embrace a world with a diversity of voices and viewpoints" and whether it can "thrive in a world it cannot dominate" (Zakaria 2011, 38).

China's behavioral pattern in dealing with North Korea and Iran has produced mixed results. Sometimes China has acquiesced in sanctions and cooperated with the United States, while at other times, it has opposed the United Nations (UN) Security Council's tough measures. It has sometimes cooperated with the United States when it voted for sanctions against Iran and North Korea in 2006. At other times, it has stood in opposition against the United States as it refused to pass the UN Security Council resolution on North Korea in 1994, and rebuffed the United States' request to refer Iranian nuclear issue to the UN Security Council in 2002. This fluctuation in China's behavior is puzzling, because it has been more inclined to punish the noncompliant states, and less inclined to "balance" than the Structural Realists have asserted.

China's inconsistent behavior has prompted two questions that this research seeks to answer: (1) What was China's behavioral pattern in coping with both the U.S. pressure and defiance from the two noncompliant states? (2) What best explains the fact that China has been inconsistent in its cooperation with the United States? China rarely remains strictly neutral in that it usually cooperates with the United States to obtain economic and diplomatic gains. However, it avoids close cooperation with the United States, when it has to make a long-term strategic choice. China prefers and pursues limited and partial cooperation with both the United States and the noncompliant states, because it believes opacity will yield the best returns under conditions of uncertainty.

Supporting the United States' sanction initiatives brings rewards, such as access to the American market and high technologies, but also carries the risk of being dragged into wars that it may not wish to fight. Lending support to the "legitimate" provocations by noncompliant states burnishes its image as a fair world leader wishing to share peaceful nuclear technology equally, but also carries with it risks of entrapment into unwanted conflicts instigated by the noncompliant states, which, in turn, may tarnish its reputation as a "responsible superpower." Close alignment with the noncompliant states against the United States is quite risky, whereas close cooperation with the United States to counter nuclear proliferation by noncompliant states depreciates its strategic value to leverage the both sides.

Both the dangers and rewards of stalwart cooperation with either party often exceed those of more partial, flexible, and ambiguous support. Unless China faces an intractable threat, and identifies a credible incentive from the United States, Chinese

leaders will likely adopt straddling strategy between the two sides over taking a side. Thus, they believe that a muddling through between the United States and the noncompliant states maximizes its security and economic utility.

Goals of the Study

The goals of this study are two-fold: examining how China has behaved between the superpower and the rebellious states; and accessing why it has reacted as it did. In terms of the first question of how China reacted to nuclear proliferation crises, I hypothesize that its deterrence commitment either to support the United States, or to defend noncompliant states, has been deliberately ambiguous for years because Chinese leaders know that almost any decision that pleases some will displease others, and because the magnitude of various threats that it will face is unclear. Instead, China has attempted to ratchet up uncertainty factor for its own good to maximize its maneuvering options between them. Inadvertently, China's selfish realpolitik strategic proclivity for straddling between the two state actors has stabilized the region, and the world. In regard to the second question, under what condition China is cooperative with the United States to sanction the pariah states, my proposition is that China is pursuing a mixed policy that is motivated by realpolitik, concerns about its relationships with the United States from which it derives material benefits, and its need to promote its image and reputation as a responsible, pro-Western power.

If Chinese leaders see possibilities to achieve either immediate tangible benefits such as improvement of bilateral relationship and receiving of high technology, or intangible rewards such as enhancing its status as a world power, or an advocate of

nuclear technology fairness by supporting the noncompliant states, it will pursue balancing, bandwagoning, or mediating. If it finds it difficult to judge its potential rewards, and threats, it manipulates, juggles, and bides its time to assess the situation. These strategically ambiguous attitudes exhibited by China help to stabilize the regions from dangers stemming from both sanction efforts by the United States, and provocations by the noncompliant states.

Cases by Period

Four cases are selected from North Korea and Iran.[1] They total eight cases in which compare similarities and differences in China's reaction diachronically and synchronically. They are: (1) from 1990 to 1997; (2) from 1998 to 2005; (3) from 2006 to 2008; and (4) from 2009 to 2013. Each case is scrutinized to gauge China's reactions towards North Korean and Iranian nuclear and missile provocations. I compare China's behavior across time to determine whether there were significant variations, and then, compare its reactions towards North Korea and Iran to see whether China treated the two provocative states similarly or differently.

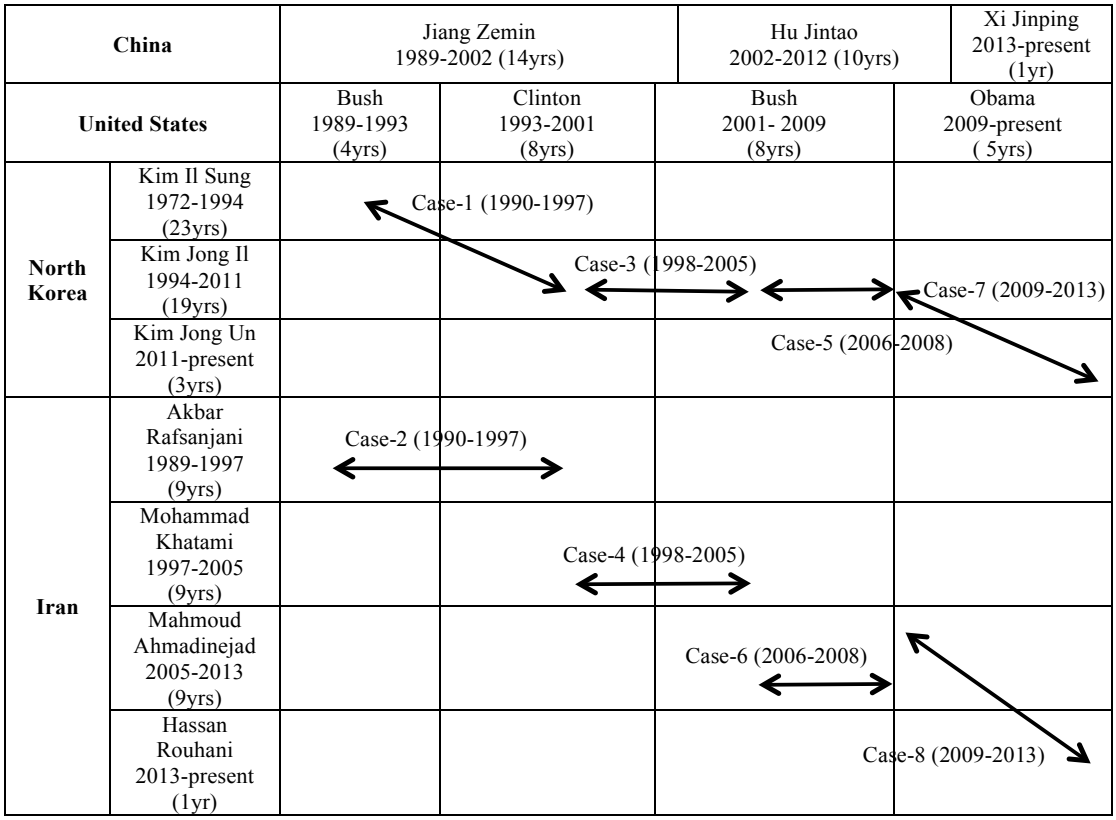
By assessing the diachronic change (change over time) in China's choice of strategy, I understand how, and under what conditions, its behavior has been changed (within-case comparison). By comparing North Korean and Iranian case in the same time period, I examine critical factors to determine China's foreign policy, and to discern co-variation across countries under the same Chinese leadership (cross-case comparison).[2]

[1] I define the term "case" as a segment of analysis in my study.

[2] Alastair Iain Johnston defines a sound analysis as "(1) comparison across time (how different is current action from past actions?); (2) analysis across issue areas (how different is current action from action on

Figure 1 Cases

North Korea		Iran		24 Years
Case-1	1990-1997	Case-2	1990-1997	8 years
Case-3	1998-2005	Case-4	1998-2005	8 years
Case-5	2006-2008	Case-6	2006-2008	3 years
Case-7	2009-2013	Case-8	2009-2013	5 years



The cases are divided in this way because there were watershed events in Sino-Iranian and Sino-DPRK diplomatic history. After the Cold War the noncompliant states nuclear program issues came into international politics scene. In 1994 the United States and North Korea signed the "Agreed Framework," but it was broken down around 1997

different issues?); and (3) analysis across countries (how different is current action from what other states are doing?)" (Johnston 2013, 34). By this standard, the study is satisfied two qualifications.

(Case-1). China's civilian nuclear exchanges with Iran were revoked in 1997 because of the grand bargaining between the two superpowers (Case-2).

As North Korea boasted about its nuclear program at Yongbyon in 2002, China hosted the Six-Party talks since 2003 and the six parties[3] announced the Joint Statement of Principles in 2005 (Case-3). Iranian reformist President Mohammad Khatami extended the olive branch to the United States, but his reconciliatory gestures have been ignored. The sudden disclosure of nuclear enrichment facilities at Isfahan, Natanz, and Arak in 2002 deteriorated negotiation process between Iran and the EU3+3.[4] The belligerent Principlist President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad came into power in 2005 (Case-4).

North Korean and Iranian nuclear issues were reported to the UN Security Council and discussed in the highest international forum since 2006. In response to the North Korean nuclear and missile tests and Iranian incompliance, the UN Security Council passed two and five resolutions regarding North Korean and Iranian issues respectively (Case-5 and 6). The new leader, Kim Jong Un carried out two nuclear tests in 2012 and 2013 and faced six UN Security Council resolutions (Case-7), while Ahmadinejad failed to respond to Obama's overture resulting in three UN Security Council resolutions (Case-8).

To analyze the cases, I used newspaper articles accessible through the Lexis-Nexis Academic, and the World News Connection. The main sources of this study are journalistic accounts in major media and Chinese Foreign Ministry official web site,[5] UN

[3] They are the United States, China, Russia, Japan, South and North Korea.

[4] They are the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia and China.

[5] http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/

Security Council document,[6] the IAEA documents,[7] the Nuclear Threat Initiative chronologies,[8] the International Crisis Group reports,[9] and documents from the Congressional Research Service Reports[10] and the Security Council Report.[11]

This research is a within-case analysis in which examines changes in China's stance during confrontations between the recalcitrant states and the United States. The questions will be: Why did China change its orientation from "balancing" against the United States to cooperation with its former archenemy to deal with Iran since 1997, and North Korea since 2003? Why was China reluctant to support the actions of the United States at first, only to oppose, then, support the sanctions against North Korea in June 2009, and against Iran in June 2010?

This study is also a cross-case comparison which analyzes why China has acted in North Korean case, but not in Iranian and vice versa. I ask questions such as: Why did China abstain from the UN Security Council (UNSC) resolution against North Korea in May 1993, but support the UNSC resolution against Iran in July 2006? Why did China mediate between North Korea and the United States since 2003, but not between Iran and the United States? Why did China refuse to impose sanction on Iran in 2005, yet, agree to impose sanction on North Korea in July 2006? While China had shut down oil supply pipe to pressure North Korea in early 2003, China's state-owned firms have signed

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[6] http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/

[7] http://www.iaea.org/

[8] http://www.nti.org/

[9] http://www.crisisgroup.org/

[10] http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/

[11] http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/

contracts to construct several refineries in Iran in 2010. Why did China treat the two states differently, even though the United States has repeatedly pressured it to treat the two noncompliant states similarly? How, and under what conditions have these variances occurred? These questions on China's perplexing behavioral records should be discussed within the context of existing literature of Chinese foreign policy, which is the topic of the next section.

Calculated Reactiveness?

On the abstract level, the purpose of Chinese foreign policy is to influence the actions of other states in a way that serves China's interests and values. "The tools are available from complimentary words to nuclear bombs. Mixing them properly and with sufficient patience is the art of diplomacy" (M. K. Albright 2003, 319). In practice, however, the purpose of China's foreign policy can be summed up as sustaining stability in the region, and cultivating its own national capability.

In 1989, Deng Xiaoping told his party cadres to "Observe developments soberly, maintain our position, meet challenges calmly, hide our capacities and bide our time, remain free of ambition, never claim leadership" [12] (Zhao 2003, 85). In 1993, Jiang Zemin stressed China's need to stabilize relations with the United States, "enhancing confidence, reducing troubles, expanding cooperation, and avoiding confrontation" (Zhao 2003, 85).[13] For Hu Jintao, the principles for foreign policy formulation entailed

> "prioritiz[ing] domestic stability; extend[ing] the strategic opportunity period; maintain[ing] the status quo when a ready solution over international disputes cannot be found; avert[ing] a crisis through diplomacy of ambiguity;

[12]The original text appears as 冷静观察, 站稳脚跟, 沉着应付, 韬光养晦, 善于守拙,绝不当头。

[13]The original text appears as 增加信任, 减小麻烦, 加强合作, 不搞对抗。

> compartmentaliz[ing] an isolated event from the overall foreign policy; and us[ing] economic leverage prior to direct military pressure" (Ji 2014, 240).[14]

Simply put, the common thread that emerges from the guiding principles of China's leaders since Deng Xiaoping is the promotion of stability for fostering development, and nurturing its national capability.

Some Chinese foreign policy mavens point to China's reactiveness and defensive avoidance on dealing with international affairs artfully. Classical Realism and Constructivism have been the two dominant theories in explaining Chinese foreign policy. From the Classical Realist view, China, as many other states, has been reactive and opportunistic because it has employed self-serving realpolitik strategy (Johnston 1998). Alastair Iain Johnston equates Chinese foreign policy decision-making with statecraft (1998). Robert Sutter also argues that China is primarily reactive to international developments, because "China has a well-developed tendency to avoid risks, costs, or commitments to the common good unless there is adequate benefit for tangible Chinese interests" (2012, 37). David Shambaugh also asserts that "Beijing likes to argue that its foreign policy has always been both principled and consistent, but in fact it has been very fluid and often fluctuant" (2013, 46). Similarly, Evans Medeiros contends that China has been reluctant to shoulder global responsibilities (2007; 2009). Johnston's work drew the conclusion that China has been emphasizing "absolute flexibility (*quianbian* 权变)" in dealing with external affairs based on realpolitik calculation (1998, 102). Lucian Pye

[14]The original text appears as 韬光养晦,内政主导, 维护现状, 危机规避, 不以单一事件影响大局, 经济手段先与军事压力。

claims that China has an unique "political art form of feigned compliance" (敷衍) (1992, ix).

From the Constructivist point of view, Wang Feiling contends that Chinese leaders have inscribed besieged vulnerability derived from victimized history by the West and Japan and this traumatic humiliation has driven it to pursue more powerful, more prestigious and politically stable country in twenty first century (Deng and Wang 2004). Allen Carlson also argues "the collective memory of past territorial losses significantly limited China's flexibility in words and actions" (2005, 63). In similar vein, Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell single out its "vulnerability to threats" as the main driver of China's foreign policy (2012, 3). Take a little bit different identity perspective, Shih Chih-yu pointed out China has shunned to define "who China is" by arguing for "who China is not." Shih argues that it is easy and convenient for China to avoid hard questions as to what its *raison d'être* is for in the international community, and that the West has been served as the "Other" for China to evade defining its identity (2000, 4).

According to Irving Janis and Leon Mann's defensive avoidance theory, when Chinese policy makers perceive some risks inherent in their current policy toward both the United States and the noncompliant states, but if they are unable to identify an acceptable alternative, they will be stymied by a lack of available options. In the first place, they are motivated to find a less risky yet feasible policy alternative, but if they are not able to find a better alternative to maintaining status quo, even if reasonable investigations are conducted, they will terminate their search for an alternative. Then they may be frustrated by persistent dissatisfaction with the available options, and as a result,

avoid and procrastinate on making policy decisions (1977, 57–58,74,107–33; Lebow 2007, 78). A common consensus among these scholars is that China's behavior on international affairs has been reactive, and as such, that China has been confronting challenges head-on rather than being proactive and taking initiatives.

Testing whether China has been reactive or not is a contribution of the study, and if so, how, and why it avoids taking initiatives for resolving international issues is the subsequent research question. The logic of asking questions is straightforward: Is China's reactive strategy (straddling, hiding, and delaying) really the case? If so, why, when, and how is a strategy likely to work? Because avoiding an all-out war between the United States and the noncompliant states without choosing sides, and obstructing the U.S. domination of the regions without supporting the noncompliant states openly remain an important goal and dilemma of Chinese foreign policy, we need to clarify conditions under which China oscillates between action and inaction. To this end, I utilize multiple methods: confronting theories and history, process-tracing with testing typology, content analysis, and cognitive mapping.

Methods

The reality is fuzzy, but my reasoning is simple: I am interested in how China has reacted to issues concerning the noncompliant states vis-à-vis the United States, how it sets its preferences, and thus, how it make its choices. The real intentions of Chinese leaders are hard to know, but the method that has been employed is straightforward. The principal data is the bilateral Sino-Iranian and Sino-North Korean diplomatic history involving pressures from the United States from 1990 to 2013. Through the survey, it can

be discerned whether China's commitments towards sanctions on Iran and North Korea are consistent or not. After identifying the motives that led China to select certain strategy at different times, these results can be compared with each proposition deduced from the International Relations (IR) theories.

In essence, this study seeks to explain China's reactiveness and defensive avoidance vis-à-vis the United States and the two noncompliant states. To this end, five different methods are devised: conducting content analysis on Chinese Foreign Ministry press conference, extracting cognitive maps on China's public assertion and hidden argumentation, process-tracing, creating typologies of Chinese foreign behavior, and matching IR theories and historical records on China's behavior toward Iran and North Korea. Different methods tap into different levels of meanings and act as crosschecks on the meanings uncovered by each method respectively. Multiple methods also can triangulate the patterns of China's behavior whether or not it is consistent.

First, we need to determine whether China actually has been ambiguous in dealing with North Korea and Iran. By conducting a simple content analysis on press conference text of Chinese Foreign Ministry in regard to Iran and North Korea from 2002 to 2013, we can see whether China has cooperated with the United States, or defied sanction initiatives, or delayed international joint actions on purpose, or concealed its position, or waffled on North Korean and Iranian provocations. And then a cognitive map on Iranian and North Korean nuclear issues is extracted from the Chinese Foreign Ministry press conference text to see causal assertions (Axelrod 1976).

Second, since the results of content analysis and cognitive map are what China has asserted publicly, they are designed to convey specific messages and images to certain audiences. The method of process-tracing on how China has reacted is employed to minimize the effect of planned communication a was necessary (George and Bennett 2005). It is an investigation attempt on the intervening steps leading from initial conditions to outcomes to understand how and to what extent China's action has been changed. Process-tracing allows us to gauge causal arguments, identify a pattern how China's strategic position between the United States and anti-U.S. camp, and discern factors that were not part of the original expectations.

Third, testing propositions deduced from IR theories allow us to see whether China's behaviors comport with various theories (Ragin 1989, 37–9). By mobilizing IR theories and classifying China's reactions into seven behavioral reaction types (balancing, bandwagoning, delaying, hiding, mediating, straddling, and abetting) I can test the behavioral propositions from IR theories against historical records. It is contrasting China case with a theoretical pure instance of seven types of behavior. The goal is to link the differences between the China case and the ideal-typic case in relevant causes to differences in outcomes. This thought experiment would allow me to explain and interpret specific features of the China case. The divergence of the empirical China case from the imaginary pure ideal-typic case in causes is the treatment variable. By drawing on the insights of existing IR theories, I create a hypothetical rational observer to see whether and in what ways the logic of IR theories has been borne out in Chinese foreign policy toward the United States and the two noncompliant states.

Fourth, examining whether China has behaved toward North Korea and Iran differently or similarly is the next step. Analyzing the conditions of using a strategy to the two different noncompliant states is meaningful in discerning differences between Iran and North Korea. Lastly, we can verify the validity of officially asserted China's cognitive map toward North Korean and Iranian problems and uncover a cognitive map taking into account Chinese leaders' hidden rationales (Axelrod 1976).

The research involves three methods of inference: assumption, observation, and deduction (Lake and Powell 1999, 54–62). First, the simplest assumption is that China attempts to maximize its national wealth and power. I assume that decisions made by Chinese leaders related to both the United States and the noncompliant states are rational, because they believe that a strategy they have chosen is the best means to achieve their preferred outcome, or they perceived, even if incorrectly, that the action was rationally required given the conditions under which China was operating (Schweller 2004, 15–7). The central question is, what causes China to prefer one strategy to others. China's preference can be investigated by observing its behavioral patterns.

Second, by observing statements and actions of China, we can extrapolate its preferences. In other words, analyzing Chinese Foreign Ministry press conference rhetoric, and its actual reactions relating to nuclear provocations by Iran and North Korea is one way to understand China's interests and values. On the one hand, China's public positions reflect both its preferences and its expectation of how its stance will affect the actions of other actors—the United States and the noncompliant states. On the other hand, if China is cagey, we cannot infer the real cause of its actions based on its behavior.

The two thought experiments would be helpful to remedy this strategic intention dilemma. First, I ask a counterfactual question as to what would have happened in China's reaction if the other actors behave differently. As Robert Jervis argued, "had it not been built, or had it been built differently, many other things would have been different" (2001, 79). Second, examining what China has not been doing is one way to look at what China really wants to achieve since, as Jervis put it, "things that do not occur can be powerful evidence against a proposition that indicates that those things should have occurred" (2014, 25). Probing the choices China has not taken can tell us as much as what it has done, and we can gain better understanding on China's perceptions, objectives, and policies (Medeiros 2009). Through these conceptual experiments we can take into account both China's underlying preferences and the strategic setting within which it is designing its actions.

It is important to distinguish between preference and outcomes. My argument is about China's preferences. China prefers limited support, and pursues an optimal outcome that its strategy can generate. This pursuit is discernable in China's foreign policy behavior, even when it fails to achieve its desired outcomes. When the stakes are high, and the United States brings considerable pressure to bear on China, it does not always achieve its preferred outcomes, but I argue that China that seeks partial and ambiguous support, in fact, obtains preferred outcomes in many cases.

Third, deducing China's interests on the basis of preexisting IR theories is another way to understand its intentions. Assuming certain features of China, and seeing whether the IR theories predict correctly that China will make a decision based on a particular set

of preferences a theory indicated, amount to a set of judgments about the empirical validity and usefulness of IR theories. Eight propositions drawing from the IR theories are weighed against the empirical records. The eight cases are tested to make valid inferences through the above three approaches—assumption, observation, and deduction (Lake and Powell 1999, 54–62). Next section I define independent variables (China's interests involving both the United States and the noncompliant states) and a dependent variable (its choice of strategy).

Variables

The goal of inquiry is to explain an observed trend of Chinese foreign policies. The two independent variables, the intensity of China's interests at stake with both the United States and the noncompliant states, explain the dependent variable, a type of China's reaction or a choice of strategy. Why did Chinese leaders make certain choices between a "rogue state" and the United States? What compelled or induced China to take a certain position? The intensity of China's interests at stake vis-à-vis the two parties are the determinants how Chinese leaders make a certain choice. China's cross-cutting interests between the two are jointly sufficient, though not necessary, to generate a certain reaction from Chinese leaders.

A general assumption to be tested is that China's reaction, or strategy, varies with its perceived interests on both the United States and the noncompliant states. If Chinese leaders judge that its national interests with the United States are stronger than those with the noncompliant states, then, it will bandwagon with the United States' sanction efforts. If they find interests with the noncompliant states are more important than those with the

United States, they will balance against the United States by supporting the noncompliant states. If its interests on both parties are thought to be equally vital, China will attempt to mediate between them. If its interests on both sides are weak and unimportant, it will drive a wedge between them to squeeze some benefits out of the conflicts. If it is hard to weigh the intensity of the interests on both sides, China will either straddle between the two, or hide from disputes, or delay by being ambiguous and concealing its position.

I argue that the outcome, in this case, China's strategy, is not preordained, since it is contingent on events, on Chinese leaders' interpretations of how best to reach their goals, and on how other countries reach theirs (Foot 2006). Since the magnitude of China's *interests* in both the United States and the noncompliant states determine China's *strategies* (Emerson 1962, 31–41), it is necessary to define the concept of national interest and strategy.

National Interests

The concept of national interest is hard to define, since interests are substantive (concerns about tangible benefits) and psychological (concerns about how one is treated, respected, or acknowledged) (Moore 1996). National interests are the needs that motivate of state's actions (Mayer 2000, 16). It is possible to distinguish between central interests that cannot be negotiated away and non-vital interests that can be modified or scarified. The self-preservation and wellbeing of China is its ultimate value and goal.

China's national interest could be just a way of describing the ends to which foreign policy should go, but it is true that China has interest in protecting its territorial integrity from external attack, in preserving political stability, and in continuing

economic development. As with other states, for China, upholding its security, stability, and prosperity are both the end state goal and the most important interests.[15] Other than these ends, it is possible to compromise its interests to a certain degree. China's national interest in this study is a comprehensive term including from conventional Realist definition to progressive Constructivist.

Realists define national interest as "the main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics" (Morgenthau 2006, 5). As such, national interests must be "related to general societal goals, must persist over time, and must have a consistent ranking of importance" (Krasner 1978, 13). Since the Realists assume that states can identify one another's interests (G. H. Snyder and Diesing 1978; Stein 1982), China's behavior towards both the United States and the noncompliant states are driven by an instrumental calculation of its national interests (Loke 2009). According to the Realist paradigm, pursuing national interests means that China has two overarching goals: the survival of China in an anarchical international system (Structural Realism, Waltz 1959, 34, 192, 227) and the perpetual pursuit for power (Classical Realism, Morgenthau 2006, 5–11).

The English School claims that the concept of national interest takes into accounts not only self-interests but also interests of other states in international society. The English School's "enlightened national interests" also consider international law and morality by distinguishing between the core and non-core interests (Burchill 2005, 152–

[15] Dai Bingguo, the state councilor for external relations, has defined China's core interests: first, China's political stability (i.e. the stability of the Chinese Communist Party leadership and of the socialist system); second, sovereign security, territorial integrity, and national unification; and third, China's sustainable economic and social development (J. Wang 2011).

84). China's national interest, according to the English School, would be defined as the legitimate articulation of the needs of not only Chinese people but also people in the world (Burchill 2005, 27–8).

Constructivism disagrees with the Realist thesis that national interests are pre-given properties. They are, instead, shaped by norms, identity, and international society. As states' identities and worldviews change, so does the international social structure. International social structures and states' identities and interests are mutually constituted each other (Finnemore 1996, 1–15). Interests are social constructions rooted in particular values, visions, and conceptions of politics (Wendt 1992). Increasing China's interactions with international society and its exposure to global norms of expected behavior are leading to its further socialization and acceptance of greater normative commitments (Loke 2009; Friedberg 2005). Constructivists argue that China's interests will be changed, developed, learned, and relearned through interactions between states in the international social system (Wendt 1995; Wendt 1999; Finnemore 1996, 5–11; Barnett 2004, 263).

Thus, according to the existing IR literature, China's interests are driven by fear (Classical Realism), self-interests (Structural Realism), or enlightened interests (Liberalism, English School, and Constructivism). The definition of national interest in my research encompasses all of the above concepts. More to the point, that China has an interest means "holding an objective or subjective stake in something and also it is being affected either positively or negatively by that stake" (Hirschman 1986; Burchill 2005, 10). And because China, as with other states, is more sensitive to its own interests than those of other states, it assumes that it has more at stake than others, and in turn, this

causes China to craft different strategies at different times (Jervis, Lebow, and Stein 1985; Herring 1995; Richardson 1994).

It might be also true to say that China has an interest in something is merely another way of saying that it serves as a means to some end that China is pursuing. Whether or not something actually is in China's interests will depend on the ends that is pursuing. The concept of national interest can be used to explain China's foreign policy on the one hand, and it can be employed to justify or rationalize China's international behavior on the other. Its own national interest is how Chinese leaders understand the goals and forms the basis for China's action. National interest has considerable power because it constitutes what is important for China and legitimizes the actions taken by it (Weldes 1999, 276). The definition of dependent variable—China's strategy—is in order.

Strategies

Strategy is a coherent statement of national purpose that articulates political ends.[16] Williamson Murray argues, "strategy is about balancing risks and about insuring that the balance is right in those areas that matter most." He further claims that truly effective strategies are designed to look and "act ... beyond the demands of the present." His view is that states and their leaders must take a longer view and must focus on the "great issue confronting them" (Murray 2011). According to Richard Rumelt, when a state formulates its own strategy, it should be coherent. There should be coordinating policies and actions allowing an existing strength to be exploited (2011, 3). Thus, an

[16] Stephen Jones defines strategy as "the art of using power for attainment of goals in competition" (Jones 1954, 422). China's choices are frequently strategic in that "each actor's ability to further its ends depends on how other actors behave, and therefore each actor must take the actions of others into account" (Lake and Powell 1999, 3).

effective China's strategy should be to prioritize, to coordinate, to balance, and to integrate its various interests on both the United States and the noncompliant states (Martel 2015).

However, I found China's strategy towards both the United States and the noncompliant states has not been coherently articulated. It was a strategic acumen and gamesmanship rather than a well worked-out strategy. In regards to sanction efforts on the noncompliant states, China's strategies range from full cooperation with the United States, to contingent cooperation, to outright rejection of the hegemonic agenda, depending on the opportunity costs of financial gains against damages to its image (Swaine and Tellis 2000, 134; Nourafchan 2010, 33).

Chinese leaders have been preoccupied with their relationship with the United States. Its strategy is incoherent, and largely remains contingent on the actions of the United States (Foot 2006, 93). It is because Chinese leaders understand well the fact that every action almost inevitably leads to unforeseen consequences, and solution to one problem can often breed new problems emerging (Coker 2015, 99). China's practical policy-oriented attitude is based on the strategic calculation that does not offend the United States while mastering how the existing international system works (Friedberg 2011). Given these strategic considerations, incoherent strategies have been manifest in Chinese foreign policy. I argue that Chinese leaders are trapped by their numerous incompatible goals, such as, economic growth, political regime stability, and a commensurate increase in global influence have resulted in incoherent patterns of employing strategies facing the United States and the noncompliant states.

The seven strategies that China possibly can use in reaction to the United States and noncompliant states are balancing, bandwagoning, straddling, hiding, delaying, mediating, and abetting. Forming counter-alliance against the United States (balancing), supporting the United States to contain the noncompliant states (bandwagoning), or playing them off against each other (abetting) are strategically clear position China can take. Holding the ring yet showing interests to intervene if it is necessary (straddling), remaining on the sideline hoping not to get involved (hiding), or frustrating the United States using diplomacy in the international institutions (delaying) are strategic ambiguity China can employ. It can preside negotiations between them (mediating). Chinese leaders employ a strategy contingent on how they identify their interest vis-à-vis the United States and the noncompliant states. The next section is about the model on causal relationship between how China perceives its interests and how it reacts.

Balance of Interest Model

The congruence of interests between China and the United States on one hand, and the congruence of interests between China and the noncompliant states on the other, determine China's strategic choices. The more congruent the interests between China and the United States, or the more incongruent the interests between China and the noncompliant states, China is more likely to be receptive towards sanction against the noncompliant states. The more indeterminate China's interests between the United States and the noncompliant states, the more it is likely to be opaque toward both parties. Each choice can be located two dimensions of China's relative perception of interests vis-à-vis both the United States and the noncompliant states.

The figure-2 summarizes how Chinese decision-makers decide their strategy between the two actors where China's interests involving to the United States (α), the United States' interests relating to China (β), China's interests involving to the noncompliant states (γ), and the noncompliant states' interests relating to China (δ).

Figure 2 China's Strategies in-between

		China (α) ↔ US (β)		
		α > β China needs the US more	**α ≈ β** α and β are equally important or indeterminate	**α < β** the US needs China more
China (γ) ↔ non compliant states (δ)	**γ > δ** China needs the noncompliant states more	**A** - Mediating - Delaying - Hiding	**B** - Appeasing the noncompliant states - Straddling - Hiding	**C** - Balancing against the US - Delaying - Appeasing the noncompliant states
	γ ≈ δ γ and δ are equally important or indeterminate	**D** - Bandwagoning on the US - Straddling	**E** - Straddling - Hiding - Delaying	**F** - Balancing against the US - Delaying - Straddling - Hiding
	γ < δ the noncompliant states need China more	**G** - Bandwagoning on the US - Controlling the noncompliant states	**H** - Controlling the noncompliant states - Straddling - Hiding	**I** - Abetting - Straddling - Fishing

If Chinese leaders perceive that both sides are courting for China's support (I), they are likely to straddle, while playing the two off against each other to elevate its strategic value to the both. Until the situation does not get out of the control, China is likely to try to obtain benefits out of the conflicts. If the intensity of dispute between the two states escalates to the level of a physical conflict (A), China is likely to hide or bide for time depending on its threat perception and then move toward mediating efforts.

If Chinese leaders perceive North Korea's provocations as threats to East Asian stability, or that Iran's intransigence threaten its energy security (C) and in turn hinder its economic development, China is likely to appease the noncompliant states by delaying the negotiation process or balancing against the United States depending on threat perception. If the United States offers substantial incentives for China, such as offering a presidential summit, exemptions of Chinese firms from sanctions, transferring high technologies, or opening American market (G), China is likely to cooperate with the United States on the sanction drive.

If Chinese leaders are unable to make a sensible judgment what the future will be like because China's interests involving both sides are unclear, indeterminate, or equally important (E), it is most likely to straddle between them. If Chinese leaders find material incentives from the United States and rewards to be gained from protecting the noncompliant states are not substantial (D), it is likely to jump on the United States' sanction bandwagon. However, if the United States pressures China for support without tangible quid pro quo (F), China is likely to balance against the United States following its instrumental calculation, even though it does not help the noncompliant states.

If provocations from Iran and North Korea are too serious to overlook, but there is no reward from the United States for chastising them (B), China is likely to placate noncompliant states by using empty rhetoric and cheap talks emphasizing peaceful use of nuclear technology and solving the problems by dialogue and diplomacy rather than use of force or passing UNSC resolutions. If North Korea is desperate for economic support from China or Iran is eager to have China's diplomatic shield in the multinational

negotiations, while reward from the United States is negligible (H), China is likely to steer the noncompliant states to the direction it desires.

Thus, weighing two different interests with two different sides is the core task for Chinese leaders. How these different interests with varying intensity are interacting in the context of struggles between the United States and the noncompliant states is the key to evaluate patterns and sources of Chinese foreign policy evolution. By documenting the eight cases in Sino-North Korean and Sino-Iranian relationships vis-à-vis the United States, we can clarify what is important to China and what is not.

Testing Arguments

To test the arguments I code China's posture between the United States and the noncompliant states in big events in four time periods (138 events in the North Korean case and 129 events in the Iranian case),[17] judging evolution of China's strategy. That data enables me to test my two basic arguments: China generally pursues straddling, hiding and delaying; but at the same time, China offers support for the United States (bandwagoning) when it can gain material rewards. In their effort to forge straddling, China does not always succeed what it intended to achieve, however. Consequently, China's preferences are not always reflected in outcomes and there are discrepancies between apparent preferences and outcomes.

A finding that China is pursuing straddling between the United States and the noncompliant states most of the time for last 24 years, and that when the United States promises economic, diplomatic, or technological incentives, China aligns closely with the

[17] See the Appendix H.

United States would support for my arguments. By contrast, evidence that China works with the United States to contain nuclear ambitious noncompliant states without any incentives from the United States would considerably weaken my argument. If straddling, delaying and hiding have been less prevalent in China's behavior for 24 years, my claims may suffer a significant setback.

Findings

My arguments are based on a comparison of two case studies on Iran and North Korea that use process-tracing to evaluate the evolution of China's policies on nuclear threat. China has been pursuing its parochial interests and addressing its own security. China's core interests are similar to those of other states: preserving the political regime; promoting economic growth; ensuring territorial integrity; and protecting state sovereignty (Yan 2002; Loke 2009). However, the intensity and manifestation of China's national interests depend on how Chinese leaders perceive and interpret hazards and payoffs from the struggle between the United States and the noncompliant states.

Three key findings emerge from this study. First, China's foreign policy has not been consistent, but reactive. China's foreign policy in the post-Cold War was hardly unified and coherent. While before 2006 balancing against the United States has been a dominant strategy for China, since 2006 it has shown strategic ambiguity to both the noncompliant states and the United States. This shift stems from two calculations: complexity of the situation and strategic opportunity of extortion. Chinese leaders are being vague because they do not know for sure how to deal with the two actors. Given this uncertainty, China's behavioral pattern has been "coping" rather than "pre-planning."

They are straddling, because, by doing so, they can reap maximum benefits of which include material incentives, and reputational enhancement from all parties involved.

Second, China weighs its interests against other foreign policy priorities to decide a policy (strategy) as the figure-2 shows. I found that preserving stability in the region outweighs denuclearization of the noncompliant states in Chinese leaders thinking. China believes that since it has a curvilinear downward relationship[18] between pursuing nuclear non-proliferation and promoting China's strategic value, it is not always wise to pursue two extreme values—i.e. complete denuclearization of the noncompliant states, or comprehensive proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is in China's interest to maintain an intermediate and controllable tension in denuclearization and nuclear non-proliferation between the United States and the noncompliant states. To this end, straddling, hiding, and delaying are more optimal strategies than balancing, bandwagoning or abetting. Since China usually concludes that tight alignment with either side is too risky, staking out middle ground between the two normally leaves it in the best possible position.

The third finding is that China's stance towards North Korea and Iran has not been similar. The differences in China's policy towards the two the noncompliant states stem from geography, which is hardly new, but important. As Jules Cambon wrote in 1935, "The geographical position of a nation is the principal factor conditioning its foreign policy—the principal reason why it must have a foreign policy at all" (S. S. Kim 2007a, 4–5; Pastor and Hoffmann 1999, 7). Geography often contributes as much as power or perceived intentions, to the intensity of threat perceptions. There are important

[18] A curvilinear downward relationship means that intermediate values of x result in high values of y, and extreme values of x (either high or low) result in low values of y.

differences between the two noncompliant states, and understanding them provides insights into the effectiveness of U.S. diplomacy. The pace and scope of policy change in these two states was, and continues to be, substantially different, reflecting different Chinese perceptions of interests and capabilities. China's policies and practices towards the noncompliant states should not be lumped into one category—noncompliant states.

Outline

In general, the subjects of this study are how China defines its objectives, how it crafts strategies to pursue them and whether it seeks to undermine the United States influence during the negotiations on nuclear nonproliferation. In particular, this study analyzes the patterns of China's behavior on the noncompliant states vis-à-vis the United States. The research proceeds as follows. Chapter 2 delineates the contrast between China's public rhetoric and actions in the international arena, and based on what it has said publicly, a cognitive map is extracted. Chapter 3 develops the propositions that will guide the rest of the study. From Chapter 4 to Chapter 7, I apply the theoretical discussion to explain China's diplomatic strategies, and test main arguments in Chapter 1 and 2, and the eight propositions generated in Chapter 3 about its behavior. Chapter 8 summarizes the findings and suggests how they are relevant to present world.

In Chapter 2 how the UN, including China, officially has dealt with North Korean and Iranian nuclear provocations is summarized. In addition, the Chinese Foreign Ministry press conference text is analyzed to understand how China has reacted officially on the matter. By observing its official reactions, an official cognitive map on North Korean and Iranian issue is created based on what the Chinese Foreign Ministry has

asserted. The main arguments are introduced in detail. In Chapter 3, to test the main arguments existing IR theories I create typologies and propositions to explain China's strategies. Whether China has acted as the IR theories have predicted is the focus. The eight propositions derived from IR theories are then applied to eight cases and leveraged against the empirical records. The study is structured around four empirical chapters. Each of the case studies spans the years from 1990 to 2013—a period in which nuclear development programs of the noncompliant states has given difficult tests in China's foreign relations.

From Chapter 4 to Chapter 7, eight cases of China's reactions on Iran, and North Korean nuclear and missile issues are covered. The focus of these case studies is how balance of China's interests in the noncompliant states and the United States ends up with a selection of a strategy or a type of reaction. How the intensity of interest and the (im)balance of them determine China's type of reaction is the main question I am grappling with. Each chapter comprises of four parts: (1) a historical survey of relationship between China and a noncompliant state against the United States; (2) an analysis on validity of main arguments and a results of propositions testing against historical records; (3) a side-by-side comparison of China's reaction toward North Korea and Iran; and (4) a discussion of China's seven strategies (balancing, bandwagoning, mediating, abetting, straddling, hiding, and delaying).

Chapter 4 (1990-1997) discusses China's balancing behavior against the United States with empirical evidence under the Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin and Li Peng leadership. A series of events heightened tension between China and the United States

include the Clinton administration granting of a visa to the president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui in 1995; the consequent United States and China show of military force in the Taiwan Strait area in 1996; and the revision of defense guidelines agreement between the United States and Japan in 1996-7.

The financial crisis of 1997-9 hit Asia hard, and the United States accidentally bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999. The Hainan Incident in 2001 occurred when an American EP-3 spy plane collided with a Chinese fighter jet. The Bush administration in 2001 had identified China as one of the main threats to the United States (Coker 2015, 100), but terrorist attacks on New York and Washington D.C. in 2001 have changed the diplomatic landscape between the United States and China toward cooperation against terrorism. The Bush administration decided to invade Iraq bypassing the UN in 2003. At the same time, the nuclear issue of North Korea and Iran also emerged as a main global concern. Chapter 5 (1998-2005) focuses on China's mediating and hiding behavior under the Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao. Chapter 6 (2006-2008) is covering three years of climax of nuclear crisis. The UN resolutions against North Korea and Iran have begun to pass. The sanctions designed by the Western alliance and the United States were in place. Sometimes China has aligned with the West in a manner that was conducive to peace and stability. At other times, it has tacitly supported the noncompliant states, thereby, heightening instability in the regions. China's cooperating (bandwagoning) and straddling behavior in between are the foci in this chapter.

Hu Jintao promoted his "harmonious world" in 2008 and Western pundits called for China to be a responsible stake-holder on the world stage. However, China has been

assertive in negotiating long-unresolved outstanding territorial issues in South China Sea, and Diaoyu (Senkaku) Island. The Obama administration attempted to revive U.S. alliance in Asia and to rebalance its naval presence in the Pacific as part of its "pivot" strategy. In this backdrop Chapter 7 (2009-2013) describes recent developments and stalemates around Iran and North Korea by analyzing China's delaying and passive abetting behavior in the transition period of the Hu-Wen government to the Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang leadership. Chinese leaders' hidden cognitive map relating to managing both the United States and the noncompliant states is presented in an effort to find a pattern of China's reaction by looking at the intensity of competing interests in which it has perceived between the disputing two actors. Chapter 8 aggregates the results of tests to confirm or disconfirm main arguments presented in Chapters 2.

Chapter Two: Arguments

Whether there is a coherent Chinese grand strategy or not has been debatable among policy-makers and scholars. On the one hand, pundits argue that China possess a clear grand strategy. Michael Swaine and Ashley Tellis in their path breaking book *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy* boiled down China's international behavior as a "calculative strategy" concerning market-led economic growth and amicable international environment the most; restraining use of force yet upholding territorial integrity; and involving in global regimes to obtain asymmetric benefits opportunistically and instrumentally (2000). Avery Goldstein predicted that China's grand strategy inevitably will challenge the American hegemony (2005). After the end of the Cold War, China arguably is taking a "neo-Bismarckian" grand strategy whereby an ascendant, powerful China reassures its neighbors of its benevolent intentions in order to prevent other states ganging up to head off its surge (Goldstein 2005; Goldstein 2003, 57–71; Stokes 2015).

On the other hand, Wang Jisi suggests that as "economic interests became a major driver of China's behavior on the international scene," the main focus of Chinese foreign policy has shifted towards safeguarding sovereignty, security, and development, but also notes that China does not have a well-defined grand strategy (2011). Wang continues that China will likely to avoid antagonizing the United States, preferring, instead, to operate within the international order and the institutions favored by the Western world, because

Chinese leaders perceive a cooperative partnership with the United States is of primary importance to China (J. Wang 2005).

Edward Luttwak further avers that Chinese leaders neither possess a grand strategy, nor are able to think strategically. He argues that since Chinese leaders have been making foreign policies on the basis of highly simplified, schematic representations of unmanageable complex realities, their policies are mostly based on gamesmanship and opportunism. In short, they are not coherent principles (Luttwak 2012, 14). David Shambaugh also argues that China is suffering from aimless growth. In his analysis, China is a "partial power" that conflated feelings with insecurity, confusion, frustration, anger, dissatisfaction, selfishness, truculence and loneness, rather than a great power with well-designed grand strategies (2013, 252).

My argument is an eclectic one between the two. Chinese leadership has reiterated primary national goals in public as political stability,[19] territorial integrity,[20] and sustainable development (J. Wang 2011). However, China does not have a well thought-out grand strategy, rather Chinese leaders has been muddling through in an ad hoc manner contingent on what other actors (in my study the United States and the noncompliant states) intend to do and has been evading to define its national identity by not being fixed its position.

This instrumental, opportunistic, and reactive style of foreign policy making would be lucrative in a short term, but it is hard to achieve a status as a great power and rule-maker in the long run. If China does not define the key objectives for global good,

[19] That is the stability of the Chinese Communist Party leadership and of the socialist system.

[20] That is unification with Taiwan and maintaining Tibet and Xinjiang as a Chinese province.

and does not identify realistic means of achieving them, and if it reiterated similar and terse "statements or re-statements of desired state of affairs while skipping over … how to get there," the world public will not treat China as a leader, but as an instrumental strategist (Coker 2015, 105). The findings of my study are consistent with Alastair Iain Johnston's discussion of "realpolitik calculus of force and opportunity" (1998, 52) and Shih Chih-yu's discourse of national self-image (1990; 2000, 3).

Deterring nuclear ambition of North Korea and Iran has been a point of contention in U.S.-China relations for more than two decades. China's policies towards the noncompliant states illustrate key aspects of Sino-U.S. interactions as that relationship becomes more central to global stability. To further elaborate on my point on China posture within the context of pulling and pushing between the superpower and the "rogue states," a consistency check is useful to find a major discrepancy between its words and actions. How China has reacted in the United Nations, and what it said through the Chinese Foreign Ministry regarding nuclear provocations from the noncompliant states will offer a basic sense of its stance. A consistency check provides insights into what China will prioritize in U.S.-China relations. Based on what China's response, a cognitive map reflecting how Chinese leaders see the nuclearization aspiration of Iran and North Korea is created to assess the future reactions from China. Let us begin from China's behavior at the international arena.

What China Has Done

The evolution of Chinese policies on the noncompliant states is arguably one of the most significant features in Chinese diplomacy since 1990. It represents a litmus test

of how much China is willing to cooperate with the United States on solving global issues. Between 1990 and 2013, the numbers of official action at the UN Security Council and the General Assembly on Iranian and North Korean nuclear and missile issue are 36 and 26 respectively.[21]

From 1990 to 2013, while the UN Security Council passed ten resolutions on the North Korean nuclear issue,[22] it approved twelve resolutions on Iranian nuclear problem.[23] The UN Security Council issued six presidential statements on North Korean nuclear threats,[24] but none on Iranian issues. It is an empirical question as to whether China has hindered attempts to pass a resolution by downgrading them to presidential statements in the North Korean case, and yet chose not to do the same in Iranian case. I will examine these speculations on North Korean case and reason for inaction on Iranian case in the following chapters. Eleven notes by the president of the Security Council were issued on Iranian imbroglio,[25] whereas only one was issued on North Korean

[21] These official reactions are included UN Security Council Resolutions, the UN Security Council presidential Statements, press statement, notes by the president of the Security Council, and letters from the secretary-general to the UN Security Council. Look at Appendix A for brief chronologies of the UN official actions on Iran and North Korea.

[22] Resolutions on North Korea were ten: S/RES/702 (August 8, 1991), S/RES/825 (May 11, 1993), S/RES/1695 (July 15, 2006), S/RES/1718 (October 14, 2006), S/RES/1874 (June 12, 2009), S/RES/1928 (June 7, 2010), S/RES/1985 (June 10, 2011), S/RES/2050 (June 12, 2012), S/RES/2087 (January 22, 2013), and S/RES/2094 (March 7, 2013).

[23] Resolutions on Iran were twelve: S/RES/651 (March 29, 1990), S/RES/671 (September 27, 1990), S/RES/676 (November 28, 1990), S/RES/685 (January 31, 1991), S/RES/1696 (July 31, 2006), S/RES/1737 (December 23, 2006), S/RES/1747 (March 24, 2007), S/RES/1803 (March 3, 2008), S/RES/1835 (September 27, 2008), S/RES/1929 (June 9, 2010), S/RES/1984 (June 9, 2011), and S/RES/2049 (June 7, 2012).

[24] They were S/PRST/1994/13 (March 23, 1994), S/PRST/1994/28 (May 26, 1994), S/PRST/1994/64 (November 4, 1994), S/PRST/1996/42 (October 15, 1996), S/PRST/2009/7 (April 13, 2009), and S/PRST/2012/13 (April 16, 2012).

provocation.[26] The UN Security Council released seven press statements on Iran,[27] but once on North Korea.[28] The UN Security Council received eight letters from the Secretary-General on North Korean issue,[29] whilst six letters on Iranian issue.[30]

The bottom line of this description is that the nuclear program and intercontinental ballistic missile development in Iran and North Korea has been controversial in the international community. My question is to what extent China has cooperated with the United States and why it has done it. To this end, a simple content analysis will be helpful to see a broad trend what China has stressed publicly and how it has acted upon the noncompliant states' nuclearization aspiration.

What China Has Said

The content analysis on Chinese Foreign Ministry press conferences on Iran and North Korea was conducted to gain better understanding on what China officially has emphasized to both international and domestic audiences. A focus was to see whether China has been ambiguous in its heavy emphasis on broad principles than showing concrete workable plans. China uploaded 142 press conference scripts on North Korean

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[25] They were S/2006/270 (April 28, 2006), S/2006/702 (August 31, 2006), S/2007/100 (February 22, 2007), S/2007/303 (May 23, 2007), S/2008/338 (May 27, 2008), S/2010/595 (November 23, 2010), S/2011/94 (February 25, 2011), S/2011/327 (May 24, 2011), S/2012/114 (February 27, 2012), S/2013/103 (February 21, 2013), and S/2013/307 (May 22, 2013).

[26] It was S/2006/833 (October 20, 2006).

[27] They were SC/8542 (October 28, 2005), SC/8576 (December 9, 2005), SC/8957 (February 15, 2007), SC/8989 (March 29, 2007), SC/9770 (October 20, 2009), SC/9986 (July 16, 2010), and SC/10463 (November 29, 2011).

[28] It was SC/10912 (February 12, 2013).

[29] They were S/1998/940 (October 12, 1998), S/1999/1268 (December 20, 1999), S/2002/211 (February 28, 2002), S/2012/493 (June 27, 2012), S/2012/619 (August 13, 2012), S/2012/693 (September 10, 2012), S/2012/912 (December 7, 2012), and S/2013/108 (February 22, 2013).

[30] They were S/2006/80 (February 7, 2006), S/2006/150 (March 9, 2006), S/2010/465 (September 7, 2010), S/2011/4 (January 7, 2011), S/2011/405 (July 1, 2011), and S/2012/521 (July 6, 2012).

issues from January 2000 to October 2013, and 49 on Iranian issues from January 2002 to October 2013, on the Chinese Foreign Ministry official web site.[31] During these periods, the numbers of character Chinese Foreign Ministry spokespersons have used are 149,432 (on North Korea), and 24,704 (on Iran).[32]

The most frequently used word was "the Six Party Talks (六方会谈)" on the North Korean issue, and "negotiation (谈判)" on the Iranian issue. In the North Korean case China has stressed stability (稳定), dialogue (对话) and denuclearization (无核化). On the Iranian case, it has emphasized the IAEA (国际原子能机构), dialogue (对话), and peaceful resolution (和平解决). It is fair to say that, officially, China appears to have tried to solve nuclear proliferation by the noncompliant states through negotiations with the international regimes.[33]

It also used many "empty word" such as 灵活 (flexible), 复杂 (complicate), 困难 (hardship), 冷静 (cool-headed), 耐心 (patience), 妥善 (properly), and 关切 (concern). The high frequency of such words means that China has not taken a clear position on dealing with the two nuclear-ambitious states per request from the United States. As some scholars have argued, it was true that China has been strategically ambiguous on its

[31] http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/

[32] See Appendix B.

[33] I selected 65 words, and grouped them into eleven categories to count their frequency. The categories are (1) asserting peace and stability, (2) stressing dialogue, diplomacy, and negotiation, (3) underscoring international organization, (4) mediating, (5) disagreeing the West, (6) emphasizing good relationships between China and the noncompliant states, (7) opposing nuclear proliferation, (8) coercion, (9) empty word, (10) insisting consistency, and (11) etc. The word list and its frequency are in the Appendix B.

position and hedging its bet to resolve the global nuclear proliferation issue (Pye 1992, ix; Foot 2006, 91; Wohlforth 1999, 5–15; Best 2012; Medeiros 2005; Ciorciari 2010).[34]

The result shows that in the past ten years China has been emphasizing "stability and diplomacy" to dampen tensions between the United States and the noncompliant states, rather than coercing the noncompliant states to give up their nuclear program. It is obvious that we cannot see China's efforts to offset the United States and strengthen ties with the noncompliant states. It is notable that China has been stressing flexibility, patience, and restraint between the two actors by using hollow terms to avoid claiming a doable concrete plans.

The theme of opposition to nuclear weapon proliferation and insisting peaceful resolution through talks is keep appearing throughout the years. China has been reiterating an importance of maintaining stability in the regions through dialogues and negotiations within the international regime framework rather than using punitive measures against the noncompliant states. By holding a principled attitude China has avoided expressing either opposition or support. It is noteworthy that the second most used word group was so-called "empty words" stressing flexibility of the other parties rather than suggesting substantial ideas. Following the result of this content analysis I argue that China has been vague on future action plan to solve nuclear crises using circumlocution and oblique comments in the press conference.[35]

The important take-away from the content analysis would be that it is true China has put high premium on peace and stability in North Korea and in Iran, and that China

[34] See Appendix B.

[35] See Appendix B.

employed periphrases in press conferences to confuse China watchers and domestic audiences. This complicates the negotiation process whether it supports sanctions against the noncompliant states or not. The Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice during the George W. Bush administration also said that "the Chinese exhibited a studied passivity that was detached in an almost Socratic way: they commented on issues but rarely worked to resolve them." She grew tired of hearing their standard refrain—China will always act in the interest of peace and prosperity—that one day she finally stopped Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing in mid-sentence. "No, you won't. You will act in your own interest" (Rice 2011, 517).

It is not surprising that China often has an incentive to adopt an unclear position, because Chinese leaders found it advantageous to be equivocal in many complicated foreign affairs including nuclear issues of the noncompliant states. By shunning from taking clear stands, China avoids offending both actors who stand on contrary position. Furthermore, opacity maximizes its capability to muddle through complex situations between the conflicting parties. It has maintained oblique positions on sanctioning against the noncompliant states in order to avoid alienating either party from its influence. However, the flip side of this strategy is that China is likely to be perceived negatively by both sides because of this opportunistic uncertain position.

If, as we have seen, China has preferred to maintain peace and stability in East Asia and Middle East, the following question should be: How do concepts like nuclearization and proliferation of the noncompliant states, severe sanctions on them, regional stability and peace, and role of international regime play out each other in

Chinese strategic thinking? To capture the causal assertions of Chinese Foreign Ministry with respect to policy on the noncompliant states, I used the cognitive mapping method. It shows how Chinese leaders perceive the conflicts between the United States and the noncompliant states succinctly and how they ought to react accordingly (Axelrod 1976).

What China Has Prioritized

Cognitive mapping is based on what China has asserted rather than what it really has intended to do. Because my study is a comparison of preferences and consequences, we need to know what it asserts publicly to better understand its intentions. The map shows how China "explains the past, chooses options in the present, and decides policies in the future" (Axelrod 1976, 10). I assume that China's behavior is directed toward or away from specific goals (i.e. regional stability and peace). Chinese leaders are not random but attempt to reach goals. The shortest or easiest path to the goal will be the one taken. Chinese leaders have a need to control the environment in which China interacts with other actors. In order to gain control, they must first gather information and determine what is causing particular changes to occur. They develop a cognitive map of their environment. Their purpose of behavior is to obtain a quiescent state and to avoid instability (Tolman 1932).

Uncovering causal linkages in the Chinese Foreign Ministry arguments and clarifying its strategic preferences are my aims for draw a map. Assuming that Chinese leaders must simplify the manifest complexities of the issues relating to the noncompliant states and the United States, they must construct a manageable representation of the issues so that they can describe and cope with its complex environment. For the time

being, I assume that verbal expressions are valid indicators of China's beliefs and motivations, although they are not. I will return to verify validity of official statements in the Chapter 7. My presupposition is that China's official statements have had a strong impact on decision outputs since its rhetoric represents both its experiences, and its expectations about the environment and issues.

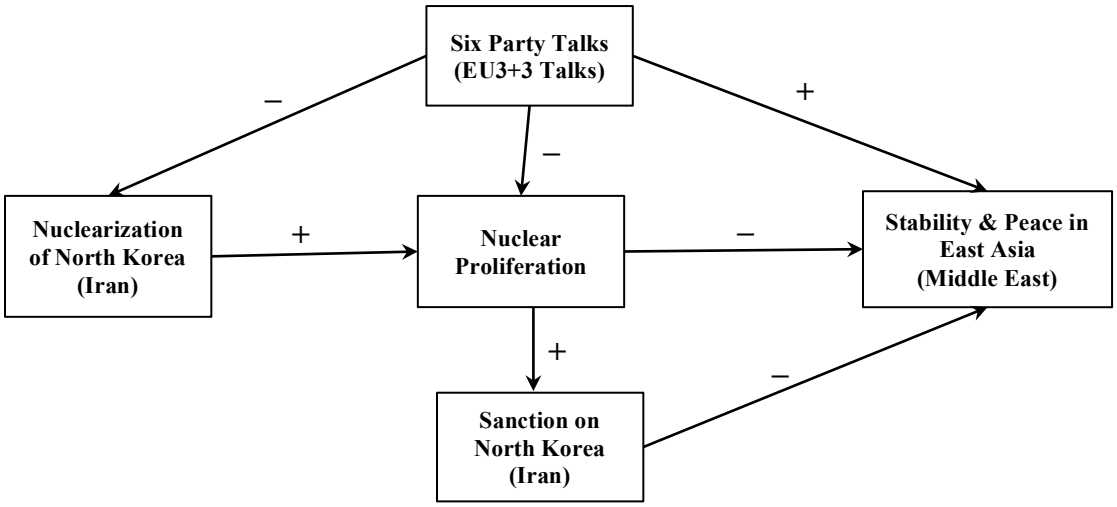
The Chinese Foreign Ministry press conference scripts from 2000 to 2013 about North Korea and Iran are inspected to discriminate core cause-effect statements.[36] The most relevant concept variables distilled in the press conference text were five: (1) the Six Party Talks (the EU3+3 talks),[37] (2) nuclearization of the noncompliant states, (3) nuclear proliferation, (4) stability and peace in East Asia (Middle East), and (5) sanction on the noncompliant states. By analyzing the Chinese Foreign Ministry press conference script an officially addressed cognitive map is extracted as the figure-3.

On North Korean nuclear issues, China has officially announced numerous times that the Six Party Talks would ease tensions and help to find a way to resolve conflicts between the United States and North Korea, although direct dialogues between them are the most efficient way to settle the issues. China said it supports denuclearization in the Korean peninsula, and that it endorses the idea to stabilize East Asia through the Six Parties Talks. In this endeavor, nuclear-armed North Korea would cause tougher sanctions and, in turn, would not promote stability and peace in East Asia.

[36] http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/

[37] The Six Party Talks is consisted of the United States, China, Russia, Japan, South Korea, and North Korea. The members of the EU3+3 Talks are Britain, France, Germany, Russia, the United States, and China.

Figure 3 China's Official Cognitive Map on the Noncompliant states



+ means promote, help, benefit, or support. − means hurt, prevent, harm, or oppose.

Similarly, on nuclear stalemates between the United States and Iran, China publicly insisted that the EU3+3 talk, rather than the UN Security Council, is an appropriate consulting regime to deal with problems. Mostly, China does not want to meddle in Iranian issue, but it has halfheartedly agreed with the view in which a nuclearized Iran would cause instability in Middle East. However, it maintains that severe sanctions on Iran would destabilize the region. That is how China officially expressed its views on the nuclear standoffs between the United States and North Korea or Iran.

However, China has a peculiar operational code of conduct in which it has stressed "firmness in principle and flexibility in application"(S. S. Kim 1998, 42–89). Although China has expressed these ideas officially, it does not necessarily mean it would act upon them. An empirical question is whether it actually acts consistently with its public assertions. Since official statements are often purposefully made to mislead, or

to create a certain image or impression, the Chinese Foreign Ministry statements do not necessarily reflect Chinese leaders' fundamental understanding of events. I will come back for verification of the official cognitive map in the Chapter 7.

Given the possibility of deception and misrepresentation of the official statement, the first task is to match its actions and rhetoric through the process tracing of historical records (George and Bennett 2005). Before we look at the historical evidences, I put forth my arguments first.

Arguments

The main argument is that China's behavior towards both the noncompliant states and the United States is mostly based on instrumental and materialistic calculation. Unless other states offer an incentive China has not been motivated to support either side and mostly goes for straddling, delaying, and hiding by steering a middle path until one side reveals an extreme value. China does not always seek to cultivate cooperation with one side either because it does not wish to commit the precious resources for the both sides or because providing an all-out support to either side would complicate China with the other actor.

My premise is that China generally prefers alignments it expects will deliver the greatest rewards at the least possible risk under conditions of strategic uncertainty. Partial support or straddling is usually the optimal strategy. Hiding makes China irresponsible in the eyes of the world, and as such, may taint its reputation as a stakeholder, whereas close alignment with either side (balancing or bandwagoning) often renders it too susceptible to arbitrary overbearingness of the United States or to provocative intransience of the

noncompliant states. Limited support offered to either side in between (straddling) is an appealing, feasible option, delivering adequate benefits at an acceptable price.

Weighing Interests

Chinese leaders have been formulating foreign policy deliberately, while attempting to reduce the likelihood of unintended consequences. They continue to balance their policies on the nuclear non-proliferation against its economic and strategic interests in maintaining cooperation with Iran and North Korea. I argue that China's strategy between the United States and the noncompliant states is determined by balance of the two variables: (1) the extent and degree of expectancy to gain immediate rewards by cooperating with one side; and (2) the size of China's interest at stake if it does not deter nuclear provocations from the noncompliant states.

First, the concept of expectancy assumes that behavior is a function of China's estimation of obtaining specific goals (regional peace and stability for economic growth in this study). Expectancies of reaching certain valued goals serve as a motivating force behind China's behavior. Its behaviors result from the combination of its needs and value of goals. The probability of China's reaction depends not only upon the value of a goal but also upon its expectancy of obtaining a goal. Thus even a highly valued goal may not generate much behavior if the expectancy of successfully reaching a goal is very small.

For China, the goal of denuclearization of North Korea became less important and less achievable than what the United States has demanded since 2006. In other words, the hope of getting North Korea to renounce its nuclear program has been low and it is not a terribly bad idea to coexist with the nuclear-armed neighbor as long as it does not ruin

China's immediate goal of growth. Chinese leaders also need to satisfy its energy demands to fuel its continuous growth. A nuclear-armed Iran might not be a serious threat to China in a short term, but if it cannot secure oil supply and meet domestic energy demands, the legitimacy of the current and future Chinese Communist Party leadership will be challenged. Since a nuclear-free Iran might not be bad for China's furtherance of its business interests, a safe option for Chinese leaders is straddling between the United States and Iran adroitly.

For the United States leaders denuclearization of the noncompliant states and non-proliferation is the most important goal, whereas for Chinese leaders they are important, but not vital. China endorses the idea that the noncompliant states should be stable in order for China to maintain its economic growth performance, but the United States does not see much relationship between deterring nuclear ambition of the noncompliant states and China's economic development. Chinese leaders are mostly concerned that sanctioning the noncompliant states would have negative impact on its continuous economic development. In short, China cares more about its stability than the denuclearization of noncompliant states.

Given difference of priority and urgency, China has attempted to maximize benefits from both sides. It is better for China to keep crises of the noncompliant states to a manageable level to enhance its maneuverability against both the United States and the noncompliant states. We cannot know China's ulterior motives, but it is clear that China has attempted to stay in the game between the United States and the non-compliant states without playing a critical role. Perhaps, Chinese leaders might not be very confident to

make judgments since it is simply too difficult and complicated. Instead, they strive to avoid the extreme options, and in so doing, they attempted to maintain a balance between interests at stake relating to the two conflicting parties.

Second, the reaction of China is the result of all the interests acting upon Chinese leaders' calculation. China's decisions on foreign affair are an outcome of balance of competing interests. When tension exists between the interests, Chinese leaders become motivated to reduce it and strike an optimal balance among the interests (Lewin 1938). Chinese decision-makers' main concern is how much interest they will possibly sacrifice if they do not take proactive measures on nuclear crises.

By pursuing nuclear nonproliferation norms, the United States is willing to punish derailed behavior of the pariah regimes, but Chinese leaders know that both overly tough sanctions and loose measures towards the outlier states equally would harm China's interests. Neither the aggressive pursuit of denuclearization by ironclad sanctions, nor giving free hands for the noncompliant states to spread their nuclear weapons helps to promote China's interests. Instead, by pursuing the intermediate value in nuclear non-proliferation, and finding an optimal balance by straddling between the two, China will most likely optimize its interests.

Chinese leaders perceive a curvilinear downward relationship[38] between pursuing nuclear non-proliferation norm by sanctioning the noncompliant states and promoting China's utility and its strategic value to either side. For Chinese foreign policy makers, managing relationships between the two is like flying a kite. At least some winds are

[38] A curvilinear downward relationship means that intermediate values of x result in high values of y, and extreme values of x (either high or low) result in low values of y.

necessary to launch the kite on the air and medium winds will serve to keep it in the air, but China does not want to see a gust of wind bowls it over. Sustaining a delicate balance between the two conflicting actors is what Chinese leaders have been pursuing by keeping the nuclear issue alive and showing its value to manage them.

Before and After 2006

By looking at the result of content analysis and cognitive mapping of Chinese Foreign Ministry press conferences I presupposed that China had been strategically ambiguous dealing with nuclear issues of the noncompliant states. However, by matching historical records and propositions I found that there are some variations. China's behavior largely based on balancing against the United States before 2006, but since 2006 it has shifted to a mixture of strategies, in which combine supporting the U.S. sanction efforts (bandwagoning) and being ambiguous (straddling, hiding, and delaying).

Before 2006, China's position on the nuclear crises between the United States and the noncompliant states had been relatively clear. It openly opposed taking punitive measures on the noncompliant states. There were misalignments between China's rhetoric and action, however. Its rhetoric has been halfheartedly supportive to the United States initiative to restrain the noncompliant states, but its action has been balancing against the United States. It is because there are generic differences between the United States and China how to prioritize their goals. When there are significant differences between the United States and China in their priorities, [39] China, silently but clearly, balanced against the United States. China threatened to veto if North Korean issue is

[39] See Chapter 7 for difference in priorities between the United States and China.

brought to UN Security Council in April 1993 and publicly supported Iran against the IAEA in November 2004.

However, since 2006 China changed to being supportive of the United States sanction initiatives, when it found that it could obtain material rewards as was the case of the nuclear disinvestment with Iran in 1997, and when it could reduce its economic damage by obtaining sanction exemptions from the United States as was the case of the Nuclear Security Summit in 2010, or when it can enhance its reputation as a peace broker as was the case of being a host of the Six Party Talks to deal with North Korean issue since 2003.

Besides these incentives, China made reluctant shifts for cooperation with the United States because (1) Chinese leaders might not have well-defined goals and a consistent policy toward both the noncompliant states and the United States, but it has been forced to decide something by the situations that have been unfolded by other actors; (2) because it became cognizant that cooperating with the United States would cost China little as an instrumental rationalist, and recognized the importance of being part of nonproliferation trend by agreeing upon the norm as a value rationalist. However, my findings show that China has been more preoccupied by instrumental calculation than cooperating with the "global" norms set by Western countries. It has been reacting on the requests from the United States rather than proactively make or change the rules of game.

Reacting, not Planning

China has had no well-defined, enduring, or consistent beliefs on how to deal with the noncompliant states issues, but was forced to make its decision by the pressure of

external events such as North Korean WMD tests, Iranian announcements of pursuing nuclear development programs, and the sanction initiatives by the United States and the international community. However, by being one beat behind intentionally, China developed its policies on nuclear threats and reinforced those ad hoc policies. Even though there are clear foreign policy goals such as stability in the region and building national comprehensive power, it has been hard for Chinese leaders to pursue a coherent policy to achieve these ends. They can be achieved by being reactive to other's actions, rather than proactively initiating a policy. It is also possible that China's lack of accurate understanding situations in North Korea and Iran and uncontrollability of the situation have led Chinese leaders to rationalize their foreign policies by hiding, delaying, and straddling rather than being clear what they are intending to do (J. Snyder 1993, 277; Pollack 2011, 202).

By responding tepidly first to the situations Chinese leaders are able to narrow down its options and then once they decide to pursue a policy they tend to support the policy. Even though they do not formulate their policies off the top of the head, but I found that it is hard to say that China has pursued concrete and consistent policies on the noncompliant states issues (Larson 1989, 42). China devises and implements policies a sequence of hiding, delaying, straddling, and doing.

China acts ad hoc manner first and afterward constructs a policy to explain and justify it. The policy it had pursued helps it explains to itself and to others why it acted as it did. They are ex post facto justifications and rationalization for the policy that had been implemented rather than a priori beliefs (J. Snyder 1993, 277). China is an outside

observer of its own behavior; that is, it analyzes its own behavior in the same fashion as it would analyze other states' behavior (Bem 1973). Based on a calculation how much interests its can ensure, China observes its own behavior much as other countries might do, then makes judgments according these observations.

Perhaps Chinese leaders cannot be calculative or rational all the way, because they have limits to respond to their environment appropriately through a means-ends calculus and because many events are unfolded the way in which they had not thought through. Chinese leaders may not want to waste their time to think about how China will behave on eventualities, because the possible outcomes they have discussed certainly will be distorted by unpredictable details of the context. Even when an event is very likely and important, Chinese leaders may not want to preplan how they will react, because the prediction is politically or intellectually too difficult. As Robert Jervis pointed out "no one ever knows what they intend to do because they never know themselves" (1976, 54). I found that China has been maintaining stability better by being reactive.

China wants to stabilize the regions to keep giving impetus for its growth. Economic development, in turn, will give legitimacy for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to govern its country. To this end, it flexibly improvises its policies depending on how its balance of interest between the United States and the noncompliant states is shifting. China largely has "responded" to each action of other states (in this study, the United States and the noncompliant states), but rarely initiated a solution for the issues (one exception was the three-step proposal to resume the Six Party Talks in 2010). China

is known for not what it stands for, but what it stands against (often that is what the United States is for).

The study found it has been reactive on the nuclear issues of the noncompliant states last twenty-four years. It is often ex post justifications, ad hoc improvisations, and post hoc rationalizations of its previous behavior, not pursuit of pre-existing goals. When the material rewards it can reap by taking clear position are uncertain, China's attitude has been resilient and opportunistic to both the United States and the noncompliant states. It is better not to staunchly defend either of them. For China, being flexible to ever-changing environment and whims of other states is beneficial to cope with uncertainties.

Just as how an octopus behaves facing a danger, when China is forced to react to a certain event, it flees not to take risk of siding with one over another. And then, it hides between rocks camouflaging itself or ejects ink to confuse others where it is. China has been adept in adapting itself to change of the environment and taking advantage of the situation by straddling. It usually does not inflate itself to boast its power or to threat opponents as puffer fish do. It is more like an octopus hiding its flexible body beneath coral reefs and watching how the circumstance unfolds. It is waiting for a right moment to extract benefits out of the situation as Otto von Bismarck did before the World War I (Goldstein 2005; Goldstein 2007; Tolman 1932).

North Korea and Iran are Different

Another finding of the study is the importance of distinguishing between China's policies towards North Korea and Iran, because its cooperation with the United States initiatives has evolved differently. While leaving Iranian nuclear development aside,

China tries to resolve North Korean challenge more actively because it is physically close to the danger. According to the Obama administration's Nuclear Posture Review, because North Korea possesses nuclear weapons and Iran has not been in compliance with its nonproliferation obligations, they can be subject of the United States nuclear retaliation (DoD 2010). However, they are different. As Seyed Hossein Mousavian has argued, North Korea had withdrawn from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and tested nuclear weapons, whereas Iran was committed to the NPT and has not possessed nuclear weapons. And " the structure of power within Iran was completely different from North Korea's system" (2012, 367–7).[40]

Chinese views, willingness, and capacity to address nuclear challenges differ between North Korea and Iran. It is because of proximity and economic interests. Neither China could choose its trouble-making neighbor, North Korea, nor could it diversify its energy demands other than the Middle East easily. Understanding those differences in meeting threats and opportunities from the noncompliant states are essential to grasp the patterns of Chinese international behavior. For the better assessment and explanation, China's noncompliant states policies should not be aggregated into one category of "rogue states."

[40] Mohamed El Baradei, former Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from 1997 to 2009, also has differentiated the two noncompliant states. He pointed out Iran has been treated unfairly comparing to North Korea by saying that "North Korea had walked out of the NPT and made explicit threats about developing nuclear weapons (and would in fact test its first weapons less than three months later, in October 2006), yet the Americans were ready to join them in a direct dialogue, and Chris Hill [assistant U.S. secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs] seemed to be in Pyongyang every other day. By contrast, Iran, which remained under safeguards and party to the NPT, was penalized for possibly having future intentions to develop nuclear weapons, and the Americans refused to talk to them without preconditions" (2011, 203).

Testing and elaborating these arguments are in order. First, definitions of China's behavioral type are in the next chapter. Second, eight propositions are laid out to test the two hypotheses: (1) China seldom helps the United States without some possible economic or political payoffs; (2) Without material incentives from the United States, China has been straddling mostly on issue of the noncompliant states. Third, this study will follow them up with empirical studies on Iran and North Korea.

Chapter Three: Hypotheses

In this chapter a road map for testing propositions is presented by matching International Relation (IR) theories and China's actions relating to North Korean and Iranian nuclear issues. Thought experiments meant to contrast empirical cases with "imaginary ideal types representing a theoretically pure instance" are conducted to test hypotheses in figure-2 (Ragin 1989, 39). The goal of this counterfactual analysis is to identify differences between the China case and ideal-typic case to explain specific features of China's strategic postures.

A central counterfactual thought experiment is what IR theories leads me to predict China's reactions in the conflicts between the United States and the noncompliant states. The assumptions of each IR theory are elucidated, and later, seven behavior typologies as a third party between two conflicting actors are derived from the assumptions of the IR theories. And then, I examine the historical records to see whether, and in what ways, the logic of IR theories has been borne out in practice. The results of this contrast of theory and history will be a set of judgments about the empirical validity and usefulness of the theories.

Two of my major hypotheses were presented in the previous chapters: (1) China will not cooperate with the United States unless the United States promises potential rewards; (2) Without promises of tangible rewards from the United States, China has

been Delphic in its reactions towards the United States and the noncompliant states as long as it cannot perceive great threats on it. To test these hypotheses, I put forward different strands of Realism (classical realism, structural realism, offensive realism, and defensive realism),[41] Liberalism, English School, and Constructivism to predict China's behavior. Overall realism, which suggests that foreign policy is driven by national self-interest, has been the most useful theoretical paradigm to explain China's behavior in my research (Nathan and Scobell 2012, XV).

Discussing China's strategic behavior in terms of seven different types of reaction (balancing, bandwagoning, hiding, delaying, straddling, mediating, and abetting), enable us to see how far these behavioral types can explain China's behavior in eight case studies on North Korea and Iran. The historical examples will serve to bring to the fore a range of variation in China's behavior. No individual theoretical paradigm can fully explain China's behavior, but since each approach elucidates distinctive aspects of the changes in Chinese policies, theories are selectively used to examine China's reaction on the important global issue—nuclear proliferation of noncompliant states.

These various IR theories contribute far more to explaining the evolution in Chinese behavior collectively than they do separately (Fravel 2008). However, since existing IR theories do not explain straddling and delaying behavior, the study attempts to fill this gap by specifying the conditions under which China has acted (strategic clarity) or stayed on the sideline (strategic ambiguity). The following sections are divided

[41] They might not be entirely different, but I highlight some distinctive characteristics of each branch while deemphasizing overlapping tenets.

summaries of seven IR theories; eight propositions that stem from each theory; and hypothetical seven roles of China in crises.

Behavioral Typology of the Third Party

When a third party is forced to side with either party between the two antagonistic parties, it will have four options. First, it may join with one party completely against the other. Second, it may defer its decision on which party to side with. Third, it may take a middle ground as a pivot. Fourth, it may play the two parties off against each other to maximize its own self-interests from the existing conflict.

Following the above different courses of action, seven options, which China can possibly undertake between the two conflicting parties, can be deduced. First, as Structural Realists have predicted, China can balance against the United States aligning with the noncompliant states (*balancing*). Second, China can deter threats from the noncompliant states by cooperating with the United States (*bandwagoning*). Third, China can conceal its intent, and let the United States take the initiative (*hiding*). Fourth, China can deliberately procrastinate on its policy decisions by holding the ring and binding the United States to the multinational regimes (*delaying*).

Fifth, China can be an impartial mediator between the disputants to help reach an agreement (*mediating*). Sixth, China can be a go-between forging ambiguity to keep its own options open. It can let other parties know that China will intervene at any moment, but it vacillates between them by hedging its bet and defensively avoids showing its clear position (*straddling*). Seventh, China can instigate conflicts between the two to further its interests, and enhance its bargaining position vis-à-vis the other party (*abetting*). These

are the options that China may have in the crises between the two, and can be divided into two big categories—strategic clarity and strategic ambiguity. Balancing, bandwagoning, mediating, and abetting are in the clarity category, whereas hiding, delaying, and straddling fall under ambiguity.

I lay out definitions for seven different strategies and eight propositions that are deduced from each IR theory to test my hypotheses in the following pages. In the subsequent four chapters, those concepts and propositions will be tested against North Korean and Iranian cases. The case studies enable us to test my arguments to determine whether China has behaved in accordance to the aforementioned strategies. Lastly, historical analysis on the Sino-North Korean and Sino-Iranian relationship will help to compare China's reactions towards the two states. Doing so will help to single out the critical factors in Chinese foreign decision-making. Let us begin with realism theories.

Classical Realism

Classical realists think that everyone is born with an innate will to power.[42] The national interest is defined in terms of strategic and economic capability because international politics is seen primarily as a struggle for power between states. Hans Morgenthau assumed that all great powers inevitably pursue overexpansion and strive for domination because of their insatiably hardwired will to power in the self-help system (1948). The desire for power is the principal driving force behind state behavior. Craving for power and competitive international structure drive states to accumulate more power than others. Since "the strong do what they have power to do and the weak accept what

[42] Mearsheimer labeled Hans Morgenthau, Friedrich Meinecke, and Reinhold Niebuhr as "human nature" realists (2001, 18–22), but I use the term Classical Realism to refer these scholars (Schweller 2013, 25–46).

they have to accept," only wise leadership could mitigate detrimental effects of anarchy (Thucydides 1972; Machiavelli 1994). "A prudent ruler cannot keep his word, nor should he, where such fidelity would damage him, and when the reasons that made him promise are no longer relevant" (Machiavelli 1988, 61–2).

In an anarchical world, national leaders should pursue their national interests in ways that are compatible with the dominant international order that requires adroit statecraft and diplomatic skills. Classical Realists describe true interests of states as a continuous striving for greater power and expansion. As Richard Ned Lebow argues, "States will act to expand their capabilities as long as the resources or opportunities to do so exist" (2010, 52). For Classical Realists, the goal of diplomacy is to evaluate correctly the interplay of forces and interests and to create a constellation favorable to expansion. The main concern is the art of statecraft to further one's national interests and goals.

Since the drive for power and the will to dominate are fundamental aspects of human nature, China will impose its ideology and project its power to the world explicitly or implicitly. It is prone to challenge to the hegemon (the United States) and may possibly align with the dissatisfied powers (North Korea and Iran) to make its expanding urge easy to accomplish. To survive in this competitive world, China should be strong in all aspects including economy, military, politics, and culture (Yan 2002; Yan 2012). This requires that Chinese leaders possess diplomatic finesse. Its strategies and tactics must be subtle not to offend other states while benefiting itself.

Thus, according to Classical Realism, China's main goals are power and status. Chinese leaders are pursuing to preserve and expand its self-interests in making foreign

policies (Deng 2008; Deng and Wang 2004; Steinberg and O'Hanlon 2014). However, China has not expanded its influence and power as its appetite dictates. Hence, Classical Realism cannot explain why China sometimes cooperates with the United States to constrain Iran and North Korea. China has not aimed to conquer neighborhood countries nor does challenge the United States assertively in post-Cold War era (Kang 2007). Rather, it has been shrewd in avoiding physical conflicts with the United States. Self-interested China mostly walked on the fine line between the United States and the noncompliant states but it has been difficult to maintain the equilibrium of mutual frustration of both actors. Nonetheless, Chinese leaders found that it is advantageous to sit on the fence by being a "go-between." I call this a straddling strategy.

Straddling

Straddling is an amalgam of various strategies: being opportunistic to pursue its self-interests, being ambiguous on its own intention to generate leverage against others, and being flexible and contingent to preserve its options as many as possible. If a state pursues this strategy, it makes inconsistent compromises, because it plays more than two contradictory games. It goes after multiple goals—in the case of China, economic growth, domestic political stability, international peaceful environment, and respectable status—between the United States and the noncompliant states. China advances one value (denuclearization) in one context and another value (fairness in obtaining nuclear technology) in a different situation.

By adopting straddling strategy, China pursues multiple contradictory policies that can be characterized as schizophrenic. It pursues its interests, and ensures its security,

while avoiding overly antagonistic relationships with either the United States or the noncompliant states. In this sense, it is similar to Brock Tessman's term "hedging" as "simultaneously less confrontational than traditional balancing, less cooperative than bandwagoning, and more proactive than buck-passing" (2012, 193).[43] Uncertainty is another reason for straddling and keeping options open. In a fluid international environment, the pros and cons of siding with one actor are not certain. China's straddling is not only a way to optimize risks and rewards, but also it is a convenient default strategy, when Chinese leaders cannot decide on the more risky alternatives of balancing or bandwagoning.

China is willing to act interdependently with either party but do so while committing only a moderate amount of its own resources. It is sensitive to others' needs and concerns but will not choose to work fully with either of them. By engaging behind the scenes struggle for power, China can divide and control both belligerent actors, because it is able to act as a pivot between them holding the balance. When employing straddling strategy, Chinese leaders have five considerations in their minds: pivoting, ambiguity, flexibility, seizing opportunities, and "alliance dilemma" (G. H. Snyder 2007).

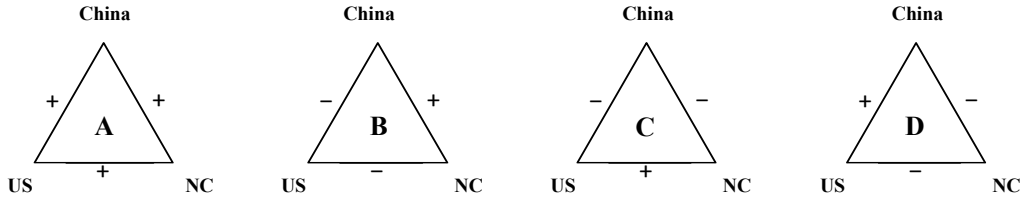
First, if there is no immediate need for a decision, China does not need to side with one of the parties fully. It is beneficial to straddle between the United States and the noncompliant states having courtship from both sides. Being a pivot in a "romantic triangle relationship" is the best position, since two "wings" who are in conflict with each

[43] Agreeing with Evelyn Goh's definition of "hedging," my label of straddling is a set of contingency-planning strategies in a situation in which China cannot decide upon more straightforward alternatives such as balancing, bandwagoning, or neutrality and instead cultivate a foreign policy that avoids choosing one side at the expense of another (Goh 2007). Patricia Weitsman also noticed a state behavior to "hedge their bets by forging low-commitment-level agreements" (2003a, 82).

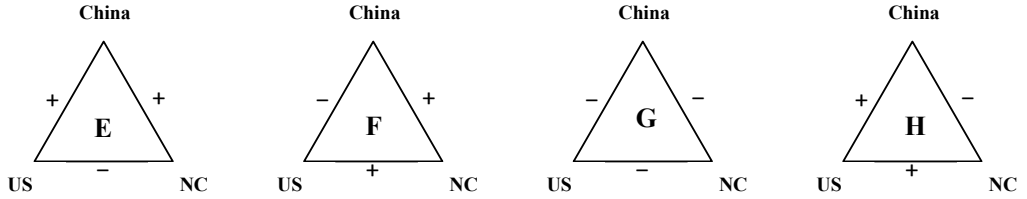
other try to win a pivot's heart and mind because of the enmity between them (Dittmer 1981; Dittmer 1993).[44] If we characterize the relationship as either good (+) or bad (−), the relationship between the United States (US), the noncompliant states (NC), and China will unfold in eight possible cases in trilateral relations (figure-4).

Figure 4 China in Strategic Triangle

Balanced Triads



Unbalanced Triads



Since the United States and the noncompliant states have treated each other as enemies in my study, and three actors have not been hostile towards each other at the same time, I could eliminate five hypothetical relations (A, C, F, G, and H). Excluding them, China can be situated in the three practically possible cases: B, D, and E. In the B

[44] A strategic triangle (ST) is one that the relation between any two players interacts with the other two relations in the triangle. In the Lowell Dittmer's classical typology, there are four STs: ménage à trois (three amities), marriage (two enmities and one amity), romantic triangle (two amities and one enmity), and unit veto (three enmities). In ménage à trois, all three players are "friends." In marriage, two "partners" act against an "outcast." In a romantic triangle, two "wings" court a "pivot." In unit veto, the players are all "foes" to one other. With the four ideal types of ST (ménage à trois, marriage, romantic triangle, and unit veto), and six roles (friend, partner, pariah, wings, pivot, and foe), one can set about analyzing any triangle situation, using the ST types and roles to describe objectively the structure of the tripartite game.

case, China can strengthen its relationship with the noncompliant states against the United States (balancing). In the D case, China can cooperate with the United States to press the noncompliant states (bandwagoning). In the E case, China can maintain the balance between the two parties walking on the tightrope (straddling).

In the Lowell Dittmer's strategic triangle theory, the hierarchy of best position for China in the triangular relationship should be a pivot in romantic triangle (E) > a wing in ménage à trois (A) > a partner in marriage (B or D) > a wing in romantic triangle (F or H) > a wing in unit veto (G) > a pariah in marriage (C). In my study, since A, C, F, G, and H are impossible combinations, it is rational for China to occupy a pivot position (E) or to be a partner of either party in any constellation (B or D). China, as a pivot, seeks to retain options for restraining the noncompliant states and, at the same time, attempts to restrict options for the United States, and vice versa.

Second, the best behavioral code for China between the two might be being ambiguous toward both disputants showing wish-washness. China's partial transparent attitude keeps both two states guessing what China's next move will be. Giving the impression of unpredictability of its own action, and by retaining elements of ambiguity in its rhetoric, China wishes to leverage both parties (Benson 2012). Since China hopes to keep its options open, it refuses to choose a side ex ante. By doing so China also can manipulate the belief of the two and instill different beliefs to them. As a midstream maneuver, it endeavors to maintain status quo by grabbing both horns and sending conflicting messages to the United States and the noncompliant states. It is always willing to negotiate, but its behavior is reactive rather than proactive. Its main goal is preventing

the United States and the noncompliant states from getting caught into the spiral of hostility. It tries to preserve a maximum range of options at minimum cost by forging uncertainty and flexibility.

Third, flexibility is the key in straddling strategy. As the result of content analysis in the Chapter 2 shows, China has been using rote calls for commenting on crises of North Korea and Iran to preserve its resilience. As Alastair Iain Johnston has argued China's primary strategic preference is "absolute flexibility" (随权应变 *suiquanyingbian*) (1998, 102). In referring to the Chinese absolute flexibility, he found that

> "given that constant change is the key characteristic of conflict situations, a strategist must be prepared to adapt to dangers and opportunities as they suddenly appear. The strategist cannot be restricted, constrained by, or wedded to self-imposed a priori political, military, or moral limits on strategic choices. Since the nature of conflict requires an ability to transcend fixed responses to particular contingencies" (Johnston 1998, 102).

The flexible China between the two states does not exclude any strategic options available to it because its strategic-preference ranking is always contingent and conditional upon changing environment. It constantly examines the nature of the conflicts between the two, and relentlessly exploits opportunities generated by the very disputes adopting the most efficacious strategies. China is an opportunistic actor.

Fourth, China remains attuned to what is going on between the other two actors and subtly changes tactics to meet the situation. It takes its cues from continuous monitoring of interplay between the states. China has its finger on many different pies to stay on top of what is happening between the two states. By keeping contacts open it is able to allocate or commit its limited political resources efficiently. Its greatest concern is not the substance of the problem but the positions in which the noncompliant states and

the United States is taking and in what degree. Because China perceives that crises precipitated by the two states sometimes pose opportunities disguised as dangers, it is guided by what it perceives to be the demands and opportunities of the moment. The policies that Chinese leaders espouse are determined by what seems appropriate to the politics between the two conflict parties at the time. If the situation demands a change its position, it is not hesitant to change its erstwhile position (Walker 1987, 275).

Fifth, by being supportive but not excessively so, China keeps both sides in its orbit, but it must manage so-called "alliance dilemma" in which hardship to restrain its allies and deter its adversaries at the same time because of moral hazard problems (G. H. Snyder 2007; Benson 2012). China is ambivalent about goals of both the noncompliant states and the United States. On one hand, it should support its protégés' goals of obtaining or expanding nuclear capabilities to supposedly defend its sovereignty against the aggressive superpower, and for peaceful and civilian purposes, in part, to maintain their good relationships, or retain their loyalty, and in part out of genuine sympathy with their stated goals.

On the other hand, China should cooperate with the United States' goal of complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization of Iran, and North Korea, to prevent reckless provocations of the pariah states. However, China has been reluctant actually to commit its resources to their goals, mainly because it does not want to get involved in a meaningless war between them, and partly because neither strong and independent protégés, nor reinforced United States by China's support will be easy to control (G. H. Snyder 2007).

Given the uncertainty and potential uncontrollability, straddling and hedging across the options between the two parties is the best option to consolidate its bargaining power against either side. Since China may not know which side would benefit it the most, and since it may not want to align with one state over another, it muddles through murky strategic landscape by forging a conciliatory environment with both sides equally (Weitsman 2003b; Kuik 2008). However, since straddling will be interpreted multiple ways, China's ambiguity poses problems as well. Resisting firm commitments for one side often suggests a lack of trust or even practice of duplicity. The danger of pursuing flexible and limited support is that neither the United States nor the noncompliant states would support China in its time of need, because it may be perceived as duplicitous.

In sum, mostly straddling is aiming to draw both states into the China's sphere of interest at a low cost. This strategy could serve to keep the noncompliant states on China's side, while simultaneously heading off challenges from the United States. China would curry favor with the United States by voting for the UN Security Council resolutions and at the same time ingratiate itself with North Korea and Iran by shielding international criticism on their nuclear programs (Crawford 2003).

Opportunistic cooperation with either actor as the circumstance dictates is a typical straddling strategy. China's equivocal attitude might protect its losses, but its uncommitted attitude gives impression that it is not really serious about resolving the crises. Since there is a trade-off between coercive potency with commitment and preserving options with ambiguity, China, as an opportunistic pivot, straddles between the United States and the noncompliant states by being elusive on both fronts (G. H.

Snyder 2007; G. H. Snyder 1984). The first proposition I derived from the Classical Realism is as follows:

Proposition-1: Constant pressure from the United States to cooperate in its efforts to deter nuclear threats from Iran and North Korea would cause China to straddle because it wants to hold on to the two actors in its sphere of interest at a low cost, and at the same time, keep them at bay (*straddling*).

Structural Realism

According to Kenneth Waltz, the distribution of capability in the international system is the key explanatory variable to understand important international outcomes such as war and peace, alliance politics, and the balance of power (Waltz 1959). Structural Realists stress that states exist in an anarchic international system that lacks central authority. It is structure of international system that forces states to pursue power. The national interest is a product of the structure of the international system.

States are rational actors capable of monitoring their external security, and are acutely aware of the relative distribution of material power in the global system. States primarily seek to maximize their survival and autonomy because they are unsure of other states' intentions that may contribute to a high degree of uncertainty about survival. States deeply care about the balance of power and compete either to gain power at the expense of others or at least to make sure they do not lose power. They do so because the structure of the international system leaves them little choice for survival (Dunne and Schmidt 2011; Keohane 1986; Waltz 1979).

To Structural Realists, the power configuration of the East Asia is a confrontation between two military alliances: the alliance of China and North Korea balanced against the alliance of the United States, South Korea, and Japan (Scobell 2004; Steinberg and O'Hanlon 2014). North Korea, as its official sworn ally, has relied on China's economic and diplomatic support against the trio of the U.S. alliance (the United States, South Korea, Japan, and possibly Taiwan).

Similarly, in the Middle East Iran is locked in a bitter conflict with the United States and Israel. Iran also faces growing geopolitical competition with Saudi Arabia. The United States has military bases all over the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, which may lead Iran to believe that the "Great Satan" seeks to besiege it (Mousavian 2012). To break through the siege, Iran has come to depend increasingly on China for critical diplomatic, economic, and military support (Garver, Leverett, and Leverett 2009). China has now become Iran's main defender and patron against external threats. According to Structural Realism, there will be some advantages for China if both Iran and North Korea possess nuclear weapon because China can counter influence of the United States with little effort.

In a unipolar world dominated by the United States, according to Structural Realists, we expect to see an ascendant power (China) balances against the hegemon (the United States). And it eschews committed cooperation towards denuclearization of the noncompliant states, because that places constraints on the hegemon's relative power capabilities (*balancing*). Conventional wisdom from Structural Realism would have us

predict that China would reinvigorate alliances with North Korea and Iran, and later, extend deterrence commitments against the United States (Mearsheimer 2010).

However, contrary to what Structural Realism predicts, China has neither form a counter-alliance against the United States nor has it encouraged the noncompliant states to develop nuclear weapon to offset the predominant power. In fact, China has often offered a good office between North Korea and the United States to diffuse tension. China and the United States have repeatedly attempted to manage nuclear crises raised by Iran and North Korea (Twomey 2008, 412). Structural Realism does explain why China consistently provided nuclear weapons and missile-related assistance to Pakistan in an effort to balance India (Medeiros 2007, 23), but it cannot adequately explain many of China's cooperative mediating activities in Iranian and North Korean cases.

China has been playing "dual games" between the United States and the noncompliant states (Garver 2011). On the one hand, it competes against the U.S. hegemony by using Iran and North Korea as pawns because it disagrees with the United States' double standards for Israel and India on the one hand, and Iran and North Korea on the other (balancing). On the other hand, China strives for preserving the present international order rather than challenges it, because China can get free public goods from the current international order that has been maintained by the United States (bandwagoning). Under Structural Realism paradigm, either balancing or bandwagoning will be manifested as a China's reaction.

Balancing

The balance of power theory holds that once weaker states see imbalance between them and the strong system leader which is threatening to them, those weaker states will react with external balancing by developing alliances among the weak states, or internal balancing by engaging in intense arms buildups in order to counter dictatorialness of the system leader (Waltz 1993). Kenneth Waltz argues that "secondary states, if they are free to choose, flock to the weaker side" (1979, 105–6, 121–28).

In the crises between the United States and the noncompliant states, if Structural Realists are right, China aligns with weak states (Iran and North Korea) for "external balancing." China shows its commitment to defend the "defiant states" to prevent the United States from swinging the world as it pleases. By enjoying allegiance from noncompliant states and surrendering its freedom of action China will be able to restore balance of power. As a patron of the noncompliant states, and an opponent of the dominant power, it has a special responsibility to help the "weak" and discontented challengers. China would put a premium on loyalty and provide the noncompliant states with military support and propaganda. China, Iran, and North Korea will stick together to ward off threats from the "strongest."

There is a gradation in balancing behavior China can undertake. The most intensive and extensive balancing act might be to help the noncompliant states to overturn the established order. China would agree with the views of North Korea and Iran that the U.S.-dominant international order is oppressive and intolerable. It will undermine the American "tyranny" in the world whenever possible. China's clear signals to balance

against the United States would contribute to avoid miscommunication between the two superpowers in dealing with Iran and North Korea (George and Smoke 1974; Huth 1988).

A milder version of balancing would be questioning the legitimacy of present world order by fomenting discourses of resistance with the so-called "pariah" states. China is not entirely dissatisfied with the existing order ruled by the United States, but it opportunistically exploits both provocations of the outlier states and deterring efforts of the United States. As a dissenter, China continues activities that the United States has demanded to be stopped, and addresses legitimate grievances from the noncompliant states. It is possible that China tacitly encourages their incompliance. Only if the United States promises to offer quid pro quo, materialistic China will be likely to cooperate with the United States to dissuade the "rogue states" from pursuing nuclear ambition. Simply put, the United States' material compensations for China can induce its cooperation. I could deduce two balancing propositions from the Structural Realism:

Proposition-2: Demands from the United States to contain threats of the noncompliant states will lead China to stand up for the noncompliant states (*balancing*), unless the United States promises to offer some form of compensations.

Proposition-3: If the United States supports Taiwan by signing arms deals, then China will not cooperate with the United States to restrain the noncompliant states (*balancing on Taiwan matter*).

Bandwagoning

Stephen Walt argues that while bandwagoning is an alignment with the source of danger, balancing is a form of alliance with others against the prevailing threats. For him,

bandwagoning is a unusual practice and it occurs only when states are awfully feeble, when there is no alternative for other alliances, or when the prizes of conflict are divided (Walt 1990, 17–22, 27–38, 149, 263).

Randall Schweller points out that Walt's definition of bandwagoning is a "preventive form of strategic surrender," not bandwagoning. He defines bandwagoning as "an accommodation to pressure" and it "suggests a willingness to support or tolerate illegitimate actions by the dominant ally." Schweller argues "By aligning with the threatening state or coalition, the bandwagoner may hope to avoid an attack on himself by diverting it elsewhere." He asserts that states often "bandwagon for profit" to secure revisionist gains rather than protection (Schweller 1998, 67, 83–91). In my study, Walt's bandwagoning as an alignment with the threat is expanded to include incorporating with opportunities since the United States is not only a threat to China but also a chance as Schweller's bandwagoning for profit.

If China must choose one side over the other, it is possible to side with the United States to stave off nuclear threats from North Korea and Iran. China attempts to preserve and defend the present international order by hopping on the United States' bandwagon. China is a stability-maximizer. Chinese leaders believe that by supporting a stronger power they can avoid unwanted conflicts.

China is not willing to balance against the current hegemon, the United States, because it is not strong enough to do so; because it recognizes its wellbeing is inextricably tied up with the wellbeing of the hegemon; and because it perceives itself to be benefiting from the status quo order maintained by the hegemon. Therefore, China

seeks to preserve status quo and peace by supporting the United States. Since it does not want to be disturbed and distracted by nuclearization ambition of the pariah states, and wants to concentrate its own economic growth, it goes along with the stronger coalition led by the United States to enhance stability of the present world order. In other words, China cooperates with the source of its "threat" (Walt 1990; Walt 1985) since it helps to protect its interests, and it enjoys the feeling of going with the stronger states by "piling on" (Schweller 1998, 78).

There might be two potential ways how the future will be fanned out when China is sided with the United States. It is possible that suppressed by the strong coalition of the two superpowers the noncompliant states could become submissive. However, there is a danger to "overbalancing" against them too. It is also possible that China and the United States misperceive Iran and North Korea as "unlimited aggressors" that cannot be appeased, even though they are defensively minded states seeking only to enhance their own security. The over-empowered coalition between the United States and China will provoke the desperate noncompliant states and that leads to more conflicts (Schweller 2008; Schweller 2004).

Thus, China's bandwagoning might have both pacifying and escalating effect depending on how the two actors interpret its intent. On the one extreme, China's cooperation could embolden the United States' sanction initiatives to the point where the noncompliant states will be pushed to the brink causing a side effect of frantic nothing-to-lose challenges from them. On the other extreme, it could fend off provocations from

noncompliant states at the first place, because it makes them cognizant of formidable power of coalition between the two great powers.

In fact, in the last two decades, provocations by Iran and North Korea, examples of which include revelations of long-time denied nuclear program, nuclear denotation tests, and ballistic missile tests, have pushed China to the direction of more cooperation with the United States. The U.S. pressure often makes it particularly difficult for China to maintain its position of neutrality, especially, during times of ongoing or imminent conflict between the United States and the noncompliant states. Furthermore, repeated standoffs in the multilateral negotiation table make China to be more supportive to the United States' initiatives to contain the noncompliant states.

Since last ten years China mostly agreed on passage of the UN Security Council resolutions on Iran and North Korea. After the October 2006 nuclear test China had cut off the supply of spare military parts to North Korea; suspended some oil shipments; and curbed money transfers from Chinese banks. After the grand bargaining between Bill Clinton and Jiang Zemin in October 1997 China cancelled all the nuclear exchanges with Iran including peaceful civilian cooperation. Since a Chinese foreign policy guru believes that China's cooperation with the United States in last two decades came after repeated failures of negotiation or sudden nuclear or missile related incidents, I would hypothesize bandwagoning behavior as follows (S. S. Kim 2003; S. S. Kim 2004).

Proposition-4: Continuous failures of multinational negotiation or sudden disclosures of secret nuclear program in the noncompliant states move China to collaborate with the United States (*bandwagoning*).

Offensive Realism

John Mearsheimer argues that great powers seek and accrue more power until they achieve hegemony in their own region, while preventing any other great power from becoming hegemonic in another region (2001;1994; 2005). Hegemony is the only means of achieving a stable level of security. The system's structure encourages states to maximize their share of world power including pursuit of hegemony. The party that initiates war wins more often than not, because balancing reactions by the threatened are often inefficient. Threatened states opt for buck-passing rather than joining a balancing coalition. They attempt to get other states to assume the burden of checking a powerful opponent while they remain on the sidelines. The inefficiency creates opportunities for aggressive rising (Mearsheimer 2001, 37–40; G. H. Snyder 2002).

Offensive Realists portray the world as an intense competitive system in which compels states to expand for purposes of gaining more power and security to fend for themselves. For them, assertive policy to ensure its security is vital in order to survive, and it pays generous rewards when not done recklessly (Labs 1997; Liberman 2011). Thus, if the circumstances are right, it makes good strategic sense for states to gain as much power as possible and to pursue hegemony. Having overwhelming power is the best way to ensure its own survival.

If Offensive Realism is right, there will be intense security competition between the United States and China. Offensive Realism predicted utility in using the noncompliant states as allies to keep the United States in check. North Korea and Iran are China's pawns in the hegemonic struggle against the United States. Since China wants to

the United States to be ensnared in costly wars with North Korea or Iran, it is in China's interest to support the noncompliant states militarily, economically, and diplomatically (Mearsheimer 2001, 159). Nuclear bombs and intercontinental ballistic missiles manufactured and proliferated by the noncompliant states are viewed as an effective way to contain the United States, dragging it into expensive competitions with the noncompliant states. China strives for obtaining regional hegemony in Asia first, because it expects the United States (the offshore power) would not balance immediately.

It is better for China to put itself in a pivot position by waiting for the most opportune moment to take advantage from the both parties as fishing in troubled waters. If necessary, it maneuvers its way around threats between the two states to take advantage of the conflicts (abetting). However, China's policies were not outright supports for the noncompliant states. Rather, its favored strategy has been controlling the dependence of the other two parties by limited supports. It supports contradictory aims of both the protégés and the hegemon at the same time in abstract without substantive actions.

A strategies suggested by Offensive Realism would be instigating conflicts between the United States and the noncompliant states, but China has not acted as the Offensive Realism predicted. It sometimes—although not always—has been a facilitator of talks between North Korea and the United States and it prodded Iran to participate in the multilateral talks. Rather than supporting and promoting the noncompliant states in developing nuclear weapons and missiles, China has censured North Korean provocations and persuaded Iran to consider the EU3+3's offers positively. It has reduced

military support for North Korea in 2006 and revoked civilian nuclear contracts with Iran in 1997 (Medeiros 2007). It has been cooperating to impose financial sanctions on Iran and North Korea recent years. Rather than using blood-letting strategy between the two, China has been trying to bind them in the talks in the international regimes such as the UN Security Council, the IAEA Board of Governors, the Six Party Talks, and the EU3+3 talks to discuss issues. Offensive Realism cannot explain these China's cooperative behavior.

Abetting

Rationally devious China might anticipate long and costly disputes of attrition between the United States and the noncompliant states. Watching they are fighting each other, China is tempted to sit on the on the fence and watch them bleed to death. There is no incentive to join the fray for China. In so doing, China can safely watch strength of the other two is being depleted in long conflicts. It is manipulative and deceitful, but it helps China to stay the course. Selfish China incites conflicts between the United States and the noncompliant states and then works for sustaining stalemates in order to reap benefits out of the conflicts. China, as a tertius gaudens (the enjoying third), instigates disputes between the other two for its own purposes (Mearsheimer 2001, chap. 5; Schweller 1998).

China wants to preserve a sense of its own identity and place in the world. Sometimes, regional conflicts give China a great source of meaning as an arbitrator and, if that is true, a resolution of conflicts between the combatants entails a significant loss of meaning for China. Then it will seek out problems between the two for having a chance to exercise power over outputs and to gain prestige abroad as well as at home. It pits the

United States against the noncompliant states so that it can be appeared as the mediator to settle the problems. China can turn dissensions between the states to its own advantage by profiting from their misfortunes. Patience in waiting a propitious moment is one of its keys for success in this maneuver. A kingmaker China tries to perpetuate stalemates between the two states for extorting maximum profit from the both sides implying that the party to which it adheres will get the upper hand (Schweller 1998, 82). The proposition I could draw from the Offensive Realism is cunning abetting behavior.

Proposition-5: China is likely to instigate conflicts between the noncompliant states and the United States because it can extort benefits from the dissension (*abetting*).

Defensive Realism

Kenneth Waltz argues that structural factors limit how much power state can gain, which ameliorates security competition (1979). Contrary to Offensive Realism, it is unwise for a state to try to maximize its share of world power, because the system will punish it if it attempts to gain too much power. Defensive Realists view expansion as not only unnecessary to ensure its own security, but as also self-defeating because expansion decreases its security, even though it is not a reckless one. Aggressive policies or conquest does not pay; it only provokes a counter-balancing coalition that will defeat an aggressor (Liberman 2011). Defensive Realists endorse the idea that it is strategically foolish to pursue hegemony, because that would amount to overexpansion. Therefore, states should not maximize power, but should, instead, strive for an "appropriate amount of power"(Waltz 1979, 40; J. Snyder 1993; Posen 1984).

Indeed, despite the American hegemony in the post-Cold War period, China has not engaged in significant external or internal balancing against the United States (Lebow 1994). Some scholars in the Realist camp provide reasons for China's apparently "under-balancing" behavior. They include sheer preponderance of American military power, the economic interdependence, a China's perception of American foreign policy as non-threatening, the strength of international institutions, and the domestic political constraints faced by leaders in China (Walt 1990; Mearsheimer 2001; Mansfield and Pollins 2003; Schweller 2004).

William Wohlforth argues convincingly that the lack of balancing behavior is because China is unwilling to be the first to defy supremacy of the United States. In this unipolar system, balancing assertively against the United States is dangerous, especially if China is the first one to attempt it, because it runs the risk of making a very powerful enemy. He argues that when the system leader reaches a certain level of preponderant power, counterbalancing becomes exorbitantly costly, even for major powers (Wohlforth 1999, 5–15; Ikenberry 2002).

In my study, this behavior is termed hiding. When employing hiding strategy, a state does not clearly show its measure watching the threats are rising and being deterred by other imminent actors. It is similar to buck-passing strategy, but hiding does not mean actively pass the buck, but stays out of the fray concealing its future move to others. If China does not take proper actions to counter threats from the noncompliant states as the United States requests, I call this hiding. It tempers its support for the noncompliant states by being ambiguous whether it will cooperate with the United States or not (hiding).

By contrast, if China does not show its hands until the last moment, procrastinating on its decision regarding where it stands in the multilateral fora by engaging diplomatic tactics to frustrate overbearing hegemon's requests, I called this strategy delaying. Defensive Realism can explain some part of China's behavior: deliberately deferring decisions by complicating decision making in the international institutions (delaying) and confusing others by concealing clear position on the issue (hiding). If it voluntarily procrastinates, then that is delaying. If it is passively bystands, then that is hiding.

As threats from both the United States and the noncompliant states escalate, Defensive Realists expect China to prefer hiding and delaying to balancing, bandwagoning, or abetting. China would not clearly support either side. Rather, it half-heartedly helps and obstructs both actors' aims simultaneously by hiding its position and delaying the negotiation process. According to Defensive Realists, China will avoid unnecessary confrontations with both combatants (Twomey 2008). It will not use North Korea and Iran as a pawn to push the United States out of East Asia and Middle East, because Chinese leaders recognize that attempts to dominate the region or to push the United States out of Asia will be likely to backfire, causing it to balance against China by other states. As Yong Deng notes, "For contemporary China, the prospect of confronting a hostile US-led coalition is the worst kind of strategic nightmare" (2006, 190). China seeks to develop close ties with the United States. It is more realistic and beneficial for China to maintain threats from the both sides in an appropriate level.

China regards nuclear weapons in the region as a destabilizing factor that hinder its modernization project, and it is aware of the danger of a regional nuclear arms race that might occur in response to nuclearization of North Korea and Iran (Herz 1950; Booth and Wheeler 2007). In East Asia, North Korea's nuclearization might trigger the nuclearization of South Korea, Japan, and even Taiwan. In Middle East, nuclearization of Iran might lead to a reinforced competition with Saudi Arabia and a war with Israel.

Defensive Realism explains some of China's behavior since it has been strategically shying away from the entreaties of the United States and procrastinating to take a decisive action in the international institutions on the issues of nuclear crises between the two camps. However, China signed the 10-years nuclear cooperation agreement with Iran in September 1992 and the former Chinese state-owned company Zhuhai Zhenrong Corporation concluded a $20 billion deal with Iran in March 2004. China promised North Korea to increase Chinese investment and began to pursue infrastructure-building projects in North Korea in October 2009 including building a new bridge across the Yalu River (at an estimated cost of US$150 million). Those actions should be considered as clear counter movements against sanction efforts by the United States—not hiding or delaying. Defensive Realism alone cannot explain variances of China's behavior in the past years.

Delaying

My usage of delaying strategy in the study is similar with soft-balancing in the IR literature. Robert Pape and T.V. Paul coined the term "soft-balancing." Pape identifies soft balancing measures as "actions that do not directly challenge U.S. military

preponderance but that use nonmilitary tools to delay, frustrate, and undermine aggressive unilateral military policies" (Pape 2005, 10).[45] Paul describes soft balancing as part of "institutional and diplomatic strategies, which are intended to constrain US power" (Paul 2005, 58). Whereas traditional balancing implies the military buildups and countervailing alliances to keep a rising power in check, soft balancing involves an improvised strategy of using multilateral institutions and loose diplomatic ententes (Pape 2005, 36–43; Paul, Wirtz, and Fortmann 2004).

Delaying also resembles binding since it is an attempt to constrain the other two parties in the international institutions for China's own benefit.[46] Christopher Layne and Barry Posen imply that China engages in leash-slipping in order to ensure its own security autonomy against superior America. Even though strong America are not threatening currently, relatively weak China need to seek insurance against the possibility that it might become aggressive in the future (Posen 2006; Layne 2006).

In a similar vein, Geoff Dyer argues that "Beijing is beginning a process of gradually trying to mold the [international] system in its own direction, to shape rather than tear down" (Dyer 2014). China has engaged in soft balancing behavior in recent years to limit American hegemony by denying and delaying security support requests from the United States and mobilizing opposition to the United States in the United Nations, and other diplomatic forums (Pape 2005, 36–43; Paul, Wirtz, and Fortmann

[45] Soft balancing can manifest itself in state strategies such as "territorial denial, entangling diplomacy, economic strengthening, and signaling of resolve to participate in a balancing coalition" (Pape 2005, 36).

[46] Paul Schroeder has focused on transcending capability of state by appealing to normative or religious common ground. He shows the possibility to minimize threats if we make ourselves economically indispensable to the stronger state through specialization and interdependence (Schroeder 1994, 117).

2004). Unlike hiding yet similar with soft-balancing, delaying is a voluntary strategy in a sense that states use tools to "delay, frustrate, and undermine" the system leader in the multilateral regimes (Pape 2005, 10). Hiding is closer to the strategy in which influences or even controls others by inaction, while delaying is an action for countering the system leader by employing various diplomatic measures. I could make a proposition based on delaying strategy rooted in Defensive Realism as follows.

Proposition-6: After China shows its willingness to cooperate with the United States to punish the noncompliant states, China hinders the implementation of tough sanctions against them in the negotiations, and then, waters down the terms of resolution (*delaying*).

Hiding

George Kennan argued that, due to the ever-changing nature of international politics, "most wise and experienced statesmen usually shy away from commitments likely to constitute limitations on a government's behavior at unknown dates in the future in the face of unpredictable situations" (1984, 238). Taylor Fravel defines delaying as "maintain the dispute but doing nothing to compromise or escalate" (2008, 16), but in this study, this qualifies as a hiding strategy. And I agree with his claim "it is usually the least costly strategy" (2008, 16). In a situation whereby both the noncompliant states and the United States try to win over China, it can hide its intention regarding its choice of alignment as an initial reaction. Chinese leadership might judge that, by not entering into a coalition and eyewitnessing, it can achieve its security better (George 1980b, 35).

Hiding and procrastinating is prudent for China when it is thereby able to avoid the costs of unwanted war by allowing the United States defeats the noncompliant states while safely remaining on the sidelines. Shrewd China will hide what it will really intends to do. This is a calculated and conscious hiding because Chinese leaders find that it is difficult to act on crises immediately and because there is no time pressure for an action. It will be advantageous for China to do as little as possible between the two disputants by hiding its ulterior motives, yet, monitoring interactions between them carefully. When China cannot arrive at a clear collective view of the best strategy, it is apt to seek the middle ground, biding for time to wait and see as conditions change and the costs and benefits of supporting one side become clearer (Ciorciari 2010).

The bottom line of hiding strategy is that China's latent demands might be met by waiting. Given that assumption, problems between the United States and the noncompliant states will not be addressed seriously, and China's strategic and policy decisions will be postponed. Chinese leaders might positively anticipate that the situation may improve since actors try to prevent the situation from deteriorating (Lijphart 1975) or better options may be available later on (George 1980b, 36). In the meantime, China keeps its head down to escape from hard choices. It might attack symptoms of the crises and offer marginal relief regarding nuclear ambitions of the noncompliant states, but will not try to deal with root causes of the troubles between the two parties because the long-term consequences are less germane for China if it can somehow manage external threats. As Yan Xuetong argued, "future interests" for China are not vital comparing to "current interests" (2002, 73).

If China decides to hide, there is no substantial official response to crises between the contenders. It uses its capacity only to ensure others cannot impose their will on China rather than to compel either party to do something. It avoids expressing its own view so that it can sidestep antagonizing both sides. The behavioral code here is to minimize provocation and to keep a low profile by watching rather than acting. China needs to keep distance from the two disputants equally and be unaligned to have more freedom of action (Schweller 1998, 71). It tries not to wed itself to any other country and shuns from commitments that limit its maneuverability. Ironically, I found that, by choosing to remain reclusive, China is more likely to cultivate better relations with other states, which are in conflict situation with one another.

China has times when it chooses to avoid conflict and times when it chooses to engage. For Chinese leaders, both avoidance and engagement are key parts of managing conflicts. In avoidance China's efforts are focused on preventing a conflict from surfacing to the fore, denying a conflict's existence, or staying out of an existing conflict. By eliciting reactions from other actors even as it remains above the fray (hiding), China often tries to have it both ways, both to engage in a conflict and to avoid one. It may raise an issue but refuse to be part of any problem-solving effort (Mayer 2000, 31).

Evasive China makes its decision to protect its own interests rather than in support of the objectives of the other two. It is inclined to participate in negotiations only for protecting its own primary interests such as stability around neighborhood for economic development. However, it is important to think through the possible consequences before going in hiding because being evasive to take advantage of the

situation does have a side effect: China could indirectly and unintentionally cause a war that could have been avoided or it could make the war more costly than it otherwise would have been. A likely positive effect might be China's hiding makes other states guess its future move and makes them cautious in their action and in turn restrain their provocations.

Proposition-7: China's ambiguous position prevents provocations from both the United States and the noncompliant states (*hiding prevents provocation*).

Liberalism

Liberals believe in the pacifying power of three interrelated and mutually reinforcing causal mechanisms: economic interdependence, international institutions, and democratization (Friedberg 2005). They argue that economic interdependence and participation in multinational organizations mitigate the anarchical tendencies between states. Trades among states create common interests in good relations between them. As a state becomes more integrated into the global economy and global institutions, it has a greater stake in avoiding behavior that would damage their economic relationships or take actions that would upset the stability.

International institutions can help to improve communication between states, thereby, reducing uncertainty about intentions. Democratization is also a key factor to avoid conflicts between democratic countries. In this way they can help to ease effects of anarchy, going for higher levels of cooperation (Keohane 2005; Doyle 1986; Ikenberry 2002). Economic links between states are a uniting and pacifying force in international politics, because complex layers of economic interdependency ensure that states cannot

act aggressively without risking economic penalties imposed by other members of the international community.

Liberalism offers some insights into patterns of action that China exhibited toward the United States and the noncompliant states. Liberals expect to see China's integration into the global economy creating domestic constituencies with a stake in preserving present international system. They predict that China's increasing participation in transnational institutions will transform it into a pro-status quo responsible stakeholder, even a democratic state. It will show growing commitment to the stability and continuity of the existing global order. As a result, China will not challenge the United States' interests by helping the noncompliant states (Friedberg 2005). There is a broad correlation between China's cooperation with the United States to stop the noncompliant states' nuclear weapon development activities and its growing economic interdependence with international institutions. There is a positive relationship between China's expanding economic relationship with the United States and its increasing commitment to restrain the noncompliant states.

As the former President Hu Jintao put it, China is now experiencing twenty years of "Strategic Opportunity" since 2000 for social, economic, and political development.[47] Hu stressed the possibility of a relatively peaceful international environment in first twenty years of 21st century and China must seize this opportunity to develop itself into a well-off society (Song and Ding 2013, 81–2). Huang Renwei, the Vice President of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, also writes: "One of China's priorities in

[47] The term "a twenty-year Strategic Opportunity" appeared in the Political Report of the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2002.

maintaining an advantageous international environment lies in reassuring relations with her neighbors and preventing a network of constraint being built by the U.S. in surrounding areas" (Foot 2006, 88).

As the content analysis and cognitive map in the previous chapter show, the top priorities of the Chinese leadership are stability and growth. China places the highest premium on having a dynamic economy. The Chinese leadership has described its key goal as achieving an "all-around affluent society" through its single-minded development plan of the Communist leadership. The legitimacy of the one-party system depends on its performance to build up its comprehensive strength and it requires a peaceful regional and global environment (Foot 2006, 84). The Chinese leaders are "well aware that an economic slowdown will lead to increased public discontent and social disorder, with potentially severe consequences for regime survival" (Loke 2009, 203).

Consistent with the liberal theory, China has overriding interests in keeping peace and it has been integrated into global economy and showed rapid growth, but it does so to pursue regional stability for its own development than about promoting world peace and justice. Aaron Friedberg assessed that China treats international institutions as "another venue for struggle." His reasoning goes that "one reason for China's recent enthusiasm for regional institutions is its evident desire to ensure that they cannot be used as platforms to criticize China or to contain its rise" (Friedberg 2011, 53).

Playing the role of good institutional citizen is a cost-saving measure for China to reduce regional anxieties about its long-term unknown objectives and by doing so it is able to draw a distinction between its own commitment to multilateral cooperation and

the United States' unilateralism. Contrary to this skepticism, the English School takes one step further from the liberalism to explain the possibility of cooperation between states and mediation initiatives of the third party between conflicting parties.

English School

According to the English School, a narrow egoism, which only attempts to address their immediate self-interest and concerns, is no longer a viable way of defending national interests. A wider and more enlightened self-interest is crucial to preserve a world order, which maximizes the prospects of China's security and prosperity (Burchill 2005, 153). Since states have a common interest in placing restraints on the use of force, they develop ability to compromise and accommodate them in the wider interest of maintaining international order. Since conflict between states is moderated by their common need for co-existence, what is necessary is a shared commitment to dialogues and common rules and institutions for conflict resolution. Citizens of a state can share a common national interest as part of international society, because they have a collective stake. There is recognition of their common interests, some common values, and a duty to work within a common framework of rules and institutions for benefit of all states.

Much of China's behavior to bring the two conflicting parties into international negotiation table appears consistent with the English school's arguments. The English School would have us to expect China to act as a mediator to reduce the security dilemma between the two. It venerates the international regimes such as the Six Party Talks and the EU3+3 talks as a crisis-resolving mechanism and host meetings. Indeed, China took a mediator's role from 2003 to 2005 to pacify North Korean nuclear crisis without

expecting obvious material incentives. It agreed to report Iranian nuclear issue to the UN Security Council in 2006 without asking quid pro quo or being threatened by coercive measures.

China endeavors to protect the relationship with the United States while keeping the noncompliant states under its influence by appearing to act as an impartial mediator. This is because tensions in both the Middle East and East Asia are detrimental to China's development project, and thus, must be avoided at all costs. Since securing stability for its modernization outweighs all other concerns, China takes a mediator's role to stabilize the regions for securing its oil supply from the Middle East and preventing a refugee split-over from the collapse of North Korean regime.

Mediating

Hedley Bull contends that great powers are "recognized by others to have, and conceived by their own leaders and peoples to have, certain special rights and duties" (Bull 1977, 196). Great powers carry more "moral weight" in their behavior because they set the standard for how international problems must be settled. Great power responsibility includes "the provision of public goods such as an open global economic system, international security, and the stability of the international order, as well as leadership in international institutions, peacekeeping, and other key aspects of global governance" (Loke 2009, 198).

China can be a mediator by assuming wider obligations for the international society commensurate with its power status. As a great power, it shoulders more responsibilities for the international society. As a fair-minded mediator, it declares

neutrality for the sake of conflict resolution. China is capable of, or responsible for, undertaking tasks to reconcile conflicts between the two by conveying messages and information. It might think that although the conflict between them is real, there may be means of resolving or limiting disagreements. As a nonaligned intermediary, it is to be trusted to clarify its position for the other two parties, to persuade them, and to put pressure on them (Princen 1995). It facilitates dialogues and urges the two to keep searching for more efficient solutions. It sets mechanisms into motion that permit compromise between them. It should be able to come up with options and alternatives where none had been perceived before since it is the unbiased third party. By facilitating and maintaining communication channels China can stave off the immediate possibility of armed conflict between the two.

However, China is a self-interested actor who intends to get a solution that is favorable to its goals so as to consolidate its bargaining leverage and enhance its international standing, rather than blindly pursuing to reduce violence and achieve world peace. Therefore how much China is willing to arbitrate between the two is depend on how much its own interest is involved (Princen 1995). Its efforts for mediating stems from a belief that it can be paid off from the absence of conflict and from a potential to build its image as a peacemaker.

While doing a broker's job, China can bind the noncompliant states and the United States into multilateral regimes such as the UN and the IAEA. By entangling them into multilateral institutions, it attempts to contain animosities between them and to prevent the United States from bullying the "weak" noncompliant states. It uses

international institutions to give the noncompliant states opportunities to let their voices (Grieco 1995). The proposition deduced from Liberalism and English School is China's mediating efforts in the international regimes.

Proposition-8: China takes a mediator's role to maintain stability in the region and gain a reputation as a peacemaker (*mediating*).

Constructivism

Constructivists believe in "socially constructed" international relationships. Alexander Wendt defines "the national interest as the objective interests of state-society complexes, consisting of four needs: physical survival, autonomy, economic well-being, and collective self-esteem" (1999, 198). The nature of interaction among states is not only the product of materials, such as the balance of power, or the structure of domestic constituency, but also is shaped by subjective and intersubjective factors such as identity, strategic culture, and norm.[48] These established beliefs, ideas, cultures, and norms can cause them to interpret history and data in certain ways. Since they are transmitted across generations by education and acculturation, they are resistant to change (Wendt 1994).

However, Constructivists also believe it is possible that interactions with others can convey new information and ideas that can help to replace prevailing conceptions with new one since actors and their environments are mutually constitutive. For them there can be no a priori interests out there. Interests are developed, learned, and re-learned over time as a consequence of experience and reflection. National interest tells us

[48] "Identity" refers to the collective self-perceptions of political actors and their shared perceptions of others. "Strategic culture" refers to a set of beliefs about the fundamental character of international politics and about the best ways of coping with it, especially as regards the utility of force and the prospects for cooperation (Johnston 1998). "Norm" refers to a belief not only about what is efficacious but also about what is right or appropriate in the international realm (Friedberg 2005).

much about the particular identities of those articulating it (Wendt 1999; Wendt 1995, 71–81; Wendt 1992; Katzenstein 1996, 33–75). Under Constructivism, since how an actor behaves is not given, but are the products of self-affirming interactions with others, China's behavior can be directed in very opposite two directions: socializing with American hegemony or supporting for "legitimate" rights of the noncompliant states.

On the one hand, since, besides material factors used by Realism and Liberalism, ideational factors are also important, China follows a norm of nuclear non-proliferation. It has been socialized, accepting, and internalizing the prevailing norms and practices of the contemporary international system regarding nuclear nonproliferation and fairness of possessing nuclear technology (Johnston 2007; Medeiros 2007). If China regards nuclear nonproliferation as one of important global norms, and has been influenced by such norms, then, we expect to see its cooperation on deterring nuclear ambition of the noncompliant states. It takes the cooperation as an obligation for pursuing the common good. As China is converging toward nuclear nonproliferation norms, its policy will be tough on the noncompliant states.

On the other hand, if China finds the present world order is unjust and unbearable, thanks to the arbitrary American hegemony and socializes with the noncompliant states, then it will enhance in-group identity of underdogs with the noncompliant states countering the United States' arbitrary tyranny. Chinese leaders can instigate nationalism and consolidate relationship with the pariah states to amplify hostility against the out-group, the United States.

Constructivism can explain China's alternating schizophrenic compliance and defiance to America's sanction initiatives. Sometimes China does not play the defender's role for the noncompliant states by shunning firm commitments, but other times it supports them politically, diplomatically, and economically by standing up to the United States. I did not derive a proposition from Constructivism, because it is hard to prove or know an ulterior motivation of Chinese support or opposition.

Various strands of Realism, Liberalism, English School, and Constructivism partly explain China's reactions and inactions toward both the United States and the noncompliant states, but, as we have seen, IR theories do not sufficiently account for China's strategically ambiguous behavior. To understand how and why China has behaved as it did, it is better to focus on contingencies it has confronted in dealing with two other players. To this end, I have laid out seven different types of strategies for the third party to examine eight propositions on Iran and North Korea. China might assume different roles and expectations based on the balance of its competing interests on the other two parties.

As the figure-2, I argue that a choice of strategy is determined by China's cross-cutting interests between the United States and the noncompliant states. Specifically, China's strategy is determined by balance of the two variables: (1) the extent of expectancy to gain immediate rewards by cooperating with one side and (2) the size of China's interest at stake when it does not deter nuclear provocations. The elaborations of roles in which China would assume in between and the explanations of the propositions and expectations are discussed in the next section.

Roles for China in Crisis

Drawing on the ideal-type strategies above, China can assume different roles in between. It can be a defender of the noncompliant states, a partner of the United States, a pivot between them, a conflict rent-seeker, an opportunistic bystander, or a peace broker. If China, as a defender of noncompliant states, sides with a recalcitrant group that is opposed to American hegemony, then, it must contemplate whether North Korea and Iran is a risk-acceptant exploitive opportunist or a risk-averse weak-knee appeaser. If they were shrewd go-getters, then, China would withhold its support to curb their excessive challenge to the United States. If they were timid appeasers, then China would not stop to support them against "unfair" accusations by the United States.

If China decides to cooperate with the United States, then it should think about whether the United States is a ruthless expansionist or a reasonable status quo defender. If Chinese leaders believe that the United States is a hardnosed conqueror, then it would avert U.S. domination of the world by colluding challenges from the noncompliant. If the United States is regarded as a moderate protector of the current international system, then, China would collaborate with the United States extensively to deter nuclear threats caused by North Korea and Iran.

China, as a pivot, should be adroit enough to ward off threats from both sides. By mixing competition and cooperation, concealment and revelation, and deceit and honesty, it would alternate between the role of challenger of the present international system and deterrer of defiance. By assuming two contradictory roles, it can be both a benefactor of the noncompliant states and a beneficiary of the existing world order simultaneously. By

carefully monitoring the environment and constantly weighing its balance of interest between the United States and the noncompliant states, China can raise its strategic value for both and make them court for its support.

China, as a conflict rent-seeker, even can deliberately encourage standoffs and enjoy deadlock situations between the United States and the noncompliant states to improve its own bargaining position against them. China can be an opportunistic bystander hoping to gauge its strategic options. It can benefit itself by inaction and indecision, when it is difficult to judge which side is favorable for China. It also can be a peace-broker between the superpower and the "rogue states" to enhance its own standing in the international community.

To decide which role it will assume, China needs to know whether the United States and the noncompliant states are wishful thinkers or careful thinkers. Knowing attributes of partner and adversary before making a decision is essential not to lose in both fronts Chinese leaders are facing, but it is difficult to be accurate. That is why China's behavior between the two camps has been ambiguous and reluctant most of the time. Chinese leaders would like to strike balance between the two players by walking on the fine line. On the one hand, China is agnostic how the other two would respond to each other's offers, but it has wanted to avoid confrontations with both. On the other hand, China has feared to be shown as an incapable actor in the international society who is unable to leverage North Korea or Iran, but it has been able to circumvent hard choices between the two camps by staying low in action and being vague in word. Avoiding to be stuck between a rock and a hard place is a primary motivation to make foreign policies.

Here, I will formulate hypothesis on under what conditions China has cooperated with the United States and to what extent it has supported the noncompliant states. They are: (1) inducing China's cooperative attitude depends on material incentives from the United States and (2) China mostly takes the middle ground. The expectations of each proposition if it holds true are discussed in the next section.

Propositions

The eight propositions are tested on China's behavior toward the United States, Iran, and North Korea. Each suggests different expectations on China's behavior. It is a road map of my research designed to navigate through nebulous Chinese international behavioral patterns from 1990 to 2013. I confirm or disconfirm each proposition against Chinese diplomatic history on Iran and North Korea.

If Proposition-1 (*straddling*) is right, obtaining entreaties from both camps arouses China's desire to be a pivot between them. The more appeals China gets, the more it is likely to be ambiguous and the more likely to show contradictory and inconsistent compromises. The United States' continuous requests for denuclearization of Iran and North Korea will force China to adopt strategic ambiguity. If the Proposition-1 were wrong, China would show a crystal clear attitude to support either party.

If Proposition-2 (*balancing*) is right, China should be less willing to cooperate with the United States to punish the recalcitrant states when the United States persuades China only relying on nonproliferation norm. Conversely, if the United States arranges side payments for China, it is more likely to agree on tough sanctions. If Proposition-3 (*balancing on Taiwan matter*) is right, after the United States concludes arms deals with

Taiwan or calls for the political independence of Taiwan, China will sign similar weapon deals with the noncompliant states to register its resistance and rebalance against the United States. If Proposition-3 were wrong, China would support America's sanction initiatives regardless the transfers of weapons from the United States to Taiwan.

Figure 5 Propositions

Proposition	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
P1: Constant pressure from the United States to cooperate in its efforts to deter nuclear threats from Iran and North Korea would cause China to straddle because it wants to hold on to the two actors in its sphere of interest at a low cost, and at the same time, keep them at bay (*straddling*). Classical Realism	
P2: Demands from the United States to contain threats of the noncompliant states will lead China to stand up for the noncompliant states (*balancing*), unless the United States promises to offer some form of compensations. Structural Realism	
P3: If the United States supports Taiwan by signing arms deals, then China will not cooperate with the United States to restrain the noncompliant states (*balancing on Taiwan matter*). Structural Realism	
P4: Continuous failures of multinational negotiation or sudden disclosures of secret nuclear program in the noncompliant states move China to collaborate with the United States (*bandwagoning*). Structural Realism	
P5: China is likely to instigate conflicts between the noncompliant states and the United States because it can extort benefits from the dissension (*abetting*). Offensive Realism	
P6: After China shows its willingness to cooperate with the United States to punish the noncompliant states, China hinders the implementation of tough sanctions against them in the negotiations, and then, waters down the terms of resolution (*delaying*). Defensive Realism	
P7: China's ambiguous position prevents provocations from both the United States and the noncompliant states (*hiding prevents provocation*). Defensive Realism	
P8: China takes a mediator's role to maintain stability in the region and gain a reputation as a peacemaker (*mediating*). Liberalism, English School, Constructivism	

If Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*) is right, when multilateral dialogues repeatedly fail to reach an agreement and fail to implement agreed measures, when clandestine nuclear facilities were found in the noncompliant states, and when they tested nuclear bombs and ballistic missiles, China should be more likely to cooperate with the United States. If Proposition-4 were wrong, China would not be influenced by revelations of

secret nuclear programs in the noncompliant states or provocations. It is with neither side by straddling and hiding. If Proposition-5 (*abetting*) is right, China will seek to play the other two off each other so that it can enjoy benefits from the desperate two. It might try to perpetuate stalemates between the two states to improve its value as a kingmaker.

If Proposition-6 (*delaying*) is right, during the consultations in the IAEA Board of Governors to refer nuclear program issue of the noncompliant states to the UN Security Council and during the negotiations in the UN Security Council to pass a resolution, China should be likely to procrastinate to make its decision and thus delay agreements. If it has to pass a resolution due to coordinated pressure of the West, it will water down the terms for the noncompliant states. After the passage of resolutions, it will deliberately make implementations difficult to buy some time for the noncompliant states to prepare for sanctions. If the Proposition-6 were wrong, China would be clearly supportive to Western sanction proposals and apply strict implementation of agreements. Or it would walk out of the negotiation to defend the noncompliant states.

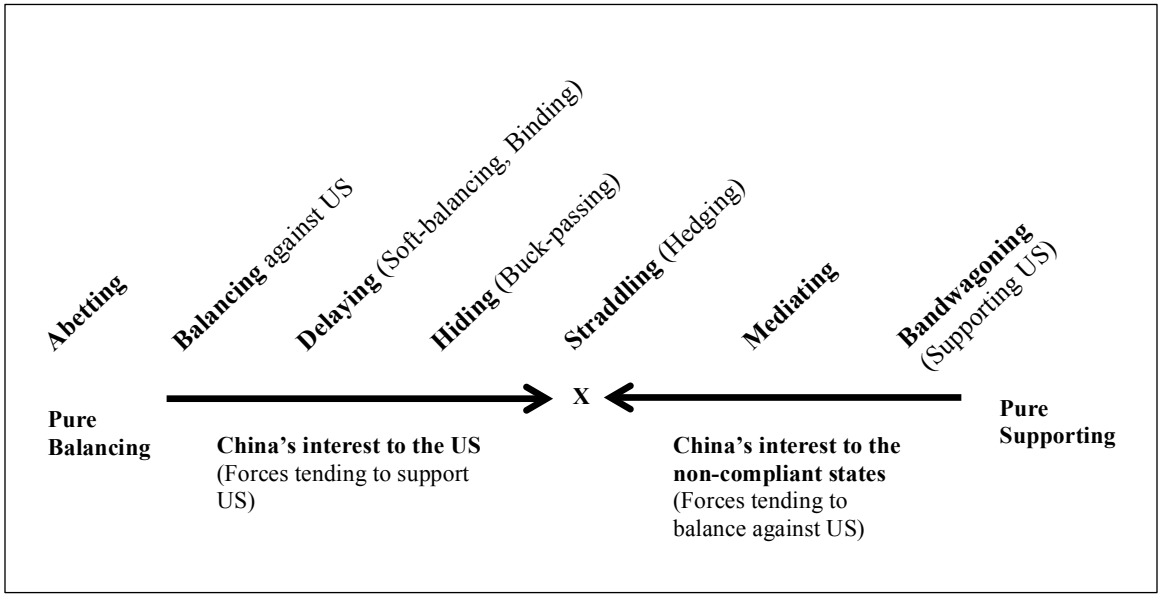
If Proposition-7 (*hiding prevents provocation*) is right and China's ambiguous stance is conducive to dampening tension and persisting status quo, China is likely to conceal its position by siding with neither state to restrain both. Conversely, if China clearly allies with one side, the side with it should be likely to provoke the other side excessively due to invigorated by moral hazard problem (Benson 2006; Benson 2012). As the China's protection commitment to the noncompliant states becomes firmer, they are more likely to provoke the United States resulting in either an escalation of tension

between the United States and the noncompliant states, a concession from the United State, or China's policy correction to forestall an imminent conflict between them.

If Proposition-8 (*mediating*) is right, China should be likely to act as a disinterested mediator because it wants to gain reputation as a peacemaker and benefits from the absence of conflict. If Proposition-8 were wrong, China would show indifferent attitude to resolve nuclear issues despite of heightened tensions between the two parties. If geographical distance is a critical factor for deciding a course of China's action, then, it should be likely to put more efforts to mediate North Korean issues than Iranian.

As shown in figure-6, I hypothesized that there is a causal relation between China's perceived interest at stake and cooperativeness on initiatives of the United States for tough sanction on the noncompliant states. When China's perceived interest at stake is indeterminate, there is no clear stance (straddling and delaying). When China's perceived interests of the noncompliant states are unambiguously more important than those of the United States, China will play tough on the United States (balancing). When China judges that its interests with the U.S. are bigger than those with the noncompliant states because it is likely to obtain rewards from the United States, it would support sanctions (bandwagoning). When Chinese leadership expects interests to both sides are low, it would either instigate conflicts on purpose (abetting) or hold the ring (hiding). When interests to the two are equally high, it would go for mediation (mediating).

Figure 6 China's Strategies Relating to Perceived Interests



	China's strategy	Intensity	
		China's interests in the U.S.	China's interests in the noncompliant states
Strategic Clarity	Balancing	Low	High
	Bandwagoning	High	Low
	Abetting	Low	Low
	Mediating	High	High
Strategic Ambiguity	Straddling	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
	Delaying	Indeterminate	Indeterminate
	Hiding	Low	Low

This research focuses on how and why China has been reacted to the requests from the United States on nuclear issues of the noncompliant states. The eight propositions encompass a spectrum of China's reaction strategy vis-à-vis both the United States and the noncompliant states. On the one extreme, there are abetting and balancing and the other extreme, there are bandwagoning and mediating. In the middle there are strategically ambiguous strategies like straddling, hiding, and delaying.

In the following chapters eight cases are analyzed to see whether the propositions are supported by history. Next, China's reactions towards Iran and North Korea in the same period are compared to determine whether the same Chinese decision-makers had responded differently or similarly. The case studies are structured around four empirical chapters. Each of the case studies spans from1990 to 2013, a period in which sanction against the noncompliant states has been a controversial issue in China's foreign relations. Each chapter starts with a description of China's reaction, provides a historical background, and dynamics between China, the United States, and the noncompliant states, weighs the propositions against the empirical records, and analyzes a specific strategy China has used in that period. Each chapter addresses distinct aspects of China's strategy that collectively have shaped Chinese policies towards the noncompliant states. They are good examples of the substantial change in Chinese foreign policies.

Chapter Four: From 1990 to 1997

China pursued two contradictory goals between 1990 and 1997: restoring relationships with the United States, and balancing against American hegemony. A major foreign policy goal for China was reestablishing an amicable relationship with the United States after the Tiananmen incident in 1989, but their foreign policies towards Iran and North Korea in this period were balancing against the United States after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 and during the Iraq War in 1991. China neither mediated nor instigated conflicts between the United States and the noncompliant states. In fact, it became a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1992. In July 1993 China formally agreed to voluntarily notify the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) of all its import and export of nuclear materials as well as its export of nuclear equipment. Its immediate reasons for joining the NPT was an effort to break out of the international isolation and sanction imposed after the Tiananmen incident (Medeiros 2007). President Bill Clinton introduced his policy of constructive engagement with China, but could not avoid the criticisms from the Congress and media that the United States is too soft on China. The Secretary of State Madeline Albright's remark shows the dilemma of the administration, "China is too big to ignore, too repressive to embrace, and it is difficult to influence" (M. K. Albright 2003, 430).

China encouraged North Korea to sign the IAEA safeguards agreement on January 30, 1992. However, because North Korea threatened to withdraw from the NPT in 1990s, China could not ease the tension between the United States and the North, because China's decision to normalize the relationship with South Korea in 1992 deeply offended the North. Even though the North has been refractory, China has been clear on opposing to impose sanctions on North Korea in the United Nations (UN) Security Council, because sanctions would destabilize the region. Chinese leadership perceived that keeping its modernization process stable and maintaining peaceful neighborhood was more important than punishing North Korea for defiance.

As for the Iranian nuclear development issue, China has supported Iran's so-called "civilian" nuclear programs since they are subjected to the IAEA monitoring. In 1992, China agreed to sell Iran a 20-megawatts or small research reactor. In 1993, China and Iran signed a contract for the sale of 300-megawatt power reactors. In 1995, it signed another contract with Iran for the provision of a uranium-conversion facility. However, the United States believed that since Iran possesses one of the world's largest natural gas reserves and is a net producer of oil, it has no real need for nuclear reactors to generate electricity and its nuclear activity should be stopped (Medeiros 2007, 60), but China argued its cooperation with Iran on nuclear technology was for peaceful purposes and was monitored by the IAEA.

However, interestingly enough, China suddenly cancelled almost all the nuclear cooperation with Iran in October 1997 in the exchange for receiving advanced nuclear technology from the United States and having an assurance from the United States not to

support Taiwan's autonomy. This is because China needed to secure cooperation from the United States to restore its international legitimacy after the Tiananmen incident than to support the noncompliant states under the principles of fairness to develop and exchange peaceful nuclear technology. In this chapter the eight propositions are tested to see whether China has acted as I anticipated in the Chapter 2 and 3. The focus of this chapter is on China's "balancing" behavior.

Case-1: North Korea (From 1990 to 1997)

History

For both the United States and North Korea, the 1990s was a volatile period. North Korea threatened to withdraw from the NPT in 1993. Through the negotiations they had reached the Agreed Framework in October 1994. However, their relationship soured again due to delay of heavy fuel delivery in 1996. Let us touch basic issues between them focusing on China's reaction on the crises.

In early 1990s, Kim Il Sung said, "Since we do not know when the United States may ignite a nuclear war, we should make thorough preparations against this" (Chang 1994, 38). His son Kim Jong Il also reportedly said, "We, too, should prepare against emergency nuclear warfare by introducing the advanced nuclear technologies at an early date" (Chang 1994, 38). As former North Korean leaders have harbored such a siege mentality, it is not surprising that they tried to develop nuclear weapon covertly and overtly. The nuclear crisis started when North Korea reprocessed 90-100 grams of plutonium from damaged fuel rods that were removed from its 5 megawatts nuclear reactor in Yongbyon in March 1990. North Korea demanded the United States to

withdraw nuclear weapons from South Korea as a precondition for its acceptance of IAEA safeguards inspections, but the United States rejected the request on July 31 (Japan Economic Newswire 1990).

At the IAEA Board of Governors meeting in Vienna on February 26, 1991, the 16 out of 35 governors called on North Korea to sign a nuclear safeguards agreement. North Korea declared that it would not sign an agreement until the United States promised not to launch a preemptive nuclear attack. China might have thought North Korea's demand was legitimate after watching "Operation of Desert Storm" against Saddam Hussein. The IAEA Board of Governors passed a resolution on September 12 calling on North Korea to quickly ratify the safeguards agreement and move from signature to actual implementation without delay.[49] A few days after the resolution was passed, North Korea's ambassador to the IAEA, Oh Chang Rim, refused to sign the IAEA safeguards agreement, denouncing the resolutions as a "wanton encroachment" on the sovereignty, and claimed that North Korea would sign the accord "if pressure put upon us is removed" (Oberdorfer 1991).

A year later this hostile atmosphere reversed when South and North Korea announced the "Joint Declaration on a Non-Nuclear Korean Peninsula" on January 20, 1992. Under the declaration, the two agreed not to test, manufacture, produce, introduce, process, store, deploy, or use nuclear weapons and that they would not possess facilities for nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment.[50] In a conciliatory mood between

[49] The resolution, spearheaded by Japan, Australia, and 15 other countries, including the United States and Soviet Union, passes with a vote of 27 to 1 (only Cuba voted against it).

[50] Two Koreas created a Joint nuclear Control Commission in March, whose charge was to establish a joint inspection regime to verify the denuclearization of Korean peninsula.

Koreas, the Bush 41 administration had a high-level meeting with North Korea in New York on January 21. In the meeting the United States outlined preconditions to normalizing relations with North Korea. Those steps included North Korea's accepting IAEA inspection, ending all ballistic missile exports, and placing its chemical and biological weapons programs under international control. After the meeting, North Korea signed the IAEA safeguards agreement on January 30 (Weisman 1992).[51]

However, China's decision to normalize relationship with South Korea in 1992 frustrated the North. The effect of China's normalization with Seoul was such that, according to Victor Cha, "What ensued was essentially a period of non-dialogue for almost ten years [between China and North Korea]. No senior Chinese official went to the DPRK between 1992 and 2000" (Cha 2012). Chinese leaders had to win over the recalcitrant ally, but the angry North could not be placated, and China's influence over Pyongyang diminished accordingly. By 1993, China "provided 77 percent of North Korea's fuel imports and 68 percent of their food," (S. S. Kim 2007a) but according to Victor Cha, after China's normalization with South Korea, "China stopped supplying crude oil, coal, and fertilizer to the DPRK at so-called friendship prices, and stopped

[51] North Korea's Supreme People's Assembly does not ratify the agreement until April 9, 1992. The IAEA inspections process comprises four distinct phases. The first requires North Korea to submit an official report of its existing nuclear facilities. During the second phase, the IAEA will conduct a series of ad hoc inspections to verify the report, as well as gather some initial data about the nuclear program. Third, North Korea and the IAEA will sign various subsidiary agreements and attachments to the accord describing inspection procedures for specific facilities. Fourth, the IAEA will begin routine inspections designed to ensure that the nuclear facilities are not being used for military purposes. After North Korea signed the IAEA safeguard agreement, South Korean Foreign Minister Lee Sang Ok met with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Beijing on August 23, 1992. According to Qian, China had repeatedly asked North Korea to allow the IAEA inspections and "it will not provide North Korea with any support for the development of nuclear energy or nuclear weapons" (KBS 1992).

providing interest-free loans" (Cha 2012). Sino-DPRK relationship was in trouble in early 1990s.

On February 16, 1993, the IAEA announced that the analysis of plutonium samples from North Korea has revealed discrepancies and that the separation had taken place later than 1990. The IAEA also discovered evidence that North Korea had tried to hide two nuclear waste sites and had separated weapon-grade plutonium on more occasions than it had stated. Being pressured by the IAEA Lee Chol, North Korea's permanent representative at the UN, threatened the IAEA on February 22 that North Korea has the right to "tear up" the IAEA safeguards agreement if inspectors continue to demand access to the two disputed sites in North Korea (The Independent 1993).

On February 25, the IAEA's Board of Governors passed the resolution (GOV/2636) requesting North Korea to permit the full and prompt implementation of its safeguards agreement without delay. North Korea immediately rejected the request and two weeks later expressed that it will withdraw from the NPT. In the middle of disputes the IAEA Director General Hans Blix faced opposition from China and Russia on conducting a special inspection in North Korea, even though the United States, Britain, and France supported Blix's proposal. Facing objections from China, Russia, Brazil, and India, Blix decided to delay special inspections (Hibbs 1993a, 16). As tension escalated due to Pyongyang's intransigence towards the IAEA, the United States had requested China to exercise some leverage on North Korea. However, China's official response was a cryptic letter to the State Department saying that "at the end of the mountain and the

river, one may not know where the road lies, then suddenly, one finds a new village with willow and flowers"[52] (International Crisis Group 2006, 4).

The IAEA passed a resolution (INFCIRC/419) stating that North Korea has to grant inspectors access to the two sites suspected of being part of its nuclear weapons program until March 25. China has made the Board of Governors to provide a one-month grace period for North Korea's compliance on the inspection. When it was time to vote on the IAEA resolution requesting North Korea to implement its safeguards agreement, China abstained from the vote allowing the resolution to pass. In the resolution the Board of Governors made it clear that if North Korea does not act, it will take the issue to the UN Security Council for international sanctions (Smith 1993; Oberdorfer 1997, 278). Some news source speculated that Kim Il Sung secretly met with China's leader Deng Xiaoping in order to ensure China's support if North Korea withdraws from the NPT in February. Deng reportedly promised to support North Korea by playing a mediator's role between North Korea and the UN (Associated Press 1993).

Amid of the rumor that China was tacitly supporting its old ally to restore their relationship after the China's normalization with the South, North Korea announced on March 12 that it would formally withdraw from the NPT because of the United States and South Korea's joint military drill called "Team Spirit exercise" and the IAEA's demand for special inspection. North Korea accused the IAEA of violating its sovereignty and interfering in its internal affairs, attempting to stifle its socialism, and of being a "lackey" of the United States (Oberdorfer 1997, 280; Sanger 1993a).

[52] The original text appears as 山穷水尽疑无路，柳暗花明又一村。

At the time North Korea pouring acrimonious rhetoric against the United States and the IAEA, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen shielded North Korea by announcing on March 23 that China opposes any international sanctions placed on North Korea for withdrawing from the NPT. Qian said that the NPT does not call for punitive measures to "punish those who stay away or pull out." Accordingly, China opposed raising the issue before the UN Security Council (Schweid 1993). The South Korean Foreign Minister Han Sung Joo met with Chen Jian, the Chinese representative to the UN, in order to persuade China to press North Korea at the UN. Chen said that China shares South Korea's goal of a nuclear free Korean Peninsula, but North Korea's nuclear issue should be resolved first through the IAEA (KBS Radio 1993).

On March 31, the Board of Governors concluded that North Korea had not been compliant with the terms of its safeguards agreement with the IAEA and thus approved the resolution to call for the UN Security Council to intervene (Article 19 of the safeguards agreement).[53] China and Libya voted against the resolution (vote for 28 and against 2) (Sanger 1993b). Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Wu Jianmin, criticized on April 6 that the United States' threats of UN economic sanctions against North Korea for proliferation would only serve to complicate the situation. Two days later the UN Security Council expressed concern over North Korea's decision to withdraw from the NPT, but due to China's threat to veto any punitive measures against North Korea, the Security Council President Jamsheed Marker later called on the IAEA to resume negotiations with North Korea (Xinhua 1993; Inter Press Service 1993).

[53] The resolution claimed, "the Agency is not able to verify that there has been no diversion of nuclear material [to] nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices."

On May 7, 1993, France, the United States, Russia, and Britain proposed a resolution draft to the UN Security Council calling on North Korea "to honor its nonproliferation obligations under the treaty and comply with its safeguards agreement with IAEA." However, Brazil and Pakistan expressed concern over the language and propose amending the resolution. China has opposed any consideration of sanction on North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT in the UN Security Council. Due to lack of support for the draft, the Security Council decided to defer action on the resolution (Agence France Presse 1993).

However, on May 11, 1993, the UN Security Council passed the resolution (S/RES/825) calling on North Korea to reconsider its decision to withdraw from the NPT.[54] The resolution passed by a vote of 13 to 0, with China and Pakistan abstaining. China abstained on the resolution because it did not support a resolution that included any hint of sanctions.[55] Confronting the China's uncooperative action in the UN Security Council, President Clinton issued the Executive Order 12850 on May 28 establishing China's human rights progress conditions for extension of the United States Most Favored Nation (MFN) tariff status to China. It posed a difficulty to Chinese leadership but North Korea's threat for withdrawal from the NPT gave China a chance to direct the United States to grant the MFN status China in exchange for cooperation with the United States.

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[54] The resolution urged North Korea to "honor its nonproliferation obligations under the treaty and comply with its safeguards agreement with the IAEA as specified by the IAEA Board of Governors' resolution of February 12, 1993," which calls on North Korea to accept special inspections at two suspected nuclear waste sites which is not included in North Korea's initial list of declared facilities. While the resolution stops short of imposing sanctions on North Korea.

[55] In response of the resolution North Korea announced that it would withdraw from the NPT and eject IAEA inspectors.

What ensued was a tug-of-war between the international community that continued to be concerned about the potential nuclear proliferation by the DPRK and the defiant DPRK. The IAEA General Assembly passed the resolution on October 1 that calls on North Korea to "cooperate immediately with the Agency in the full implementation of the safeguards agreement" (Hibbs 1993b).[56] A month later the UN General Assembly passed the resolution (A/RES/48/14) on November 1 urging North Korea to "cooperate immediately with the IAEA in the full implementation of the safeguards agreement."[57]

On February 4, 1994, the United States appealed to China to put pressure on North Korea to allow IAEA inspections of its nuclear facilities. Speaking at a UN Security Council meeting, the United States Ambassador to the UN, Madeline Albright informed the Chinese representative that the United States, Britain, France, and Russia will begin pressing for economic sanctions if North Korea does not open its nuclear facilities to international inspections by February 21 (Lewis 1994a). However, on March 29 China objected to the United States' proposal in which asking North Korea to readmit IAEA inspectors within one month. China had warned if the United States resolution draft came to vote, it would use its veto power. Objecting to the language "further Security Council action" in the proposal China refused to pass the resolution in which contains directly threatening sanctions.

[56] The resolution noted the IAEA's "grave concern that North Korea has failed to discharge its safeguards obligations and has recently widened the area of non-compliance by not accepting scheduled Agency ad hoc and routine inspections as required by the safeguards agreement." The resolution receives 72 votes in favor, 11 abstentions, and negative votes by Libya and North Korea (Hibbs 1993b).

[57] The resolution is passed with 140 in favor, North Korea voting against, and nine abstained.

Two days after China rejected the United States' draft; it suggested the President of the Security Council to issue a statement, rather than a resolution, urging North Korea to cooperate with IAEA inspectors. The Presidential Statement proposed by China issued on March 31, 1994 (S/PRST/1994/13) and made no comment of possible actions taken by the Security Council if North Korea does not cooperate, but it urged North Korea to allow full IAEA inspections. The presidential statement, read by Security Council President Jean-Bernard Merimee, did not mention a deadline for North Korea to readmit inspectors, but it did warn that "further Security Council consideration will take place if necessary in order to achieve full implementation of the IAEA-North Korean safeguards agreement" (Lewis 1994b; Nguyen 1994).

Although China expressed support for the North, the North Korean leader Kim Il Sung cancelled the May meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Beijing. The cancellation was seen as a sign of his displeasure with China's lack of backing in the UN regarding nuclear inspections. The IAEA inspectors confirmed on May 19 that North Korea has begun removing spent nuclear fuel from its 5-megawatts nuclear reactor in Yongbyon. North Korea pulled fuel rods from a reactor containing sufficient plutonium for five or six weapons. As both the United States and North Korea girded for war, China began preparations for sending 50,000 to 75,000 troops to support North Korea in case of invasion of the United States (International Crisis Group 2006, 5).

As the tension in Korean peninsula heightened, on May 28, 1994, President Clinton reversed the previous policy and decided to delink MFN treatment of China from China's human right practices. It meant that the United States would renew MFN status

for China, even though China did not met human right requirements set by the United States (Sutter 2012, 136). Chinese leaders were no doubt pleased with the revocation. They began to be supportive on initiatives of the United States to press North Korea, but not as much as the United States has hoped.

On May 30, 1994, the UN Security Council issued the Presidential Statement (S/PRST/1994/28) urging North Korea to set aside spent fuel rods necessary to determine if any plutonium has been diverted to a weapons program. The statement, adopted unanimously, did not mention any economic sanctions if North Korea does not cooperate. Four days after it was issued, North Korea announced that it would view economic sanctions as a declaration of war. Following the IAEA announcement that it could no longer verify that North Korea has not diverted spent fuel to a weapons program; the United States began to consult with other countries at the UN on imposing economic sanctions. While most members of the Security Council supported economic sanctions, China was reluctant to take such measures. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Shen Guofang said, "At this time, we do not favor resorting to means that might sharpen the confrontation" (Gordon 1994; Hunt 1994).

On June 13 North Korea announced its "immediate withdrawal from the IAEA." In a Foreign Ministry statement North Korea announced that it "will not be bound to any rules or resolutions of the Agency hereafter" (Sanger 1994).[58] Nonetheless, the United States proposed a resolution draft on June 15. The draft calls for increasingly severe sanctions if North Korea continues to refuse IAEA inspections. The sanctions include the

[58] The announcement came in the wake of the IAEA resolution suspending technical assistance to North Korea. North Korea reiterated that any UN sanctions will be viewed as a declaration of war.

immediate halt to all UN technical and scientific projects in North Korea and an embargo on arms sales. Britain and France supported the draft, but China and Russia were disinclined to impose sanctions. In June 1994 China abstained from IAEA resolutions to cut off all assistance to North Korea, and told UN Security Council members that it opposed sanctions, but food exports from China to North Korea fell by more than half between 1993 and 1994 (Cha 2012).

Blocked by China and Russia, the United States adopted two-prong approach to North Korea: pressure and reconciliation. On the one hand, according to Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles Freeman, if the UN Security Council fails to adopt the resolution, the United States "is prepared to form a coalition outside of the Security Council"(Slama 1994; Lewis 1994c). On the other hand, the former President Jimmy Carter visited Pyongyang for four days and brokered a deal with Kim Il Sung in June.[59] The deal between Carter and Kim defused tension immediately as Kim Il Sung ordered activities at Yongbyon halted and allowed negotiations between the United States and North Korea to resume (Shin 1994). However, the deal remained dormant when Kim Il Sung died on July 8, 1994. North Korean elites pledged allegiance to his son, Kim Jong Il.

After almost four months of mourning period, the United States and North Korea signed the "Agreed Framework," North Korea declared on October 21, 1994 that it would freeze its plutonium program and eventually dismantle them in return for humanitarian assistances. Under the Agreed Framework, the United States agreed to help North Korea to build two light water nuclear reactors in exchange for North Korea scrapping its own

[59] Some media speculated that Carter was carrying an unofficial package deal that offers a diplomatic recognition if North Korea opened its nuclear facilities to IAEA inspectors (KBS Radio 1994), but this remains hard to verify.

effort to build graphite nuclear reactors which were thought to be easily used to produce a weaponized nuclear capability. [60] North Korea complied with the Agreed Framework, thereby, allowing the permanent remote monitoring and inspectors at its nuclear facilities. North Korea cancelled the planned missile test and declared a moratorium. In return, President Clinton announced plans to suspend restrictions on nonmilitary trade, financial transactions, travel, and official contacts.

North Korea hailed the accord "the biggest diplomatic victory" achieved without assistance or pressure from China. "We held the talks independently with the United States on an independent footing, not relying on someone else's sympathy or advice, and the adoption of the DPRK-U.S. agreed framework is a fruition of our independent foreign policy" (Rodong Sinmun 1994; S. S. Kim 2007a, 58). Thus, according to Cha, from 1995, China "resumed subsidized trade, providing over 1.2 million metric tons of crude oil and 1.5 million metric tons of coal, providing about 550,000 tons annually (about 10 percent of the North's annual grain requirements) (Cha 2012). However, according to Samuel Kim, the framework doomed to failure from its inception

> "because of half-hearted implementation of the agreement on the part of the United States, very little progress was made. The lack of seriousness with which the United States would treat the Agreed Framework was made evident when the U.S. General Accounting Office stated that the Agreed Framework should

[60] Under the terms of the agreement, a US-led international consortium would help North Korea to replace its graphite-moderated reactors with two 1,000-megawatts light water reactors. The international consortium would compensate North Korea for the freeze on its graphite-moderated reactors by supplying 500,000 tons of heavy-fuel oil annually until the new reactors operate. Second, the United States and North Korea would make efforts to normalize their economic and political relations by reducing barriers in investment and trade. Third, both countries will strive towards establishing a nuclear-weapons-free-zone on the Korean Peninsula. Finally, North Korea will help strengthen the nonproliferation regime by remaining a member of the NPT. It would have also allowed the IAEA to implement the safeguards agreement and monitor the freeze on its nuclear facilities. However, the United States made a concession in allowing North Korea to retain possession of 8,000 spent fuel rods instead of sending them to a third country for storage, a condition on which the United States had earlier insisted.

> properly be described as "a nonbinding political agreement" or "nonbinding international agreement" rather than an internationally binding legal document" (S. S. Kim 2007a, 59).

As if to bear this out, two years after the Agreed Framework deal was made, on October 24, 1996 a North Korea announced that North Korea was "forced to test a missile" in response to the joint United State-South Korea military exercise known as "Foal Eagle." The UN General Assembly adopted the resolution on October 26 calling on North Korea to adhere to its safeguards agreement with the IAEA.[61] However, on November 15 North Korea threatened to restart its nuclear program if there were any further delay in light water reactor building project by the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO). North Korea said, "We cannot keep the nuclear program frozen any longer only to get heavy oil shipments which can be suspended at any time." It warned that "if the provision of light water reactors is delayed or frustrated, the DPRK-US framework agreement will be destroyed" (Ueno 1996).

The Agreed Framework began to crumble down during 1997 because of delays in building light water reactors and delivery of heavy oil shipments. In the meantime, Kim Jong Il was elected General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party on October 8, 1997, thereby, consolidating his own power base. China's resumed subsidized trade and food aid from 1995 kept famine-struck North Korea afloat in this period.

Analysis

On the one hand, for Chinese leaders in 1990s, restoring its strained relations with the United States, thereby, causing the United States to lift sanctions after the Tiananmen

[61] The resolution urged North Korea to "preserve all information relevant to verifying the accuracy and completeness of the initial report of the DPRK on the inventory of nuclear material subject to safeguards until the DPRK comes into full compliance with its safeguards agreement."

incident in 1989 are important two goals in foreign policy making. For the George H. W. Bush administration, China's acquiescence was necessary to fight against Iraq during the Gulf War in 1991. China abstained from the vote on the UN Resolution 678 (January 1991), to allow the U.S. to prosecute its war against Iraq. As its reward, the U.S. relaxed its sanctions against China (Benewick and Wingrove 1995).

On the other hand, Chinese leaders needed to placate North Korea to not withdraw from the NPT and to stabilize the regime after Kim Il Sung died in July1994. It decided to abstain from the vote on the UN Resolution 825 (May 1993) to appease North Korea. North Korea also needed diplomatic and economic support from China against pressure from the United States. In short, this congruence of interests between the three actors determined the Chinese policies on both the United States and North Korea.

China in this period mostly wanted to hide since there was no incentive offered by the United States. As such, its balancing behavior was notable. However, China's balancing behavior not only stemmed entirely from the urge to counter the United States, but also from gambits for preventing North Korea from more provocations. After China adopted the "two Koreas" policy by establishing formal diplomatic relationship with South Korea, North Korea did not comply to China's wishes and demands. For this reason, China felt the need to woo its ally.

When the North Korean nuclear crisis drew attention of international society since 1993, China's attitude was mostly silent yet balancing against the United States' movement to punish North Korea. It obfuscated most of the time, but its stance has been supportive of North Korea's underdog assertions such as equality of peaceful use in

nuclear technology and opposition of sanction. Samuel Kim argued that China "played neither mediator nor peacemaker for fear it might get burned if something went wrong" (S. S. Kim 2007a, 10). This hand-off approach is one of hiding strategies by refusing to take sides and passing the buck to others saying that "the issue was a direct matter between the DPRK and the three sides—the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the United States, and the Republic of Korea" (Beijing Review 1993). China wanted to hide from the fray between those four parties by letting them face the thorny issues while it is staying on the sideline.

China's behavior largely confirms the Proposition-2 (*balancing*) since China opposed the "special inspection" proposed by the IAEA Director General Hans Blix (Hibbs 1993a, 16) and it also opposed to impose tough sanctions when North Korea threatened to withdraw from the NPT in 1993 (Schweid 1993). When the IAEA Board of Governors passed the resolution on March 31, 1993, China voted against the resolution (Sanger 1993b). When France, the United States, Russia, and Britain presented a resolution draft to the UN Security Council on May 7, 1993, China opposed (Xinhua 1993; Inter Press Service 1993). It also objected to the United States proposed resolution draft to the UN Security Council in March 1994 (Lewis 1994b; Nguyen 1994). However, consistent with my first hypothesis and Proposition-2, President Clinton's decision to delink approving of MFN status with progress in human rights on May 28, 1994 made Chinese leaders more cooperative in pressuring North Korea. It helped to strike the deal between the United States and North Korea in October 1994.

China's behavior is inconsistent with Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*), since it had opposed economic sanctions proposed by the United States even though there were repeated failures to force North Korea to open two suspicious nuclear sites for IAEA inspection. China threatened the U.S. in April 1993 to veto at the Security Council if punitive measures on North Korea are brought to the vote.

Proposition-3 (*balancing on Taiwan matter*) has no bearing in explaining the North Korean case between 1990 and 1997. Taiwan related matter has not affected China's foreign policies on North Korea since Chinese leaders did not link the North Korean issue with the United States' sale of F-16s to Taiwan in 1992 and Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's visit to the Cornell University in June 1995. Chinese leaders did not think of North Korean issue within the context of Taiwan problem.

Nonetheless, the case study on the North Korean situation confirms Proposition-6 (*delaying*). Upon requests for adoption of UN resolution from the United States, China drafted and passed two UN Security Council Presidential Statements in March and May 1994 respectively and blocked any resolution indicating sanctions because a presidential statement carries less weight than a resolution. When the United States began to solicit opinions about sanctions at the Security Council in 1994, China did not agree to tough measures. While it objected to the United States drafted resolution, it supported two presidential statements without mentioning possible actions of the Security Council if North Korea does not cooperate with the IAEA inspection requests. [62] This was a typical

[62] S/PRST/1994/13 and S/PRST/1994/28

watering-down strategy (*delaying* or Proposition-6). When the United States presented a resolution draft calling for sanctions on June 15, 1994, China did not agree to it.

Proposition-8 (*mediating*) does not explain what transpired because in May 1994 a second Korean war between the United States and North Korea was highly likely before former President Jimmy Carter made a trip to Pyongyang, but China did not actively seek to ratchet down the hostility between parties involved. It was only worrying about instability to which a war would bring its economic growth. It had not taken a mediator's role to reduce tension between the two parties, but allegedly sent troops to the North East border to protect its people from an invasion of the United States. Even though its official ally in neighborhood was on the verge of war, China was not serious to deescalate the tension by facilitating dialogues between the United States and North Korea. Rather, it adopted a passive stance by straddling between the two camps in accordance with Proposition-1 (*straddling*). Chinese leaders might judge that China could contain threats from both sides by being ambiguous yet preparing derailments.

When the UN Security Council took vote on the resolution (S/RES/825) on May 11, 1993, China abstained. By giving up voting China attempted to soothe North Korea and at the same time by letting the resolution pass it was able to avoid to being stigmatized as a benefactor of the "rogue state." This supports the Proposition-1 (*straddling*), in that when China got appeals from the United States for pressing North Korea, it responded with a cryptic poem in 1993 (International Crisis Group 2006, 4).[63] China had been trying to avoid clear responds to the entreaties from the United States

[63] "At the end of the mountain and the river, one may not know where the road lies, then suddenly, one finds a new village with willow and flowers" (International Crisis Group 2006, 4).

dealing with North Korea. Hiding strategy (Proposition-7) has not prevented the other two from escalating tension in 1994.

Figure 7 Propositions Testing on Case-1

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	1993 1994	**Confirmed:** China abstained from vote on the UNSC resolution 825 in May 1993; it was reluctant to support a US proposed UNSC resolution in June 1994
2	Balancing unless there is a compensation	1993 1994	**Confirmed:** China voted against the resolution in the IAEA Board of Governors in March 1993; opposed the Blix's special inspection proposal; threatened to veto if North Korean issue is brought to UNSC discussing sanctions in April 1993; opposed to introduce a UNSC resolution in May 1993; objected to a US drafted UNSC resolution in March 1994.
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues	1992 1995	**Disconfirmed:** The US's sale of 150 F-16s for over $5 billion to Taiwan was concluded on September 2, 1992 → no action linking to the North Korean issue; Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui visited Cornell University in June 1995 → no reaction has been taken relating North Korean policy to press the US.
4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	1994	**Disconfirmed:** Tension was escalated between the US and North Korea to the degree of likely war → China blocked passage of a UNSC resolution; diluted UNSC resolutions to presidential statements
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	1990- 1997	**Ambiguous:** China opposed sanctions and was reluctant to approve UNSC resolutions, but it is unclear it has done it for getting benefits from conflicts between the other two.
6	Delaying negotiation and water-down the terms	1992 1994	**Confirmed:** China encouraged North Korea to sign IAEA safeguards agreement in1992, but opposed to discuss sanctions on the North. It diluted the intensity of punitive measures by downgrading UNSC resolution to presidential statements in March and May 1994.
7	Hiding to contain both	1993 1994	**Disconfirmed:** China abstained from UNSC vote on the resolution in May 1993; sent the cryptic poem to the US in 1993; was reluctant to agree with a US proposed UNSC resolution in June 1994 → tension escalated
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	1994	**Disconfirmed:** Tension escalated high in 1994 → China did not show mediating effort, hands-off approach to the crisis
	Behavioral pattern in the Case-1	1990- 1997	bandwagoning → bandwagoning → balancing → crisis → hiding → crisis → balancing → balancing → balancing → hiding → balancing → straddling → crisis → straddling → hiding → settlement → crisis

Case-2: Iran (From 1990 to 1997)

History

On July 3, 1988, the United States missile cruiser *Vincennes* shot down a civilian Iranian aircraft (Flight 655) and killed 290 passengers including 66 children. The aftermath of the United States embassy hostage incidents from 1979 to 1981 and the civilian airline shoot down pushed US-Iranian relations to the nadir in 1980s. By contrast, during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) China had been a supporter of Iran (Garver 2007). China and Iran had signed an umbrella protocol on peaceful nuclear cooperation in June 1985. The agreement covers the supply of materials and equipment as well as training. Even though it stated that all cooperation would be subject to IAEA regulations, the United States feared that the umbrella accord would help Iran establish a basic nuclear infrastructure that could be used for military purposes in the future (Medeiros 2007, 59).

After the Iran-Iraq War China has not severed ties with Iran—the regional hegemon-would-be in the Middle East. It had helped Iran by supplying military materials and nuclear technology. China's tendency for balancing against the United States in the region has been reinforced by arms deals between Taiwan and the United States in 1992 and 1993. The Sino-US relation became worse when President Clinton approved Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's private visit to Cornell University in June 1995. China protested with strongly worded statements and suspended a number of important dialogues with Taiwan. Taiwan's legislative elections in December1995 and its first presidential election in March 1996 ratcheted up tension across the Taiwan Strait. The

two U.S. aircraft carriers were deployed around the Taiwan Strait in March 1996 (Sutter 2012, 136–7).

The United States later had to woo China by offering compensation to induce its cooperation for imposing sanctions on Iran. The United States' quid pro quo included canceling sanction against China, extending Most Favored Nation (MFN) status, transferring advanced nuclear technology to China, and supporting three NOs on Taiwan (the United States does not support Taiwan independence, the creation of two Chinas, or Taiwan's admission to the UN). It is for this reason that we should exam Iran-China relations within the context of the history of Sino-U.S. relations.

Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani (1990-1997) advocated reconciliation with the United States if it can be achieved based on mutual respect, non-interference in domestic affairs, and advancing mutual interests. Rafsanjani placed great importance on normalizing relations with the West, as this would also serve Iran's national interest. By contrast, the new Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, reiterated that the United States would remain as an archenemy of Iran. He opposed the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States or any direct negotiations up to 2005 (Mousavian 2014).

On January 21, 1990, at Rafsanjani's initiative, Iran signed a 10-year agreement with China to construct a 27 megawatts plutonium production plant at Isfahan. As part of the agreement, China would supply additional calutron and other uranium enrichment technology in addition to transferring short range ballistic missile technology of systems including the M-11, referred to as Tondar-68 and M-9[64] (J. Mann 1992; Timmerman

[64] China's Ministry of Energy Resource and the China Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation (CNEIC) facilitated the deal.

1992, 27). China delivered 48 of its 8610 short-range surface-to-surface missiles to Iran in May 1990 (J. S. Bermudez 1994, 64). Chinese Nuclear Industry Organization signed a contract to supply the Atomic Energy Organization with a micro-nuclear research reactor to be built at Isfahan in June (Defense and Foreign Affairs Weekly 1990).[65]

In early 1991, when the Soviet Union disintegrated, the Persian Gulf War expanded the U.S. influence in the Persian Gulf. China opposed the United States-led war to restore Kuwait, and favored continued negotiations because it did not want to see the United States broadens its influence in the region. Iran and China reached the same conclusion that since Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait is unacceptable Iraq should withdraw from the Kuwait territory, but the United States should not intervene militarily. A common front to confront the supposed U.S. domination of the region led to considerable amity between China and Iran giving a chance to deepen the Sino-Iranian partnership around early 1990s.

As the George H. W. Bush administration was moving toward war, it needed the UN Security Council authorization. As a veto-holding permanent member of the Security Council, China could block such an authorization. The United States needed China's support. The Secretary of State James Baker pleaded for Chinese support on the UN Security Council authorization to use of force, but Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen argued in favor of giving sanctions a longer time.

Eventually a deal between the U.S. and China was reached whereby China agreed not veto a Security Council resolution to use force, in exchange for the United States

[65] The size of the reactor was not disclosed, but it is speculated that it is approximately 30 megawatts.

promises to cancel sanctions against China which has been imposed after the Tiananmen incident in June 1989 (Garver 2006, 103). For this reason, China refrained from openly criticizing the United States and maintained a neutral position on the Gulf War. China's "principled stance" was to oppose the war at the first place, but it was more interested in ending the United States sanctions. China was eager to rehabilitate its name and to reestablish its reputation as a responsible world power that could be trusted. Inadvertently, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the United States' war in Iraq had revived the United States' interest in cooperating with China.

Even though China had been acquiescent toward the war in Iraq, it exported 1.6 metric tons of uranium products to Iran, including approximately one metric ton of uranium hexafluoride (UF6) in 1991 (Davis, Lecky, and Frosch 2012, 29).[66] According to Seyed Hossein Mousavian, Iran's Ambassador to Germany in the Rafsanjani government, on July 1, 1991, "Prime Minister Li Peng, during talks with Rafsanjani, agreed to provide expertise and technology on nuclear reactors. In 1991, Iran imported from China one metric ton of UF6 to feed gas for centrifuges" (Mousavian 2012, 54).[67] Neither country reported the transfer to the IAEA at that time because China was not yet a member of the NPT and thus technically it is not obligated to report the sale.

When the United States launched *Desert Storm* against Iraq on January 17, 1991, Iran finalized an agreement with China for the assembly of M-9 missile with a range of

[66] Western experts believe that the uranium China provided Iran became the raw material for covert uranium processing and enrichments over the next decades.

[67] Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani and Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng agreed on July 1, 1991 to provide expertise and technology to complete nuclear reactors begun by France and Germany. China would assist in rebuilding the Bushehr reactor (Sawt al-Kuwayt al-Duwali (London) 1991; Middle East Defense News 1992).

560km on January 21 (Timmerman 1992, 26). China and Iran signed deals for a calutron (electromagnetic separator for isotope production) in 1989 and for a small reactor in 1991.[68] Both Iran and China claimed the reactor and calutron are to be used for peaceful purposes (Patri 1991, 8; Church 1991). The Chinese Foreign Ministry statement said,

> "These facilities are used for nuclear medical diagnosis and nuclear physics research, isotope production, education, and personnel training…Guided by the internationally observed regulations, China had requested the IAEA to enforce safeguards before these facilities were shipped" (Associated Press 1991).[69]

To pressure China to desist, the United States-China Act of 1991 conference bill passed in the United States House of Representatives by a vote of 409-21 on November 26. The legislation directs that the President may not extend China's Most Favored Nation status (MFN) for another year if China transfers ballistic missile or missile launchers for the M-9 or M-11 systems to Syria or Iran (Arms Sales Monitor 1991).

During a visit to Beijing in November, the Secretary of State James Baker persuaded China to halt its transfers of nuclear technology to Iran. China responded by committing itself to sign the NPT on March 9, 1992, but at the same time reiterated its right to export nuclear technologies as long as they were safeguarded and intended for peaceful use. Baker reported that China has agreed not to sell the M-11 missiles to Iran as it was previously planned in November 1991 (Gill 1998). After being pressured by the United States, China held off its offer to sell a 27-megawatts nuclear reactor to Iran

[68] Iranians began to construct the 27 kilowatts research reactor (bought from China) at Isfahan in September 1991 and Chinese President Yang Shangkun visited the Darkhovin facility in Ahvaz promising technical assistance to Iran to complete the Darkhovin and Bushehr reactors in October. China sold a small nuclear reactor for research and installed uranium enrichment equipment at Darkhovin in Ahvaz in November.

[69] But the United States State Department spokesman said, "We are concerned that any dual-use equipment sold to Iran for commercial purposes could be diverted to other applications" (Associated Press 1991).

(Drozdiak 1991). "When China joined the Nuclear Suppliers Group in 1992, it ceased nuclear cooperation with Iran under American pressure" (Mousavian 2012, 54).

China acceded to Baker's request because the U.S. tried to woo its leaders, but China's accommodation was not reciprocated by the U.S. on Taiwan issues when the United States concluded an arms deal with Taiwan in 1992 to sell 150 F-16s for over $5 billion. It was the most significant arms deal between the United States and Taiwan since severing diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 1979. The United States tried to keep its commitments to Taiwan and persisted in pressing its concerns on weapons proliferation and human rights (M. K. Albright 2003, 436). China was furious at this "breach of the 1982 communiqué" and began to retaliate. China threatened to boycott the UN-sponsored talks of the Permanent Five members in the Security Council on Middle East arms sales unless the United States suspended the F-16 deal with Taiwan. China transferred 30 M-11 missiles to Pakistan, thus, reneging on Foreign Minister Qian's earlier pledge not to do so.

China announced that it was ready to transfer 500 M-11 missiles to Iran eight days later the deal is announced. On September 10, China agreed to provide Iran with two 300-megawatts reactors. Iranian President Rafsanjani announced a 10-year nuclear cooperation agreement with China during his trip to Beijing. Iranian Defense Minister Ali Akbar Torkan and Chinese Science and Technology Minister, Song Jian, signed an agreement providing for extensive nuclear cooperation, including construction of several large nuclear power plants. China will build two 300 megawatts power reactors at a site near Darkhovin.[70] The deal included transferring equipment to manufacture fuel rods and

[70] The Chinese-contracted plant will be of similar design to China's own Qinshan plant. Observers questioned China's ability to complete the Iranian project as key components in the Qinshan station, such

a large munitions sales agreement was signed. A major part of payment was to be in crude oil, because Iran was suffering liquidity problems caused by a decline in oil prices. In short, China arranged a favorable agreement with Iran. They reiterated that this deal was intended solely for peaceful purposes, and that it would be available to international inspectors in accordance with NPT (Fact on File World News Digest 1992; Nuclear News 1992; Proliferation Issues 1992a). According to Chinese Ambassador to Iran Hua Liming in an interview years later, the deal had previously been dropped because China was concerned about Iran's ability to finance the project, but China somehow resuscitated the arrangement (D. Albright 1995; Resalat (Teheran) 1995; Coughlin 1995). The United States had persuaded China not to deliver a research reactor in Isfahan, but China decided to proceed with deal after the U.S. sold F-16 fighters to Taiwan (Hutchings 1992).

China's expanding nuclear cooperation with Iran constituted a major and direct challenge to the United States. The State Department strongly objected to the deal and criticized the China-Iran nuclear cooperation agreement. It said "Any nuclear cooperation with Iran, even for peaceful purposes and even under IAEA safeguards ... is highly imprudent and should be avoided" (Proliferation Issues 1992b). The United States persuaded China to cancel the power reactor deal with Iran, but China continued to remain defiant citing the right of NPT parties to access safeguarded peaceful nuclear technology, Liu Xuehong, Chinese deputy director general of the Ministry of Energy and Bureau of International Cooperation at the China National Nuclear Corporation, said that the reactor sought by Iran was too small to pose a proliferation threat. However, the

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as the pressure vessel, instrumentation and control, and primary pumps, were imported from international dealers.

United States experts speculated the reactor could be capable of producing 6kg of plutonium per year.[71] Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen rejected the United States concerns over the sale of a nuclear reactor to Iran, noting that Iran has signed the NPT and accepted IAEA safeguards (Nuclear News 1992).

During the first Clinton administration starting from 1993 the United States pursued a policy of "dual containment" whereby it equated Iran with Iraq, because they were considered repeat violators of international law, undemocratic and hostile to the United States interests. Its policy was to isolate them and deny them the capacity to develop advanced arms (M. K. Albright 2003, 320). From China's perspective, the U.S. policies such as the Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Act[72] and policy of dual containment of Iran and Iraq[73] were construed as brazen acts of hegemony, because the United States had no business interfering with Iran's internal governance and China's. Regarding nuclear issues, Iran is a signatory of the NPT and as such has the right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Iran has cooperated with the IAEA, but the United States has been acting on the unilateral basis of its own domestic law and has made unilateral policy decisions to regulate relations between Iran and other countries. It is by no means fair to China and Iran and transferring high-tech weapons to Taiwan is a serious threat to China's sovereignty.

Even though Chinese leaders resented U.S. unilateralism, they did not seek full retaliation against the U.S. after the United States decided to sell F-16 to Taiwan because

[71] Although the IAEA does not consider such an amount to be significant, the United States thought that it is enough to produce a nuclear bomb.

[72] In October 1992 the United States Congress had passed the Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Act.

[73] The Clinton administration announced a new policy of dual containment of Iran and Iraq in May 1993.

the United States Congress debated the linkage of human rights with MFN trading status, which could have cost China billions in extra tariffs. The debate was particularly contentious because Congress passed several bills conditioning MFN-status renewal on changes in Chinese policies on human rights, nonproliferation, and trade practices.

China canceled the impending sale of the 10-megawatt reactor to Iran on the eve of a controversial congressional vote on MFN status for China. Liu Xuehong told the United States publication *Nucleonics Week* that China "could not supply" Iran with a nuclear research reactor for "technical reasons"[74] (Coll 1992). I suspect that the cancellation of deal might have been intended to make the United States Congress to renew China's MFN status. Chinese leaders might have calculated that given the mood in Congress, cancellation of the reactor deal was worth the renewal of MFN status for another year (Medeiros 2007, 63).

However, China's nuclear cooperation with Iran has been continued. Iranian President Rafsanjani and Jiang Xinxiong, the president of the China National Nuclear Industrial General Corporation, signed a deal to construct two 300-megawatts nuclear power plants in Ahvaz on February 21, 1993. China promised to provide the technology and equipment for the construction of the nuclear power station (The Arms Control Reporter 1993; Xinhua 1992).[75] In May 1993 President Clinton decided to link China's human rights progress with its extension for the MFN status (the Executive order 12850). Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif visited Beijing in July 1993 for

[74] According to Liu, Iran has been seeking a 25 to 30 megawatts heavy water-moderated natural uranium-fueled reactor that China could not provide.

[75] Next month the Islamic Majlis of Iran ratified nuclear cooperation agreements with China, in which Iran will buy two 300-megawatts pressurized water reactors from China (Nuclear News 1993).

consultations with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian over the United States' move. The two dismissed the Executive order 12850 as an unjustifiable idea of using human rights for political gains and imposing views held by one group on others.

The United States and China adopted tit-for-tat measures against each other. The United States Congress registered strong opposition to China's hosting of the 2000 Olympic games in July and the International Olympic Committee rebuffed Beijing's bid in September. The United States imposed sanctions on China over ballistic missile transfers to Pakistan in August (Sutter 2011, xxx). On July 8, Chinese vice-premier Li Lanqing and Iranian vice-president Hamid Mirzadeh concluded a four-day meeting in which they drafted a memorandum calling for construction of two 300-megawatts nuclear power plants in Iran. They said the project was only for peaceful use of nuclear energy and will be put under the supervision of the IAEA.

In September 1993 a Chinese ship *Yin He* was suspected of carrying chemical weapons materials to the Middle East. The United States navy inspected it, but through the search the ship did not carry anything objectionable. Chinese media were irate on the United States unilateral behavior based on groundless suspicion. In October Iran and China signed a long-term $5 billion worth deal, which covers the sale of M-11 missiles with a 965km range. China resumed the shipment of HY-2 Silkworm anti-ship missiles and was assisting Iran with its indigenous defense industry (Kraska 1993).[76]

[76] It was reported that Iranian engineers are developing the 40km-range Oghab, 40km-range Tondar-68, 90km-range Nazeat, 100-300km-range Shaheen-2, 130km-range Iran-130, and the 160km-range Mushak. Iran reportedly had also made deals with North Korea worth $3 billion, which includes 170 Scud-B missiles. In 1994, North Korea began to deliver 965km-range ballistic missiles to Iran.

President Jiang Zemin did not take the United States' protests on delivery of HY-2 Silkworm missiles seriously at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Seattle on November 19 telling President Clinton that China's policies were linked to the United States' F-16 sale to Taiwan. Clinton accepted the linkage between the United States-Taiwan and China-Iran relations and he had to compromise with China by approving it to launch three United States satellites (Van Kemenade 2009, 52).

Chinese leaders still adopted a tough stance during the Secretary of State Warren Christopher's March 11, 1994 visit to Beijing since they knew the Clinton administration was divided on the issue of the linkage of human rights progress with MFN renewal. Some in the administration favored the idea of attaching human rights progress conditions to the MFN status for China (State Department), while proponents of softer stance (the Treasury Department and the Commerce Department) were worried that imposing such conditions on MFN treatment could jeopardize the United States access to the Chinese market (Sutter 2012, 136). President Clinton had to reverse previous policy of "human right conditions MFN status" in May 1994, but its yield was not reciprocated by China immediately.

Iran and China announced a construction deal for a 300-megawatts reactor near Tehran on July 4, 1994. In September Reza Amrollahi, Iranian Vice President and President of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI), said at the IAEA General Conference that Iran intends to continue construction of the Esteqlal nuclear plant in Bushehr as part of a two-year-old bilateral cooperation agreement with China (Hibbs 1994). A Congressional Research Service Report (February 12, 1995) said that China

provided Iran with nuclear reactor and C-802 anti-ship cruise missiles (Shuey and Kan 1996, 15). In response to the report, a Chinese official defended its right to sell peaceful nuclear technology to Iran under IAEA safeguards.

On April 17, 1995 the Secretary of State Warren Christopher called for a cancellation of a Chinese plan to sell two 300-megawatts reactors to Iran. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian told Christopher that its decision to sell Iran two 300-megawatts pressurized water reactors is consistent with international law. Qian insisted that there was no international law or regulation that prohibited such cooperation on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. On May 18 Iranian officials said Iran has paid China about $900 million as a down payment for two 300-megawatts reactors and China had done seismic surveys at the Esteqlal site (Medeiros 1995, 23). However, nuclear cooperation between them nearly collapsed in the same month because China could not guarantee that it could provide all the parts needed for the power plants, as some are made in Germany, Netherland, and Czech Republic. Iran also failed to give China a detailed plan on how it would pay 1.2 billion Pounds Sterling to begin the work (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (London) 1995).

The Clinton administration did not reciprocate on China's concerns about Taiwan. Clinton allowed Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui to visit his alma mater, Cornell University, privately in June 1995 because of strong congressional and media pressure (Sutter 2011, xxxi). China was incensed and fired several round of missiles into the

coastal waters off Taiwan.[77] On June 16 China canceled an upcoming meeting with the United States to discuss on its missile sales to Iran and Pakistan.

China accused the United States of another violation of its commitments to reduce arms sales to Taiwan, when it approved the transfer of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Taiwan (Van Kemenade 2009, 54). Ironically, however, the Taiwan Strait missile crisis (July 21, 1995 - March 23, 1996) turned out to be the prelude to the United States-China grand bargain in which China reneged on its nuclear and missile sales to Iran in exchange for the United States' concessions on human rights and Taiwan. In September 1995 Chinese Foreign Minister Qian told the United States that the 300-megawatts reactor deal with Iran had been suspended (Davis, Lecky, and Frosch 2012, 29). After China agreed to cancel the deal, the United States officials discussed with Chinese counterparts possible face-saving ways to exit from the arrangement with Iran (Medeiros 2007, 63).

At the United Nations Qian said on September 29 that China has suspended its nuclear cooperation agreement with Iran for the time being[78] because of a disagreement between the two sides over the final site selection.[79] Later China pledged to the United States not to assist with any nuclear facility that is not safeguarded and promised to

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[77] China conducted missile tests from July 21 to 26 1995 in an area only 60 kilometers north of Taiwanese Pengjia Islet. Another set of missile firings and live ammunition exercises occurred from August 15 to 25. Naval exercises were followed by amphibious assault exercises in November. Two United States aircraft carriers were dispatched around Taiwan area.

[78] Qian said that the decision was made by China unilaterally, not because of the United States pressure. On October 3, 1995 in a speech at the London Royal Institute of International Relations, Qian reversed the cancellation saying that the sale of two 300-megawatts nuclear reactors to Iran has not been cancelled refuting the United States claim that the deal had been terminated. A spokesman for the Chinese embassy in Tehran stated that there is no reason that the China-Iran nuclear deal should be halted, because it is under IAEA safeguards and consistent with Article IV of the NPT, which allows peaceful nuclear cooperation.

[79] China chose a site near Darkhovin, but Iran considered the site unsuitable because of its proximity to the border with Iraq.

strengthen the NPT regime, including safeguards and export control measures on May 11, 1996 (Cordesman 2000). However, military exchange and support between Iran and China nonetheless continued. In August 1996 Iranian Defense Minister Mohammed Forouzandeh and Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian and President Jiang Zemin in Beijing made an agreement worth $4.5 billion for the purchase of weapons over the next three years (Bruce 1996).[80] On May 1997, Iran elected the new President Mohammad Khatami who vowed to reform his country, but China had turned to cooperating with the United States.

In April 1997 meeting between Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Einhorn, China pledged to cancel civilian nuclear cooperation with Iran and not to undertake any new projects.[81] This grand bargaining was struck during the October 1997 visit of President Jiang to Washington.[82]

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[80] Weapons include combat aircraft, surface-to-surface missiles, missile launchers, and warships and military technology. One third was for ballistic missiles, missile production technology, and training. China further agreed to assist Iran in establishing factories to produce missiles, helicopters, artillery, aircraft, missile launchers, armored vehicles and trucks. China also supported Iran's efforts to produce a new single-stage missile with an 800-1240km range, the Shahab-3. The Shahab brought Israel and American bases in Turkey within range of Iranian missiles. Iran is supposed to pay for the military acquisitions over five years with cash and oil. However, on October 7, 1997 China promised the United States to suspend shipments of anti-ship cruise missiles to Iran. On September 3 Iran affirmed that an agreement has been concluded with China regarding the acquisition of "heavy and light arms" (Washington Times 1996). In November 1996 the Iranian Navy tested a Chinese-made C-802 anti-ship missile from a Hudong fast-attack craft (FAC) during military exercises in the southern Persian Gulf near the Strait of Hormuz. Iran will probably equip up to 20 FACs with Chinese-supplied C-802 missiles.

[81] In an October press briefing the United States national security advisor Sandy Berger stated, "We have received assurance from the Chinese that they will not engage in any new nuclear cooperation with Iran and that the existing cooperation will end" (Fite 2012, 18). In the form of two letters from Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, China committed itself to forgo all nuclear cooperation with Iran, which included cancelling the supply of a heavy water reactor, the hex plant and nuclear power plants.

[82] During the visit, China delivered a pledge not to sell nuclear power plants, a uranium hexafluoride plant, heavy-water reactors, or a heavy-water production to Iran and agreed not to undertake new nuclear cooperation with Iran. It would also tighten control of missile-related exports to Iran but would make its own export licensing decisions (Van Kemenade 2009, 73).

In return, President Clinton had to express support for China's "Three Nos Policy" on Taiwan in the state visits in June 1998. Clinton affirmed this pledge by saying "we don't support independence for Taiwan, or 'two Chinas' or one Taiwan, one China. We don't believe that Taiwan should have membership in any organization for which statehood is a requirement" (Van Kemenade 2009, 55). Another quid pro quo for China was an agreement to begin the processing of licenses for Chinese launches of the United States commercial satellites.[83]

The United States also agreed to resume the long-stalled 1985 the United States and China Nuclear Cooperation Agreement that would facilitate the transfer of American advanced nuclear technology to China. The United States also waived the imposition of sanctions for past Chinese assistance to Iranian or Pakistani missile program as an incentive for China to accede to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). China also could complete two current projects in Iran: the zero-power research reactor and the zirconium tube factory.[84] China has reportedly obtained commitments of increased oil exports from other major Middle East producers such as Saudi Arabia in return for its support for sanctions.

[83] However, it was not until 2005 that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission issued the first license for the United States nuclear technology sales to China, because of concerns about clandestine Sino-Iranian nuclear cooperation.

[84] They are a zero-power research reactor that uses heavy water and natural uranium, scheduled to be completed by the end of 1997 and the production of zirconium tubes, designed to hold fuel pellets in the core of a nuclear reactor. They agreed that China would end its direct involvement in Iran's proliferation activities only after completing these two factories related to nuclear power production for Iran (Garver 2006, 224).

In return, China honored its promises. In November 1997 China joined the Zangger Committee[85] and later the Non-Suppliers Group, both organizations dedicated to ensure the peaceful use of nuclear material and equipment. China decreased its military sales to Iran. It ended the sales of C-801 and C-802 cruise missiles to Iran. Chinese military exports to Iran exceeded $1.1 billion from 1990 to1996, but that number plummeted to $155 million the period of from 1997 to 2003. Sino-Iranian military transfers totaled $323 million in 1996, but total sales fell to $36 million in 1997, and later, to $8 million in 2001 (Garver 2007, 179).

In return, Iran warned that if China caved into American pressure, it would lose Iran's trust (Nourafchan 2010, 43). Iranian leaders were disappointed by China's "capitulation" to the United States. Iranian anger, however, directed primarily against the United States. They knew nothing would be gained by directing its resentment to China since the United States sanctions have paralyzed its economy.[86] Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mahmud Mohammadi criticized that "America's effort to pressure China into stopping peaceful nuclear cooperation with Iran is interference in other countries' internal

[85] The Zangger Committee is the Nuclear Exporters Committee based on the Article III.2 of the NPT, in which directs application of IAEA safeguards to nuclear exports. It regulates signatories of NPT not to provide source or special fissionable material or equipment to any non-nuclear-weapon state for peaceful purposes, unless the source or special fissionable material will be subject to the safeguards. By joining the Zangger Committee China articulated for the first time its authority to prohibit exports of non-controlled items if the exports could contribute to proliferation. China noted that it strictly prohibits any exchange of nuclear weapons related technology and information with other countries and asserted that China will never cooperate with nuclear explosive devices (Medeiros 2007).

[86] The Clinton administration tightened Iran with the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (1996) that imposed tough penalties on any foreign companies or individuals who were found to be investing more than U.S. $20 million in Iran's oil industry. In March 1995, Clinton barred United States companies from producing oil in Iran including blocking an effort by the Conoco to invest $1 billion in oil and gas projects in Iran. He signed another executive order banning any economic relations, including financial and commercial transactions, with Iran. Two months later Clinton cut off all the United States trade and investment with Iran.

affairs" (Agence France Presse 1997). China also sought to appease Iran. It told the Iranian media that "China will never come to terms with one country over a third one" and that "China would not stop military [and nuclear] cooperation with Iran" (Garver 2006, 224). According to Nicolo Nourafchan,

> "the PRC continued assisting Iran's nuclear program. Chinese defense firms such as NORINCO began selling Iran dual-use goods and technologies for both its nuclear and ballistic missile programs and were reported to have provided additional training to Iranian engineers and scientists" (Nourafchan 2010, 42).

The deal between China and the United States in 1997 was a dramatic shift. Chinese leaders recognized that nuclear nonproliferation served China's security interests and that the consequences of disinvestment in Iran were worth the cost. In addition, Chinese leaders' aspiration for a successful summit meeting with the United State, the U.S. assurance not to recognize Taiwan sovereignty, and qualitative improvements of nuclear technology were three prime motivators for disengagement with Iran. Evans Medeiros argues that China's cancellation reflected its tactical efforts to stabilize bilateral relations and "not its willing[ness] to stop its nuclear cooperation with Iran" (Medeiros 2007, 59).

Analysis

Securing Taiwan as China's territories has been one of the most important foreign policy goals for China (Carlson 2005; Medeiros 2009). Another important goal in this period was extending its MFN status for another year (Sutter 2011; Sutter 2012). From 1990 to 1997 China was a pivot between the U.S. and Iran for having its support. On the one hand, the United States needed China's help to bring to bear more pressure on Iran. On the other hand, Iran needed China's diplomatic, economic, and technological support

to ease the United States pressure. China's Iranian policies and practices were made under the consideration of two goals (securing Taiwan and MFN) in this period.

The United States' arms deal with Taiwan in 1992 led to China's discomfort and sealed Sino-Iranian nuclear and military cooperation deals. Once President Clinton revoked the previous MFN-human right linkage policy by renewing China's MFN status conditions in May 1994, China suspended its deal to build 300-megawatts reactors in Iran in July 4, 1994 (Hibbs 1994). The Taiwan Strait crisis from 1995 to 1996 ended after the United States offered tangible quid pro quos in October 1997. Also, President Clinton had to publicly announce that the United States did not support Taiwan's independence and promised to transfer advanced nuclear technology to China (Davis, Lecky, and Frosch 2012, 29). Such behaviors exhibited by China comport with my hypotheses since its support was motivated by substantial rewards and without carrots offered by the U.S., China has be hedging and balancing.

Until the grand bargaining with the United States in October 1997, China had supported Iran's nuclear program asserting NPT signatory's right to export nuclear technologies as long as they were safeguarded by the IAEA. However, continued entreaties and gestures for compensations from the United States caused China to suspend almost all the nuclear cooperation with Iran including activities that were permitted under the NPT. On the other hand, China showed that its Iranian policy, more generally foreign policies, was linked to Taiwan issue and economic interest (i.e. the MFN status). It had taken tough stance on the Taiwan missile crisis in 1995 and 1996 but kept its emotion in check when the United States Congress reconsidered China's MFN

status conditioned by human rights progress. China's behavior toward the United States in light of Iranian policy tilted towards "balancing" before the United States suggest to offer certain quid pro quo or to threaten its economic interests (Proposition-2).

Proposition-6 (*delaying*) is irrelevant when explaining this period since China had been clear to protect Iranian rights under the NPT to use nuclear technology peacefully. It has not been hesitant to support Iranian nuclear power plant, especially after the United States made the arms deal in 1992 and Lee Teng-hui visited Cornell University in 1995. Its behavior also invalidated Proposition-7 (*hiding prevents provocations*) since China "balanced" against the United States policy by supporting Iran rather than concealing its position to contain threats from both sides.

Proposition-5 (*abetting*) does not apply because even though China has opposed the United States unilateral punishment on Iran, I could not find any evidence it instigated conflicts between them. Proposition-8 (*mediating*) also does not work since China balanced against the United States first and then discontinued cooperation with Iran in 1997 by making a deal with the United States. It has not mediated between them, but had been driven by its substantial interests. Proposition-1 (*straddling*) remains ambiguous in this case, since China showed straddling strategy when they continued to support Iran's nuclear programs after the 1997 grand bargaining (Nourafchan 2010, 42), but it is also true it had shown balancing attitude against the United States during this period before the grand bargaining.

China asserted that there were normal commercial exchanges between Iran and China but the United States considered transactions between China and Iran as defiance

towards the nonproliferation norm and the United States.[87] China's assertion and deals between China and Iran are confirming the Proposition-2 (*balancing*). The United States believed that the emerging coalition between Iran and China could undercut U.S. influence in the Middle East. Therefore, the first half of Proposition-2 (*balancing*) is confirmed.

The second half of Proposition-2 is also supported by evidence. By offering compensations, the United States was able to influence China's course of action to corner Iran. Although the 1991 Gulf War provided a chance for deepening the Sino-Iranian partnership, China's calculus was focused towards obtaining practical gains than offsetting the United States' influence. China countered Secretary of State James Baker's request for quiescence at the UN Security Council to start the Gulf War by supporting long-term sanctions on Iraq, but used the opportunity to lift the sanctions in which the United States had been imposed on China since Tiananmen incident in 1989 (Garver 2006, 103). In short, China would not veto a UN Security Council resolution 678 for use of force in the Gulf War in exchange for U.S. promise to cancel sanctions against China.

After President Rafsanjani and Premier Li agreed that China would help Iran to complete nuclear reactors in July 1991, the Secretary of State Baker pressed China to halt its transfers of nuclear technology to Iran in November. In response to the entreaty, China signed the NPT in 1992 and then it agreed not to sell the M-11 missiles to Iran. China

[87] China signed a 10-year agreement to construct a 27-megawatts plutonium production plant in Isfahan in January 1990; exported 1.6 metric tons of uranium products in 1991; agreed to provide expertise and technology to complete nuclear reactors in July 1991; sold a small nuclear reactor and installed uranium enrichment equipment at Darkhovin in November 1991; signed a deal to construct two 300-megawatts nuclear power plants in Ahvaz in February 1993; signed a long-term deal worth $5 billion, which covers the sale of M-11 missiles in October 1993; made a deal for a 300-megawatts reactor on July 1994; and had provided nuclear reactor and technology assistance and C-802 anti-ship cruise missiles to Iran.

accepted Baker's request because the United States might not renew the MFN status for China another year if it transfers "ballistic missile or missile launchers" for the M-9 or M-11 systems to Syria or Iran. Not having MFN status renewed could have cost China billions in extra tariffs.

After Taiwan Strait crisis from 1995 to 1996, the United States and China struck a deal in October 1997 in which China not to sell nuclear power plants, a uranium hexafluoride plant, or heavy-water reactors to Iran in exchange for obtaining American advanced nuclear technology and making the United States to honor China's Three Nos policy on Taiwan (No independence of Taiwan, No "two Chinas" and No support for Taiwan's membership in international organizations) (Alterman and Garver 2008).

For China, Iran was a bargaining chip with which to negotiate a better term with the United States. It was not ideological coalition with a third world country, but solid gains from the feud between Iran and the United States that determine China's Iranian policies from 1990 to 1997. Medeiros also argues that

> "the interest of senior Chinese leaders in 1997 in stabilizing bilateral relations and forging a constructive strategic partnership with the United States strongly contributed to China's willingness to transcend its NPT and MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime) commitments by agreeing to ban all future nuclear trade and halt certain cruise missile exports to Iran" (Medeiros 2007, 247).

Proposition-3 (*balancing on Taiwan matter*) assumed crucial importance during this period. Once the arms deal in which the United States agreed to sell 150 F-16s to Taiwan was concluded on September 2, 1992, China transferred 30 M-11 missiles to Pakistan and agreed to provide Iran with two 300-megawatts nuclear reactors on September 10 (Coll 1992). China made clear to the United States that selling weapons to Taiwan was tantamount to instigating a rift between China and Taiwan and that it could

not be tolerated because it was construed as an encroachment of Chinese "territorial and jurisdictional sovereignty" (Carlson 2005, 50, 93). China showed its willingness to fight to bring Taiwan under its own sovereignty by pursuing every avenue, including nuclear cooperation with Iran.

President Jiang made it clear to President Clinton that China's Iranian policies were linked to the F-16 deal with Taiwan in November 1993 and Clinton had to accept the linkage to ensure China's cooperation on sanction Iran. Taiwan Strait missile crisis was broke out right after the Clinton administration approved a private visit of Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui to the Cornell University in June 1995 (Sutter 2011, xxxi). In respond to the visit, in August 1996 China made a $4.5 billion weapons selling deal with Iran over the next three years (Van Kemenade 2009, 54).

Contrary to Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*), China cooperated with the United States because China made a lucrative deal with it, not because Iran and the United States have failed negotiations continuously. Khamenei did not allow any direct talks with the United States during this period, and further, China helped Iran to rebuild its own economy after the nine years war against Iraq. "China supplied the Iran with fissile material; trained Iranian engineers; and helped to build large-scale uranium conversion facilities" (Garver 2006, 141–55).

After Iran and China announced a deal for two 300-magawatts nuclear reactors in February 1993, the United States pressured China to desist (The Arms Control Reporter 1993; Xinhua 1992). In April 1995 the Secretary of State Warren Christopher called for a cancellation of the deal, but Foreign Minister Qian Qichen had argued that this

commercial deal is nothing wrong, but suddenly Qian suspended the deal in September 1995 (Davis, Lecky, and Frosch 2012, 29). Eventually, China cancelled its joint project with Iran not because the United States pressed China, but because Iran could not finance the deal. China discarded the project with Iran not because it accepted the United States advice, but because it was not a lucrative deal.

Figure 8 Propositions Testing on Case-2

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	1990-1997	**Ambiguous:** China offset the U.S. by supporting Iranian nuclear technology, rather than straddling between them, but some scholars argued that China keep supporting Iran's nuclear program after the 1997 US-China grand bargain
2	Balancing unless there is a compensation	1991 1997	**Confirmed:** Canceling sanctions against China → Gaining China's quiescence at the UNSC to start the Gulf War in January 1991; China agreed to provide nuclear technology to Iran in July 1991 → the U.S. pressed not to transfer → China's MFN's status has been threatened → China canceled the M-11 missile deal; the U.S. support three NOs on Taiwan, promised the U.S. nuclear technology would be transferred → China decided not to sell nuclear power plants to Iran
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues	1992-1997	**Confirmed:** The US sold 150 F-16s to Taiwan on September 2, 1992 → China transferred 30 M-11 missiles to Pakistan and agreed to supply Iran with two 300MW reactors on September 10, 1992 → Clinton accepted the linkage between US-Taiwan and China-Iran relations in November 1993 → approved China to launch three US satellites; Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui visited Cornell University in June 1995 → China fired missiles in coastal waters off Taiwan, China canceled meeting with the US to discuss on its missile sales to Iran on June 16, 1995, China decided to sell $ 4.5 billion worth weapons to Iran in August 1996; Clinton's public assurance of the "Three Nos" → China decided not to sell nuclear power plants, a uranium hexafluoride plant, or heavy-water reactors with Iran in October 1997
4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	1994	**Disconfirmed:** China made a deal to construct two 300MW nuclear plants in Iran in February 1993 → the US pressed not to build them in April 1995 → China suspended the deal due to technical and financial reasons in September 1995
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	1990-1997	**Disconfirmed:** China opposed the US unilateral sanction on Iran, but it has not instigated conflicts between them for its own benefit.
6	Delaying negotiation and	1990-1997	**Disconfirmed:** China adamant in its stance to protect Iranian and its right to use

	water-down the terms		nuclear technology peacefully. It has not been hesitant to support Iranian nuclear power plants.
7	Hiding to contain both	1990 1991 1993 1994	**Disconfirmed:** China signed a 10-year agreement to construct a 27MW plutonium production plant in Isfahan in January 1990; exported 1.6 metric tons of uranium products in 1991; agreed to provide expertise and technology to complete nuclear reactors in July 1991; sold a small nuclear reactor and installed uranium enrichment equipment at Darkhovin in November 1991; signed a deal to construct two 300MW nuclear power plants in Ahvaz in February 1993; signed a long-term $5 billion worth deal, which covered the sale of M-11 missiles in October 1993; made a deal for a 300MW reactor near Tehran on July 1994
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	1990-1997	**Disconfirmed:** China balanced against the U.S. until it canceled cooperation with Iran in 1997 to get compensation from the U.S. China has not mediated between them.
	Behavioral pattern in the Case-2	1990-1997	balancing → bandwagoning with compensation → balancing → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → balancing → bandwagoning → balancing → balancing → balancing → balancing → balancing → Crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → settlement → bandwagoning

Comparison from 1990 to 1997

Deng Xiaoping (邓小平, died in 1997), President Jiang Zemin (江泽民, 1989-2002), Premier Li Peng (李鹏, 1987-1997), and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen (钱其琛, 1988-1998) were main foreign policy decision makers between 1990 and 1997. During this period China's character toward the United States in regard to North Korea and Iran was "balancing." To protect North Korea and offset pressures from the United States, China voted against the resolution in the IAEA Board of Governors in March 1993 and rejected the United States drafted UN Security Council resolution in March 1994. China made it clear that if the United States supported Taiwan by selling weapons, it would transfer nuclear technology and arms to Iran. The sale of F-16 fighters to Taiwan in 1992 and invitation of President Lee Teng-hui to Cornell University in 1995 caused China's assertive reactions: first transferring M-11 missiles to Pakistan and supplying Iran with

two 300-megawatts nuclear reactors and then firing missiles in coastal waters off Taiwan. In this period China mostly showed its clear opposition of unilateral policies proposed by the United States, as Structural Realists anticipated.

Hiding was also a form of passive balancing. By abstaining from the vote in the UN Security Council in 1993 and its reluctance to support the United States proposed draft in 1994 meant that China has not been enthusiastic to cooperate with the United States to punish North Korea. As for Iranian issue, efforts for balancing against the United States was clear in that it has supported Iran by making multi-billion dollar deals for building nuclear plants and selling weapons. China exhibited less hiding strategies in the Iranian case than it did in the North Korean case.

To secure its own interests, China did not instigate the rift between them in both cases. Rather, it passively stood by as tension between North Korea and the United States escalated to the highest level in 1994. China did not help to facilitate talks between them even though they were on the blink of a war. On the Iranian issue, the United States could ensure China's cooperation only after it promised compensations—transfer of advanced nuclear technology and assurance of Taiwan as a part of China. China did neither abetting nor mediating between the two parties in this period.

The behavioral code for China was "balancing," but it was possible to entice China to cooperate with the United States by offering side payment in the Iranian case, but not in the North Korean. For instance, China had been acquiescent on the 1991 Iraq War in exchange for cancelling the United States' sanction imposed on it. It rescinded the nuclear cooperation with Iran in 1997 in exchange for having the United States to transfer

cutting-edge nuclear technology to China and not to admit Taiwan's sovereignty. China also cancelled the M-11 missile deal with Iran to ensure its MFN status extension.

However, I could not verify that material compensations changed China's policy on North Korea. After it established the formal diplomatic relationship with South Korea in 1992, the DPRK became refractory for China. It needed to appease the DPRK by pretending to shield the North against the international regimes. It has been quite consistent to defend North Korea against international criticisms even if the regime has provoked the international community by threatening to withdraw from the NPT in 1993. Why did compensation induce China's cooperation in Iranian nuclear issue? On the other hand, how do we explain China's reluctance to persuade North Korea to scrap its nuclear program? What made difference in China's reactions in the two cases?

Perhaps China felt obligated to defend its nearby ally in accordance to the "Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty."[88] Geographical distance might make difference in how to treat the two noncompliant states. As Stephen Walt argued, "states that are nearby pose a greater threat than those that are far away" (Walt 1990, 23). Chinese leaders might have thought that since crises between Iran and the United States or Israel are relatively far away, they could use Iran as a bargaining material to leverage the Taiwan issue against the United States. But the DPRK was too close in proximity to leverage the crises strategically for other purposes. Although the DPRK continued to be a liability to China, geographical contingency remains paramount in Chinese leaders' thinking because they do not get to choose their neighbors. A Chinese

[88] Article 2 of the treaty declares, "The two nations guarantee to adopt immediately all necessary measures to oppose any country or coalition of countries that might attack either nation." The "Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty" was signed between PRC and DPRK in 1961.

official said that “Our mindset [towards North Korea] has changed, but the length of our boarder has not” (Pollack 2011, 204). Thus, China cannot afford insularity and aloofness asset in North Korean case (Crawford 2003; G. H. Snyder 2007; Schweller 1998).

China showed “balancing” against the United States’ initiatives on even terms towards North Korea and Iran first by clearly expressing its opposition to sanctions against them, but later it turned its back to Iran for obtaining compensations from the United States. This did not happen in its deals with North Korea. China could discard the nuclear cooperation with Iran because it is geographically distant and securing energy supply in 1990s was not as important as in 2000s. Its concerns for its own international reputation as a responsible power (*fuzerendedaguo* 负责任的大国) might have affected to its decision to cooperate with the United States. Since balancing was the dominant strategy in this period, let me elaborate on why and how China has supported the noncompliant states against the United States.

Why does China Balance?

Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice once said that “China is not a status quo power but rather a strategic competitor bent on altering the balance of power in its favor” (Nourafchan 2010, 30). Scholars who are influenced by the China threat theory have argued that China’s balancing strategy against the United States stems from four reasons: (1) because sanctioning North Korea and Iran is unfair comparing to Israel and India (S. S. Kim 2003; Swaine 2010); (2) because China has historical bond with Iran and North Korea as one of the Third World countries and they share distrust and grievances toward the United States (Van Ness 1993; Callahan 2010; Garver 2006); (3) because the

international system forced it to balance out the United States hegemony (Waltz 1979); and (4) because instability in the regions and disruption of energy supply might persist if China does not offset U.S. hegemonic unilateralism (Medeiros 2009).

Although I agree with the view that these reasons have contributed to moving China toward balancing than supporting the United States, I argue that China devised balancing strategy against the United States due to its incongruence of interests with the United States. In other words, China's stakes in cooperating with the United States were not strong enough comparing to its stakes in the noncompliant states. As my model of balance of interest predicted (figure-2), if China's interests in the United States are not strong enough comparing to its interests to the noncompliant states, China will balance.

Its balancing behavior during the Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1996 (Case-2) can be located on the cell C and hiding behavior (abstention) in the UN Resolution 678 on the Gulf War in 1991 and the Resolution 825 on North Korea in 1993 (Case-1) can be placed in the cell F. The nuclear disengagement with Iran in 1997 in exchange for obtaining rewards (Case-2) can also be placed on cell G. China's foreign policies have been determined by how Chinese leaders weigh its national interests between the United States and the noncompliant states at that moment. I will discuss four reasons of balancing more in the next section.

Double Standard of the NPT

China construes U.S. opposition to Iranian and North Korean enrichment program despite Article IV of the NPT, which ensures the right to have peaceful enrichment or reprocessing technologies as hypocrisy (International Crisis Group 2010). China was

critical of the United States for prioritizing non-proliferation over both peaceful use and disarmament because the three are equal pillars of the NPT. The Chinese diplomat Sha Zukang said,

> "any international legal instruments on nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation should not hinder or restrain the development and the peaceful use of science and technology, nor should they affect the inalienable right of their States Parties, especially the developing countries, to use nuclear energy for peaceful purpose" (Medeiros 2007, 63).

Chinese leadership felt that it should not associate itself with the morally inconsistent and hypocritical U.S. that opposes nuclear development in North Korea and Iran and tolerates nuclear-armed Israel and India (Swaine 2010). In their view, the NPT's legitimacy has been discredited by the three nuclear-armed states that persist in not joining the treaty: India, Pakistan, and Israel.

Israel's nuclear weapons have been ignored since 1969.[89] China found hypocrisy in lack of criticism against Israel, in which possess nuclear arsenals but has not acceded to the NPT despite UN resolutions and IAEA statements calling upon it to join. The United States has been very inconsistent in contrast to Iran and North Korea. Iran is a member of the NPT and North Korea was a signatory until 2003. China maintained that Iran was a member in good standing of the NPT and insisted that its trade with Iran was consistent with the terms of the NPT.

After September 11, Pakistan was reinstated as an ally of the United States in the War of Terror and its nuclear weapons state status was tolerated. The United States has been silent on Pakistan's nuclear weapons developing activities because it needed

[89] Israel has three 1,925 ton Type 800 Dolphin class submarines equipped with nuclear cruise missiles (Van Kemenade 2009).

Pakistan's support to fight against the Afghan jihad. China also has refused to reduce its nuclear ties with Pakistan, because it needs Pakistan to balance against India. China regrets that India, with which it has open border disputes, is now a de facto nuclear power. India has been accepted by the United States unilaterally as a nuclear power. China sees a double standard in the United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act (2008), which established India as a non-NPT country with declared nuclear weapons.

Samuel Kim observed that "Compar[ing] America's relatively nonchalant reaction to the nuclear breakout states India and Pakistan with U.S. nervousness in the face of a Pyongyang bolstered by fear for its survival," the United States is not really fair (S. S. Kim 2007a, 87). The former U.S. ambassador James Dobbins also said that it is "perfectly logical for Iran to be pursuing nuclear weapons" because three major nuclear powers (Pakistan, India, and Israel) are all close to Iran in geographic proximity (Mousavian 2012). Iranian leaders could see the fact that the United States has not invaded North Korea because it possesses nuclear warheads and technology of ballistic missiles. After having watched Muammar Qaddafi's demise in Libya shortly after he renounced his nuclear program, Chinese might think that it is natural for Iranians to pursue nuclear program (Mousavian 2012).

Comparing to Israel, Pakistan, and India, Iran is a signatory of the NPT that may be making the bomb, but does not yet have it and North Korea became a de facto non-NPT nuclear-armed state in 2006 just as the other three. From China's viewpoint, these examples demonstrate U.S. nuclear favoritism and discrimination that only proves the NPT regime serves the political interests of the United States. Israel, Pakistan, and India

are illegitimate nuclear weapon states. If they can get away with building a nuclear weapons program by not signing the NPT, why can North Korea and Iran not do the same? For China, the U.S. stance toward international norms and values is very self-serving and arrogant. They are designed to defend or advance American values and to perpetuate dominant American power at the expense of the interests and needs of underdogs including the noncompliant states and China (S. S. Kim 2003).

"Looking at reality from the eyes of enemy can free us from the tyranny of the one-and-only story" (Booth and Wheeler 2007, 72). North Korean Ambassador Sin Son Ho's statement at the UN Security Council on October 14, 2009 represents the view of the noncompliant states well.

> "In order to make the Korean peninsula nuclear-free, it is necessary to make a comprehensive and total elimination of all the nuclear weapons on earth, to say nothing of those in and around South Korea. A prerequisite for global denuclearization is for the United States, which tops the world's list of nuclear weapons, to cut down and dismantle them, to begin with. The nuclear issue on the peninsula can be fundamentally settled only when the United States repeals its hostile policy toward North Korea and replaces the Armistice Agreement with a peace accord and the whole Korean Peninsula and the rest of the world become nuclear free" (KCNA 2009; International Crisis Group 2009).

Chinese leadership might not disagree with this view after witnessing the nuclear imbroglios in Iran and North Korea. China has indirectly and subtly registered its opposition to the United States by emphasizing the rights of nonnuclear NPT parties to gain and access to civilian nuclear technologies. By emphasizing the right of peaceful use of nuclear technology China intends to be recognized as a pursuer of justice and equality in the international relations and as a spokesperson on behalf of the discontent Third World.

Historical Legacy as Third World Leader

Due to China's historical experience during the Century of Humiliation (*bainianguochi* 百年国耻) it still falls back on its traditional identity as a developing country. China was previously excluded from the circle of great powers and it still does not think the world order and international regimes are neutral fora. According to this logic, because of the experience of being exploited by the Western powers and Japan, China's identity lies with the Third World (Van Ness 1993; Callahan 2010).

As in the 1960s and 1970s, China could identify itself as a leader of the global underdogs fighting along with the noncompliant states. China would not request them to show fraternal loyalty or impose a patron and client relationship, but it could shift for a "more balanced" foreign policy that takes account of China's allies and partners in the Third World. China might have the same view towards the noncompliant states in that they harp on the nationalist theme of the humiliation and it argues that it is entitled to have respect (Shambaugh 2013; Yan 2012). To replace their victimhood they are over-stressing the concept of sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in the internal affairs of states (Carlson 2005; Medeiros 2009; Nathan and Scobell 2012; Deng and Wang 2004).

In this context, since the mid-1990s China has directed its diplomatic efforts toward promoting an alternative world vision so-called "harmonious world (*hexieshijie* 和谐世界)." In the Hu Jintao's harmonious world, sovereignty remains the prerogative of individual states and since no political system is superior to others, states tolerate diversity in national political systems and values. "The diverse cultures, beliefs, values,

and modes of international relations are equally valid" (Callahan and Barabantseva 2011, 1). Rosemary Foot observed this alternative perspective in Chinese leaders emphasizing a fairer, multipolar, and opposing hegemonic world (Foot 2006). The gist of harmonious world is that different countries should respect each other and refrain from imposing their social systems and ideology on others.[90] China has been advocating this recurring harmonious world theme with the non-complaint states because they are sharing important modern history and identity as well.

John Garver's argument also supports China's underdog mentality in that North Korea, Iran, and China share important historical and political affinities that are shaped by mutual suspicion and hatred towards the United States. This has been reinforced by an experience of sanctions and a perception of interferences in their domestic politics by the United States (Garver 2006). The bond between the three has been strengthened by a distrust of U.S. hegemony. All three blame the United States as an imperial power pursuing hegemony. The shared antipathy toward the United States over its efforts to promote democracy and human rights unites the three. They equally have asserted that they have their own unique histories and cultural values that give them the right to determine their own social system (Harold and Nader 2012).

International Systemic Force

The rise of China has prompted the Structural Realist argument that the United States-dominated unipolar world order will lead to an establishment of a Chinese-led anti-hegemonic coalition (Foot 2006, 77). As a result, China would diminish the relative

[90] This is not a new idea since years ago Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said similarly that "Countries with different social systems, paths of economic development, religions, and cultural traditions should respect each other and not seek to impose their systems and values on other countries" (Garver 2006, 106).

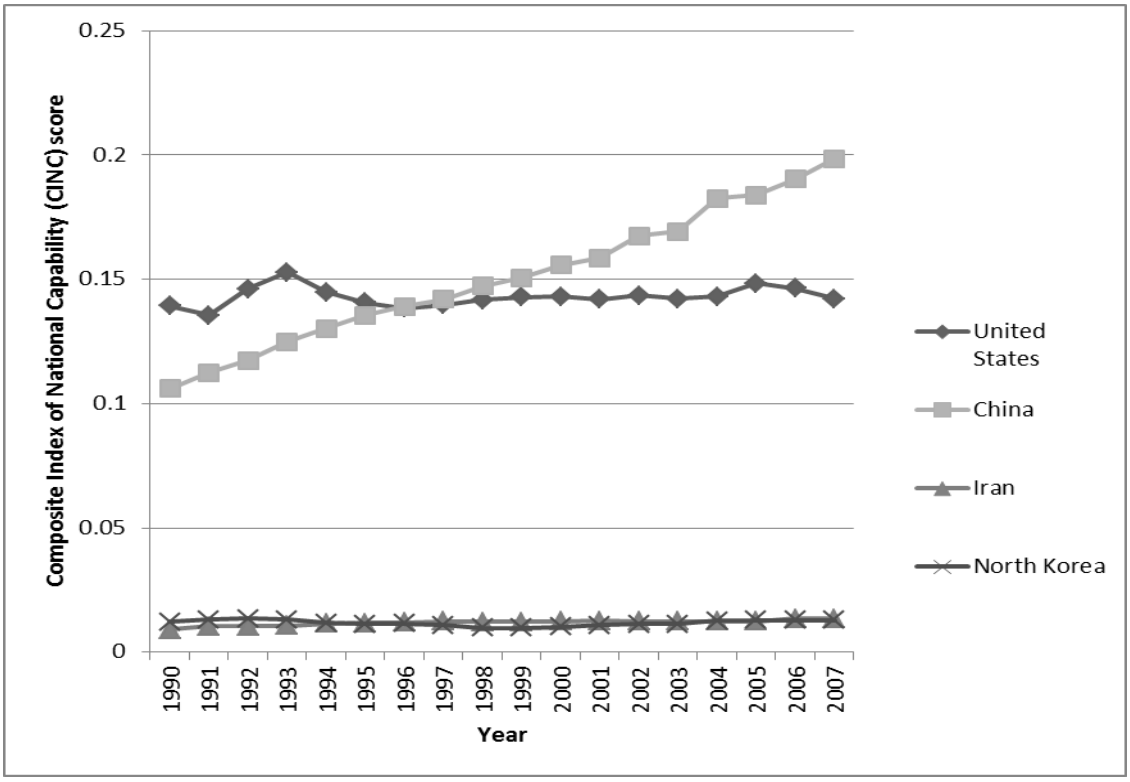
power of U.S., in turn bringing about a multipolar or bipolar system (Nourafchan 2010). According to the Waltz's theory on distribution of capability, the international system forced China to balance against the United States. China competes against the United States hegemony with Iran and North Korea. China will show its commitment to defend the "defiant states" to prevent the United States from bossing around the world.

China, Iran, and North Korea, as a coalition of the "weaker," will have to align to balance against the United States. The more the U.S. increases pressure on the noncompliant states, the more likely noncompliant states will seek China's protection. China can satisfy the pariah states' needs of a great power patron who provides diplomatic cover, military support, and economic partnership. By letting North Korea develop nuclear weapon, China could distract the United States. By strengthening Iran's position in the Middle East, China could halt American drive for unipolar hegemony and secure overland oil supply routes in the event of a war across the Taiwan Strait.

Measuring national capability is the key to grasp distribution of world power (Shen 2009). The Composite Index of National Capability (CINC) score[91] in June 2010 shows that China's national capability has surpassed the United States in 1996. China can add up capability of Iran and North Korea by making alignment to suppress the United States. It only shows material power of a state, not soft power, but we can estimate roughly how much material power China has comparing to the United States.

[91] The Correlates of War Project (Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey 1972; Singer 1988) measures national capability. In this project the Composite Index of National Capability (CINC) measures national power by using six different components (iron and steel production, primary energy consumption, military personnel, military expenditures, urban population, and total population). See the Appendix C.

Figure 9 Composite Index of National Capability Score (June 2010)



Source: Https://www.correlatesofwar.org/COW2%20Data/Capabilities/nmc4.htm

For China, nuclear-armed Iran and North Korea would be valuable assets to check U.S. presence in the Middle East and East Asia, thereby, moving the world to multipolarity. Having nuclear-armed pariah states under its influence could circumscribe U.S. military options, because they could limit U.S. influence on oil flow in the Middle East and enhance China to rein back aggressive North Korea. By aligning with the noncompliant states in the time of need and by showing that China is able and willing to bear some political costs, China can secure oil supply from the Middle East and ensure balance of power in East Asia.

China and the noncompliant states are interdependent because they have nowhere else to turn. Since other Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab

Emirates, Kuwait, Egypt, Bahrain, Israel, and Qatar, are already the United States allies or friends, Iran's natural choice has to be choosing China as a counter-weight against its neighbors. North Korea has been an official military ally of China since the Korean War in 1950s. Both countries have signed a mutual assistance treaty in 1961 (Scobell 2004). Ever since, China maintains its military alliance and continues its substantial economic assistance to North Korea because it has regarded North Korea as a buffer zone between the U.S. presence in South Korea and Chinese territory.

China also fears C-shape encirclement, in which the United States is constructing a ring stretching from Japan, South Korea, and Mongolia in the north, through the South China Sea, and India in the south in pursuit of stifling China (Friedberg 2011). It is anxious about the United States' ability to dominate strategic global regions and choke off China's energy supplies in the event of a potential military conflict such as around the Taiwan Strait (Garver 2011). Given these systemic reasons China has continuously rebuffed U.S. requests to punish the noncompliant states. China has consistently questioned allegations that the noncompliant states are actually seeking to develop nuclear weapons in 1990s.[92]

Stability over Denuclearization

China fears instability in the region that would result by the collapse of North Korea. It fears instability in energy supply caused by wars between Iran and the United States (or Israel). Chinese leaders understand that instability of region and insecurity of oil supply are dreadful scenarios for its economic growth. Given these potential

[92] China cannot question the existence of nuclear program any more since 2006 after North Korea denoted the nuclear device.

instabilities, the trade-off China has been making is permitting nuclearization of the noncompliant states to prevent immediate instability and to secure its energy supply.

Chinese leaders have known that "without viable peace (in the sense of diplomatic normalization between the United States and North Korea) and stability (in the form of the United States security assurance) North Korea will never give up its nuclear capabilities" (International Crisis Group 2009, 8). They have to consider potentially catastrophic consequences for China's economy and social structure in Northeast region in the event that the DPRK collapses if only because China shares an 850-mile border with North Korea. Given this vulnerable situation China must continue to provide aid to North Korea in order to avert instability of the region. For pragmatic Chinese leaders, peace and stability are preconditions for denuclearization.

Iran possesses vast reserves of oil and natural gas that is essential for China's growth and it is also a growing market for Chinese goods including arms. It also can be a strategic foothold for China in the Middle East (Garver 2011). It wants access to Iran's rich but unexploited oil and gas resources to meet its ever-increasing demand for imported energy. Iran is a major supplier of oil,[93] a recipient of considerable Chinese investments in the energy and infrastructure sectors, a market for Chinese capital goods

[93] Preventing price volatility, diversifying access to natural resources, and securing of supply routes are important tasks for China's energy security. The international energy agency projects predict that China's dependence on imported oil will increase from 46 percent of total demand in 2004 to 63 percent in 2015 and 77 percent in 2030 (International Energy Agency, World Energy Outlook 2006). In 2008, about 50 percent of China's crude oil imports came from the Middle East. In 2009, Iran ranked as China's third-largest source of foreign oil, behind Saudi Arabia and Angola. China also has obtained long-term contracts to purchase Iranian liquefied natural gas, and had been a key player in the modernization and development of Iran's oil and gas industry. Moreover, China's total trade with Iran climbed from $10.1 billion in 2005 to $27.8 billion in 2008. China's trade volume in 2009 ($21.1 billion) was still nearly three times as high as the other four permanent members of the UN Security Council combined ($7.8 billion) (Medeiros 2009, 164).

exports such as machinery and engineering services (Fite 2012).[94] Iran may offer an alternative overland transportation channel for the shipment of oil from the Middle East (Swaine 2010). If the effort to stave off nuclearization would destabilize its energy security and chances for making profits from the region, China will choose stability over denuclearization of Iran.

China's top priority is maintaining status quo in East Asia and securing its stable energy supply and market in the Middle East. If these fundamentals for constant economic development are going to be disrupted by crises between the United States and the noncompliant states, Chinese leaders must make a choice over another. They realized that there is a tradeoff between perpetuating stability and pursuing denuclearization. It might be less costly to allow the noncompliant states to develop nuclear weapons rather than to cooperate with the United States to forestall them. While nuclear-armed North Korea and Iran are unwelcome, the collapse of Kim's regime and the subverting of the Iranian regime are thought to be worse given that the resulting instability could spill over into bordering Northeast Chinese territories and disturb its energy supply from the Middle East.

I agree with the four different reasons why China stands up against the U.S.—the U.S. double standard for the NPT, a historically shared identity between China and the noncompliant states, the international systemic force to balance against the hegemon, and China's preference for stability over denuclearization. They motivate Chinese leaders to make decisions on both the United States and the noncompliant states, but we apply my

[94] Iran has been buying Chinese clothing, electronics, machinery, automobiles, ships (Nourafchan 2010, 37) and Chinese firms are developing the Tehran subway system, which constituted "one of the largest electrical and mechanical export contracts China has ever had overseas"(Zhu and Wang 2004).

balance of interest model between China, the United States, and the noncompliant states, we are able to explain China's strategic choice succinctly: China has balanced against the United States and defending the noncompliant states from 1990 to 1997 because its interests are not congruent with the United States, but it has reversed its previous policy on Iran because it could gain more substantial benefits by discarding the nuclear cooperation with Iran than maintain it. In the North Korean case, preventing instability in the region outweighs denuclearization of the regime because of geographical proximity.

The fact that China has been materialistic between the two proved my first hypothesis—China only cooperates with the United States when it can reap benefits. The second hypothesis on straddling behaviors have been confirmed after it discarded nuclear cooperation with Iran in 1997, when it tried to appease Iran by offering empty promises. I found that China's main tactics for dealing with the United States between 1990 and 1997 was "balancing" whereby it supported the two noncompliant states both covertly and overtly. It was its interest that is defined by Chinese top leaders at the moment to guide Chinese foreign policy. It was the stake in terms of interest that determines Chinese foreign policies. China was able to scrap the nuclear cooperation with Iran in 1997, even though it was nonmilitary, because Chinese leaders believed that canceling nuclear contracts with Iran would benefit its "national interests" such as receiving advanced nuclear technology from the U.S. and pressing Taiwan not to challenge China's integrity.

However, it was not in China's "national interests" to desert North Korea because the abandonment will cause either a collapse of the regime or a war in Korean peninsula. Both outcomes hamper its continuous growth. Dismantling North Korean nuclear

program ran counter to its own interests. All in all, China's interests in North Korea outweighed those of Iran in the 1990s. That was why China has shown "different" reactions towards "same" noncompliant states. Since China's interest in obtaining U.S. favor outweighed its cooperation with Iran in October 1997, it was able to scrap the "legitimate" nuclear cooperation with Iran. China's interest as defined by its leaders was a driver to decide foreign policies, but it would not always cause them to balance. Sometimes hiding its stance would offer China an easy way to preserve its value. That is the topic for the next chapter.

Chapter Five: From 1998 to 2005

The Sino-U.S. relationship between 1998 and 2005 can be best described as replete with fortuitous incidents. The Clinton administration tried to engage with China in the late 1990s (Sutter 1999, 57–8), but the Bush administration had "identified China as one of the main threats to the United States" (Coker 2015, 100). On June 29 1998, in Shanghai, President Clinton affirmed publicly that United States did not support Taiwan independence, two Chinas (or one Taiwan/one China), and Taiwan's statehood, but this political concession in support of China's three NOs was vehemently criticized by Congress and the media (Lampton 2001, 55).

Unfortunately, the Sino-U.S. relations suffered a series of setbacks. The U.S. bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, and triggered seething Chinese nationalist-inspired demonstrations in May 1999.[95] And on April 1, 2001, a U.S. Navy reconnaissance plane (EP-3) collided with Chinese jet fighter (F-8) on April 1, 2001. Chinese national emotion against the United States was aggravated in the first year of Bush administration until September 11, 2001 terrorist attack. After 9/11, the U.S-China relations appeared to be improving, since the superpowers perceived a need to cooperate for restraining the "rogue states."[96] China has publicly professed strong support for

[95] As for Chinese nationalism see Zhao 2004 and Gries 2005.

[96] The United States National Security Strategy defined rogue states as "ones that: brutalize their own people and squander their national resources for the personal gain of their rulers; display no regard for

combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). As its national interests have become global, China began to consider transnational issues, as liberals argued, and thus, was allowed to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001.

From 1998 to 2005 China displayed inconsistent behavior in its respective policies towards Iran and North Korea. As for Iran, it shows the strategy of mixture of bandwagoning, balancing, delaying and hiding. As for North Korea, it turned to the mediating and bandwagoning mode. Even though China has kept its promise of divestment in Iran, it was clearly opposed to referring Iranian nuclear issue to the UN Security Council. Although the IAEA desired to pass the resolution on Iranian nuclear issue in September 2005, China abstained from the vote. On the contrary, it showed unprecedented diplomatic enthusiasm in facilitating the Six Party Talks on North Korean nuclear issue. It successfully managed to bring North Korea back to the negotiation table and made all parties agree to issue the Joint Statement of Principles in September 2005. It was quite a different approach from the Iranian case and the North Korean crisis in 1994 when China took a largely hands-off approach. China has not involved in North Korean issue, but as the situation has been worsened since 2003, it began to take constructive mediating actions.

In this period, China has hid, delayed, and somewhat balanced against the United States' pressure on Iran, but it mediated and arbitrated between relevant parties to reduce

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international law, threaten their neighbors, and callously violate international treaties to which they are party; are determined to acquire weapons of mass destruction, along with other advanced military technology, to be used as threats or offensively to achieve the aggressive designs of these regimes; sponsor terrorism around the globe; and reject basic human values and hate the United States and everything for which it stands" (Booth and Wheeler 2007, 68).

tensions around North Korea. The same Chinese leadership decided to act differently on the similar issue. Why and how did it happen? After historical review on the relationship between China and the two noncompliant states vis-à-vis the United States, my analysis will apply hiding and mediating strategy.

Case-3: North Korea (From 1998 to 2005)

History

The US-DPRK Agreed Framework was breaking down in 1998 because the building light water reactors project and heavy fuel oil delivery was delayed. North Korea revealed its secret nuclear program in October 2002 and withdrew from the NPT in 2003. The United States' invasion of Iraq in 2003 made Chinese leaders aware of the possible imminent danger of war in Korean peninsula. China devotedly began to shuttle between North Korea and the United States to facilitate talks. It successfully induced the six parties (the United States, China, Russia, South and North Korea, and Japan) to issue the Joint Statement of Principles in 2005. In following pages I review origins of tension between the United States and North Korea from 1998 to 2005 first and then examine China's diplomatic efforts between the two.

From March 1998 North Korea began to accuse the United States of not honoring the terms of the 1994 Agreed Framework and delaying heavy fuel oil shipments. North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman said that

> "North Korea has frozen its nuclear program and is allowing the safe storage of spent nuclear fuel rods, but the United States has yet to ease economic sanction and is making little progress on the construction of two light water reactors. Nobody can predict what will happen unless the United States seeks new practical measures and takes decisive action to implement its obligations" (Xinhua 1998).

North Korea's Foreign Minister Kim Yong Nam met with Selig Harrison, a scholar from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, on May 9 and confided that North Korea unsealed its 5-megawatts nuclear reactor in April to conduct maintenance activities. Kim blamed the United States for its "fail[ure] to ease sanction and make prompt deliveries of heavy fuel oil" (Rosenthal 1998). North Korea denounced the "Ulchi Focus Lens" joint military exercise of the United States and South Korea in August saying that this military drill is "a replica of the Team Spirit nuclear war exercise," and threatened to bring the Korean Peninsula to the brink of war if the U.S.-ROK alliance did not desist. The tension escalated when reports an alleged secret North Korean nuclear weapons site at Kumchang-li[97] were emerged (International Crisis Group 2003) and a three-stage Taepodong-1 ballistic missile was launched on August 31, 1998.[98]

As the tension escalated over the issue of access to suspected nuclear weapons sites in North Korea, China urged the United States to be patient with North Korea in December 1998. Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhu Bangzao said, "Although new problems have arisen, the Chinese side stresses that the peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula serves the fundamental interests of all sides." Zhu added China hopes "that the relevant sides can treasure the achievements already gained and continue to work through peaceful consultations to properly settle the problems" (Agence France Presse 1998).

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[97] Later the on-site inspection at Kumchang-li revealed nothing.

[98] North Korea attempted to place a small satellite into earth orbit with the first flight test of its three stage Taepodong-1 (Paektusan-1) missile. It was fired from the Musudanri Missile Test Facility on the east coast, and flew east across the East Sea (Sea of Japan). The first stage separated 300km east of the launch site. The second stage continued over Japan, and impacted in the Pacific Ocean 330km east of the Japanese port city of Hachinohe, after flying approximately 1,380km. The satellite broke into several pieces just seconds before reaching orbit.

Kim Jong Il's visit to China in June 1999 thawed the cold relationship between China and North Korea since 1992, the year China established diplomatic relationship with South Korea. The media speculated that China had been transferring missile materials to the North.[99] The Secretary of State Madeleine Albright was "concerned by reports that North Korea may be seeking from China materials such as specialty steel for its missile program." When Yu Shining, a spokesman for the Chinese Embassy, was asked to comment on the reported Chinese transfer of missile components to North Korea, he refused to comment on specifics but claimed that China has "always abided by our commitments undertaken to abide by the guidelines and parameters of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)" (Gertz 1999a). However, since 2000 China had been providing the North with about 800,000 metric tons of crude and non-crude oil annually, and 200,000 metric tons of coal (Manyin 2010, 81).

After the high tension in 1998 and 1999, the United States began to show conciliatory gestures since 2000. The Clinton administration invited the North Korean Vice Marshal Cho Myong-rok to Washington in September 2000. Following Cho's trip, the United States and North Korea issued a joint communiqué noting that each party had no hostile intent towards the other.[100] In return, the Secretary of State Madeline Albright visited Pyongyang in October 2000 and met Kim Jong Il. Kim confided to Albright that North Korea was selling missiles to Syria and Iran to earn foreign currency and the

[99] The *Washington Times* of July 22 1999.

[100] It states the intention to arrange a formal peace treaty to replace the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement. "This potential historical step, requiring no sacrifice on our part, was designed to ease North Korea's insecurity and make it more willing to accept restrictions on its weapons programs" (M. K. Albright 2003, 460).

North's arms are for self-reliance. Kim said "So it's clear, since we export to get money, if you guarantee compensation, it will be suspended" (M. K. Albright 2003, 463). Kim wanted President Clinton to come Pyongyang to sign a deal before his term of office ended in January 2001, but the trip never took place (International Crisis Group 2003).

The new President George W. Bush criticized the Clinton administration for considering China a strategic partner, labeling it a strategic competitor instead. The Bush administration was divided between those who favored engagement with China (Secretary of State Colin Powell, US Trade Representative Robert Zoellick) and those who favored containment (Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld) (Bader 2012, 20), but they decided to withdraw from the old administration's Agreed Framework because they did not want direct talks with the North Korea.

On April 1, 2001 the United States EP-3 surveillance aircraft and Chinese fighter collided and China detained U.S. crewmembers for thirteen days. Chinese were outraged by the collision incident involving a U.S. reconnaissance plane, and President Bush was forced to apologize. In the meantime, Bush stated on June 6, 2001 that if North Korea was receptive to the U.S. objectives—complete, verifiable, irreversible dismantle of nuclear program, it would expand efforts to help the North Korean people, ease sanctions and take other political steps (Wagner 2001). The Bush administration had not found viable and coherent strategies in coping with both China and the DPRK.

After 9/11, China became more accommodating toward the United States. Chinese official statements and media ratcheted down public rhetoric against the United States (Sutter 2012, 145; Shirk 2007, 239–54). The incident shifted the Bush

administration's priorities to the war on terrorism. However, once Bush's Axis of Evil speech was delivered on January 29, 2002, North Korea assailed the speech regarding it as "little short of declaring war" (Korean Central News Agency 2002). China also issued a statement saying that consequences will be very serious if the United States proceeded with this kind of logic. After the short period of tension, during the press conference in February 2002, Bush said that he asked Jiang to help the United States renew bilateral talks with North Korea, but China began to assume mediator's role after North Korea revealed its nuclear program in October 2002.

Assistant Secretary of State for Asia and the Pacific James Kelly visited Pyongyang on October 3, 2002. Kelly asked DPRK Vice Foreign Minister Kang Sok Ju about the rumor that North Korea covertly acquired uranium enrichment technology for nuclear weapons from the late 1990s.[101] North Korea did not deny it in the Foreign Ministry statement issued after the meeting, but rather justified its actions as a response to the hostile Bush administration policies even though it had begun its clandestine nuclear program before Bush took office (Boucher 2002; Oh 2002). After the Kelly's visit, the United States made clear that it would halt further funding for the fuel shipments promised under the Agreed Framework.

Bush's National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, was aware of China's role to get North Korea back to the negotiation table, but she could not find a way to enlist China's support (Rice 2011, 162–3). In October 2002 Bush invited Jiang to the Crawford Ranch. He mentioned North Korea as a threat not only to the United States, but also to

[101] The previous negotiation had been about plutonium, but the concern switched to uranium enrichment from 2002.

China and urged Jiang to join the United States' effort in confronting Kim diplomatically. However, Jiang told Bush North Korea was a U.S. problem, not China's and said that "Exercising influence over North Korea is very complicated" (Bush 2010, 424).

Jiang admitted that he was completely unaware of North Korea's nuclear program at a joint conference with Bush on October 25. Chinese new leader Hu Jintao also had no prior knowledge of DPRK's nuclear program, and criticized its planned withdrawal from the NPT. China's predilection for engagement with North Korea became apparent despite the revelation of the secret nuclear weapons program when Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue stated that China remained oppose the introduction of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula but believes the issue "should be settled through dialogue and negotiations" (Goodman and Pomfret 2002).

The United States, Japan, and South Korea began to press North Korea to renounce its nuclear programs. They suspended further heavy fuel oil shipments of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) in November. Once heavy fuel oil delivery was suspended, North Korea declared the Agreed Framework null in December 2002 and announced it would restart operation of its frozen nuclear facilities and construction on its 50-megawatts and 200-megawatts reactors.[102] Indeed, according to Kim and Shambaugh, "With the cessation of America's heavy fuel oil delivery in November 2002, China's oil aid and exports may now be approaching nearly 100 percent of North Korea's energy imports" (S. S. Kim 2007a, 18; Shambaugh 2003, 46).

[102] At the same time North Korea asked the IAEA to remove all seals and cameras from inspected facilities.

China's General Secretary of the Communist Party Hu Jintao called on North Korea to comply with the Agreed Framework, but North Korea declared its intention to expel the IAEA inspectors on December 27. Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan said on January 9, 2003 that the best way to resolve the dispute between the United States and North Korea was through a direct dialogue. "The framework agreement reached by the two sides in 1994 should be maintained and continue to be carried out" (Xinhua 2003a). China had been trying to find a balance between quelling North Korea's further provocations and parrying tough requests from the United States. However, North Korea did not express its gratitude towards China nor could be argued that China exercised much influence over North Korea (S. S. Kim 2007a, 18). Chinese leaders reiterated the same principles without articulating how to achieve the goals—peace and stability.

North Korea announced its withdrawal from the NPT on January 10, 2003 stating that it was no longer bounded by the IAEA safeguards agreement. The expulsion of IAEA inspectors and withdrawal from the NPT revealed the limits of China's capacity to influence North Korea by exhortation alone. Following North Korea's announcement to end the missile test moratorium on January 14, 2003, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue expressed displeasure but said, "No party should make any move that would further escalate the situation" (Guelph Mercury 2003). During Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly's visit to Beijing, China offered to host talks between the United States and North Korea to resolve the growing tension.

In January 2003, Bush threatened Jiang by saying "if North Korea's nuclear weapons program continued, I would not be able to stop Japan from developing its own

nuclear weapons. You and I are in a position to work together to make certain that a nuclear arms race does not begin." In February, he ratcheted up his pressure on Jiang by declaring that "if we could not solve the problem diplomatically, I would have to consider a military strike against North Korea" (Bush 2010, 424).[103] As he said, the United States was moving toward pursuing tougher measures such as blocking the sale of North Korean nuclear material, denying over flight rights for suspicious cargo,[104] and bolstering the missile defense systems of the U.S. allies in East Asia (Rice 2011, 348). [105]

On January 20, Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security John Bolton met with Chinese vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya in Beijing to discuss how best to address North Korea's decision to withdraw from the NPT. After the meeting, Bolton said that the two did not discuss the possibility of imposing economic sanctions against the North, but he did not detect any opposition to bringing the issue of North Korea's nuclear program before the UN Security Council (Anthony 2003).

On the same day, when he spoke at the UN Security Council, Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan's language did not square with Bolton's interpretation. Tang said that China was committed to a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula and a peaceful resolution of the

[103] Secretary of State Colin Powell met with Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan and French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin on January 19. The three agreed that North Korea's nuclear program is an international problem and should be resolved accordingly. Later in the day, North Korean vice Foreign Minister Kang Sok Ju condemned the United States for attempting to "internationalize" the issue to get the UN involved. Kang said, "The DPRK and the U.S. should sit face-to-face to solve the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula" (W. Mann 2003).

[104] The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) was announced in May 2003. It enables the US navy intercept ships and planes believed to be carrying proscribed weapons material. The Defense Department's plan 5030 was leak in the media.

[105] The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) was announced in May 2003. It enables the US navy intercept ships and planes believed to be carrying proscribed weapons material. The Defense Department's plan 5030 was leak in the media.

current crisis and insisted that he not rule out any option for resolving the issue diplomatically. He further elaborated that China learned from past experiences that direct dialogues between North Korea and the United States had been the key to resolving any crisis. Again, China repeated a formed message stressing the importance of bilateral talks and principles of peaceful resolution. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said that China remains open to any suggestions for maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, but "at the present stage...dialogue is the only effective way" (Xinhua 2003b).

After 2003, the Bush administration began to ease its rhetoric towards China because of its preoccupation of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (Sutter 2012, 146). Bush, Jiang, and Hu coordinated to solve North Korean issue by telephone calls in early 2003. Chinese officials met North Korean officials to pass over fifty messages back and forth between the United States and North Korea (S. S. Kim 2005). China supported the resolution of the IAEA Board of Governors (February 12, 2003) on reporting North Korean noncompliance to the UN Security Council.

Oil shipments through pipeline to North Korea were briefly shut off for three days in February for technical reasons, but it was construed as a warning to North Korea not to provoke the United States (Scobell 2004). When Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Wang Yi met with North Korean Foreign Minister Paek Nam Sun in mid-February, he warned North Korean counter partner to control its behavior (Scobell 2004). On February 23 when the Secretary of State Colin Powell met with Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, the two

Chinese leaders reiterated that the North Korean issue should be resolved through bilateral talks between the United States and North Korea (U.S. State Department 2003). Thus, on the one hand, China has supported the United States by agreeing with the resolutions and shutting down oil pipes, on the other hand, it has supported he North by suggesting US-DPRK bilateral talks, which was what Pyongyang wanted.

When the United States invaded Iraq on March 19, 2003, it signaled to both the Chinese and North Koreans that it meant business. China officially opposed the war in Iraq calling for returning to diplomatic solutions, but its criticisms were tempered. The initial U.S. tactical victories in the Iraq War created a sense of urgency in China to find out the most efficient path for preserving regional stability (S. S. Kim 2005). Because the Iraq War had raised fears of a preemptive invasion of North Korea, China proposed the United States and North Korea to hold bilateral meetings in Beijing. Growing fears that potential for reckless action by both the United States and North Korea could cause another war in China's backyard served as a catalyst for China's preventive diplomacy (S. S. Kim 2005). On March 8, 2003, senior diplomat Qian Qichen was dispatched to North Korea to meet Kim Jong Il suggesting to start trilateral peace talks involving the United States, North Korea, and China.

The UN Security Council held the meeting to discuss North Korea's suspected nuclear weapons programs on April 9. China and Russia opposed U.S. condemnation of North Korea's recent moves to reactivate its nuclear weapons program and raised concerns that this meeting would exacerbate the already volatile situation. The Security Council was unable to reach agreement due to China's refusal to support even a non-

binding statement. Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao mentioned that North Korea had previously issued statements saying that the UN talks are a prelude to war and that it would consider any UN sanctions as a declaration of war. He said in April that "We think intervention by the UN Security Council now cannot help resolve the North Korean nuclear issue" (Giles 2003).

China deployed 150,000 of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops to its border with North Korea in mid-2003, replacing the paramilitary frontier guards who were traditionally be responsible for the region. Analysts interpreted this as a signal to pressure the North, but Foreign Ministry spokesman Kong Quan denied the conjecture stressing that this is a normal adjustment (Twomey 2008; Scobell 2004). China displayed toughness towards North Korea from time to time. In mid-2003, the United States provided China with information that a company in northeastern China was preparing to transfer a large amount of tributyle phosphate to North Korea.[106] China intercepted the shipment before it left the country (Medeiros 2007, 92).

China convened a trilateral meeting in April 2003. Since then, it repeatedly forced, or at times, cajoled North Korea to the bargaining table in the successive five rounds of talks. It hosted all of the sessions and tabled key compromises (Twomey 2008). China's mediation has been the primary factor facilitating and energizing multilateral dialogue. President Hu dispatched Deputy Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo to Pyongyang, Moscow, and Washington in July 2003 to find common ground. Dai met with high-ranking United States officials to discuss ways to resolve the North Korea nuclear standoff

[106] Tributyle phosphate is a dual-use chemical used in plutonium reprocessing.

diplomatically.[107] President Hu sent Deputy Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo to Pyongyang, Moscow, and Washington in July 2003 to find common ground. Dai carried the Hu's letter[108] and Kim Jong-il told Dai that he was willing to restart talks with the United States in a multilateral setting, and at the same time, insisted that one-on-one negotiation was his ultimate bottom line (S. S. Kim 2005, 119).

These behind-the-scene diplomatic efforts by China led to the first round of Six Party Talks, which was held in Beijing on August 27-29, 2003.[109] China put pressure on the North to accept the final draft which stated that North Korea should return to all of its previous agreements to forgo nuclear weapons programs (Christensen 2005, 4). At the same time, China compensated North Korea for its participation and its moderate behavior in the talks by supplying economic aid. The Chairman of the National People's Congress, Wu Bangguo, pledged to North Korea $50 million worth of aid on his visit in October 2003.[110]

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[107] The Bush administration officials reportedly told Dai that the United States would participate in another round of trilateral talks if the talks were immediately followed by multilateral talks that incorporate South Korea, Japan, and Russia. The United States tried to expand a trilateral talk to a six parties talk.

[108] Hu reportedly made three key promises: (1) China would be willing to help resolve the crisis by mediating and facilitating negotiations with the greatest sincerity; (2) China would be willing to increase the amount of economic aid to North Korea; and (3) China would be willing to persuade the United States to make a promise of non-aggression against North Korea in exchange for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula (S. S. Kim 2005, 119).

[109] In the September talks a mutually acceptable statement was drafted. The document called for the dismantling of North Korean nuclear weapons programs in exchange for security guarantees, future consideration of diplomatic recognition by the United States, energy assistance to North Korea (i.e. the transfer of Light Water Reactors (LWRs)), and the transfer of peaceful nuclear technologies. Neither LWRs nor the establishment of diplomatic relations were guaranteed up front, as North Korea certainly would have preferred (Christensen 2005, 4).

[110] While Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Kong Quan declined to give details of the economic aid package, it is speculated to $50 million.

In return, North Korea's Deputy Foreign Minister Kim Yong Il met with Chinese State Councilor Tang Jiaxuan on November 18 to prepare for the second round of Six Party Talks. North Korean representative reassured Chinese officials that North Korea's final goal was to denuclearize the peninsula and to scrap its nuclear weapons program under the right conditions (Parry 2003). Chinese vice Foreign Minister Wang Yi also visited Pyongyang on December 25 to meet vice Foreign Ministers Kang Sok Ju. Kang expressed willingness to hold the next round of Six Party Talks early 2004. In the meantime, a Chinese official seemed to defend North Korea by denying existence of North Korean nuclear weapon program. Fu Ying, head of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's Asian Affairs Bureau, stated on December 29 that China does not believe North Korea has a clandestine uranium enrichment program (Kessler 2004).[111]

The second round of Six Party Talks was held on February 25-27, 2004. China persisted in prodding North Korea to be more open on its approach to dialogue with the United States. However, on February 26 the United States, South Korea, and Japan rejected a Chinese drafted joint statement. They sensed the Chinese draft was too lenient on North Korea because it called for security guarantees in exchange for North Korea's declaration of its intention to dismantle its nuclear programs, but it did not contain details of the implementation of the dismantlement. They argued that Chinese draft failed to

[111] Fu made the statement during his meeting with South Korean Foreign Minister Yoon Young-kwan and Japanese director general of the Foreign Ministry's Asian and Oceanic Affairs Bureau Motoji Yabunaka in Seoul to discuss North Korea's nuclear program. On January 7, 2004 the State Department spokesman Richard Boucher responded to Fu, "We certainly know North Korea has a highly enriched uranium program, and when confronted with that fact, North Korea admitted it." On February 4, 2004 Chinese vice President Zeng Qinghong told Tomiichi Murayama, former Japanese Prime Minister, that Japan should not address the issue of Japanese abductions by North Korean spies at the second round of Six Party Talks (Jiji Press 2004).

mention “complete, verifiable and irreversible” dismantlement (CVID) of all North Korean nuclear programs. China relayed the U.S. alliance drafted proposal to North Korea. However, the second round of talks ended without substantive result because North Korea attempted to make some last-minute changes. Chinese vice Foreign Minister Wang Yi described the situation as an extreme lack of trust between the United States and North Korea (S. S. Kim 2005, 120).

Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing met Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang to coordinate the third round of Six Party Talks and Kim visited Beijing on April 19, 2004 to meet Chinese leaders. Jiang Zemin told Kim that since the United States was unlikely to invade North Korea, it would be in North Korea’s interest to alter its hardline stance. At the same time Chinese officials gave some signals to defend the North and limit its role as a mere mediator. On June 8, Zhou Wenzhong, Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister, said that he was skeptical towards the Bush administration’s claim that North Korea had a secret uranium enrichment program (Kahn and Chira 2004). Yang Xiyu, China’s Korean Peninsula Affairs Director in the Foreign Ministry, said on August 15, the resolution of the Korean nuclear crisis depended on the United States and North Korea as China was limited to a mediating role.[112]

Independent of China’s visitation diplomatic efforts, North Korea refused to attend the fourth round of the Six Party Talks in September 2004, but China’s bi-multilateral shuttle diplomacy continued. To rejuvenate the stalled talks, China invited Kim Yong Nam, North Korea’s nominal head of state and president of the Presidium of

[112] Chinese special envoy Ning Fukui arrived in Seoul and said that countries should be more flexible and take a realistic approach to make a progress.

the Supreme People's Assembly, to visit China in October. Even though Chinese leaders reportedly proposed to offer $50 million in aid in this meeting (Cha 2012) and Kim Yong Nam agreed in principle that the Six Party Talks still remained the best available channel to advance a solution to the nuclear issue, the Six Party Talks went into the thirteen-month hiatus between the June 2004 and July 2005.

The U.S. efforts to court China to enlist its help continued. For example, in 2004 President Bush did not act upon demands from Congress to punish China for trade protectionism and currency manipulation even though the huge trade imbalances were always a source of significant tension with the Congress. Bush refused to accept a dumping petition[113] for sanctions against China (Rice 2011, 519). After the debacle in Iraq, the Bush administration in its second term was looking for a diplomatic solution on North Korean issue through Chinese channel (C. R. Hill 2014, 159).

On February 9, 2005, Michael Green, the United States Senior Director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, traveled to Beijing and delivered a letter from George W. Bush to President Hu Jintao urging China to apply greater diplomatic pressure on North Korea to disarm its nuclear weapons program (Sanger and Broad 2005). The U.S. envoy to the Six Party Talks, Christopher Hill, wrote in his memoir that China and the United States had been in absolute agreement in the goal of bringing North Korea back to the Six Party Talks. Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing told Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice that China would work with all relevant parties to resume the Six Party Talks. With Li's promise, China's special envoy, Ning Fukui, flew to Pyongyang to

[113] A claim that a foreign country is dumping goods into another country's economy at a lower price than that charged at home to gain market share.

discuss resumption of the Six Party Talks with Kim Jong Il. North Korean officials said they would return to the Six Party Talks if the United States shows "trustworthy sincerity."

Contrary to this reconciliatory remarks, the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman announced on February 25, 2005 that North Korea now possessed nuclear weapons for "self-defense" and will be suspending its participation in the Six Party Talks indefinitely due to the United States administration's hostile policy. The spokesman specifically mentioned Secretary of State Rice's reference to North Korea as an "outpost of tyranny" and President Bush's State of the Union Address that includes the ultimate objective of "ending tyranny in our world" on February 10 (Brooke and Sanger 2005). China sustained communication with North Korea by sending Chinese Communist Party International Department head Wang Jiarui to Pyongyang in February and subsequently by hosting North Korean Prime Minister Pak Bong Ju and vice Foreign Minister Kang Sok Ju for additional consultation in late March and early April. Due to the high volume of messages were exchanged between Hu and Kim, China's shuttle diplomacy with the North reached the highest levels (S. S. Kim 2005).

Contrary to China's effort, Kim Jong Il told Wang Jiarui on March 1 that North Korea produced nuclear weapons and that possessing them is "not something new that happened yesterday or today." The Chinese Foreign Ministry declined to comment on the matter (Kyodo World Service 2005). On March 6, Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing appeased the North by saying that while China remains committed to the peaceful denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, it also believed that "the legitimate concerns of North Korea should be addressed." Li remained noncommittal on China's stance towards

the existence of a secret North Korean uranium enrichment program, only saying to reporters "I don't know anything more than you do" (McDonald 2005a).

North Korean Premier Pak Pong Ju told Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao on March 22 2005 that North Korea has never opposed nor abandoned the Six Party Talks and that it would return to the negotiating table when the conditions were right. Wen encouraged them to rejoin the talks calling it "the realistic choice" for resolving the current standoff (McDonald 2005b). On March 9, President Bush said in a meeting with Hong Seok-hyon, the South Korean ambassador to the United States, that the United States would like to see China take on a larger role in resolving the Korean Peninsula nuclear crisis because China had "lots of leverage" with which to persuade North Korea (Yonhap News Agency 2005a). At the meeting with President Hu Jintao, the Secretary of State Rice expressed the importance of China's role for making progress on the negotiations, but Hu repeated China's firm commitment to resolving the nuclear issue peacefully. At a press conference in Beijing on March 21, Rice said that the United States will use "other means" for pressing the North to disarm its nuclear weapons if the Six Party Talks fail (Gearan 2005).

North Korean vice Minister Kang Sok Ju reportedly asked Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing on April 2 for a face-saving exit in order to return to the negotiations (Korea Times 2005). The Assistant Secretary of East Asia and the envoy to the Six Party Talks Christopher Hill met with vice Foreign Ministers Dai Bingguo, Yang Jiechi, and Wu Daiwei and reiterated the United States' commitment to the Six Party Talks. During the May 26 testimony to the House International Committee, Christopher

Hill said that China "should be able to convince their very close friend to come to the table. And they haven't done it" (Yonhap News Agency 2005b). On May 12, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Kong Quan responded to the United States request to bring the North to the Six Party Talks by saying that China "in principle...is not in favor of exerting pressure or resorting to sanctions to resolve international conflicts"(Xinhua Financial Network News 2005).

In June China had warned North Korea that a nuclear test would mean crossing the red line in diplomacy. Speaking in regards to the North Korean nuclear weapons program, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao stated that China "[wa]s not aware of the situation." Liu repeated the repertoire: China hopes that "all relevant parties will make constructive efforts to promote the resumption of the Six Party Talks as soon as possible" (Yonhap News Agency 2005c). North Korea finally agreed to return for the fourth round of the Six Party Talks on July 9, 2005. Its decision to rejoin the Six Party Talks after a thirteen-month hiatus could be attributed to the China's mediation, which provided an exit from the self-created mutual provocation between the United States and North Korea.

On September 19, six party members agreed to issue the Joint Statement of Principles, under which North Korea promised to abandon its nuclear program in exchange for aid, security guarantee by the United States, and normalization of relations with the United States. China played a critical role in achieving a consensus. Chinese vice

Foreign Minister Wang Yi dubbed its shuttle diplomacy as "active mediation" (S. S. Kim 2005, 131).[114]

Immediately after Pyongyang on October 28 and China promised to offer more monetary aid, and signed the Economic and Technological Cooperation Agreement with Kim that was rumored to be worth $2 billion in trade credit and investment (International Crisis Group 2006). Accordingly, the volume of Sino-DPRK trade increased from $738 million in 2002 to $1.6 billion in 2005. China began to engage in various forms of investment (mining exploration, drilling in the sea, and building a new mass-transportation bridge from North Korea's border city of Sinuiju to Dandong, China, over the Yalu River). China had "shifted its gears from mere life-support aid to developmental aid in late 2005" (S. S. Kim 2007a, 19).

However, the six countries could not implement what they have agreed upon in the Joint Statement of Principles due to complications over North Korean assets in a bank in Macau. On September 15, 2005, the Treasury Department's Terrorism and Financial Crime Division launched an investigation into Macau-domiciled Banco Delta Asia (BDA) for conducting money laundering on behalf of North Korea, which resulted in the bank's collapse and the freezing of accounts in other institutions.[115] The Treasury Department issued an advisory under Section 311 of the Patriot Act to U.S. financial institutions to beware of doing business with the BDA, because it was involved in money-laundering

[114] In his definition it is making continuous positive efforts to promote peace and talks in an objective and just attitude. By doing so all parties can enhance contacts, build trust, seek common grounds while reserving differences, and expand consensus (S. S. Kim 2005, 131).

[115] It is also believed to have investigated Seng Heng bank and Bank of China (Macau) for similar reason. The main North Korean suspect, the Zhongwang Trading Company, withdrew all its funds.

activities for North Korean and it had circulated North Korean counterfeit of the U.S. $100 bill.[116] "The Chinese hosts were both alarmed and upset that the Six-Party agreement was collapsing only weeks after it was signed" (Cha 2012), but China cooperated with the United States to close North Korean accounts with the Bank of China in Macau.

On December 11, 2005 North Korea suspended its participation in the Six Party Talks and demanded the removal of constraints on its oversea accounts as a precondition for fulfilling its obligations under the Joint Statement of Principle. North Korea requested the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) to withdraw all employees from the nuclear power reactor construction site by January 2006. The reconciliatory mood after signing the joint statement gave way to tension for three months and implementation of it was postponed. China's biggest diplomatic achievement thus collapsed within two months.

Analysis

Since 1998 delivery of heavy fuel oil to North Korea and construction of the light water reactors has been delayed. As an act of protest against the United States, North Korea launched a Taepodong-1 ballistic missile in August 1998. The tension grew out of mutual provocations of both parties. North Korea was paranoid by the Bush's Axis of Evil speech (January 2002) and the Rice's "outpost of tyranny" remark (February 2005) and mutual acrimonious rhetoric from both sides led to mutual. It showed a pattern of

[116] The United States blacklisted eight North Korean firms suspected of Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) proliferation.

vicious cycle, in which repeated and reinforced mistrust between North Korea's "over-attention" and the United States' "inattention" (Womack 2006).

Once the Bush administration did away with the Clinton's Agreed Framework, provocations from North Korea have become intense. North Korea admitted that it is acquiring uranium enrichment technology in the Kelly-Kang talk in October 2002 (Boucher 2002; Oh 2002). Two months later, North Korea nullified the Agreed Framework and resumed operation of its frozen nuclear facilities. In January 2003 North Korea announced its withdrawal from the NPT and that it would no longer bound by its IAEA safeguards agreement. In February of that year, the North threatened to void the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement if economic sanctions were imposed. At last, in March 2005 Kim Jong Il admitted that North Korea has developed nuclear weapons (Brooke and Sanger 2005).

China's official position on North Korean nuclear standoff did not change its emphasis on direct dialogues between the United States and North Korea and patience in resolving disputes. However, this principled approach did not seem to successfully contain provocations from the two actors. Proposition-7 (*hiding prevents provocation*) is thus negated in this case since forging ambiguity has not quelled provocations.

China has been requested many times by the United States to press, cajole, coax, and persuade North Korea to renounce its nuclear weapon development program. President Bush asked President Jiang to help the United States renew bilateral talks with North Korea in February 2002. Senior Director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council Michael Green delivered the Bush's letter to Hu that urges China to apply greater

diplomatic pressure on North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program in February 2005. Secretary of State Rice told President Hu about the importance of China's role for making progress on the negotiations in March 2005. The top U.S. envoy to the Six Party Talks, Christopher Hill, said that China should be able to convince North Korea to come to the table in May.

After China got entreaties from the United States, contrary to Proposition-1's (*straddling*) predictions, China took on a facilitator's role to arrange the Six Party Talks and managed all parties to sign the Joint Statement of Principles in September 2005 (Christensen 2005, 4). This does not confirm Proposition-1 in that China has not been ambiguous during the nuclear standoff from 2003 to 2005. If anything, they confirm the Proposition-8 (*mediating*).

What made China take on a mediator's role? North Korea's admission of nuclear weapon development in October 2002 and the United States' Iraq invasion in March 2003 made China aware of the urgency of problem. China had become a mediator since 2003. It is quite different from the hands-off approach in early 1990s. China proposed and convened a trilateral meeting in April. Deputy Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo traveled Pyongyang, Moscow, and Washington in July to hear opinions among its rival states (S. S. Kim 2005, 119). Thanks to China's shuttle diplomacy, the first round of the Six Party Talks was possible in August 2003. China also put pressure on the North to accept the final draft of the communiqué that stated that North Korea should return to all of its previous agreements to forgo nuclear weapons programs.

As North Korea refused to attend a fourth round of the talks in September 2004, China invited Kim Yong Nam to Beijing in October and reportedly offered $50 million worth of monetary aid (Cha 2012). North Korea agreed to return for the Six Party Talks in July and the six countries involved had agreed to the Joint Statement of Principles on September 19, 2005.[117] These facts show China's effort to be active. They support Proposition-8 (*mediating*) since 2003. China engaged in active visitation diplomacy between the five parties to convene talks and drafted a joint statement. China cajoled North Korea into coming to the talks and persuaded it to sign the statement in which dismantles its nuclear program. Therefore, Proposition-5 (*abetting*) does not apply to this case.

It confirmed the Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*) because China activated its preventive mediating diplomacy after hearing rumors that North Korea had been developing nuclear capabilities. However, it is ambiguous to confirm the Proposition-6 (*delaying*) because the fact that China has arranged talks does not necessarily mean it has expedited the progress of the talk to reach a desirable agreement. Initiating talks does not necessarily mean that China endeavored to solve problems since a negotiation table could be a place where parties confirm their difference, aggravate the situation, and widen fissures (Friedberg 2011). Chinese leaders might have used the multilateral negotiation framework to bind the United States as well as North Korea to prevent them from provocations. China had little to lose because even if this attempt failed, other states would have praised its efforts (Scobell 2004, 11).

[117] The statement indicated that North Korea promised to abandon its nuclear program in exchange for aid, security guarantee by the United States, and normalization of relations with the United States.

It is hard to say Proposition-2 (*balancing*) has been confirmed because China's policy is not consistent. It has adopted "balancing" since China and Russia opposed to issuing a statement condemning North Korea's nuclear activities in the UN Security Council on April 9, 2003 and they held a joint military exercise involving 10,000 military forces and seen as targeting Japan, Taiwan, and the United States (Sutter 2011, xxxiii). However, since 2003 China has been acting as a facilitator of the multilateral talks. China's behavior has been inconsistent because sometimes it defended North Korea by expressing doubts North Korea really has been developing a nuke as Fu Ying, head of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's Asian Affairs Bureau, express a doubt in December 2003 (Kessler 2004), but overall China's attitude was supportive to international cooperation to solve the crisis through dialogues.

Despite its efforts to resolve conflicts between the DPRK and the U.S., China proved incapable of restraining its old ally. President Hu Jintao asked North Korea to comply with the Agreed Framework in December 2002, but North Korea expelled IAEA inspectors in the same month. Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan encouraged direct talks between the United States and North Korea on January 9, 2003, but North Korea announced its withdrawal from NPT the very next day and ended its missile moratorium three days later (Xinhua 2003a). China revealed its limit to convince it's the North by admonition only.

One interesting feature of China's behaviors is that it offered compensations to its refractory ally to coax it into negotiating. Wu Bangguo promised to North Korea $50 million worth of aid in October 2003 to make North Korea come to the second round of

Six Party Talks in February 2004 (Cha 2012). A month later North Korea signed the Joint Statement of Principles at the Six Party Talks in September 2005, Hu Jintao offered monetary aid and signed the Economic and Technological Cooperation Agreement in October 2005, rumored to be worth $2 billion in trade credit and investment (International Crisis Group 2006).

Preventing a war in Korean peninsula or collapse of North Korean regime is in China's interest and it needs to pay the price to secure its interests. Since its interests toward both North Korea and the United States were equally important, China chose mediating since 2003 as my theory predicted (cell A in the figue-2). The biggest concern for Chinese leaders in this period was to join the WTO. They had to control its own citizens' anger from the U.S. accidental bombing on Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999 and the collision between U.S. reconnaissance plane EP-3 and Chinese jet F-8 in April 2001. China's interest in becoming a member of the WTO had been more important than to spout national pride and bitterness by bashing the United States. Inadvertently, the terrorist attack in September 2001 brought a good chance for the United States to mend the Sino-U.S. relations. China could join the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001 with the support from the U.S. Since China passively ingratiated with the United States to achieve its important goal, its behavior in 2001 could be located on cell D in the figure-2.

When North Korea revealed its secret nuclear program in October 2002 and withdrew from the NPT in January 2003, China's core interest in maintaining a stable neighborhood was threatened. This perception of urgency to pacify the region was

reinforced by the U.S. invasion of Iraq in Mach 2003. It needed to curve aggressive American preemptive attack impulse and to appease North Korea's impetuous provocations. Saving them from the security dilemma was of paramount interest to China. China's interest in stabilizing the region and North Korea's strategy to extort compensations from both the United States and China have moved the region toward restarting diplomacy. China's behavior could be located on cell A in the figure-2 because China needed both North Korea and the United States almost equally not to aggravate the situation.

Figure 10 Propositions Testing on Case-3

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	2002 2003 2005	**Disconfirmed:** Pleas from the US → China began to act as a mediator. Bush asked Jiang to help the US renew bilateral talks with North Korea in February 2002; Bush urged China to apply greater diplomatic pressure on North Korea to disarm its nuclear weapons program in February 2005; Rice met with Hu and expressed the importance of China's role for making progress on the negotiations in March 2005 → China facilitated the Six Party Talks.
2	Balancing unless there is a compensation	2003 2004 2005	**Ambiguous:** It can be confirmed as China opposed to issuing a statement condemning North Korea's nuclear activities in the UN Security Council in April 2003. And Russia and China had joint military drill against the US allies in the same month. But since then China has been as a facilitator of the Six Party Talks.
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues	1998-2005	**Disconfirmed:** China did not use the US-Taiwan arms deal to leverage the US.
4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	2003 2004 2005	**Confirmed:** North Korea's admission of nuclear weapon development program in October 2002 and the United States' Iraq invasion in March 2003 → China began to take on a mediator's role to resolve the crises.
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	2003 2004 2005	**Disconfirmed:** China has not instigated two parties for its own good. It facilitated the Six Party Talks from 2003 to reduce tension.
6	Delaying negotiation and water-down the terms	2003 2005	**Ambiguous:** China has arranged talks, but it is not clear it has delayed the progress of the talk.
7	Hiding to contain	1998	**Disconfirmed:**

	both	2002 2003 2005	China's strategy of go-between → increased provocations from both. North Korea launched a Taepodong-1 ballistic missile in August 1998; Bush's Axis of Evil speech in January 2002; North Korea admitted that it is acquiring uranium enrichment technology for nuclear weapons in October 2002. North Korea declared the Agreed Framework is dead and it would restart operation of its frozen nuclear facilities in December 2002. North Korea announced its withdrawal from the NPT January 2003; Rice referred North Korea as an outpost of tyranny and Bush said the US's aim is ending tyranny in our world in February 2005; Kim told that North Korea has produced nuclear weapons in March 2005.
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	2003 2004 2005	**Confirmed:** From 2003 to 2005 China engaged in active shuttle diplomacy between the conflicting parties to convene the Six Party Talks and drafted the Joint Statement. China pressed North Korea to come to the talks and persuaded it to sign the statement in which dismantles its nuclear program. China facilitated a trilateral meeting in April 2003. Dai Bingguo went to Pyongyang, Moscow, and Washington in July 2003 to find common ground between the states. → The first round of the Six Party Talks in August 2003. Jiang told Kim that the US would not invade North Korea in April 2004. China invited Kim Yong Nam to visit China in October 2004. North Korea agreed to return to the Six Party Talks in July 2005. On September 19, 2005, the six parties agreed to the Joint Statement of Principles.
	Behavioral pattern in the Case-3	1998-2005	Crisis → crisis → straddling → settlement → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → getting entreaties → crisis → straddling → inability → crisis → inability → straddling → crisis → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → bandwagoning → bandwagoning → straddling → hiding → mediating → balancing → mediating → mediating → settlement → mediating → compensation for NK → mediating → mediating → incapability → mediating → mediating → getting entreaties → mediating → crisis → crisis → straddling → getting entreaties → mediating → straddling → straddling → mediating → settlement → crisis → bandwagoning → straddling, compensation for NK → crisis

Case-4: Iran (From 1998 to 2005)

History

After China declared the disinvestment from Iran on nuclear cooperation in 1997, it kept its promises with the United States. China and Iran conducted ten official diplomatic exchanges in 1997, but they agreed to only two official interactions in 1998

(Nourafchan 2010, 35; Garver 2007, 117). However, China continues to sell missile technology to Iran by refocusing its policy from nuclear to missile technology transfer.

As the Sino-U.S. relations became strained due to a series of events—bombing China's embassy in Belgrade in May 1999, the Cox report (May 1999) on widespread Chinese espionage activities in the United States nuclear weapons facilities, passage of the Iran Nonproliferation Act in 2000, and collision of the U.S. reconnaissance plane and Chinese jet fighter on April 25 2001—the Sino-Iran relationship began to recover incrementally. China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) on December 11, 2001 removed a source of the U.S. leverage over China, as the United States cannot threaten China to block its accession to the global trading body if it helps Iran. Now China enjoys more freedom of action and can turn the table on the United States. It can force the United States not to support Taiwan independence more vigorously as it did in August 2002.

China has shown reluctance to join either side by straddling. The United States invaded Iraq in 2003 and as the United States expanded its influence in the Middle East, Iran tried to invite China to join its anti-U.S. coalition. For instance, Iran has been trying to be a full member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to counteract the United States in the Middle East since 2005, but China delayed its approval of full membership leaving Iran as an observer of the SCO. On the other hand, even after the Iranian clandestine nuclear facilities were found in 2002 and the IAEA claimed in 2005 that Iran has had conducted nuclear activities without reporting to the IAEA, China publicly objected to refer the issue to the UN Security Council. The historical review on

Sino-Iranian relation vis-à-vis the United States from 1998 to 2005 and test of the eight propositions is found in the subsequent pages.

On January 21, 1998 President Jiang Zemin told Secretary of Defense William Cohen that the sale and transfer of anti-ship cruise missiles to Iran has ended (Korski 1998), but sales of the C-802 missile continued through late 1998 (CIA 2003).[118] In May 1999 the Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China (so-called Cox Committee) released the 800-page report. It depicted widespread Chinese espionage efforts against the United States nuclear weapon facilities that allow China to build advanced nuclear warheads on missiles (Sutter 2012, 142).[119] The public opinion toward China in the United State was ominous.

The public opinion toward the United States in China also quickly deteriorated. On May 7, 1999 the accidental U.S. air strike on China's embassy in Belgrade generated popular and elite pressures on the Chinese leadership to distance itself from the United States (Gries 2005). Cooperating with Iran might have been a good option for China to show its displeasure with the United States. China and Iran had signed contracts for transferring approximately 400 of the missiles and about 150 of which were delivered in August 1999 (Green 1999). China signed a deal to upgrade Iranian missile systems,[120] the

[118] Subsequently, Iran has developed the capability to produce the missiles with indigenous technology. The CIA report gave the credit for this speculation noting that Chinese ballistic missile technology assistance "helped Iran move toward its goal of becoming self-sufficient in the production of ballistic missiles" (CIA 2003).

[119] It portrayed the Clinton administration as grossly negligent in protecting vital United States security secrets.

[120] China reportedly signed a contract worth $11 million to upgrade Iranian anti-ship cruise missiles on August 19, 1999. The contract will focus on Chinese-supplied short-range, anti-ship cruise missiles known as FL-10s. Chinese will modify the missiles so that they can be launched from helicopters and fast patrol boats (Seattle Times 1999).

United States might be suspicious on China's commitment on the 1997 grand bargaining not to supply Iran with cruise missiles or technology (Gertz 1999b).

However, in February 1998, the China Nuclear Energy Industry suspended the sale of anhydrous hydrogen fluoride to Iran, which could be used to enrich uranium (Rhodes 1998).[121] China also cancelled an agreement with Iran to build a nuclear power plant in Bushehr on December 9, 1999. Asadollah Saburi, the Deputy Director of Atomic Energy Organization of Iran, confirmed on January 31, 2000 that China has refused to deliver two 300-megawatts reactors to Iran (Nuclear Engineering International 1998).[122] Analysts speculated that the United States accusations Iran of attempting to build weapons of mass destruction might have compelled China to cancel the deals with Iran (Deutsche Presse-Agentur 1999).

Since 1999 China has showed its opportunistic behavior not to irritate the United States by oscillating between serving its own economic interests and showing political commitment with the United States. According to Nicolo Nourafchan,

> "Beijing was careful not to allow its companies to take the lead on oil cooperation with Iran lest they become targets of US sanctions. For example, China began direct investments in Iran's oil sector only after 1999 when Royal Dutch Shell invested $1 billion without incurring US penalties. Even then, China decided to

[121] "The suspension of the sale came three years after the United States first discovered the sale and nearly two years after China pledged not to sell such products to Iran. On March 31, 1998 the United States intelligence discovered Iran and China have discussed a deal that would provide Iran with hundreds of tons of nuclear material. The report came only several weeks after the Clinton administration and China reached an agreement halting any transfer of nuclear technology. Further talks between the United States and China revealed China has reaffirmed its agreement to not supply Iran with anhydrous hydrogen fluoride, used in enriching uranium. China denied that Chinese companies have sold the chemical anhydrous hydrogen fluoride to the Isfahan Nuclear Research Center. Zhu Bangzao, a spokesman of Foreign Ministry, said China is a signatory of the NPT. It does not advocate, encourage or engage in nuclear weapons proliferation, nor does it help other countries develop nuclear weapons" (Rhodes 1998).

[122] Asadollah Saburi said Iran has severed its ties with China regarding nuclear projects. Saburi stated "The Chinese reached a conclusion to work on nuclear matters with other countries, not Iran. Our contract was cancelled partly for political reasons" (Nuclear Engineering International 1998).

> test whether the United States would invoke the Iran-Sanctions Act and limited its first direct investment to just $85 million. Chinese firms decide to go forward with the massive investments … only after these deals went forward without economic repercussions from Washington and after the D'Amato Law[123] came to be perceived as something of a paper tiger" (Nourafchan 2010, 37).

Amid of this China's opportunistic moves, Secretary of State Albright announced in March 2000 the lifting of import restrictions on Iran's principal non-oil exports. It was a reconciliatory move to court the Iranian reformist President Mohammad Khatami.[124] However, the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei who regularly incited his audiences to chant "Death to America" obstructed President Khatami's liberalization and conciliatory efforts. Against the opposition of the Principlist or conservatives, Khatami signed the Chemical Weapons Convention and became a regional leader for fighting against the spread of narcotics,[125] but the United States believed that Iran was still trying to acquire or build nuclear weapons (M. K. Albright 2003, 325).

On March 14, 2000 the Iran Nonproliferation Act authorized President Clinton to take punitive action against organizations or individuals providing material aid to programs of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iran. The United States had named

[123] It is another name of the Iran-Sanctions Act of 1996, which sanctions any business entity investing more than $20 million in Iranian oil and gas projects.

[124] On March 17, 2000, Secretary of State Albright made a major overture to Iran. She said, "plant the seeds of a new relationship" between Iran and the United States. She did not explicitly apologize, but admitted that "in 1953 the United States played a significant role in orchestrating the overthrow of Iran's popular Prime Minister, Mohammed Mossadegh." She recognized that, "during the next quarter century" following the coup, the United States and the West gave sustained backing to the Shah's regime, which, "brutally repressed political dissent" (Mousavian 2014, 158).

[125] Still, Iran continued to provide the Lebanon-based Muslim group Hezbollah with arms and to finance anti-Israeli movement of Palestinians. Khatami did not deny these facts but argued that those fighting to liberate Muslim lands should not be describe as terrorists (M. K. Albright 2003, 325).

five Chinese companies as serial proliferators.[126] Chinese officials expressed disappointment and anger over such sanctions particularly in light of continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, which are seen as hypocritical behavior that undermines China's territorial integrity. One Chinese official said "You want us respect core United States value on exports, but you don't control your exports to a region of China, so there is conflict in your action" (International Crisis Group 2010, 2). Although China expressed anger over unilateral sanctions on Chinese companies, it observed carefully the agreement to halt nuclear cooperation with Iran. Iranian President Khatami visited to China on June 26 but China emphasized the visit is not related with military cooperation to dispel the United States' suspicions that Iran and China share missile technology.

However, China's cooperative attitude has mostly based on material exchange with the United States. To solicit help from the United States for joining the WTO, on November 29, the United States and Chinese officials announced an agreement on missile technology exports under which China will forgo the sale of missile parts and other components to Iran and Pakistan and abide by the guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). The Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi said that "China has no intention to assist, in any way, any country in the development of ballistic missiles that can be used to deliver nuclear weapons" (Bender 2000, 5).

On May 24, 2000 the United States House of Representatives voted 237-197 to grant the Permanent Normal Trade Relations status (PNTR) to China. President Bush also said that "Expanding American access to China's one billion potential consumers

[126] They are China Great Wall industry Corporation, China Precision Machinery Import/Export Corporation, China North Industries Corporation (NORINCO), Wha Cheong Tai Company, Ltd. and Zibo Chemical Equipment Plant.

was a high priority for me, just as access to the United States market was essential for the Chinese" (Bush 2010, 427). China officially joined the WTO in December 2001 and the PNTR legally took effect that same month (M. K. Albright 2003, 433). Such actions were purely motivated by U.S. economic interest in opening China's market over its concerns about Chinese human rights.

Even though September 11, 2001 terrorist attack improved Sino-US relations, China still opportunistically cooperated with Iran in developing missiles. For example, since 2001 China had largely taken over the Iranian Shehab-4 missile project. As Russia significantly reduced the export of missile technology to Iran, China took over the program (Rodan 2001).[127] On October 31, 2001, according to Senator Jon Kyl, the Republican on the Senate subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism and Government Information, China had continued to sell ballistic missile technology and advanced cruise missiles to Iran, despite the pledge in 2000 to halt sales. Kyl claimed China had been helping Iran to facilitate and deploy nuclear tipped missiles (Middle East Newsline 2001).

The three incidents in 2002 had complicated the dynamics between the three countries: the Bush's Axis of Evil speech, the United States sanctions on Chinese companies, and the discovery of the secret nuclear site in Natanz and Arak. After the Bush's Axis of Evil address, Chinese officials defended Iran saying that labeling "Iran as part of an axis of evil was a form of impermissible bullying" (Garver 2007, 122) and that China did "not stand for or support the use of similar language in international affairs"

[127] It provided Iran with technology for both solid-fueled engines and specially treated metal required for the missile. Chinese also helped with simulation testing of the missile through the use of supercomputers, which had reduced the need for flight-testing (Rodan 2001).

(Xinhua 2003c).[128] Only three months later, President Jiang visited Iran to demonstrate his close ties with the Iran (Xinhua 2002). The two reaffirmed their common position to "stand for multipolarization" and to "work together for the establishment of [a]... new political and economic order that is free of hegemonism" (Foreign Ministry 2002).

On January 21, 2002 according to the U.S. Department of Defense, China had not stopped selling missile subsystems and technology to Iran. Deputy Defense Undersecretary Lisa Bronson claimed that "China continues to be one of the world's key sources for missile and WMD-related technology, including to some terrorist sponsoring states" (World Tribune 2002).[129] Chinese companies provided assistance to non-conventional weapons programs in Iran. The U.S. Department of Commerce later sanctioned 19 Chinese organizations believed to be involved in such transfers, including Huawei Technologies, which allegedly has helped Iraq improve its air-defense system (Middle East Newsline 2002).[130] Since sanctions placed on Chinese companies incensed Chinese government, the United States had to calm China's anger. Thus, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage had to say in August 2002 that the United States did not support Taiwan independence (Alterman and Garver 2008, 48).

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[128] Khatami told the top negotiator of Iranian team Seyed Hossein Mousavian, "I am confident that Bush put the final nail in the coffin of Iran-US relations. I guess any improvement in relations must be ruled out, at least during my presidency" (Mousavian 2014, 169).

[129] China continued to export missile components and technology to North Korea, which transfers related versions to Iran, Syria, Libya, and Egypt (World Tribune 2002).

[130] "In 2001, the Bush administration imposed sanctions on China over issues involving China's reported proliferation of weapons of mass destruction more times than during the eight years of the Clinton administration" (Sutter 2012, 145). In July 2003 the United States imposed sanctions on five Chinese companies for selling weapons technology to Iran. The five companies to be sanctioned are: Taian Foreign Trade General Corporation of China, Zibo Chemical Equipment Plant of China, Liyang Yunlong Chemical Equipment Group Company of China, China North Industries Corporation (Norinco), and China Precision Machinery Import/Export Corporation (CPMIEC).

On August 14, 2002, Alireza Jafarzadeh, a spokesman for Iranian dissident group, National Council of Resistance of Iran, claimed the existence of two nuclear sites: a uranium enrichment facility in Natanz and a heavy water facility in Arak.[131] According to the IAEA June 2003 report, Iran imported the nuclear materials from China and failed to report them (Mousavian 2012, 58). President Bush thought they are "two telltale signs of a nuclear weapons program" (Bush 2010, 415). The Secretary of State Rice also argued

> "Iran was sitting on huge oil and gas reserves. Why not focus on enhancing its refining capabilities to make use of those holdings? Why instead seek nuclear power? The August 2002 discovery of undisclosed nuclear plants at Natanz and Arak only seemed to strengthen the US case. If they were ostensibly pursuing nuclear technologies for peaceful purposes, why would they have anything to hide" (Rice 2011, 165).

However, China denied requests from the U.S. and Britain to report this issue to the UN Security Council because doing so would complicate the IAEA's efforts.[132] Vice Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing declined to say unequivocally whether China would veto a resolution if the matter were brought before the UN Security Council. Instead, it would oppose the use of pressure if Iran complied with the IAEA mandates and allayed concerns about the nature of its nuclear program. The disclosure of Iran's secret uranium enrichment program in 2002 brought benefits to China in different forms, however. The U.S. pressure on Russia, Japan, South Korea, India, and European countries to reduce trade with Iran gave China a freer hand to become involved in Iran's domestic market and develop its energy resources. As Western companies began to withdraw from Iran,

[131] Since the Natanz facilities was not informed to the IAEA as was required under Iran's Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA, the United States raised strong suspicions that Iran has been enriching uranium to the level of making a bomb. The facility in Arak was a heavy water production plant that was not required to be under Iran's Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA (Mousavian 2012, 58).

[132] This position was bolstered by an agreement in November 2004 between the EU3 (Britain, France and Germany) and Iran, under which Iran would suspend uranium enrichment and agree to IAEA verification.

the severed economic ties between Iran and the West opened up new opportunities for Chinese firms to build economic ties with Iran (Harold and Nader 2012). The Iraq War led a complete interruption of China's oil imports from Iraq. The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued the statement on March 20 it said

> "bypassing the UN Security Council, the United States and some other countries launched military operations against Iraq. …The Chinese Government strongly appeals to the relevant countries to stop military actions and return to the right path of seeking a political solution to the Iraq question" (Foreign Ministry 2003).[133]

As its default straddling strategy, China officially opposed the war, but did not take the lead in voicing opposition. In October 2003, seven months after the United States ousted Saddam Hussein from power, Iran pledged to suspend all uranium enrichment and reprocessing.[134] In return, Britain, Germany, and France agreed to provide financial and diplomatic benefits, such as technology, and trade cooperation (Bush 2010, 415). The immediate tension subsided, but the standoff between the United States and Iran continued.

When the relation between the United States and Iran were most tense in 2004, China and Iran made a series of big energy deals. In March 2004, the Zhuhai Zhenrong

[133] In Iran there was an optimistic view about the US invasion of Iraq as Iranian Major General Qasem Soleimani had played crucial role in orchestrating Iran's strategy in the Iraq war in 2003 as he did in Afghanistan in 2001. The pro-US invasion logic goes like this: If the United States removes Saddam (Iran's most lethal enemy) and if Iraq becomes a democratic country, since Shiites is majority in Iraq, Iran would have a new Shia-dominated democratic Iraqi government. And that will tip the balance of power in the region in Iran's favor (Mousavian 2014, 196).

[134] It is also called the Saadabad Agreement between the EU3 and Iran. The Iranian top negotiator was Hassan Rouhani, the President of Iran since 2013. "In essence, Iran agreed to voluntary suspension of enrichment activities as a confidence building measure and to sign the additional Protocol to the NPT which would allow the IAEA to carry out surprise visits to suspect facilities. In return, Britain, France and German pledged that they would recognize the right of Iran to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and that the additional protocol was in no way intended to undermine the sovereignty, national dignity or national security of Iran" (Mousavian 2014, 189).

Corporation concluded a $20 billion deal with Iran in which Iran would send China 110 million metric tons of liquefied natural gas during a 25-year period. Zhuhai Zhenrong and Sinopec signed a $100 billion deal with Iran that would help China to import 10 million tons of Iranian liquid natural gas during a 25-year period from the North Pars and Yadavaran oil fields (Afrasiabi 2004). The October 2004 agreement "guaranteed Sinopec 50 percent of the output (150,000 bpd) from the Yadavaran in return for commitment to buy 10 million tons of liquid natural gas from Iran for the next 25 years" (Wolfe 2013, 308).[135]

As the Sino-Iranian economic tie improved significantly with the energy deals, China began to defend Iran diplomatically. In 2004, responding to American accusations that Iran has been building nuclear bombs, Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing asserted that Iran has been cooperating with the IAEA well (CNN 2004). He openly opposed bringing the matter to the UN Security Council. For Chinese, since Iran had been making progress with the IAEA, it should not be faced with punitive sanctions (Reuters 2007). China was for the direction in which "all relevant sides [to] remain restrained and stick to solving the Iranian nuclear issue through negotiations," (Macaskill and Walsh 2006) because sanctions would only complicate problems (Yuan 2006).

On November 6, 2004 China gave Iran public support in the IAEA meeting by stating that it opposed the U.S. efforts to have the matter referred to the UN Security

[135] According to Wojtek Wolfe, from 2000 to 2003, "Sinopec provided $150 million of engineering services to upgrade the Tehran and Tabriz refineries. They also conducted two infrastructure projects in northern Iran under the country's oil swap program for crude exports. Sinopec has an exploration and development contract for the Garmsar block and exploration rights to the Zavareh Kashan block. Sinopec has the rights to develop a concession in the Semnan Province" (Wolfe 2013, 308–9).

Council (Agence France Presse 2004).[136] China had been seeking to deal the Iranian issue in the IAEA, a less authoritative organization than the UN Security Council. Against a U.S.-EU proposal to refer Iran to the UN Security Council in 2004, Chinese IAEA board member Zhang Huazhu said, "The IAEA Board of Governors is the proper venue and place to settle the issue," and there "is no necessity for the issue to go anywhere else" (Payvand 2004). Wang Guangya, the Chinese ambassador to the UN, also said, "I think it is up to Vienna to come up with a solution. I think it is not up to the UNSC," which already "has too many issues to add Iran" (Shen 2006, 63–4). This was a typical delaying strategy which binds the United States to the less influential international regime to complicate the U.S. sanction drives.

However, in June 2005, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a hardliner, was elected[137] and declared that he will resume uranium conversion as a part of Iran's civilian nuclear power program. Russia had offered the proposal to provide fuel enriched in Russia for Iran's civilian reactors so that Iran would not need its own enrichment facilities, but Iran rejected the offer. The EU3 also offered to support an Iranian civilian nuclear program in exchange for halting its suspect nuclear activities, but it, too, was rejected. President Bush reasoned that

> "there was only one logical explanation: Iran was enriching uranium to use in a bomb. America could not allow Iran to have a nuclear weapon. The theocratic regime would be able to dominate the Middle East, blackmail the world, pass

[136] In the same month (November 2004) former vice Premier Qian Qichen argued that the United States strategy of aggressive preemptive war would ultimately lead to the demise of the American empire (Alterman and Garver 2008, 16).

[137] For the first time in the Iranian history, "the parliament, judiciary, executive, military, and security and intelligence establishments were all in the hands of conservatives or Principlists" (Mousavian 2014, 207).

> nuclear weapons technology to its terrorist proxies, or use the bomb against Israel" (Bush 2010, 416).

As the standoff between Iran and the West grew tense and Iran rebuffed the offers, China had to be more proactive on the issue.

In 2005, the IAEA found that over a period of 18 years Iran had conducted a series of nuclear activities without reporting them to the IAEA as required under the NPT. This led to the United States pressure the IAEA to refer the Iran nuclear issue to the UN Security Council. It implies implement of sanctions by the Security Council under Article 7 of the UN Charter dealing with threats to peace (Alterman and Garver 2008, 42). However, China flatly rejected the idea. China's Ambassador Wang Guangya said on August 10, 2005 that China would not support the idea to refer Iran to the UN Security Council (Xinhua 2005a).

On September 22, 2005, France, Germany, and Britain had to put on hold their resolution draft that called for referring the Iranian nuclear issue to the UN Security Council. The draft was eventually dropped after Russia and China expressed opposition. Chinese Ambassador of the Permanent Mission to Vienna Wu Hailong said that the Iranian nuclear issue should be resolved through continued dialogues in the IAEA.

> "Through negotiations, each party can fully state its case and make its own demands, and the two sides can find the best balance that is conducive to safeguarding the interests of both parties...[but] Iran's legitimate concerns should be treated fairly and objectively" (Xinhua 2005b).

China still employed the delaying strategy by holding the issue at the IAEA. Due to the opposition from China and Russia, it took the IAEA more than a month to discover Iran's noncompliance to the terms stipulated in the NPT. Finally, on September 24 the IAEA Board of Governors passed the resolution (GOV/2005/77) with 22 votes of

approval, 12 abstentions and one opposing vote.[138] China and Russia abstained from voting. The resolution stated that Iran's noncompliance and many failures and breaches over nuclear safeguards of the NPT were the reasons for referral to the UN Security Council. Iran objected to the board's decision and stated it may not ratify the Additional Protocol.[139]

The five-page report presented by the IAEA Director General, Mohamed ElBaradei, to the Board of Governors in November 2005 confirmed that Iran had not suspended activities at Isfahan, nor had it reviewed its decision about building a heavy-water reactor complex at Arak. In the same month the Majles (Iranian Parliament) approved the plan that mandates that the Ahmadinejad government stop voluntary suspension if the Iranian case were actually reported to the Security Council.[140]

The United States joined the Europeans in offering Iran a package of incentives in return for abandoning its suspect nuclear activities and imposed sanctions on Iran unilaterally. Bush decided to pursue unilateral financial sanctions to exclude the sabotage from China and Russia.[141] "[S]ince the euro, dollar, and yen were the currencies that mattered in the global economy, we could avoid having to get the Russians and Chinese on board" (Rice 2011, 521). Although, in December 2005, Vice Foreign Minister Dai

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[138] Venezuela is the only country that votes against it.

[139] President Ahmadinejad, in his September 2005 speech at the UN General Assembly, proposed as a confidence-building measure a consortium with other countries on Iran's enrichment activities (Mousavian 2012, 208), but changed his attitude on October 26, 2005 saying "Our dear imam ordered that the occupying regime in Jerusalem be wiped off the face of the earth. This was a very wise statement" (Bolton 2007, 315).

[140] The bill was passed overwhelmingly with 183 ayes and 10 nays; three members of Parliament abstained.

[141] President Bush believed that "The sanctions would make it harder for Iran to obtain technology needed for a weapon. They would make it harder for Ahmadinejad to fulfill his economic promises, which would strengthen the country's reform movement" (Bush 2010, 417).

Bingguo and Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick sought to identify mutual interests in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, there was no significant change in China's delaying and soft-balancing strategy. It argued consistently that the IAEA is the appropriate venue for dealing Iranian issue and opposed referral of the Iranian issue to the UN Security Council for nearly a year. It repeatedly pledged its support for Iran's right for the peaceful use of nuclear energy under the NPT and IAEA inspection. It implicitly rejected Iran's record of secret nuclear activities (Alterman and Garver 2008, 42).

Analysis

Between 1998 and 2005, regarding the Iranian nuclear issue, China alternated between delaying on the requests from the United States and cooperating with it opportunistically. As a balancing against the United States, three months after the Bush's Axis of Evil address in 2002, President Jiang officially visited Iran to "work together for the establishment of [a]... new political and economic order that is free of hegemonism" (Foreign Ministry 2002; Xinhua 2002).

China had tried to defer the referral of the issue to the UN Security Council, but it nevertheless complied with the divestment agreement of 1997, because it could reap benefits such as receiving advanced technologies and assurance of non-support of Taiwan from the United States. After the September 11 incident China had been cooperative to undertake the war of terror. By doing so, it could join the WTO with U.S. support and obtained the Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) status in December 2001. Since the United States could make China to cooperate in reining Iran's nuclear ambition and

conducting a war in Afghanistan by offering quid pro quo, my first hypothesis (China cooperate with the United States only if it gets rewards) and Proposition-2 (*balancing unless side payment*) are confirmed in this time period.

However, while China terminated nuclear cooperation with Iran, it exported missile technology to Iran. Although in November 2000 the United States and China made an agreement that China will forgo the sale of missile parts and other components to Iran and Pakistan, according to Senator Jon Kyl, and the Defense Department, China had continued to sell ballistic missile technology and advanced cruise missiles to Iran in 2001(Middle East Newsline 2001; Bender 2000, 5). In addition to the missile technology exports, China signed multi billion dollars energy development contracts in 2004 while tension between the United States and Iran was at its highest. They were Zhuhai Zhenrong Corporation's $20 billion deal and Zhuhai Zhenrong and Sinopec's $100 billion deal (Afrasiabi 2004). In 1999 Chinese firms began to invest in Iran after watching the Royal Dutch Shell's $1 billion investment successfully finalize without incurring penalties from the U.S. (Nourafchan 2010, 37).

To secure its economic interest China agreed to cooperate with the United States to pressure Iran, but it was promoting its business interests with Iran at the same time. Those evidences confirm China's straddling behavior (the second hypothesis and Proposition-1) by showing two contradictory behaviors between cooperative to the United States sanctions and pursuing economic interests in Iranian oil business.

China's straddling behavior manifested itself in Iran's application for full membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Iran was granted observer

status in the SCO in 2005 and applied for full membership in April 2008. Since 2006, Russia has championed the extension of full membership to Iran. China, however, declined to support this proposal saying that the SCO does not have a mechanism for taking new members in and that the issue needs further study. China did not want Iran to become a full member because such a development would damage the credibility of Chinese stance that the SCO is not a military alliance directed against the United States (Garver, Leverett, and Leverett 2009).[142] China's attitude was cautious and low-keyed since Chinese leaders knew that its potential interests involved in the United States were more valuable than those of Iran.

Gaining recognition of Taiwan as its territory has been a very sensitive subject in China's foreign policy decision making. After the United States imposed sanction on five Chinese companies as proliferators according to the Iran Nonproliferation Act (March 14, 2000), China was furious by making comparison this unilateral sanction based on the U.S. domestic law with the U.S. arms deals with Taiwan. On the one hand, China became incensed after President Bush's remarks on April 25, 2001 that "the United States will do whatever it takes to help Taiwan protect itself from Chinese military attack" (Sutter 2011, xxxii). On the other hand, China became confused by Deputy Secretary of State Armitage's remark assuring that "the United States does not support Taiwan independence" in August 2002 (Alterman and Garver 2008, 48). For China, it is normal

[142] In the SCO, China and Russia "have called for a timetable for the removal of the United States military troops from Central Asia, organized its own election observers to contest Western-backed observers and NGOs and pushed its own conception of regional-based democratization and human rights" (Ferguson 2012, 210). The SCO can be regarded a counterweight to the United States influence in Asia.

to hedge between Iran's and U.S. conflicting claims from U.S. top decision makers and it also confirms importance of Taiwan politics (Proposition-3) in dealing with Iran.

Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*) is not confirmed, because even though there were the discoveries of the secret nuclear facilities in Natanz and Arak in 2002 (Mousavian 2012, 58), the IAEA's report of Iranian noncompliance in 2003, and the unreported nuclear enrichment in 2005, China did not agree to refer this issue to the UN Security Council. It even threatened to veto if the Iranian issue were brought before the UN Security Council in 2002 and supported Iran publicly in the standoff against the IAEA saying that it opposed the U.S. efforts to bring the matter to the UN Security Council in November 2004 (Agence France Presse 2004).

Chinese Ambassador Wang Guangya clearly said China would not support referring Iran to the UN Security Council in August 2005 (Payvand 2004). In 2004 Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing supported Iran openly by stating that since it has been cooperating with the IAEA, the nuclear proliferation issue should not be brought before UN Security Council and it is not deserved for punitive measures (CNN 2004; Reuters 2007). France, Germany, and Britain had to abort a resolution draft that calls on referral of the Iranian nuclear issue to the UN Security Council because of joint opposition of Russia and China in September 2005. China's statements in support of Iran are evidence of soft-balancing behavior (delaying).

Proposition-6 (*delaying*) is confirmed because China tried to frustrate the United States by entangling it in the less authoritative regime—the IAEA—and thwart tougher sanctions and referral efforts of the West by taking Iranian argument as face value. After

the IAEA found Iran has not observed the NPT, China's reaction was not punishing Iran, but delaying the referral of the issue to the UN Security Council. The IAEA Board of Governors passed the resolution (GOV/2005/77) on Iranian incompliance on September 24, 2005. China resisted taking an action by abstaining from voting. In doing so, Chinese leaders believed that they could appease Iran. On the other hand, by rejecting Iran's full membership in the SCO Chinese leaders felt they could curry favor with the United States (Crawford 2003, 21). China deflected and softened America's tough policies against Iran, while not actually blocking those efforts. China has been cautious not to be against the U.S. intention, but it had held Iranian issue at the IAEA for nearly a year by engaging delaying strategy. Since it took more than a month to pass the IAEA resolution in September 2005 owing to China's opposition, Proposition-6 (*delaying*) is confirmed.

Interestingly, after the U.S. unilateral sanction began and Russia's assistance to the Iranian missile development was reduced significantly, China stepped in to fill the void by taking over the Iranian Shehab-4 project from Russians in 2001 (Rodan 2001). As the U.S. allies reduced their trade with and investment in Iran over its nuclear program after Iran revealed the secret uranium enrichment program in 2002, Chinese ex-state owned firms walked into Iranian market by making multi-billion energy contracts with Iran. China became a major foreign investor in Iran's energy sector and it appeared to have received significant discounts on Iranian oil because of the U.S. sanction and the EU embargo on Iran.

As Zhao Hong argued "The US-led sanctions proved to be a boon for China…" (Hong 2014, 413). In a nutshell, the United States' sanction on Iran inadvertently opened

up a golden opportunity for China to improve relations with Iran in other areas. These historical records showed that China's *modus operandi* in this period basically was not bandwagoning but hiding or fishing. China did not aggravate disputes between the United States and Iran (Proposition-5), but took advantage of what has unfolded between them (fishing). This behavior cannot be confirmed the abetting proposition, but I would argue it confirmed the behavior of fishing in the troubled water.

Since China has not taken on any mediator's role in Iranian issue and mostly kept distance from the Western countries sanction efforts and stayed at the periphery in the negotiations, despite high tension between Iran and the United States after the IAEA found Iran's incompliance of NPT in 2005. Proposition-8 (*mediating*) is, thus, not confirmed. Proposition-7 (*hiding prevents provocation*) is difficult to apply in this case. China's equivocal attitude toward the Ahmadinejad's "Eastern Non-Alignment Block" (Mousavian 2012, 83–4) and obscure position in the negotiations led by the EU3 can be seen as a hiding strategy, but it did not engender a suppressing effect to both Ahmadinejad's provocations and Bush's tough stance.

My model of balance of interest between Sino-U.S. relations and Sino-Iranian relations can explain China's strategies. Since the United States needed China's support to keep Iran under its thumbs while China's interest in Iran was moderate, it was prudent for China to defer its decision to impose sanctions on Iran. Its behavior can be placed in the cell F in the figure-2. And when Iran needed a great power to take over its missile development project after Russia left and when it needed a capable state to develop its oil refinery industry, China stepped in to fill the void. This can be characterized as fishing

and straddling behavior (cell I), in which can happen when both the United States and Iran need China's support more than China needs their help.

Figure 11 Propositions Testing on Case-4

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	2002 2004 2005	**Confirmed:** The former state-owned enterprises such as the Zhuhai Zhenrong Corporation and the Sinopec made $20 billion and $100 billion deal respectively for 25 years in 2004. The IAEA Governing Board passed the resolution (GOV/2005/77) on Iran in noncompliance of the NPT in September 2005. China abstained from voting. → appeasing Iran's anger Iran applied for full membership of SCO in April 2008. → China said that the SCO does not have a mechanism for admitting new members → ingratiating with the US
2	Balancing unless there is a compensation	1998 -2005	**Confirmed:** China abided by the agreement with the United States in 1997, because China could get benefits such as receiving advanced technologies and pledge of non-support of Taiwan from the US. China has been transferring missile technology by selling parts and components of ballistic missile. China signed multi billion dollars energy development contracts in 2004 while tension between the United States and Iran was highest. China publicly supported Iran against the IAEA in November 2004. The IAEA's discovery of Iran's incompliance of NPT obligation in 2005 → China opposed to refer it to the UNSC; Li Zhaoxing said that China would veto a resolution if the matter were brought before the UNSC. Wu Haillong said Iran's legitimate concerns should be treated objectively and fairly.
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues	2000	**Confirmed:** The Iran Nonproliferation Act (March 14, 2000) → The US sanctioned five Chinese companies as proliferators. Chinese officials expressed disappointment and anger over such sanctions, because of continued the US arms sales to Taiwan.→ Armitage reiterated that the US does not support Taiwan independence in August 2002
4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	2002 2004 2005	**Disconfirmed:** The IAEA's suspicion of nuclear enrichment development in two Iranian nuclear sites in 2005 → China opposed to refer to the UNSC; gave Iran public support in its standoff with the IAEA and it opposed the US efforts to refer it to the UNSC in November 2004. France, Germany, and Britain drafted resolution that calls on referring Iran to the UNSC in September 2005 → China of opposition.
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	2001 2002	**Ambiguous, Confirmed Fishing:** The US sanction → Russian assistance on Iranian missile development reduced → China has taken over the Iranian Shehab-4 project in 2001.

			Russia, Japan, South Korea, India, and European states reduced investment to Iran → China stepped in to fill up the void by making contracts to develop Iranian energy resources.
6	Delaying negotiation and water-down the terms	2005	**Confirmed:** China opposed referral of the Iranian issue to the UNSC for nearly a year by arguing that the IAEA is the appropriate venue for dealing with it. It took more than one month to pass the IAEA Board of Governor resolution due to opposition from China and Russia.
7	Hiding to contain both	2005	**Disconfirmed:** China's ambiguous attitude toward the Ahmadinejad's "Eastern Non-Alignment Block → no a suppressing effect to both Ahmadinejad's provocations and Bush's reinforced tough stance.
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	1998-2005	**Disconfirmed:** Tension between the US and Iran → protecting Iran, abstaining from the IAEA vote, and objecting the US initiatives, not mediating between them
	Behavioral pattern in the Case-4	1998-2005	bandwagoning → crisis → crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → fishing → balancing → crisis → balancing → fishing → crisis → crisis → balancing → straddling → crisis → balancing → balancing → hiding

Comparison from 1998 to 2005

Between 1998 and 2005 President Jiang Zemin (江泽民,1989-2002), Premier Li Peng (李鹏,1987-1997), Zhu Rongji (朱镕基, 1997-2002) and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen (钱其琛, 1988-1998) were succeeded by President Hu Jintao (胡锦涛, 2002-2012), Premier Wen Jiabao (温家宝, 2002-2012) and Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan (唐家璇, 1998-2003) and Tang's successor Li Zhaoxing (李肇星, 2003-2007). They were core decision makers of China's foreign policy in this period.

There was a clear contrast between China's policy toward North Korea and Iran. With regards to North Korean nuclear threat China's attitude significantly changed from overt balancing to mediating since 2003, whereas in terms of Iranian nuclear ambition China has been delaying consistently with fishing attempts. China has shifted its role from a bystander to a mediator between North Korea and the United States by facilitating

the Six Party Talks. In contrast, it has not shown any effort to moderate tension between the United States and Iran and made hollow pleas that the two states should discuss the issue through the IAEA and staying in the periphery in the negotiations. It took advantage of the situation that Western firms pulled out from Iran to establish more extensive and lucrative business relationship with Iran.

Even though China kept the 1997 promise to disengage all the nuclear cooperation with Iran, it sold missile component to Iran and blocked referral of Iranian issue to the UN Security Council. China did not change its obstructive attitude even after the IAEA reported Iran's incompliance to the Board of Governors in 2002 and 2005. To defend Iran, China asserted its legitimate right of peaceful use of nuclear technology under the NPT safeguard. China's perceived potential economic interest in Iran was the most critical factor to activate this delaying and fishing strategy.[143]

As for the North Korean issue, China showed an active shuttle/visitation preventive diplomacy between the five countries to facilitate talks and table the key agendas. It brought the U.S. and the DPRK to sign the Joint Statement in 2005. Although the agreement broke down soon after the United States investigated North Korea's money laundry activity in Macau BDA in the same year, China contributed to coax North Korea into coming to the talks. China delayed the resolution of the Iranian nuclear issue while complying with the promise of nuclear disengagement with Iran, whereas it actively mediated to ease tensions around North Korean nuclear threat. On the one hand, in a

[143] According to Nicolo Nourafchan, oil and gas "constituted the lion's share of Sino-Iranian trade. Whereas in 1994 Iran provided China with just 20,000 barrel per day of oil, in 1995, Iranian oil exports to China jumped 25.6 times to 512,000 barrel per day and averaged an annual increase of 45 percent until 2003" (Nourafchan 2010, 34).

sense, China tried to help the United States to find a way for resolving North Korean nuclear crisis. On the other hand, it persistently hobbled the United States' sanction efforts to deter Iranian nuclear threats by delaying and rejecting them.

Then a subsequent question must be why China's attitude shifted in its deal with North Korea, but not with Iran? While China facilitated negotiations in North Korean issue, it remained passive about restraining Iran. Since delaying and fishing (not hiding) stand out in Iranian case but mediating in North Korean case, I will discuss these strategies in the next section. By examining these strategies, I attempt to single out the critical factors on how and why China has engaged in the two nuclear crises differently or similarly. China's interests toward both the United States and the noncompliant states are foci to delve into these strategies.

Why does China Mediate, not Abet?

If China pursues abetting strategy, it could have played the other two off each other to get benefits out of the conflicts. However, it is hard to say it has played as a tertius gaudens (the happy third party) between the noncompliant states and the United States. In the North Korean case it played a mediator's role, whereas in Iranian case it took advantage of the situation in which the Western companies retreated from Iran, it stepped in to saturate the Iranian market with its own companies and products. It was "fishing in the troubled water" rather than intentionally instigating. It has two reasons to mediate between North Korea and the United States: to be recognized as a responsible world power (Foot 2001; Etzioni 2011) and to protect its parochial interests (Medeiros 1995). In my balance of interest model, the two motivations for mediating are serious

enough in North Korean case in conjunction with geographical proximity, but they are not strong enough in Iranian case.

According to the first reasoning, China wanted to be acknowledged by the others as a peacekeeper by preventing North Korean from nuclearization, but it was not interested in meddling with the Middle East crises by identifying itself as a mediator. Following the second rationale, as my balance of interest model, China's interests are intricately entwined with the North Korean nuclear crisis as opposed to the Iranian imbroglios. That is why China actively mediated to reduce tension in East Asia since 2003, but remained when it came to Iran.

Reputation for Peacemaker?

In the North Korean case, China perceived itself as a capable superpower to reconcile disputes between the superpower and the recalcitrant outcast. As the architect of the Six Party Talks it claimed that it tried to settle the disputes peacefully through consultations. It was thus an even-handed constructive host when it came to the East Asian security affairs. I argue that while China's "active diplomacy" in North Korean issue is caused by geographical proximity, its peripheral positioning in Iranian issue is engendered by Chinese leaders' strategic thinking that China can gain more by waiting.

It is true that China's behind-the-scenes role in persuading North Korea has been critical (S. S. Kim 2005; Christensen 2005), but the same could not be said of the Iranian case despite Ahmadinejad's East Block courting. Potential to harm China's interests in North Korean nuclear crisis assumed paramount over Iran because North Korea shares 850 miles border and because nuclear ambitious Iran can be a golden opportunity for

China to make a better deal with the United States. Thus, assuming the mediator's role was more about advancing its self-interests and less about to enhancing its international reputation.

Defending Self-interests

Since China benefits from the absence of conflict in the regions, it has been attempting to minimize conflicts within its own periphery. China consistently worked to keep the noncompliant states nuclear issue within multilateral fora—first the IAEA, the Six Parties Talks, the EU3+3 talks, and later UN Security Council—where China's needs could be met. China has endorsed peace and stability via dialogue, but its official even-handed stand is related to fishing in the troubled water strategy as Iranian case from 1998 to 2005.

In a sense, China might not be genuinely interested in seeing that problems between the two parties are solved because China is a self-interested actor who intends to get a solution favorable to itself. It might be desirable for China to maintain tension at a manageable level while preventing an extreme situation. Chinese leadership has perceived a curvilinear relationship between tensions between the United States and the noncompliant states on the one hand and China's strategic value on the other. China might profit from other's misfortune, but it is difficult to know it has been seeking out problems between the two to gain something. Rather, China was and remains a selfish pragmatist bent on pursuing its own narrow interests.

Why does not China Hide, but Mediate?

The discussion of hiding strategy in the international relations field centers on China wishes to preserve a maximum range of options at minimum cost by forging uncertainty (G. H. Snyder and Diesing 1978, 211). Paul Shroeder refers to hiding as staying away from competitions by powerful states (Schroeder 1994, 117). Evans Mederios and Wu Xinbo argued that China shows contradictory reluctance in which it wants the status and influence as a world leader but it fears the burdens of leadership at the same time (Medeiros 2007; Wu 2001). Through clever prevarication about its real intentions and ostentatious gesture, China can assiduously protect its narrow national interests (Medeiros 2009, 1). David Shambaugh also argued that China opts to abstain and often stands aside or remains passive in addressing global problems. It has been restrained, measured, and largely acquiescent to solve transnational issues (Shambaugh 2013). These scholars argue that China keeps its head down and dodges international security challenges that I found this is partly true observing the North Korean case since 2003.

Robert Rothstein thinks hiding is a desirable strategy in terms of saving its energy but hardly a feasible one in reality because of the attendant dangers associated with it (Rothstein 1968, 30–32). Even though Chinese leadership knows China should not be aligned with anyone permanently because it subjects their country to the vicissitudes of U.S. politics or the vagaries of the noncompliant states, China's passivity invited more danger in the North Korean case. It did not want to be recognized as a sponsor of the rogue states, thereby, antagonize the United States. Thus, China has not employed hiding

strategy. Rather, it has taken mediating efforts, but insisted that solutions can be found through direct talks between disputants. China's strategy was not an entire buck-passing,[144] but engaging in mediating yet shifting the buck in the negotiating process.

However, in the Iranian issue China kept its head down unless its immediate interests were threatened. It frequently passed the buck to the United States and the European countries because there was no reason to bear the risks of helping either side when China could stay out of the fray. Doing so lowers its profile and buys the time as Deng Xiaoping advised.[145] It also adheres to the "maximini principle," whereby it seeks to maximize the benefits of a policy initiative, while at the same time minimizing the costs it expends (S. S. Kim 2002, 371; G. H. Snyder and Diesing 1978). China was convinced that the U.S. hegemonic designs would eventually fail and American power politics will antagonize people and states against the United States. Under this circumstance it is better to act according to the Chinese proverb "sitting on the mountain, watching the tigers fight"[146] (Garver 2011).

Since 2003 it made mediating efforts in the North Korean issue, while delaying when it came to the Iranian issues. Nonetheless, China's basic motivation did not change—maintaining regional stability, securing energy supply, and preventing war in

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[144] As John Mearsheimer argues, "Threatened states are reluctant to form balancing coalitions against potential hegemons because the costs of containment are likely to be great; if it is possible to get another state to bear those costs, a threatened state will make every effort to do so" (Mearsheimer 2001, 269). William Wohlforth adds that "if buck-passing temptations appeal to great powers, they are likely to be nearly irresistible to weak regional states whose potential contribution to a balancing coalition is marginal" (Wohlforth 2004, 226).

[145] He said that "the nation should observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capabilities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership (冷静观察, 站稳脚跟, 沉着应付, 韬光养晦, 善于守拙, 绝不当头)." (Kleine-Ahlbrandt and Small 2008).

[146]The original text appears as 坐山观老虎斗.

both East Asia and Middle East region to keep up its economic performance—its main pillars of legitimacy after the downfall of socialism. To this aim, keeping a low profile has been the easiest, safest, and the most viable option for China, but its strategy subtly varied how Chinese leaders assess its national interests between the United States and the noncompliant states.

If China's stakes in the noncompliant states and those toward the United States are both high (cell A in the figure-2) as was the case in North Korea in this period, then it will mediate to protect its own interests while buck-pass at the same time to argue for bilateral talks between the United States and the North in the framework of Six Party Talks. According to my model, if its interests at stake to both are low (cell I), then China should have resorted to abetting, but in reality it has taken the strategy of wait-and-see and fishing as was the case with Iran. It is because the circumstance kept changing and behaviors of other actors (the noncompliant states and the United States) kept shifting. Since Chinese leadership might not able to gauge accurately what will happen following its own move and since it is afraid of showing its limits in their capability, it is rational to hide and wait, rather than running a risk to play them off each other. Since 2006, China's behavior has leaned towards straddling between the two and less towards balancing against the United States. Its behavior more or less confirms the proposition of cooperation with the United States. I will discuss bandwagoning and straddling strategy in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: From 2006 to 2008

Three years from 2006 to 2008 were filled with twists and turns in Sino-U.S. relations and uneven progress in North Korean and Iranian issues. China began to agree to impose sanctions against the two noncompliant states and its behavior exhibited a consistent pattern between North Korea and Iran. By moving away from the balancing, China tended to cooperate with the United States, although adopting resolutions was delayed and watered down. Its basic behavioral code was straddling between them while appearing to implement punitive measures through multinational regimes.

China realized that its opacity failed to prevent North Korea from provoking the United States when the North conducted its missile (July 5, 2006) and nuclear (October 9, 2006) tests. China changed its ambiguous attitude to supporting sanctions by voting for two UN Security Council Resolutions in 2006.[147] It also agreed to "report" Iranian nuclear violations to the UN Security Council in January 2006 and agreed to adopt five UN Security Council Resolutions.[148] China has been supportive of the United States' sanction drives while straddling between the two. What follow in this chapter are historical reviews, comparisons of China's reaction between the two noncompliant states, and analysis of bandwagoning and straddling strategy.

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[147] UNSCR 1695 (July 15) and 1718 (October 14)

[148] UNSCR 1696 (July 31, 2006), 1737 (December 23, 2006), 1747 (March 24, 2007), 1803 (March 3, 2008), and 1835 (September 27, 2008)

Case-5: North Korea (From 2006 to 2008)

History

In 2006, North Korea's missile (July 5) and nuclear (October 9) test strained relationship between China and North Korea. China advised against North Korea's weapon tests, but lost its face when the North ignored its warnings. The Chinese leaders construed this an affront to China's authority. In response of the DPRK provocations China voted for two UN Security Council Resolutions—1695 on July 15 and 1718 on October 14. Although it harbored a grudge against the United States due to sanctions imposed on Chinese companies, it agreed to pass the resolutions.

When the United States was distracted by Iraq and the financial meltdown in 2008, China cooperated with the U.S. Thanks to China's supporting (or bandwagoning and mediating), the frozen relations between the United States and North Korea began to thaw in 2007. They were able to resume the Six Party Talks in February 2007 since North Korea agreed to close the Yongbyon facility in return for energy assistance. That was the second big agreement between the North and the United States since the 1994 Agreed Framework, but this time the deal was made possible through the Six Party Talk that was hosted China.

North Korea shut down its five main nuclear facilities, submitted a nuclear declaration of its past plutonium production activities to China; and demolished the cooling tower at Yongbyon in June 2008. In return, the United States removed the North from the list of Trading with the Enemy Act and President Bush notified Congress of his intent to lift North Korea from the State Sponsors of Terrorism designation. However, the

dissension emerged over the verification and sampling procedures and the talks were stalled until the U.S. presidential election in November 2008. North Korea refused to allow inspectors to take soil and nuclear waste samples from the nuclear site and the disagreement led to another missile and nuclear test in 2009. I examine important events from 2006 to 2008 by focusing on consultation dynamics between China and the United States in the UN Security Council. How they negotiated for tougher measures, expressed displeasure, and entered compromise for passing a resolution are foci of the review.

President Bush expressed doubts about North Korea's sincerity when he said, "Kim had cheated on the Agreed Framework. I made a decision: the United States was done negotiating with North Korea on a bilateral basis" (Bush 2010, 423–4). Instead, the United States began to rally China, South Korea, Russia, and Japan to present a united front against the North.[149] Amid U.S. skepticism, Kim Jong Il traveled to China to meet with President Hu Jintao on January 10, 2006. At the unofficial summit meeting, the two leaders agreed to continue to the peaceful resolution of the Korean Peninsula's nuclear issue by continually pursuing the Six Party Talks process (Choe 2006).[150]

Two months later the U.S. and North Korea held a meeting in New York on March 9 where Ri Gun, the director of American affairs in the North Korean Foreign

[149] Even though North Korea agreed to abandon all nuclear weapons and return to their commitments under the NPT in 2005, Bush was still skeptical because "Kim had violated his commitments in the past" (Bush 2010, 425). The United States Ambassador to the UN, John Bolton was sharing similar skepticism with Bush. He said, "The DPRK will never give up nuclear weapons voluntarily. It often promises to do so, as it did in the Clinton administration's 1994 Agreed Framework. It even more readily bargain over that promise, especially in exchange for items of tangible economic and political value, such as fuel oil, nuclear reactors, security assurances, or removal from our list of state sponsors of terrorism. The DPRK will gladly engage with us, accept our concessions, and then violate its own commitments" (Bolton 2007, 100).

[150] All nine members of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Chinese Communist Party attended to welcome Kim Jong Il (Cha 2012).

Ministry, demanded that the United States to cease its financial sanction against his country by threatening that "under such pressure, we cannot return to the six-way talks" (Kessler 2006). About a month later, in April 2006 when President Hu Jintao visited Washington, President Bush showed Hu his grand bargain willingness to Kim Jong Il, when he told Hu that Kim should "give up your nuclear weapons, and we'll give you a peace treaty that ends the Korean war and recognizes your regime" (Rice 2011, 526).

Nonetheless, Bush's overture has not been reciprocated by North Korea. A series of decisions were made by the UN Security Council in summer of 2006: agreed to condemn North Korea, to incentivize it to return to the negotiating table, to impose financial restrictions, to proscribe nuclear and ballistic missile tests, and to exercise voluntary cargo inspections. To defend North Korea and hold down tough measures from the U.S., on June 28, Premier Wen Jiabao stated that the various parties should proceed from the greater interest of maintaining stability on the Korean Peninsula and refrain from taking measures that will worsen the situation. But North Korea went ahead with the test a week after Wen's remarks.

On July 5, 2006, North Korea launched seven ballistic missiles that fell on Japanese territorial waters. Six of these were short-range missiles and one was believed to be a long-range Taepongdong-2 rocket.[151] The United States strongly condemned Pyongyang's actions, but North Korean Foreign Ministry countered that the missile tests were "irrelevant to the Six Party Talks" (Onishi and Sanger 2006).The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Liu Jainchao repeated the standard message urging all parties to

[151] The long-range Taepodong-2 failed or was aborted 42 seconds after it was launched. The other missiles are a mix of short-range Scud-C missiles and intermediate-range Rodong missiles.

remain calm and exercise restraint. Secretary of State Rice called Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing, and told him "the time had come for Beijing to step forward. North Korea had had plenty of warning not to conduct the test but had gone ahead anyway" (Rice 2011, 474). The United States considered mobilizing its nascent missile defense system to shoot down the North Korean missiles. Li called Rice asking for restraint and more meetings. Rice "found myself angry at Beijing for this policy of avoidance...China was a great power but never acted like one" (Rice 2011, 474). After getting strong reactions from the United States and watching the provocation from the North, China began to prod North Korea to return to the Six Party Talks.

President Hu told President Bush on July 6 that China was deeply concerned about the situation, but asked him to refrain from punishing the North. Hu's middleman diplomacy was restarted with sending vice Foreign Minister Wu Dawei to Pyongyang. Wu was dispatched to Pyongyang on July 8 to secure a moratorium on further missile tests, which would reduce the need for UN Security Council interventions, but Wu returned with no agreement. As the Six Party Talks stalled and its pressure on the North was rendered ineffective, China moved closer to the United States. Chinese leaders signaled displeasure by not mentioning the 45th anniversary of the Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty on July 11 and China did not offer any assistance for early July flooding in North Korea (Wuthnow 2011, 129).

During the UN negotiation for punitive measures on the North Korea's missile tests, the Vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya wanted to reprise what the Security Council had done after the 1998 North Korean missile launch, which was to issue a press

statement that is tantamount to the weakest possible response. John Bolton, the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, asserted that this was different from 1998, stressing the combined threat posed by North Korea seeking both nuclear weapons and a long-range ballistic missile capability. The United States pressed China to adopt a tougher resolution. Once Wu Dawei's mission in Pyongyang turned out failure and China decided not to veto (Bolton 2007, 294).

After the ten days pull and push since the missile test, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1695 (S/RES/1695) on July 15, 2006, which condemned the launches, demanded that North Korea to suspend all ballistic missile-related programs, called on states to exercise vigilance in terms of arms transfers to and from North Korea, and urged North Korea to abandon its nuclear program and to return to the Six Party Talks. For the United States, the resolution had been a compromise in that it did not explicitly cite the Chapter VII requiring sanctions. For China, it is a proper response since it did refer the Security Council's special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

After the vote, Vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya said China was gravely concerned about the newly emerged complicating factors on the Korean peninsula and was opposed to any further tension. Only 45 minutes after the approval of the resolution, the North Korean UN Ambassador, Pak Gil Yon, stated that North Korea "completely rejected" the resolution and that it would pursue its missile launches to reinforce its self-defense. He called the resolution an unjustifiable and gangster-like one warning that it

would take stronger physical actions in other forms should any other country dare to put pressure on it (Wuthnow 2011, 136).

The missile test led to pessimism about China's influence on North Korea. President Hu reiterated the need to quickly resume the talks on July 17. Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing tried to convince North Korean Foreign Minister Paek Nam-sun to attend a meeting of the six nations on July 27, but Paek declined. Then Li Zhaoxing and Wu Dawei informed Christopher Hill about plans to exert direct pressure on the North, though they were not specific about how they planned to do that (Wuthnow 2011, 132). Still China sent food and fuel to relieve flood damage in North Korea on September 1, but the situation has not been improved.

Following North Korea's announcement of a planned nuclear test on October 3, China signaled its opposition in several ways. Vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya said that no one was going to protect North Korea for bad behavior. Two days later Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing warned North Korean ambassador in Beijing that a test would lead to serious consequences. Next day, China agreed to a UN Security Council statement in which a nuclear test would represent a clear threat to international peace and security urging North Korea not to carry out a planned nuclear test. It stated that such action would "jeopardize peace, stability and security in the region and beyond." It added "The Security Council would act consistent with its responsibility under the UN Charter" (Wuthnow 2011, 138; Hoge 2006).

However, North Korea ignored China's opposition and conducted the nuclear test on October 9, 2006. North Korea stated that the nuclear test was "conducted with 100

percent indigenous wisdom and technology" (Korean Central News Agency 2006).[152] China had been given a one-hour advanced notice by North Korea. The UN Security Council held an emergency meeting that strongly condemned the test, and vowed to enact a "strong and swift" response. China's reaction to the test was unusually direct. The Chinese Foreign Ministry said that China expresses resolute opposition to the DPRK "flagrantly and brazenly (悍然, *hanran*)" carrying out a nuclear test in defiance of the international community. China had quietly cut off the supply of spare military parts to North Korea (Rice 2011, 529). China suspended some oil shipments and froze money transfers from Chinese banks (Chinoy 2008, 302). It had stopped the co-project with the North such as the Dandong Bridge construction (Cha 2012).

Special envoy Tang Jiaxuan visited Washington and Moscow following the test. Tang was, then, dispatched to Pyongyang, where he met with Kim Jong Il and reportedly elicited Kim's concession that he has no plan for additional nuclear tests. The Secretary of State Rice met President Hu to listen the outcomes of Tang's Pyongyang visit, but "Tang made requisite statements about China's outrage at the test, but soon receded into a diplomatic defensive crouch, deflecting U.S. demands for China to put more pressure on the DPRK" (Cha 2012).

However, China was able to bring North Korea back to the negotiation table within three weeks of the testing. On October 11, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya admitted that there would have to be some punitive action, though it ought to be

[152] The underground nuclear test took place near Punggye. "Seismic data indicated a yield of less than one kiloton, but … air samples collected a day after the explosion detected radioactive debris consistent with an underground plutonium-based nuclear explosion" (Cha 2012).

appropriate and confined to nuclear- and missile-related areas. Next day Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan said China would agree to sanction on WMD-related programs. On the same day Wang had informed Bolton, the United States Ambassador to the UN, that China would not veto the United States draft, though held out the possibility that it might abstain (Wuthnow 2011, 144).

On October 14, 2006, the UN Security Council unanimously passed the Resolution 1718 (S/RES/1718) under Chapter VII of the UN Charter condemning North Korea's nuclear test.[153] It demanded that North Korea conduct no further nuclear tests or ballistic missile launches and called on North Korea to immediately return to the NPT and the IAEA safeguards. The adoption of Resolution 1718 took five days of intensive negotiations between the members of Security Council. This was the first time that China agreed to the resolution imposing sanctions on North Korea and also took measures to halt banking transactions with certain North Korean entities and temporarily curtail shipments of petroleum.

The United States wanted direct sanctions and the possible use of force while China and Russia favored a carrot-cum-stick approach. China did not like the provision to inspect cargos entering North Korea. It also did not want to include North Korean illicit activities other than proliferation, such as counterfeiting and narcotics; it did not want an arms embargo; it opposed prohibition on luxury goods; and it did not like requiring

[153] The final preambular paragraph became as "Expressing profound concern that the test claimed by the DPRK has generated increased tension in the region and beyond, and determining therefore that there is a clear threat to international peace and security" (Bolton 2007, 305–7). The resolution imposed an embargo on a range of arms including artillery, tanks, and WMD-related items, as well as on luxury goods and it called for voluntary cargo inspections, but ruled out the use of force. It also authorized restrictions on North Korean firms and individuals associated with WMD programs.

regular reports (Bolton 2007). Although it agreed the resolution, China's resistance to an open-ended reference to Chapter VII resulted in a resolution that refers explicitly to the Article 41(non-forceful measures)[154] (Security Council Report 2006f). China supported targeted and limited sanctions while resisting U.S. efforts to include broader and stronger sanctions.

After the vote, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya stated that the test was not conducive to peace and stability in Northeast Asia, thus China supported a firm and appropriate response. However, he also urged countries to adopt a prudent and responsible attitude in cargo inspection. China did not agree to conduct inspections of shipments along its borders with North Korea. It inserted a clause in the resolution stating that sanctions would be reviewed when North Korea returned to negotiations, because the sole purpose of sanctions is to bring North Korea back to negotiations and because it believes only political engagement and dialogue could bring about positive change. Differentiating from the United States' position that has focused on punishment, China emphasized the need to give North Korea a way out if it complies.[155]

In October 2006, Secretary of State Rice and Assistant Secretary of State Christopher Hill visited Beijing. Hill attended a quiet trilateral meeting with the Chinese and the North Koreans, but the Chinese had showed up only long enough to get the

[154] The UN Charter Chapter VII (Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression) Article 41 said "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."

[155] The relevant paragraph of the resolution goes that the Security Council affirms that it shall be prepared to review the appropriateness of the measures contained in paragraphs 8 of the resolution 1718 (2006).

meeting started and then departed, leaving Hill in a bilateral with his North Korean counterpart. Next day Rice told President Hu and Foreign Minister Tang that "China had to stop acting like the meeting planner and take real responsibility for making the Six-Party Talks work" (Rice 2011, 530). China began to work with the United States to develop a proposal to move the process forward.

On December 18, 2006, the second phase of the fifth round of Six Party Talks resumed after a thirteen-month break. After having five days of negotiations, the talks stalled without achieving any tangible progress. North Korea insisted that the frozen fund ($25 million) at the Banco Delta Asia (BDA) should to be released. In the third phase of the fifth round of the Six Party Talks on February 13, 2007, the six states reached an agreement that North Korea agreed to close the Yongbyon facility in exchange for energy assistance and the United States promised for normalized relations with North Korea.[156]

However, on March 25, North Korean envoy to the Six Party Talks Kim Kye-gwan refused to discuss the implementation of the 2007 February agreement ("Initial Actions for the Implementation of the Joint Statement") to shut down its Yongbyon nuclear facility until it receives the $25 million from its BDA account. The U.S. Deputy Assistant Treasury Secretary Daniel Glaser announced that the United States authorized the transfer of $25 million in frozen North Korean funds that had been held in an account with the BDA. The money was transferred to a North Korean bank account in Beijing.

[156] The adopted "Initial Actions for the Implementation of the Joint Statement" in the Six Parties Talks consists of two phases. The phase one includes shutting down and sealing nuclear facilities at Yongbyon within 60 days and allowing IAEA monitoring and verification in exchange for 50,000 tons of heavy fuel oil. The phase two includes the disablement of facilities at Yongbyon in exchange for removal of North Korea from the Trading with the Enemy Act and State Sponsors of Terrorism designations. Energy assistance was divided evenly between the six parties and the United States provided funding and technical assistance for disablement activities in North Korea until April 2009 (Nikitin 2009).

On June 25, 2007 North Korea received the funds and began to carry out the 2007 February agreement.[157]

On July 14, the IAEA chief director Mohamed ElBaradei confirmed that North Korea shut down all of its five main nuclear facilities, which include the 5-megawatts experimental reactor, the reprocessing plant, and the nuclear fuel rod fabrication plant at Yongbyon (Yonhap News Agency 2007).[158] On October 3 2007, the six parties

> "agreed on a Joint Statement that called on the North to provide a complete and correct declaration of all its nuclear programs including clarification regarding the uranium issue. Pyongyang also agreed to disable its facilities and, repeating a previous pledge, not to transfer nuclear material, technology, or know-how" (C. R. Hill 2014, 279).

A team of nine experts from the United States, Russia, and China arrived in North Korea on September 11 to examine and discuss the disabling of nuclear facilities at Yongbyon with North Korean officials. The team was expected to report its findings to the next session of the Six Party Talks. Fifteen days later, on September 27, the second session of the sixth round of Six Party Talks adopted the "Second-Phase Actions for the Implementation of the September 2005 Joint Statement," in which calls on North Korea to declare its entire nuclear program and to disable its nuclear facilities by December 31, 2007.[159] On December 3, Assistant Secretary of State Hill made a trip to North Korea to

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[157] As the United States loosened its financial sanction, another round of the Six Party Talks was begun. However, the North still launched three short-range ballistic missiles off the east coast of the country on June 27 as it had planned.

[158] On September 2 after meeting with North Korea nuclear envoy Kim Kye-gwan in Geneva, Assistant Secretary of State Hill said that North Korea has offered a timeline to declare and disable all of its nuclear weapons programs by the end of 2007 (Yonhap News Agency 2007).

[159] The reconciliatory mood led to reciprocated policies between the United States and North Korea. The United States pledged to remove the designation of North Korea as a State Sponsor of Terrorism and all parties including China reaffirmed their commitment to deliver the remaining 900,000 tons of heavy fuel oil to North Korea in return for nuclear disablement (Korea Herald 2007). On October 4, 2007 at the inter-Korean summit, South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun and North Korean leader Kim Jong Il signed the

discuss with Kim Kye-gwan. Hill stated that the disabling process had been going smoothly and that North Korea has "done a lot of work in preparation of discharging the fuel in the reactor." He added that North Korea is "pretty close to providing a declaration" of its all the nuclear programs (Knowlton and Choe 2007). However, the reconciliatory mood began to fade out.

In the meeting with Wang Jiarui, head of the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party, Kim Jong Il said on January 30, 2008 that North Korea remained fully committed to implementing the agreements reached during the Six Party Talks. Kim added that the other parties should fulfill their commitments under the principle of "action for action" (Xinhua 2008).[160] North Korea submitted its long-awaited nuclear declaration of its past plutonium production activities to China on June 26, 2008, as agreed in joint statement on second-phase actions.[161] In return, President Bush removed North Korea from the Trading with the Enemy Act list and notified Congress of his intent to lift North Korea from the State Sponsors of Terrorism designation. In response to the Bush's action, North Korea demolished the cooling tower at Yongbyon nuclear reactor site on June 27.[162]

"Declaration on the Advancement of South-North Relations, Peace and Prosperity," in which the two leaders reaffirm their commitment to the denuclearization process. The strained relationships between the states around North Korea have been eased in this spell.

[160] At the same time North Korea criticized an annual joint the United States-South Korea military exercise "Key Resolve" on March 2, 2008. It accused the United States and South Korea of fabricating a nuclear and missile threat from North Korea to justify their joint military exercise. North Korea warned that it would prepare a "counterstrike" against the United States and South Korean forces if the military exercise turned into an offensive attack and test fired three short range missiles off its west coast on March 28 (Central Broadcasting Station 2008; Ni 2008).

[161] It was an approximately 18,000-pages of documentation. It was almost seven months past the deadline.

[162] The North invited the CNN and the international press to Yongbyon to witness the destruction of the cooling tower and it was televised internationally.

The Heads of Delegation Meeting of the Six Party Talks was held in Beijing on July10, 2008. The two main issues of the talks were the verification procedure of nuclear program and energy assistance. Six countries reached an agreement to set a verification mechanism consisting of experts of the six parties to verify the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. They agreed that the verification measures would include visits to facilities, review of documents, and interviews with technical personnel. As for the Yongbyon nuclear facilities, North Korea agreed to work to complete the disablement of the facilities by the end of October 2008.

However, they failed to agree on the scope and the subjects of verification that were deferred to working-level discussions. The United States officials argued that the bilateral agreement on verification measures had been a verbal one.[163] North Korea refuted that it had not agreed to sampling at the nuclear sites (Nikitin 2009).[164] Thus, no agreement was reached for a verification protocol. Disagreement over the verification protocol between them made whole agreements cycle back to the crisis mode and stalled the process until the United States presidential election in November.[165]

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[163] The Assistant Secretary of State Christopher Hill said in the interview with the author on February 28 2014 "We had an agreement on sampling."

[164] Victor Cha, then the Director for Asian Affairs in the White House's National Security Council, argued "The North reportedly agreed verbally to allow a standard IAEA-based verification protocol that would allow international inspectors to do site visits and "scientific sampling" to verify any concerns the United States might have" (Cha 2012).

[165] The United States also remained critical of the North Korea's June 26 declaration, arguing that it did not cover its alleged uranium-enrichment program. North Korea reported it extracted a total of about 30 kilograms (66lb) of plutonium in three different years in 1990, 2003, and 2005 and used 2 kilograms (4.4lb) in the experiment conducted in October 2006, but the United States intelligence estimates the plutonium extracted by the North totals about 44 kilograms (97lb) (Yardley and Hooker 2008; Asano 2008; D. Albright 2008). Also the North did not declare a uranium-based program that was the United States' major concern (Cha 2012).

On August 26, 2008 North Korea said that it halted disablement process at the Yongbyon site and was considering restoring and restarting operations. The North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman said, "We have decided to immediately suspend disabling our nuclear facilities. This measure has been effective on August 14, 2008, and related parties have been notified of it" (Choe 2008a). On September 24, North Korea asked the IAEA to remove seals and surveillance equipment at a nuclear reprocessing facility at Yongbyon to conduct tests. North Korea then ordered inspectors of the IAEA to leave the country and notified the IAEA that it would reintroduce nuclear material into the nuclear complex (Sciolino 2008). On November 12, North Korea slowed down the disablement process because of delays in the delivery of energy aid (Security Council Report 2008c).[166]

Amid disagreement of verification protocol, the Six Party Talks was held in Beijing from December 8 to 12 and the parties negotiated a draft of a document on ways to verify North Korea's nuclear information, but failed to reach an accord on the verification procedures because the North refused to allow inspectors to take soil and nuclear waste samples from a nuclear site, while the United States disagreed with the North saying that "it was basically agreed that experts could take samples and remove them from the country for testing" (Choe and Myers 2008; S. Kim 2008).[167] The talk has

[166] Under the 2007 agreement, up to one million tons of heavy fuel was to be provided to North Korea when it disabled its nuclear facility and provided information about its nuclear programs.

[167] Assistant Secretary of State Hill visited Pyongyang on October 1 and reportedly proposed a new approach to Kim Kye-gwan. The deal was North Korea would submit its list of nuclear site to China and still have to permit inspections from the United States and Chinese officials. Hill suggested that North Korea could provide evidence of its disarmament solely to China instead of to a wider group of nations. But a verification protocol would still have to be agreed upon among the six parties (Cooper 2008; Choe 2008b; Security Council Report 2008c).

been stopped by the end of the Bush administration, but disablement activities at Yongbyon continued slowly through April 2009 (Ward 2008). North Korea then announced it would restart its reprocessing plant and boasted progress in uranium enrichment technology development (Nikitin 2009).

Since the heart attack in August 2008 Kim Jong Il's health and survivability was in question. After the stroke, the negotiation responsiveness from the North precipitously declined and the stage was set for a deterioration of relations once again (Cha 2012). There would not be another round of negotiations for well over three years. Kim Jong Il began to groom his youngest son Kim Jong Un as his successor. Accordingly, Chinese leaders had to decide whether beef up the unstable regime with the young leader or not.

Analysis

Chinese leaders realized that its mediating efforts did not contain provocations from North Korea after its missile (July 5, 2006) and nuclear (October 9, 2006) test. The period of three years—from 2006 to 2008—was a watershed point in which China moved towards cooperation with the United States (Proposition-4 *bandwagoning*). The shift did not come out of China's volition, but it was a reaction to what it construed to be North Korea's affronts. Chinese leadership must have felt difficulty reining its socialist ally and had to find a different policy option witnessing the crises in its neighborhood.

Since its core national interests—stability and peace—were threatened seriously with the nuclear and missile tests, China felt it must support, at least pretend to help, the United States denuclearization initiatives. Its bandwagoning behavior since the 2006 nuclear and missile tests can be placed in the cell either G or D in the figure-2. Because

the degree of congruence of interests between China and the United States is higher than that of interests between China and North Korea, it began to be supportive to the United States.

However, the straddling strategy (Proposition-1) was discernable in that, on the one hand China supported two UN Security Council resolutions condemning the North, and on the other hand, it has not abandoned North Korea by supporting its sustenance. China had played a backstage role in persuading the North to moderate provocative rhetoric or action and in downsizing North Korea's demand for a nonaggression treaty during the negotiations. However, Marcus Noland found that after the UN Resolution 1718 (October 14, 2006), "Chinese exports of luxury goods (a banned item under the resolution) increased 140 percent between 2007 and 2008" (Noland 2009, 61–88; Cha 2012). It oscillated between the two.

It was able to manage status quo in East Asia, prevent a war, and thus, maintain its economic growth. After the 2006 missile test, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice called Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing urging China should step forward for solving the problem, but Li countered Rice by requesting restraint (Rice 2011, 474). After the nuclear test in 2006, State Councilor Tang Jiaxuan met Kim Jong Il, and then, met Rice. Rice expected to hear a plan for cooperating to press the North to denuclearize, but Tang's response was just a statement on China's rage on the test and a request for resumption of the Six Party Talks (Cha 2012). Rice strongly requested President Hu to stop acting like a "meeting planner" and instead be a more responsible actor (Rice 2011, 530). As China received entreaties from the United States, it straddled between them

(Proposition-1). These empty drifting remarks with hedging proved my second hypothesis (default straddling unless there is a strong incentive). An inadvertent consequence, I would argue, was that China's straddling has been more conducive for stability in East Asia.

Evidence for Proposition-2 (*balancing*) is insufficient because even though China waters down terms of resolution (*delaying*), it had agreed to pass the two UN resolutions[168] without a clear compensation from the United States. However, during the consultation in the UN Security Council China insisted that the UN include a conditional provision in the resolutions that if North Korea complies with the IAEA mandates, the sanction will be revised. It also disliked the provision to inspect cargos entering North Korea and arms embargo. It was clear delaying strategy in which it can differentiate itself from the United States (Proposition-6).

As the Proposition-8 (*mediating*), China has been trying to reinvigorate the Six Party Talks, but it revealed real limits to prod North Korea to denuclearization direction. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's admonition in July 28, 2006 was flatly ignored when North Korea shot the ballistic missiles nine days after the Wen's warning. Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Wu Dawei was dispatched to Pyongyang after the missile launch in July 2006 to secure a moratorium on further missile tests, but Wu returned with empty hands (Bolton 2007, 294).

President Hu Jintao's request on July 17, 2006 to return to the Six Party Talks was dismissed when the North declined to come back to the talks ten days later. Chinese

[168] UNSCR 1695 (July 15, 2006) and 1718 (October 14, 2006)

Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing persuaded North Korean counterpart Paek Nam-sun to attend a meeting of the six nations in July 2006, but Paek declined (Wuthnow 2011, 132). Li's warning on October 5, 2006 was dismissed by North Korea's nuclear test four days later (Korean Central News Agency 2006). China could not dissuade its socialist brethren from denoting nuclear devices. However, one case was successful. It could bring North Korea and the United States back to the negotiation table in three weeks after the test by Tang Jiaxuan's shuttle diplomacy between Washington, Moscow, and Pyongyang in October 2006.

Since the nuclear denotation in 2006, China has been increasingly perplexed by the North and frustrated by its inability to persuade or press North Korea to forgo its nuclear program. As a result, China became more supportive of the United States' initiatives for tough measures toward the North confirming Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*). The UN Resolution 1718 cited Chapter VII of the UN Charter that imposed an embargo on a range of arms including artillery, tanks, and WMD-related items. This was the first time in which China agreed to the resolution imposing sanctions on North Korea and also took measures to halt banking transactions with certain North Korean entities; temporarily curtail shipments of petroleum; and stop the construction projects with North Korea (Rice 2011, 529; Chinoy 2008, 302; Cha 2012). By supporting the United States, China might enhance its image as a responsible power too (Foot 2001).

However, China's determined opposition to the nuclear test in 2006 taught that a firm stance against North Korea weakens their relationship and jeopardizes stability in East Asia. After it harshly criticized the North for the nuclear test by calling it "悍然,

hanran (flagrantly or wanton)," North Korea became less responsive to China's demands. Having learned the lesson, China intends not to lose North Korea and to leave the thornier issues to the United States (International Crisis Group 2009).

China found its weight in North Korean politics has been reduced to the level of being ignored by watching the nuclear test that it had opposed. However, the realistic calculation might make Chinese leaders to recognize the North as a nuclear power as long as the nuclearized North does not hurt China's interests. Its strategy has moved from cell G (bandwagoning) to cell E (straddling) in the figure-2. As Victor Cha's observation on China's behavior after the 2006 nuclear test, "It was clear…that the Chinese, after much internal debate, once again chose the low-risk and low-commitment path, which was to call for the United States to be more flexible and more active in engaging with the North" (Cha 2012).

Contrary to Proposition-5 (*abetting*), it has not instigated fights between the two but has tried to restrain North Korea's provocations, but it still supported large part of the North's sustenance as the data shows "total trade in 2008 was 41.3 percent greater than it was in 2007, and amounted to between half and two-thirds of North Korea's total foreign trade" (Cha 2012). Proposition-6 (*delaying* and *water-down*) is confirmed since China has watered down the terms of resolutions. It opposed referral to the Chapter VII of UN Charter[169] in the Resolution 1695 (July 15, 2006) first but later agreed to refer it in the Resolution 1718 (October 14, 2006) but wanted to specify it is under the article 41 (non-forceful measures).

[169] Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

Figure 12 Propositions Testing on Case-5

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	2006	**Confirmed:** China supported two UN Security Council resolutions and it has not abandoned North Korea by supporting its sustenance → China's straddling → maintaining status quo in East Asia, preventing a war, and focusing its economic development
2	Balancing unless there is a compensation	2006	**Disconfirmed:** China agreed to pass two UN resolutions: 1695 (July 15, 2006) and 1718 (October 14, 2006) without a clear compensation from the US.
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues		**N/A**
4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	2006	**Confirmed:** China passed the UN resolutions: 1695 (July 15, 2006) and 1718 (October 14, 2006). North Korea's missile and nuclear tests in 2006 → China became more supportive of the United States' initiatives for sanction. The UN Resolution 1718 cited Chapter VII of the UN Charter.
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	2006-2008	**Disconfirmed:** China has not instigated conflicts between the US and North Korea.
6	Delaying negotiation and water-down the terms	2006-2008	**Confirmed: water down** China has facilitated the talks, but it watered down the resolution terms. China opposed to refer Chapter VII of UN Charter in Resolution 1695 (July 15, 2006), but agreed to refer Chapter VII the Article 41(non-forceful measures) in the Resolution 1718 (October 14, 2006).
7	Hiding to contain both	2006	**Disconfirmed:** China's ambiguous attitude and mediating efforts → North Korea's missile (July 5, 2006) and nuclear test (October 9, 2006)
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	2006 2007 2008	**Confirmed, Inability** North Korea's missile and nuclear test in 2006 → China's effort to reinvigorate the Six Party Talks. Wu Dawei visited Pyongyang after the missile launch in July 2006 but returned with no agreements. Li Zhaoxing tried to convince Paek Nam-sun to attend a meeting of the six nations in July 2006, but Paek declined. Tang Jiaxuan visited Washington, Moscow, and Pyongyang following the October 2006 nuclear test → bring North Korea and the US back to the negotiation table three weeks after the test.
	Behavioral pattern in the Case-5	2006-2008	inability → crisis → mediating → inability → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → inability → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → mediating → bandwagoning → straddling → settlement → crisis

Case-6: Iran (From 2006 to 2008)

History

From 2006 to 2008 the relations between the United States and Iran could be described as tense. On the one hand, the United States resorted to intense diplomatic maneuvering in order to gain some support of China and Russia for a tougher measure against Iran. On the other hand, the Ahmadinejad administration expected China to resist the U.S. and EU move to refer Iran's nuclear file to the UN Security Council. Ahmadinejad wanted to build "Eastern Bloc" against the West. According his plan, the Eastern bloc countries would be comprised of Russia, China, and the Non-Aligned Movement countries. He expected those states to exercise considerable clout in international diplomacy for Iran (Mousavian 2012, 83–4).

Although China slowed down the negotiation process and watered down the terms of resolutions, it agreed to report the Iranian nuclear issue to the UN Security Council in January 2006 and approved five UN Security Council resolutions.[170] There was a shift in China's behavior between before and after 2006. Before 2006 China urged Iran to cooperate with the IAEA, whereas from 2006 Chinese officials began to express worries about Iran's nuclear issue and ramification of sanctions to its economy (Nourafchan 2010, 35). Unlike the previous years, China began to cooperate with the United States after 2006. Why and to what extent did China cooperate with the United States' initiatives? This historical review of Sino-Iranian relation vis-à-vis the United States focuses on China's shift from balancing to delaying to bandwagoning.

[170] UNSCR 1696 (July 31, 2006), 1737 (December, 23 2006), 1747 (March 24, 2007), 1803 (March 3, 2008), and 1835(September 27, 2008)

Once Iran's enrichment facility at Natanz was reactivated and it ceased cooperation with the IAEA in January 2006, the United States and the EU3 (France, Britain, and Germany) began to seek a UN Security Council referral. China rejected the United States' plan to issue a joint common note by the Permanent Five, but sent a note to Iran separately warning the latter not to resume uranium enrichment. The United States has been trying to enlist China's cooperation. As a carrot, Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick continued his solicitation of Chinese cooperation during talks in January 2006. "I wanted to come to China to discuss how…China [could] play a very positive role in the international system, from issues dealing with nonproliferation to energy security" (Garver, Leverett, and Leverett 2009, 40). As a stick, on January 3, the United States State Department declared that it would impose sanctions on six Chinese companies because the companies transferred equipment or technology in violation of the Iran Nonproliferation Act.[171]

China's official position, according to Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Kong Quan has been, "We oppose impulsively using sanctions or threats of sanctions to solve problems. This will complicate problems" (Buckley and Beck 2006). But they found a middle ground on January 26. The United States and China declared full support for a Russian proposal to allow Iran to operate civilian nuclear facilities, as long as Russia and international nuclear inspectors re in full control of fuel. Expressing his support for the deal President Bush added, "I think that it is a good plan. The Russians came up with the idea, and I support it" (U.S. State Department 2006).

[171] The United States State Department list of nine companies includes six Chinese, two Indian, and one Austrian, all accused for having sold materials to Iran that are included in export control lists, or can be used in the production of missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

The EU3+3 (i.e., Britain, France, Germany plus China, Russia, and the United States) reached an accord on January 31 that Iran case should be taken before the UN Security Council.[172] While Russia and China have signed onto a statement that calls on the IAEA to take the Iranian issue to the UN Security Council, they insisted that the Iran case will have to be "reported," not "referred," to the Security Council. "Reporting" does not guarantee sanctions and presents a way to resolve the issue through diplomatic channels (Sullivan and Linzer 2006).

Five days later, on February 4, the 35 members in the Board of Governors of the IAEA voted 27-3 to report Iranian noncompliance to the UN Security Council (GOV/2006/14).[173] China supported the IAEA's decision by changing the position it resisted for years, but "referral" was changed to "report" at China's insistence. Vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya stated that China still prefers to have the EU3 continue talks with Iran to find a long-term solution on this issue. While the United States, Britain, and France wanted early consultations in the Security Council on Iran, China and Russia preferred that the Security Council plays a limited role with the IAEA keeping the lead (Security Council Report 2006a).

On March 3, the five permanent member of Security Council agreed to issue a Presidential Statement calling on Iran to suspend enrichment activity and directing the IAEA Director General to submit a report on compliance within 30 days. Britain and France circulated a draft resolution framed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which

[172] The EU3+3 had discussed on January 30 and considered a new approach, where urges Iran to suspend enrichment activities and come back to talks with the EU3 and give the IAEA more inspection authority. If Iran fails to do it, then they would impose sanctions (Global Security Newswire 2006).

[173] Venezuela, Syria, and Cuba voted against referral.

suggested that the UN Security Council would consider further measures if Iran continued to resist IAEA requests. However, China was not ready to support a Security Council resolution because of Chapter VII that would identify the Iranian nuclear issue as a threat to international peace and security. Vice Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo said "the Chinese side feels there has already been enough turmoil in the Middle East. We don't need any more turmoil" (Wuthnow 2011, 177). Because of Chinese and Russian objections, the resolution text had been changed to remove the description of the problem as a "threat" to international peace and security. China and Russia instead supported a new package of incentives that are issued by the EU3+3. China argued the incentive package would serve as a basis for all sides to restore negotiations and provide conditions for resolving differences through negotiations.

The IAEA report was delivered to the Security Council on April 28. It said the agency was unable to provide assurance about the absence of undeclared nuclear material and activities in Iran. On May 3, the United States, Britain, and France (P3) drafted a UN Security Council resolution requiring Iran to stop nuclear activities, but Russia and China expressed reservations to the draft (Sciolino 2006). P3 believed citing Chapter VII to be essential to give Iran a firm political message. However, Russia and China argued that Chapter VII was necessary only when concrete measures are to be taken to restore international peace and security. They also worry that the P3 draft could pave the way to military intervention (Security Council Report 2006b).

In response to China and Russia, P3 agreed to develop a parallel package of incentives. On June 2, EU3+3 had agreed to incentives in an attempt to coax Iran into

abandoning its uranium enrichment program. The package outlined two paths—one for incentives and the other penalties based on Iran's response.[174] China repeatedly urged Iran to respond positively and flexibly to various proposals put forward by the EU3 or Russia by arguing that Iran should address the legitimate concerns of the international community over the possibly military nature of Iran's nuclear programs. However, in July Iran had rejected the incentive/disincentive package requesting amendments to ensure that sanctions would not be an automatic next step (Wuthnow 2011, 179). On July 12, Foreign Ministers of the EU3+3 agreed to refer the Iranian dossier to the UN Security Council. The decision could lead to economic sanctions.[175]

On July 31, 2006, China voted in favor of the Resolution 1696 (S/RES/1696) by demanding the suspension of Iran's uranium enrichment activities and threatening imposition of sanctions if Iran did not suspend its fuel cycle activities.[176] China was initially reluctant to have the Security Council take up Iranian issue. It refused to vote for the Resolution 1696 until the United States first offered a new package of incentives for Iran. When this was rejected China voted for the resolution. China's position has changed only Iran's refusal to respond to the incentive package (Security Council Report

[174] The new package of incentives which has not been released to the public is expected to include: (1) the provision of light water nuclear reactors and enriched fuel; (2) support for Iranian membership of the World Trade Organization; and (3) the lifting of restrictions on the use of the United States technology in agriculture (CNN 2006). Although China and Russia agreed to the incentives/disincentives package and supported sanction on Iran, they continue to argue for a cautious approach (Security Council Report 2006c).

[175] John Bolton, the United States Ambassador to the UN, said that the UN Security Council would work on a resolution demanding that Iran suspends all enrichment activities (Wuthnow 2011).

[176] The resolution warned that if Iran did not comply with IAEA verification requirements, the Security Council would seek to adopt appropriate measures under the Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which includes sanctions. It was passed with 14 ayes; Qatar cast the only nay vote.

2006d).[177] At China and Russia's insistence, the United States' proposal that the resolution declare Iran's nuclear program as a "threat to international peace and security" was deleted.[178] The former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Nicholas Burns said that any resolution involving China "is going to be a compromise" (Cooper 2007). China did not fully agree with P3 during the negotiation in the UN Security Council.

The resolution demanded that Iran to suspend all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities and so do within 30 days (by August 31, 2006). China and Russia secured extension of the 30 days deadline from 14 days proposed by the United States. However, only one day after the Resolution1696 issued, Iran explicitly declared that it would continue uranium enrichment and ignore the August 31 deadline specified in the resolution (Alterman and Garver 2008, 43). On August 24, the United States stated Iran's response fell short of the UN demands and that it would consult closely with members of the UN Security Council over its next steps. (Cooper 2006).

On the deadline day of Resolution 1696 (August 31), the IAEA Director General, Mohamed El Baradei, stated that Iran had not suspended uranium enrichment and had continued to resist full cooperation with inspectors. Over the next four months, EU3+3 debated what measures to be authorized as a punishment for the incompliance. Divisions

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[177] Chinese Deputy Permanent Representative in New York, Liu Zhenmin urged Iran to earnestly implement the requirements of this resolution (Wuthnow 2011, 180).

[178] But the Resolution1696 still invoked the Article 40 of Chapter VII authorizing provisional measures antecedent to the sanctions or use of force to deal with threats to the peace. The UN Charter Chapter VII (Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression) Article 40 said "In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures."

among the states stalled the progress. The United States argued that sanctions should be as wide and tough as possible, whereas Russia and China preferred more limited and less severe measures (Security Council Report 2006e).

EU3+3 met in London on October 6. While there was a general consensus that the Security Council must take some action on Iran's incompliance, disagreements persisted over specific measures of a resolution. While the U.S. insisted on a total ban on nuclear and missile technology sales, China and Russia favored softer measures because they anticipated that this would impact discussions on the nature of items to be embargoed. A consensus was found on an incremental approach (Security Council Report 2006g). However, President Ahmadinejad announced plans to expand enrichment capacity at Natanz to 60,000 centrifuges, which would be sufficient to make nuclear fuel on an industrial scale.

After significant delay, the UN Security Council approved the Resolution 1737 on December 23, 2006 (S/RES/1737). After five months of negotiations, China voted for the resolution, which limited the sale of nuclear equipment and technologies to Iran, prohibited investment in its nuclear sector and froze assets of individuals and entities associated with the nuclear program.[179] China agreed to the general principle of further sanctions if Iran did not come to terms with the IAEA. Vice Foreign Minister Wang

[179] The resolution cited Chapter VII of the UN Charter to mandate an initial application of international sanctions against Iran for its continued fuel cycle activities. It called on all states to restrict the transfer of technologies and provision of other types of support that would contribute to development of Iran's capabilities for uranium enrichment, reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel, heavy-water reactor operation, its development of nuclear-weapon delivery systems. However, the resolution left it to individual states to determine which technologies meet these criteria. It specified further action if Iran remained in incompliance of IAEA directives after 60 days.

Guangya bemoaned Iran's lack of flexibility, but reiterated that the IAEA, not the UN Security Council, should be the principal mechanism for dealing with the issue.

Two months after the resolution passed, on February 22, 2007, El Baradei reported that Iran had continued to enrich uranium at the Natanz facility and refused to provide details for verification. The United States sought a ban on arms sales to Iran and limited on export credits for firms engaged in commercial deals in Iran. This posed problems for China which had existing contracts to supply Iran with various weapons, including anti-ship and surface-to-air missiles. "China's exports as a whole had increased dramatically, rising from $713 million in 2000 to $7.29 billion in 2007" (Wuthnow 2011, 183).[180] Chinese leaders were loath to see Iranian issues labeled as an international threat and tried to convince Iran to moderate its behavior in light of the lucrative deals that China had with Iran because China needed to block severe UN sanctions on Iran to keep the arms deal with Iran. Part of the problem lay in the fact that once the UN Security Council decided upon punitive actions, it had to follow up on them or pretend to observe them.

On March 6, Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing told reporters that China "welcomes, supports, and calls upon Iran to step up cooperation with the IAEA" (People's Daily 2007). China implored Iran to consider opening its nuclear facilities to UN inspections in order to avoid further escalation of UN Security Council sanctions.

[180] The SIPRI Arms Transfer Database shows China contracted to supply Iran with 160 anti-ship missiles (TL-10/FL-8) in 2002, 90 anti-ship missiles (C-704) in 2003, 35 anti-ship missiles (C-801/CSS-N-4) in 2004, and 700 portable surface-to-air missiles (QW-11) in 2005, with delivery dates between 2004 and 2012. SIPRI Arms Transfer Database http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/background

The 2012 SIPRI military expenditure database shows that China's military expenditure keep increasing from US$19,820 million in 1990 to US$37,040 million in 2000, to US$136,467 million in 2010, to US$166,107 in 2012. SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 2012 http://milexdata.sipri.org (Appendix E)

Four days later Chinese Ambassador at the UN Wang Guangya said that he did not see the need to expand the measures against an arms embargo and objected to a prohibition on export credits (Wuthnow 2011, 183). Although Chinese officials expressed reservations on tough sanctions, another resolution was staged and China agreed to pass it.

The Security Council resolution 1747 (S/RES/1747) was passed unanimously on March 24, 2007.[181] In order to ensure Chinese and Russian consent, the United States agreed merely to call for vigilance in arms sales to Iran and to omit a ban on export credits. Vice Foreign Minister Wang Guangya expressed disappointment in Iran's incompliance, and emphasized again the role of the IAEA as the main framework through which the issue could be resolved. To protect Chinese interests Wang did not forget to that sanctions should neither harm the Iranian people nor affect normal trade and financial exchanges between Iran and other countries. It "would not endorse an endless progression of sanctions on Iran at the expense of its own economic and strategic interests" (Wuthnow 2011, 184).[182]

There was a breakthrough on August 2007 when Iran and IAEA announced a timeline under which Iran's pledges would be carried out.[183] This development provided China and Russia with leverage to argue that consideration of additional sanctions should be delayed until the IAEA report was distributed three months later in November 2007.

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[181] The resolution widened the scope of sanctions by banning arms purchases from Iran, freezing the assets of additional individuals and entities and calling upon states to prevent the travel of such individuals abroad.

[182] Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Hu Jintao released a statement on March 26, 2007 indicating their resolve to "search for a comprehensive, long-term and mutually acceptable solution to the Iranian nuclear problem." They called upon to pursue peaceful means of resolving disputes a day after Iran partially suspended its cooperation with the IAEA in response to the UN Security Council sanctions.

[183] The IAEA concluded in May 2007 that Iran did not suspend enrichment, nor did it provide sufficient data to corroborate the evidence that its program has been exclusively peaceful nature.

China keep making requisite statements that it considered diplomacy as the best way to settle the disputes urging Iran to continue negotiations with the IAEA (Security Council Report 2007a). "We would advocate a peaceful resolution of the Iranian nuclear issue through negotiation," Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi told Iranian Interior Minister Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi on September 14. Yang also urged President Ahmadinejad on November 13 to halt the uranium enrichment program in compliance with international demands while acknowledging Iran's right to peacefully use nuclear energy. He expressed hope that all parties would show flexibility for a peaceful resolution (Security Council Report 2007b).

The United States began to complain about China's unchanging ambiguous stance. On November 16 the Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, Nicholas Burn said "it is incongruous for China to continue to sell arms to Iran and become Iran's top trade partner. We've advised the Chinese to take a much more resolute role" (Wuthnow 2011, 185). In mid-December Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson also criticized China's state petroleum firm, Sinopec, for investing $2 billion in the development of Iran's Yadavaran oil field.[184] The United States imposed sanctions against 52 Chinese companies between 2001 and 2007 under the Iran Nonproliferation Act and the Iran and Syria Nonproliferation Act (Weisman 2007).

However, the U.S. National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) report in November 2007 stunned the White House and Israel. It said, "We judge with high confidence that in fall 2003, Tehran halted its nuclear weapons program" (Shuster and Block 2007). It also

[184] In 2007, Sinopec and Iran signed a $2 billion deal to produce 85,000 bpd for the first four years and an additional 100,000 bpd for three years (Wolfe 2013, 308; Hafezi 2007).

stated that there was no conclusive evidence of its revival. This dealt a serious blow to the assertion by Israel and the United States that Iran had been building a nuclear bomb. President Ahmadinejad hailed the NIE as "a great victory" and the momentum for new sanctions faded (Bush 2010, 418–9). Israel did not agree with the NIE assessment, but China and Russia "rejected alarmist claims and called for the continuation of negotiations until a peaceful solution was found" (Mousavian 2012, 314). Nicolo Nourafchan pointed out China's opportunistic behavior arguing that after the NIE report was published, "seizing a rare opportunity, Chinese firms closed a $16 billion oil deal just days after the US intelligence report was publicized, enabling them to partially avoid Washington's ire" (Ng 2008; Nourafchan 2010, 38).

Against this mixed backdrop, Chinese leaders decided to straddle between stalled sanction efforts and stagnated reconciliatory initiatives. On December 13, Chinese ambassador to the UN Wang Guangya, said China preferred a "dual track" approach—a revitalized diplomatic initiative along with a new sanctions resolution (Security Council Report 2007c). On January 17, 2008 Iran's chief nuclear negotiator Saeed Jalili visited Beijing attempting to convince Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi that Iran's nuclear technology was peaceful by design and purpose. Meanwhile, the Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte made a contrary argument to Yang Jiechi during the US-China Senior Dialogue. Negroponte blamed Taiwan's recent referendum on UN membership and issued a mild critique of the trade deficit between the United States and China as a further inducement for support.

Four days later the EU3+3 foreign ministers agreed on elements for a new resolution on January 22 (Security Council Report 2008a), but Iran's provocations went unabated. On February 4, 2008 Iran conducted a successful test launch of the Kavoshgar-1 research rocket to inaugurate its first built space center 60 km Southeast of Semnan City.[185] Ten days later since the missile launch, the IAEA report recommended for another round of UN Security Council sanctions. Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi met with the Secretary of State Rice on February 26 and stated that the dual-track approach of incentive and pressure should be sustained. Two days later, China reiterated that measures should not undermine normal trade and economic relations with Iran. This qualification on tough sanctions was made just as China's National offshore Oil Corporation announced a $16 billion contract to develop Iran's North Pars field (Ng 2008; Nourafchan 2010, 38). China's imports of energy supplies from Iran also grew from $9.03 billion in 2006 to $16.8 billion in 2008 (Nourafchan 2010, 38). Growing Chinese commercial interests in Iran made China to circumscribe the extent of the sanctions pursued by the United States.

The Security Council Resolution 1803 (S/RES/1803) was approved on March 3, 2008.[186] China voted for this, which approved a new round of sanctions against Iran for refusing to suspend uranium enrichment and heavy-water-related projects.[187] However,

[185] The Kavoshgar-1 is a variant of the single stage Shahab-3 intermediate-range ballistic missile. According to President Ahmadinejad, the launch is the "first and determined step towards an Iranian satellite" (J. Bermudez 2008).

[186] It passed by a vote of fourteen ayes, no nays, and one abstention (Indonesia). Libya, Indonesia, South Africa, and Vietnam (so-called Non-Alignment Movement states) did not vote negatively on the new resolution.

[187] The resolution extended the asset freeze on individuals and entities identified in the two previous resolutions to cover 13 additional individuals and 12 additional entities.

due to China's opposition provisions regarding export credits, transactions with two Iranian banks, and cargo inspections became voluntary,[188] and the United States had to omit sanctions on the Revolutionary Guards Corps. However, taking the United States request, China added 13 additional Iranian names to the sanctions list (Garver 2008). Following the passage, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Qin Gang sought to placate Iran by promising that China "hoped to continue in the relevant trade" with the Iran (International Herald Tribune 2008).

Since the resolutions passed, the United States wanted to push for additional sanctions because current diplomatic initiatives stall, while China and Russia wanted to wait for further clarification by Iran of the remaining outstanding issues—the next IAEA report on Iran compliance would be presented to the next board meeting on September 22-26, 2008 (Security Council Report 2008b). To make a breakthrough to the deadlock after the resolution 1803, EU3+3 "freeze for freeze" proposal was staged in June 2008. According to the proposal, Iran would agree not to enrich more uranium, and the Security Council would not adopt new sanctions against Iran for a transition period, thus, allowing for pre-negotiations. Formal negotiations would follow.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Liu Jianchao stated in July that China "believe[s] that sanctions, especially unilateral sanctions, are of no help" emphasizing that diplomacy remained the best way to resolve the issue, but China's stress on patience and flexibility did not paid off because Ahmadinejad announced on July 28 that Iran possessed between

[188] The resolution bans the transfer of specified dual-use items to Iran, but the list of specified items does not go significantly beyond item already subject to control by other multilateral export regimes.

about 6,000 centrifuges and was bent on increasing the number to 50,000 (Mousavian 2012, 301–2; IRNA 2008) and conducted ballistic missile tests on July 9 and 10.

A U.S. State Department official on September 23 said that "It is clear right now that while everybody is committed to a two-track policy, … the Russians and the Chinese are not ready at this point to engage actively on another sanctions resolution" (New York Times 2008). On September 27, 2008 China endorsed the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1835 (S/RES/1835), but this measure imposed no new sanctions on Iran.[189] The text merely called on Iran to comply fully and without delay under previous resolutions and to meet the requirements of the IAEA Board of Governors. This lack of teeth inherent in the Resolution 1835 was because "China refused to support US efforts against Iran" (Nourafchan 2010, 40). Against the resolution, on October 5 Iran stated that it would not cease enrichment regardless of the incentives offered. It looms another round of crisis.

Analysis

China's Iranian policy vis-à-vis the United States from 2006 to 2008 was replete with straddling and delaying efforts. By avoiding the introduction of new sanctions, China tried to minimize the Iranian nuclear threat as a regional issue. As the United States pressure on Iran intensifies, China took more elusive and less resolute attitude against Iranian proliferation. China never believed that sanctions could be a permanent solution to the problem.

[189] All fifteen members of the UN Security Council voted for the resolution without opposition or abstention.

Proposition-2 (*balancing*) is difficult to apply since China did not counter the United States explicitly by supporting Iran. Rather it has been going along with the decisions of EU3 and the United States. It agreed to "report" the Iran case to the UN Security Council in January 2006 and agreed to adopt five UN resolutions in this period.[190] China did not boycott sanctioning against Iran, but tried not to offend Iran overly after the passage of the resolutions by expressing hope that the resolution should be implemented seriously rather than introducing another resolution.

President Hu Jintao urged President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to respond to the EU3+3 proposal positively and flexibly in June 2006 by convincing Iran to address the legitimate concerns of the international community over the potential military nature of Iran's nuclear programs. China demanded Iran to open its nuclear facilities to the IAEA inspections in order to avoid further sanctions. Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi urged President Ahmadinejad to halt the uranium enrichment program in compliance with international demands in November 2007 (Security Council Report 2007b). China's pressure against Iran disconfirms Proposition-2 (*balancing*), but supports Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*). China has reluctantly cooperated with the United States because Chinese leaders could not find a viable alternative other than to support nonproliferation norms, and because they did not want to be stigmatized as a benefactor of "rogue state."

In accordance to my Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*), China became more cooperative following provocations by Iran.[191] After China witnessed Iran's provocations,

[190] UNSCR 1696 (July 31, 2006), 1737 (December 23, 2006), 1747 (March 24, 2007), 1803 (March 3, 2008), and 1835 (September 27, 2008)

[191] For example, when the enrichment facility at Natanz was reactivated in January 2006; when the IAEA reported it was unable to investigate Iranian nuclear activities in April 2006; when Iran had rejected the

it began to side with the United States. Such evidence would support bandwagoning, but it did not mediate between Iran and the others as it did in North Korean case in the same period (the Hypothsis-8 is disconfirmed).

Chinese leadership is most concerned about its commercial interests in Iran. Potential risks in its energy supply to cooperate with the United States in a certain degree for preventing the crisis from developing fully. Its behavior can be placed at the cell D or G in figure-2. For China, preventing the United States from initiating a war against Iran, from disrupting its energy supply, and from ruining its investment is an important imperative in Iranian policy. To this end, helping EU3 and the United States to sanction Iran, or pretending to do so, is the most feasible strategy for the time being, because it can delay the process during the negotiation (Proposition-6 and -1).

As suggested in my Proposition-6 (*delaying*), China had displayed a water-down strategy at the negotiation table. On February 4, 2006, the Board of Governors of the IAEA decided to "report" Iran to the UN Security Council. China insisted that Iran case should be "reported," not "referred" because "reporting" does not warrant sanctions (Sullivan and Linzer 2006). In March 2006, when the five permanent member of Security Council agreed to issue a presidential statement calling on Iran to suspend all enrichment-related activities, China and Russia removed a description of the problem as a "threat" to

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incentive deal proposed by the EU3+3 in July 2006; when Ahmadinejad announced plans to expand Iran's uranium enrichment capacity in November 2006; when the IAEA reported that Iran had continued to enrich uranium at the Natanz facility and refused to provide details required for verification in February 2007; when the IAEA concluded that Iran had not suspended enrichment in May 2007; when Ahmadinejad announced in July 2008 that Iran possessed between 5,000 and 6,000 nuclear centrifuges; and when rejected overtures suggested by the EU3+3 in October 2008.

international peace and security and they had secured extension of the deadline to 30 days from the 14 days (Security Council Report 2006a).

Since August 2006, for over four months, EU3+3 had debated what measures to be authorized as a punishment for Iran's incompliance. Progress was stalled because Russia and China preferred less severe measures but the United States argued for tougher sanctions (Security Council Report 2006g). After five months of negotiations, China finally agreed for the Resolution 1737. It agreed to further sanctions if Iran does not come to terms with the IAEA, but it still argued that the IAEA, not the UN Security Council, was to be the principal venue for dealing with Iranian issue.

China and Russia were inclined to wait for Iran to clarify the remaining outstanding issues. China officially said numerous times diplomacy was the best way to solve the problems without specifying how. Even though China agreed to pass the resolutions, it "soft balanced" against the tough and broad sanctions proposed by the EU3 and the United States. Britain, the United States and France had drafted a resolution citing Chapter VII, but Russia and China rejected them twice on March 3 and April 28, 2006. Russia and China pressed EU3 and the United States to develop an incentive/disincentive package and they succeeded, but Iran turned it down in July (Wuthnow 2011, 179). China agreed to pass the Resolution 1696 on July 31 after Iran rejected the incentive/disincentive deal, but deleted the phrase indicating Iran's nuclear program as a "threat to international peace and security" from the resolution China did its best to mollify the severity of international resolutions against Iran.

By aligning with Russia, China shielded Iran by highlighting legitimate rights for civilian nuclear program and weakened the terms if a resolution had to be passed. It had protracted Iran negotiating process by opposing tough sanctions and consequently protecting Iranian nuclear ambition. This behavioral type can be placed at the cell F in the figure-2 since Chinese leaders used the fact that the United States and EU3 need China's cooperation to delay the process in negotiations. Delaying is other means of balancing in a sense.

Proposition-1 (*straddling*) is confirmed since crises around Iran made China to get many entreaties from both Iran and the United States and it has been positioning as a pivot (figure-4, Romantic triangle E). On January 17, 2008 Iran's chief nuclear negotiator, Saeed Jalili, visited Beijing and attempted to convince Yang Jiechi that Iran's nuclear technology is limited to peaceful purpose. Meanwhile, Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte contradicted Yang Jiechi during the US-China Senior Dialogue.

By playing-between Chinese leaders might think that they could reap profits from both sides: making deals to develop Iranian gas fields[192] and exporting merchandises to Iranian market on one hand, and accessing American market and receiving American advanced nuclear technology on the other hand. By straddling, China was able to secure

[192] "In 2008, China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) signed a US$1.76 billion deal to develop Iran's North Azadegan oil field, which could produce more than 75,000 barrels of oil per day by 2012" (Hong 2014, 414–7). "The most important Chinese contracts in areas of the upstream oil industry are: Yadavaran oil field development project contract worth more than $2 billion with Sinopec China, North Pars gas field development project worth approximately $16 billion with China Sinopec, Phase 11 of the South Pars development project worth $5 billion with China International Oil Company (CNPCI), North Azadegan field development project worth 1.6 billion dollars with China's CNPC, Exploration and development blocks with Garmsar and Chinese Sinopec, Building the second phase of Iran LNG plant with HEFC China, Exploration Project of Golshan and Ferdowsi fields with China, Oil field development project with Kassel Oil Company and China, Offshore Oil Field Development Project with Masjed Soleiman Oil Co. and China (CNPCI)" (Mousavian 2012, 538).

its commercial interests and enhance its international image as a responsible power cooperating with the superpower. Thus, as Proposition-1 (*straddling*) expected, China had positioned as a pivot between the two disputing parties to balance out the dynamics, rather than solving the crises substantially. As my model of balance of interest in figure-2, when China's interest to Iran and those to the United States are equally important, it straddles (cell E).

China's gung-ho for the "dual track" approach that combining a continuous diplomatic initiatives with sanctions is a typical example of straddling (Security Council Report 2007c). In February 2008 Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi told the Secretary of State Rice that the dual-track approach of incentive and pressure has to be sustained. However, dual-track approach was not successful in inducing Iran's compliance since Ahmadinejad declared in July 2008 that Iran is possessing between 5,000 and 6,000 nuclear centrifuges.

Since China's tepid attitude could restrain neither Iranian provocations nor EU3/US's persistent sanction efforts, the Proposition-7 (*hiding*) could not be confirmed. In July 2006, even though China diluted terms of Resolution 1696, but Iran bluntly declared that it would continue uranium enrichment and ignored the deadline. In October 2006 while the United States insisted on broad sanctions, China favored softer measures, but Ahmadinejad announced in November 2006 that Iran planned to increase enrichment capacity at Natanz to 60,000 centrifuges, which would be sufficient to make nuclear fuel on an industrial scale. And it is hard to say whether China has played them off each other or not, thus, negating Proposition-5.

Figure 13 Propositions Testing on Case-6

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	2006 2007 2008	**Confirmed:** Crisis → straddling between Iran and the EU3/US (passing resolutions but weakening terms) → securing China's energy supply and market in Iran, maintaining international reputation as a responsible power. China's supporting of a "dual track" approach, in which combining a continuous diplomatic initiative with sanctions resolutions is a typical straddling strategy.
2	Balancing unless there is compensation	2006 2007 2008	**Disconfirmed:** China had not formed counter balance alliance with Iran to offset the US. Rather, China has been cooperating with the EU3 and the US. China agreed to "report" Iran case to the UNSC in January 2006 and agreed to adopt five UN Resolutions in this period: 1696 (July 31, 2006), 1737 (December 23, 2006), 1747 (March 24, 2007), 1803 (March 3, 2008), and 1835 (September 27, 2008).
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues		**N/A**
4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	2006 2007 2008	**Confirmed:** Iran's provocations → China's cooperation Iran's enrichment facility at Natanz was reactivated in January 2006; the IAEA could not investigate nuclear activities in Iran in April 2006; Iran rejected the incentive proposed by the EU3+3 in July 2006; Ahmadinejad expands Iran's uranium enrichment capacity in November 2006; the IAEA reported that Iran had continued to enrich uranium at the Natanz facility and refused to provide details required for verification in February 2007; the IAEA concluded that Iran had not suspended enrichment in May 2007; and Ahmadinejad announced that Iran possessed between 5,000 and 6,000 nuclear centrifuges in July 2008; Iran rejected overtures by the EU3+3 → China began to side with the US
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	2006-2008	**Disconfirmed:** China has not played the US and Iran off each other for its own benefit.
6	Delaying negotiation and water-down the terms	2006	**Confirmed (water-down):** On February 4, 2006, the Board of Governors of the IAEA decided to "report" Iran to the UNSC. China insisted that Iran's case be "reported," not "referred" because "reporting" does not warrant sanctions. In March 2006, the P5 agreed to a Presidential Statement calling on Iran to suspend all enrichment-related activities → China removed a description of the Iranian problem as a "threat" to international peace and security. In July 2006, China watered down terms of Resolution 1696 by deleting the clause saying that Iran's nuclear program a threat to international peace and security and by extending the IAEA's verification deadline from 14 days to 30 days. From August 2006 for over four months, the EU3+3 had debated

			what measures to be authorized as punishment for Iran's incompliance. Progress was stalled because Russia and China preferred more limited measures but the US argued for tough and wide sanctions. After five months of negotiations, China agreed for the Resolution 1737. China agreed to further sanctions if Iran did not come to terms with the IAEA, but it still argued that IAEA, not the UNSC, was the principal mechanism for dealing with Iranian issue.
7	Hiding to contain both	2006 2008	**Disconfirmed:** China's unclear position → provocations of Iran → adoption of five UN resolutions In October 2006 while the United States insisted on a total ban on nuclear and missile technology sales, Russia and China favored softer measures→ in November 2006, Ahmadinejad announced that Iran planned to increase enrichment capacity at Natanz to 60,000 centrifuges and in July 2008 Ahmadinejad declared that Iran is possessing between 5,000 and 6,000 nuclear centrifuges.
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	2006-2008	**Disconfirmed:** China has not actively mediated between Iran and the US.
	Behavioral pattern in Case-6	2006-2008	crisis → straddling → settlement → bandwagoning → straddling → delaying → crisis → balancing → settlement → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → delaying → crisis → delaying → straddling → crisis → delaying → crisis → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → settlement → delaying → straddling → mediating → getting entreaties → straddling → getting entreaties → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → delaying → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis

Comparison from 2006 to 2008

From 2006 to 2008 President Hu Jintao (胡锦涛, 2002-2012), Premier Wen Jiabao (温家宝, 2002-2012), Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing (李肇星, 2003-2007), and Li's successor Yang Jiechi (杨洁篪, 2007-2013) were core decision makers in foreign policy. In this period, China's behavior toward North Korea and Iran showed consistency—bandwagoning and straddling.

With the exception of absence of mediating behavior in Iranian case, China had reacted to the two countries similarly. In the both cases China equally had tried to occupy a pivot position, and had not aligned with the noncompliant states against the United States and instead, cooperated with the international efforts to manage nuclear tension in

the Middle East and East Asia. Further, it delayed, watered down, and weakened resolutions but had not abetted between the United States and the noncompliant states to gain something out of conflicts. Thus, its hiding strategy failed to restrain provocations from the both sides.

A noticeable change in Chinese foreign policy was that it began to cooperate with the United States while repressing its "balancing" impulse. In response to North Korea's missile on July 5 and nuclear test on October 9 in 2006, China voted for two UN resolutions: 1695 on July 15 and 1718 on October 14. It improved its image through hosting the Six Party Talks and cooperating with the international community, aiming to maintain the Sino-U.S. co-leadership. It also agreed to report Iranian nuclear issue to the UN Security Council and approved five UN resolutions (1696, 1737, 1747, 1803, and 1835) and then agreed to impose limited and targeted sanctions. It slowed down a gas field development project in Yadavaran, and ordered its banking sector to deny lines of credit to several prominent Iranian businessmen (Fathi 2007).

China showed hesitancy in sanctioning the noncompliant states first, but went along with the United States later ensuring that the resolutions were not used for military actions. It opposed any mention of Chapter VII of the UN Charter because a resolution citing Chapter VII might pave the way for use of force. Later when it agreed to pass the resolutions under the Chapter VII, it demanded to cite the Article 41 or non-forceful measures clearly. In this way, China passed two resolutions—S/RES/1718 for North Korea, and S/RES/1696 and S/RES/1737 for Iran—to ensure that the resolutions will not be used for military interventions in the noncompliant states.

China perceived more stakes in stabilizing its backyard and enhancing its reputation in North Korean case, whereas it found it is possible to pursue both maximum commercial interests and minimum international obligations in Iranian case. In my balance of interest model (Figure-2), China's behaviors lie across cells from D, E, F, and G depending on how Chinese leaders perceive national interest in the United States and the noncompliant states at the moment. When the Sino-U.S. relationship was in jeopardy, China could somewhat sacrificed its parochial commercial interests to quell U.S. concerns (bandwagoning), whereas when it perceived opportunities to maximize its commercial without incurring reputational damages under the rules in the international regimes, it has straddled and delayed.

The question is why China refrained from a balancing desire and turned to a partner of the United States to deter the noncompliant states' nuclear ambition since 2006. Did it mean that it shifted its attitude from resisting U.S. hegemony to cooperating with it? Is it a socialization of the nonproliferation norm or a tactical turn for currying favor with the United States? Is it bandwagoning on the United States' deterring efforts because it is less costly than letting wars spiral out of control around its neighborhood? In the next section I discuss why China appears to cooperate with the United States (i.e. bandwagoning) and why it has been reluctant to collaborate fully with noncompliant states by sitting on the fence between them (i.e. straddling).

Why does China Bandwagon?

China can embrace the unipolarity of the United States by bandwagoning. Its bandwagoning strategy is based on interest maximization rather than threat containment

(Schroeder 1994; Schweller 1994). Coopting the unrivaled American power is a sensible strategy for China inasmuch as the United States is viewed as a benign superpower. It can gain public goods provided by the superpower, and it can avoid antagonizing the United States at the same time. For China bandwagoning is a long-term investment to foster a stronger relationship with the United States.

In dealing with the noncompliant states China has cooperated with the United States for four reasons. First, nuclearization of the noncompliant states possibly causes instability leading arms races in the region (Swaine 2011, 40). Second, China perceives itself to be benefiting from the status quo order and thus strives for preserving it (Schweller 1998, 88). Third, it wants to enhance its international reputation as a responsible power (Carlson 2005, 3). Fourth, it pursues material gains by cooperating with the United States (Crawford 2003, 21; Dittmer 1981, 486) or simply it is not strong enough comparing to the United States (G. H. Snyder and Diesing 1978, 65).

Nuclearization Leads Instability

As the Scott Sagan's argument against Kenneth Waltz, the more states pursues nuclear options, the more likely the world becomes unsafe (Sagan and Waltz 2003). China was afraid that the possibility of nuclearization of North Korea and Iran would set off arms race in the East Asia and Middle East region. A nuclearized North Korea will undermine the NPT regime and will trigger a domino effect in Northeast Asia where a nuclear North Korea makes Japan nervous about the North's future intentions and it might push Japan into abandoning its own non-nuclear weapon status. It leads South

Korea and even Taiwan to become a nuclear power. Perhaps North Korea will be able to blackmail China with its nuke (Booth and Wheeler 2007, 129).

Similarly, a nuclear-armed Iran will trigger arms races in the Middle East and Central Asia and, thereby, reducing China's access to critical energy supplies. If Iran acquires the bomb, then other countries in the region would seek a new balance of deterrence to follow Iran's suit (International Crisis Group 2009, 18). A nuclearized Iran certainly will destabilize the Middle East, given the Israel's nuclear capability. Instability in the Persian Gulf could be disastrous to Chinese commercial interests as in Iraq wars of 1991 and 2003. The decision in 2006 by Egypt, Turkey, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) to develop nuclear power for civilian purposes has to be seen in the context of Iran's nuclear ambitions (Booth and Wheeler 2007, 129). They might feel uneasiness with Iran in which acquired ballistic missile capable of reaching Israel, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Turkey.[193] The nuclearization of noncompliant states leads to an escalation of tension in the region and to a chain reaction of region-wide proliferation of nuclear weapons. If that happens, then China would be almost surrounded by nuclear weapon states. Since the emergence of a nuclear power or an arms race would be harmful to China's interests, it has decided to join with the United States' deterring efforts.

[193] "Because the Iranian regime was Shia, many of the United States Sunni allies in the Middle East feared Iran's penetration into the region. Iran had been known to stir up trouble among the Shia populations in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain. Iran wanted to establish a Shia crescent, uniting those populations across national borders and destroying the integrity of the Sunni-governed states. Sunni states had to be counterbalanced Iran" (Rice 2011, 164).

Maintaining Status Quo is Beneficial

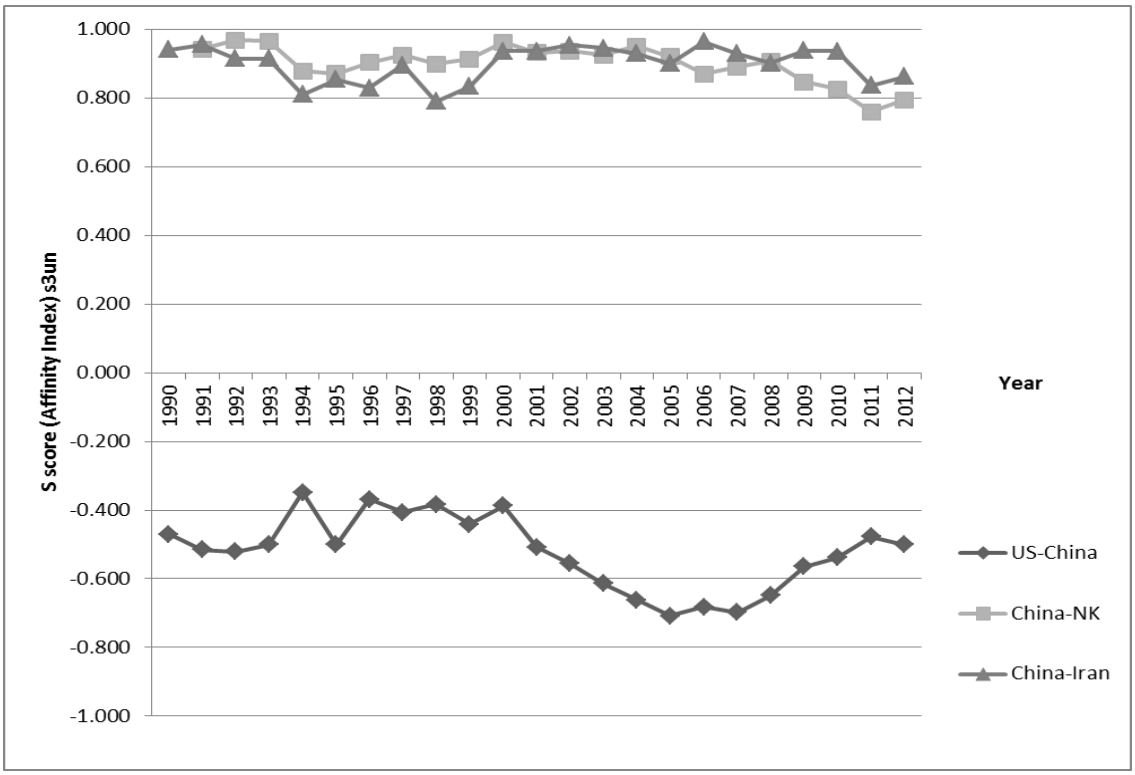
According to Hans Morgenthau's definition, "The policy of the status quo aims at the maintenance of the distribution of power as it exists at a particular moment in history [and] is opposed to any reversal of the power relations among two or more nations" and the status quo is characterized by "pacific relations with the dominant power, the United States" (Morgenthau 2006, 46). Similarly, cultivating national power by accelerating economic development and minimizing threats within its peripheries is the top priority for Chinese foreign policy making (Yan 2002, 161).

If East Asia loses the present status quo, this will be a major impediment to China's development and security. If North Korea collapses, power struggles between the elites and possible military conflicts within the regime or between North Korea and the United States (South Korea) certainly will hinder China's economic development (Bennett and Lind 2011). If Iran is engaged in a war with Israel or the United States, the oil supply from the Middle East will be disrupted, thus, crippling its growth. Therefore, priority should be placed on maintaining a status quo all around China's periphery.

Chinese leaders see their goal will be best achieved within the existing international system, not subverting it, since as former President Hu described the period up to 2020 is "an important period of strategic opportunities for China's development" (Hu 2012). China is committed to play by the prevailing rules of the game. Some might label China as a "system maintainer" perceiving its interests as best served within the current status quo (Nourafchan 2010). For China, maintaining stability is a prerequisite

for improving the living standards of its own people and building up its comprehensive national power. To this end, it is wise to bandwagon with the United States for now.

Figure 14 Affinity between States at the UN General Assembly Voting[194]



Studies by Erik Gartzke and Dong-Joon Jo, and Anton Strezhnev and Erik Voeten on United Nations General Assembly voting behavior indicated that the degree of affinity (S score) between the United States and China in UN General Assembly voting has been increasing since 2007. From 2000 voting affinity between the two powers decreased, but it began to recover from 2007. The period of from 2006 to 2011 was an up-phase

[194] The Affinity index (S score) constitutes values on a two unit: values for the Affinity data range from -1 (least similar interests) to 1 (most similar interests). 1 means that the two fully synchronized their voting orientation and –1 means that the two states vote for completely opposite direction (for the details see Appendix F). Source: http://www.columbia.edu/~eg589/datasets and http://home.gwu.edu/~voeten/UNVoting.htm (Strezhnev and Erik 2013; Signorino and Ritter 1999).

between China and the United States (Gartzke and Jo 2002; Strezhnev and Erik 2013).[195] John Hill shows that the voting patterns of China in the UN Security Council also have been similar in matters regarding American preferences. In 2006, they voted together 100 percent of the time on resolutions concerning nonproliferation, Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and Sudan (J. Hill 2006). The result of their study comports with my findings in this research.

Enhancing International Reputation

China has been trying to rebuild its international image as a respected member of the international community since Tiananmen incident in 1989. According to Shih Chih-yu, it is all about restore and keep its national "face" (Shih 1990). In the post-Cold war era, China might believe that it must address a wide range of global governance issues commensurate with its size, power, and influence (Yan 2012; Wu 2001). For this aspiration, it began to trumpet the "Peaceful Rising (*hepingjueqi* 和平崛起)" and "Responsible Superpower (*fuzerendedaguo* 负责任的大国)" discourse. In Zheng Bijian's words, "China does not pursue hegemony and refuses to be a superpower." China is transcending "the traditional ways for great powers to emerge" because it "will not challenge US global dominance." Zheng argues that China has been a peaceful and nonthreatening partner of the United States and willing to cooperate with the United States on matters of international security (Zheng 2005, 18–24).

[195] China's voting behaviors have been in sync with Iran and North Korea for more than two decades while China and the United States began to vote for or against more similarly since 2007. It is because China wants to avoid conflicts with the United States (Gartzke and Jo 2002; Strezhnev and Erik 2013).

The peaceful rising and responsible superpower aspiration will be vitiated if it allows Iran or North Korea to acquire nuclear weapons. Nuclearized noncompliant states would not only undermine the NPT regime but also reduce China's relative influence as a major power by diluting China's status as one of only a few nuclear powers. It might wish to keep the nuclear club as small as possible because additional nuclear weapon-capable countries would alter the delicate balance of power and because nuclearized noncompliant states would not be obedient to China's wishes and demands (International Crisis Group 2010, 2). Given this dynamics, China has been following the United States' lead, but it has done bandwagoning by pragmatic cost-and-benefit analysis of increasing its national interests (Yan 2002, 161).

Gaining Material Benefits by Bandwagoning

As Proposition-2 (*balancing without compensation*) anticipated, it is possible to make China cooperate if the other is able to offer side payment. The United States had offered incentives and assurance for China to elicit its supports including debt forgiveness and development aid and an agreement with Saudi Arabia to increase its oil exports to China (Wuthnow 2011, 96). The United States would arrange other Middle Eastern oil and natural gas producers for filling gap left by a cutoff of Iranian energy supplies as a result of the fallout of UN resolutions. It made sense for both Saudi Arabia, which sought long-term investment in its oil products, and China, which had an incentive to wean its dependence on Iranian oil, given the attendant political risk (Wuthnow 2011, 199).

Ultimately, China will not side with the noncompliant states at the expense of its relations with the United States because Chinese leaders know that its tie with the United States trumps those with Iran and North Korea for now (Mousavian 2012, 93–4). Moreover, Chinese leaders have done realistic calculation that it is not strong enough to pick a fight against the United States for the noncompliant states (Mearsheimer 2001). It has few reasons to challenge the unrivaled state (Wohlforth 1999). It is better for China to pretend to cooperate with the United States while occasionally guarding legitimate grievances of the noncompliant states. Siding with the strongest yet straddling between the most powerful and the rebellious is the optimal choice for China.

Why does China Straddle?

China has been expecting to play a vital role in determining the success of the U.S. efforts to isolate the noncompliant states. Since it understands that excessive ties with the noncompliant states would undercut its reputation, it has provided the United States with a certain degree of support. It made repeated recalibrations in its support to the noncompliant states in order not to offend the United States excessively, but it has not made such adjustments easily and readily. Nor has it been willing to entirely abandon cooperation with North Korea and Iran for the sake of placating the U.S. (Garver 2006, 283). It has tenaciously resisted the U.S. efforts to undermine cooperation between China and noncompliant states. It opportunistically expanded cooperation with the noncompliant states in spite of the U.S. pressure. In this sense strategies like balancing, bandwagoning, abetting, or buck-passing do not account for much of the strategic behavior currently employed by China.

Brock Tessman's concept of "strategic hedging" is closer to my definition of straddling strategy in that China avoids outright confrontation with the United States in the short term, while still increasing its capability in the long run (Tessman 2012, 193). Straddling is also similar with Evelyn Goh's definition of hedging as "a set of strategies aimed at avoiding a situation in which states cannot decide upon more straightforward alternatives such as balancing, bandwagoning, or neutrality" (Goh 2007; Foot 2006, 88). Straddling is an art which requires the balancing of innumerable factors, some of which may cancel each other out and some of which may be additive.

China usually does not declare all-out support for either side at the expense of the other; it attempts to maneuver astutely and uses feuds between them as a source of leverage. Straddling is based on conflict avoidance. Given high level of uncertainty, China has chosen the prudent course of avoiding unduly antagonizing the United States while establishing a web of relationships with other states and international organizations that could serve to provide China with a degree of leverage if it is necessary (Foot 2006, 91). It seeks to strike the best possible balance between the risks and rewards of cooperation with the United States and to keep its options open. It would give unwavering support only when the expected payoffs are particularly great. Since in most cases the magnitude of various hazards is unclear, limited support is the safest option.

When Chinese policymakers cannot arrive at a reasonably clear view of other actors' intentions and when judging the risks and rewards of supporting either side is exceptionally difficult, a straddling with limited support to both sides is the most sound default strategy. This enables China to adjust its posture as conditions change or if its

initial perceptions of intentions of actors prove to be wrong. Straddling can avoid the high risks of rigid commitments by working with anyone more flexibly. As we have seen in the content analysis of Foreign Ministry press conference, many of Chinese official statements on international issues lack substantive meaning. What is a possible reason China has been reluctant in addressing international issues? By reviewing the literature I identified four reasons why China does not want to disclose its position clearly and early.

First, it does not know how the other actors would respond. Chinese leaders have too many variables to consider. Their calculations and accordingly measures often produce unexpected results (Jervis 2001; G. H. Snyder 2007). Under this uncertainty, it is safe not to be transparent when coping with unanticipated consequences. Second, it has been hedging the bets between the two camps because it hopes for maximizing its benefits and consolidating its bargaining power against both. It wants to take advantage of present crises between the two states since it may not know which would be a better side to align with in the future (Weitsman 2003b, 20).

Third, it wants to avoid confrontations with the United States (International Crisis Group 2006) and to free-ride the United States' nuclear non-proliferation efforts by shunning too much commitment because that stifles its maneuverability. China has two sets of cross-cutting interests run somewhat contradictory: (1) it wants to maintain Sino-U.S. comity and to have a good reputation as a responsible world power and (2) it has strong interests to preserve good relationship with Iran because of commercial interests and with North Korea because of its proximity. Fourth, China fears to lose its leverage on North Korea or Iran. If China exercises its power fully, then it will show the limit of its

power and the world will know China's limits on the noncompliant states. They might listen to China, but it is more likely to dismiss the advice. Straddling might be less risky to not be ignored by the noncompliant states.

Uncertainty of Intention

China defers its decisions because it is unfathomable to predict other's reactions every time. Chinese leaders found that China is able to exercise influence through inaction and diplomatic passivity than proactivity. It has taken the low-key and lowest-common-denominator approach and the least controversial position leads China "to facilitating talks but not leading" (Shambaugh 2013, 9) as Condoleezza Rice once has described China as "meeting planner" (Rice 2011, 530). China's purposeful elusiveness allowed it a range of options to consider.

> "China's maneuvering was impressive: China endorsed key elements from all the key players' arguments but managed to avoid being identified with any one of them. The Chinese did not obstruct or undermine the argument for indefinite extension, but neither did they actively support it by blocking the opposition. Only after the Chinese saw that indefinite and unconditional extension was the likely outcome did they publicly embrace it" (Medeiros 2007, 87).

The purpose of China's straddling is to generate maximum uncertainty toward both states and to complicate their calculation. Even though the United States and the noncompliant states have mutually provoked each other, they have managed their hostility not to have a war so far. They would have crossed the line without China's ambiguous stance in the middle. If it has supported either side, we might have had more dangerous situation than now. China's uncertainty for next move engenders effects of caution. In a sense, China's ambiguity contributes to maintaining balance of power. It

does not necessarily mean China's ambiguity could create peace, but contribute to avoiding wars.

This pattern of behavior is quite contrary to the deterrence literature suggested, because being ambiguous is more helpful to maintaining peace and stability than clearly signaling its intention to other countries. According to the extended deterrence theory, scholars argue that uncertainty and being ambiguous increases the chances for interstates conflict due to misperception (Jervis 1976). Arthur Stein said that "it is universally suggested that the result of misperception is conflict that would have been otherwise avoidable" (Stein 1990, 58). Richard Ned Lebow maintains that a clearly communicated threat is a necessary condition for effective deterrence (Lebow 1984, 85). Christopher Achen and Duncan Snidal identify sufficiently strong, clear, credible threats as the bedrock of rational deterrence (Achen and Snidal 1989, 149).

Paul Huth asserts that costly signals have the effect of revealing information about the actual commitment of a state to defend against attack. And uncertainty is likely to undermine the credibility of defender's threat (Huth 1988, 3). Overall, they agree that uncertainty and commitment failure lead to wars (Fearon 1995). However, I argue, agreeing with Brett Benson, that China's perpetuating ambiguity and minimum commitment signal contributes to managing stability in East Asia and Middle East (Benson 2012; Benson 2006).

Promoting Strategic Values

China might not view nuclear development of the noncompliant states as a real threat, but as a chance to enhance its strategic leverage in its relations with the United

States. The nonproliferation has been a high priority on the U.S. foreign policy agenda. For China, this means that its bargaining position with the United States is strengthened with regard to the noncompliant states as well as other bilateral issues (International Crisis Group 2010, 3). This situation has provided China with leverage in dealing with both actors. As its perceived strengthened negotiating position it could request more rewards to the United States and try to move American policies in directions favorable to China.

In general, China does not want to be forced to choose a side between the noncompliant states and the United States, but it wants to do something so as not to be perceived as a self-interested free rider in international affairs. Its ulterior motive is eschewing its global involvements, but it must be seen to be contributing to global governance. As David Shambaugh said "China wants to make the deals but not shoulder responsibilities" (Shambaugh 2013, 316). China gives both the U.S. and the noncompliant states some of what they want, not all of them, to mute criticism from them. It sets up principles and reacts to challenges from both actors flexibly combining situations with principles (Friedberg 2011; Johnston 1998).

This ambiguous behavior stems from the fact that China is pursuing crosscutting interests simultaneously. According to my balance of interest model, if the interests in both the United States and the noncompliant states are hard to weigh at the moment, China is prone to straddle, delay, or hide. Since 2006 Chinese leaders began to agree with international sanctions on the noncompliant states, because they found that provocations

from Iran and North Korea became excessive to the point where they threaten China's core national interests such as stability around the region for economic development.

Avoiding Confrontation with the United States

China has two sets of contradictory goals. It wants to keep the noncompliant states in China's side and simultaneously sustain good relationship with the United States. On the one hand, it wants to support resistance of noncompliant states against the United States hegemony and register its opposition. On the other hand, its relationship with the United States is the most important, at least for now, to accelerate its economic growth. It also has a desire to retain its political connections with North Korea as a buffer zone against the United States military in South Korea. And it has a need to maintain growing commercial ties with Iran, as it is an important source of oil and gas supplies. At the same time, China does not want to overly offend the United States. While full cooperation with the United States would hurt Chinese petroleum firms, which are expanding into Iran's rich energy sector, complete disengagement with the United States would impair a favorable condition for China's development plan.

Pursuing these two contradictory interests complicates Chinese efforts to craft a clear, effective, and consistent policy toward the United States, North Korea, and Iran. China does not want to do anything to severely undermine its political relationship with North Korea and economic relationship with Iran. Nor does it want to antagonize the United States by defending the noncompliant states. These crossing pressures have resulted in a mixture of policies reflecting continuous efforts to recalibrate between divergent interests. One way out of this double whammy situation might be straddling

between the two actors by hedging bets across options. As we have seen content analysis in Chapter 2, China's general official reaction has been to avoid condemning both the United States and the noncompliant states urging both sides to resolve the disputes through direct negotiations.

For China, the stakes involving to the United States is bigger than those related to the noncompliant states now. It does not want to openly appear to be opposing U.S. goals because the U.S. is still a key source of trade, investment, and technology for China's development and because the U.S. provides key international public goods with China. Chinese leaders have accepted a hegemonic power while opposing hegemonic behavior. China has been living in a world with a unipolar power in which does not directly undermine its interests. It is realistic to master the current global rules, norms, and institutions to advance China's interests than it is to revise them (Friedberg 2011; Johnston 2007; Shambaugh 2013). "China will pursue policies so long as they enhance narrow national interests and do not risk severely damaging Sino-US relations" (Deng 2006, 190).

Where Structural Realists see value in leveraging the noncompliant states to tie the United States down strategically, China is generally reluctant to embrace the noncompliant states too tightly for fear of precipitating an open break in ties between China and the United States. China acts practically and opportunistically in that its cooperation with the United States is not rooted on normative grounds but rather reflects a "pragmatic calculation centered on the benefits and losses of [cooperating]" (Swaine

and Tellis 2000, 113). China does not seek to replace the U.S. dominance, but it seeks its interests best served under the current international structure.

Fear of Showing Incapability

China's influence on the noncompliant states is limited. China has not received enough gratitude from the noncompliant states as it would have liked nor has it wielded much leverage to them (S. S. Kim 2005, 135). It has consistently provided North Korea with economic aids and provided Iran with military technology, but has not received enough from North Korea in return. As the research by Katherine Barbieri, Omar Keshk, and Brian Pollins shows, North Korea has heavily relied on China to import goods (2009). China has been the most important exporter for North Korea in last twenty years, but this asymmetry was not translate into leverage on North Korea.

On the contrary, China's import from Iran, mostly oil and gas, has increased exponentially since 2005. The bilateral China-Iran trade in 2008 was nearly $30 billion which was a 50 percent increase from $20 billion in 2007 (Nourafchan 2010, 36).[196] China needs Iran as an energy resource and a market more than ever to propel its development and this is a reasonable source that China defends Iran in the negotiations.[197] Even though has been supporting North Korea and expanding economic relationship with Iran, China commanded little geopolitical leverage with either the United States or the noncompliant states. It is not willing to push the noncompliant states too hard for more moderate behavior because it fears of losing all influence on the

[196] According to Nicolo Nourafchan, "in 1994 the volume of bilateral Sino-Iranian commercial ties comprised a mere 1 percent of Iran's total trade, by 2008, China had become one of Iran's primary economic partners" (Nourafchan 2010, 36).

[197] See the Appendix D.

noncompliant states and being shown as an incapable power. Since China is unsure of the extent of its own leverage, it is safe not to be assertive on the noncompliant states in testing what those limits might be.

Thus, China is unlikely to exert substantial tough influence on the noncompliant states because it fears the result—only a negative outcome is likely: either no result or a bad result. "No result" means the noncompliant states dismiss China and pull away from it after which it would then lose any possibility of influence and be regarded as peripheral to nuclear crisis situations. "Bad result" might be the collapse of North Korea and interruption of oil supply from the Middle East. These are the nightmare scenarios for China. Even if China employs additional pressure, the noncompliant states are likely to either not respond or react negatively. In any case, China cannot alter their behavior to the desired effect. Being reactive by straddling between them might be the most appropriate strategy given this tricky situation. The reason why China has not been transparent about its intent is that it pursues contradictory objectives simultaneously. Next Chapter I discuss how China has managed its pivotal position in difficult situations by delaying since 2009.

Chapter Seven: From 2009 to 2013

As a presidential candidate, Senator Barack Obama had a plan to engage North Korea and Iran before he came into office. According to his statement in 2008,

> "This notion [that] by not talking to people we are punishing them has not worked. It has not worked in Iran, it has not worked in North Korea. In each instance, our efforts of isolation have actually accelerated their efforts to get nuclear weapons. That will change when I'm president of the United States …" (CBS 2008).

However, this proved to be easier said than done. Since 2009, the U.S. made repeated calls for China to be a responsible stakeholder because China became the largest economy in the world in terms of purchasing power (The Economist 2014). However, it began to flex its muscles in the East and South China Seas.[198] In response to the high-handed attitude exhibited by China, the U.S. attempted to revive its alliances in Asia and to rebalance its presence as part of "pivot to Asia" strategy to contain the ascendant China's aggressiveness (Coker 2015, 100).

From 2009 to 2013 the United States and China had to coordinate many issues pertaining to North Korea and Iran. This period tested their relations in that it forced them to consider how much interest they share and in what way their interests can be defended. After North Korea torpedoed the South Korean corvette, *Cheonan*, thus,

[198] Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi denied concerns from the United States saying that "Turning the bilateral issue into an international, or multilateral one would only worsen the situation and add difficulties to solving the issue…Nobody believes there's anything that is threatening the region's peace and stability" (Wall Street Journal 2010).

killing 46 sailors, and shelled the South Korean island Yeonpyeong killed two Marines and two civilians, the U.S. dispatched its carrier, the *George Washington,* to the Yellow Sea in 2010. Once the tension around the Korean peninsula reached its peak, attention centered on how China sought to mediate dispute in the peninsula, but its position has been elusive as usual. It exhibited the same behavioral pattern by urging to resume the Six Party Talks. It has been delaying and straddling but its midstream strategy had shown its limitations in preventing North Korea's nuclear and missile tests in 2009 and 2013.

Iran pursued its uranium enrichment program in defiance of UN Security Council resolutions. Further, it failed to respond to Obama's offer to open a dialogue in 2009. China became Iran's largest trading partner and a major investor in Iran's energy sector. Obama needed China's cooperation to press Iran, but Hu Jintao urged the United States to show more flexibility. The United State was left to terminate Iran's uranium enrichment program on one hand, and to dissuade Israel not to overestimate Iran's nuclear program until hardliner Ahmadinejad step down in 2013 on the other. From 2009 to 2013 China had been cooperative in imposing sanctions on the noncompliant states with limited support. Also, after watching the reemerging nuclear threats emanating from the DPRK, China voted for six UN Security Council Resolutions,[199] and

[199] They are UNSCR 1874 (June 12, 2009), 1928 (June 7, 2010), 1985 (June 10, 2011), 2050 (June 12, 2012), 2087 (January 22, 2013) and 2094 (March 7, 2013).

supported two Presidential Statements.[200] Regarding Iran, it favored for the three UN Security Council Resolutions;[201] and three IAEA resolutions.[202]

I have argued that this bandwagoning behavior is derived from the utilitarian assessment that its straddling has not successfully defused nuclear threats from the noncompliant states. China was not able to defer its decision to support the United States because further protecting the noncompliant states would disgrace its image. However, even though it agreed to pass the resolutions for sanction, but it consistently tried to dilute the terms. In the following sections along reviewing the historical events I discuss China's delaying strategy in the negotiations. And then the cognitive map at the Chapter 2 is revised with hidden rationales for Chinese leaders.

Case-7: North Korea (From 2009 to 2013)

History

2009 to 2013 have been tumultuous years for the United States and China in managing their North Korean policies because of Kim Jong Il's death on December 19, 2011) and two North Korean nuclear tests on May 25, 2009 and February 12, 2013 and four ballistic missile tests on April 5, 2009, July 4, 2009, April 5, 2012, and December 12, 2012. These events forced the Obama administration recommit to the goal of complete, irreversible, and verifiable denuclearization of North Korea to break a cycle of provocation, extortion, and reward. China voted for six UN Security Council Resolutions—1874 (June 12, 2009), 1928 (June 7, 2010), 1985 (June 10, 2011), 2050

[200] They are on April 13, 2009 and April 16, 2012.

[201] They are UNSCR 1929 (June 9, 2010), 1984 (June 9, 2011), and 2049 (June 7, 2012).

[202] They are GOV/2009/82 (November 27, 2009), GOV/2011/69 (November 18, 2011) and GOV/2012/50 (September 13, 2012).

(June 12, 2012), 2087 (January 22, 2013), and 2094 (March 7, 2013)—between 2009 and 2013.

Tension between North Korea and the U.S. allies reached its highest when the South Korean corvette, *Cheonan,* was torpedoed in March 2010 and when North Korea revealed the existence of a large-scale uranium enrichment facility at Yongbyon in November 2010, and finally, when it launched an artillery barrage on the South Korean island of Yeonpyeong in the same month. Kim Jong Il's death in December 2011 befogged the Korean peninsula, but within three months after Kim's death, the new leader Kim Jong Un and the United States reached an agreement to suspend uranium enrichment and long-range missile programs on February 29, 2012. However, so-called the Leap Day Agreement could not halt North Korea's missile and nuclear tests in 2012 and 2013. The tension continued to ratchet up, and consequently, conversations between the nations were discontinued.

North Korea announced on February 24, 2009 that it would embark upon an experimental communications satellite launch that the United States viewed as a pretext for a ballistic missile test. The head of the International Department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee Wang Jiarui visited Pyongyang. Wang attempted to dissuade North Korea from launching the satellite due to destabilizing factors. Since he was unable to convince North Korea to cancel the launch, China encouraged the North to sign the Outer Space Treaty and the Convention on the Registration of Objects Launched into Outer Space to launch the object.[203] China might have been curious about

[203] Contrary to the previous missile test in 1998, North Korea publicly announced its launch intention beforehand. North Korea said on March 12 that it had acceded to the Convention on Registration of

what Obama's new policy toward North Korea would be, since it could have used the North's missile test as a trial balloon to test reaction of the Obama administration (International Crisis Group 2009, 1).

China's first reaction to the North's launch plan was encouraging both sides to make concerted efforts for resuming the Six Party Talks. However, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton took more reserved approach on continuation of the Six Party Talks. She intended to make Chinese, who regarded the Six Party Talks as their major diplomatic achievement, feel a greater sense of urgency about persuading North Korea to undertake serious actions toward denuclearization (Bader 2012, 33). Vice Foreign Minister Wu Dawei visited Pyongyang to deliver a message of concern regarding the planned test. This mission evidently had no impact, because the North Korean Deputy UN Ambassador stated that it's only a matter of time until the launch would occur. On March 19, President Hu Jintao met with North Korean Minister Kim Yong-il to encourage him to return to the Six Party Talks, but did not receive any positive response.

On April 5, 2009, North Korea launched what it called a "communications satellite" (three-part Taepodong-2 rocket).[204] Since the launch employed ballistic missile technology, the United States argued that this constituted a breach of Resolution 1718. China initially expressed no opinion, but two days after the launch a Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Jiang Yu defended North Korea when he stated, "in spite of the

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Objects Launched into Outer Space and to the Outer Space Treaty, which determines that outer space "shall be free for exploration and use by all states without discrimination of any kind." North Korea also notified the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization that it is planning to launch the satellite between April 4 and 8 (Security Council Report 2009b).

[204] While North Korea claimed success, it appeared that the rocket failed to enter orbit. The first stage of the rocket fell in the East Sea (Sea of Japan) as planned, and the second and third stages passed over Japan and fell into the Pacific Ocean (Security Council Report 2009b).

similarities, technologies of rockets and missiles are different. Launching a satellite is different in nature from a missile or nuclear test. It involves countries' right of peaceful use of the outer space" (International Crisis Group 2009, 2). On the other hand, China canceled a joint venture with North Korea to produce vanadium[205] and had intercepted a shipment of 70kg of vanadium hidden in a truckload of fruit crossing the border into North Korea. China reportedly has called a halt to the work by a Chinese investment company to build facilities for a cooper mine in Hyesan (Nanto and Manyin 2011, 19). China showed two contradictory reactions following the missile test as straddling strategy dictates in my balance of interest model.

After the missile test, the United States, France, Britain, and Japan were strongly in favor of a resolution, but China favored a press statement.[206] A presidential statement was a compromise between them (Security Council Report 2009b). On April 13, 2009 after a week of consultations among the Permanent five members and Japan, the UN Security Council approved the release of the Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2009/7) which stated that the launch was "in contravention of" the previous resolution. When referencing Resolution 1718, China opposed the word "violation" which Japan proposed, and instead, preferred "concern" or "regret." The United States proposed "not in conformity," which was opposed by Japan. "Contravention" was the compromise (International Crisis Group 2009, 3). The final statement was based on China's draft that

[205] It toughens steel alloys used in missile casings.

[206] The United States emphasized operative paragraph five of Resolution 1718, in which the Security Council decides that North Korea shall suspend all activities related to its ballistic missile program.

vaguely described the events as a launch without specifying whether it was a ballistic missile or a space vehicle.

China fulfilled its commitment to North Korea by replacing a binding resolution with a non-binding presidential statement and erasing the word "violation" in the statement. From China's perspective, the statement jeopardized none of its key interests. Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Yesui asserted that the presidential statement fulfilled China's requirements of that it be both proportional and cautious, and made clear that China did not favor another resolution or the imposition of further sanctions (International Crisis Group 2009, 3).

A day after it read the Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2009/7), North Korea vowed that it will never participate in the Six Party Talks, nor would it be bound to any agreement of the talks. The North Korean media said on April 18 that the country would bolster its nuclear deterrent for self-defense as a guarantee for the protection of the country's sovereignty, and that it would weaponize its entire inventory of plutonium, resume operations at its Yongbyon nuclear complex, and test intercontinental ballistic missiles. North Korea expelled technicians and monitors from the IAEA who had been present since 2007 (Bader 2012, 32).[207] On April 20 the North demanded that the UN

[207] By April the disablement process at Yongbyon was completed about 80 percent, but North Korea sent the United States a private message making threats including (1) to explode a nuclear device, (2) to develop an ICBM capable of reaching the United States, (3) to enrich uranium to enable them to develop a light-water reactor (Bader 2012, 32). North Korea rejected the United States' offers giving the chance for bilateral dialogue within the Six Party Talks and authorizing $98 million for heavy fuel oil to North Korea if it continues to disable its nuclear facilities (Wuthnow 2011, 159). Once the Yongbyon facilities are operating, it would be able to produce about six kilograms of plutonium per year, enough for one atomic bomb. For North Korea, a nuclear deterrence is even more necessary if it cannot count on China and Russia.

Security Council apologize for the presidential statement, or risk further nuclear and missile tests.

Chen Zhili, Chinese vice Chair of the National People's Congress, canceled his May 30 trip to North Korea. The absence of a high-level delegation provided some evidence that China does not want to return empty-handed. China argued again that a U.S.-DPRK dialogue was the only way to make progress. It was shifting the diplomatic burden to them (Wuthnow 2011). However, its hiding and buck-passing strategy did not work as it intended.

On May 25, 2009, North Korea conducted a second nuclear test and fired several short-range ballistic missiles. On the same day, during an emergency session of the UN Security Council, China agreed to a statement that branded the test a clear violation of Resolution 1718. One should bear in mind that the nuclear test site was only 70 km (44 mi) from the Chinese border. Next day Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu read the statement:

> "North Korea conducted another nuclear test in disregard of the common opposition of the international community. The Chinese Government is firmly opposed to this act… To bring about denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, oppose nuclear proliferation and safeguard peace and stability in Northeast Asia is the firm and consistent stand of the Chinese Government. China strongly urges the DPRK to honor its commitment to denuclearization, stop relevant moves that may further worsen the situation and return to the Six Party Talks"(International Crisis Group 2009, 11).

He calmly called upon parties to respond and persisted in solving the problems through consultations and dialogue. Even though China was upset by the first denotation in 2006, it treated the test as an isolated event. However, North Korea's nuclear ambition became clear after the second nuclear test, but China was still reluctant to take

a coercive measure because it knew that the regime was in the middle of succession due to Kim's illness and that sanctions would exacerbate North Korean truculence (Pollack 2011, 168). China faced significant criticism from the U.S. for not using its leverage to pressure North Korea. Chinese Policymakers were embarrassed that they were unable to do anything about such a provocation right on their border (Nanto and Manyin 2011; International Crisis Group 2009). The United States asked China to reassess its policy priority, since a North Korea with a growing nuclear arsenal and the means of delivering warheads would alter the balance of power in the East Asia.

The U.S. military deployment in the western Pacific, including missile defense system, would increase to counter the growing threat, and China's strategic calculation will be influenced by the strengthened deterrence efforts by the U.S. allies. Thus, the second nuclear test was a turning point whereby both China and Russia accepted the time had come to pressure North Korea more firmly. On June 9, Chinese lawyers were reportedly taking a careful look at the PRC-DPRK Defense Treaty to find ways of eliminating the automaticity of the security commitments, but Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang sidestepped the question by saying "The Treaty of Friendship Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the PRC and the DPRK was still valid after the second nuclear test" (International Crisis Group 2009, 11).

Meanwhile, courting from the U.S. continued. Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner visited Beijing from May 31 to June 2 and met with Hu. The U.S. Treasury had decided not to label China a currency manipulator, which could have elevated tensions in the economic relationship (Wuthnow 2011, 164). Deputy Secretary of State James

Steinberg and Senior Director for East Asian Affairs on the National Security Council Jeffery Bader met Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi to discuss North Korea's provocation. "There was little immediate response as the Chinese listened and absorbed our message" (Bader 2012, 38). China's UN ambassador, Zhang Yesui, made a requisite statement, "We strongly urge the DPRK to honor its commitment to denuclearization, stop any moves that may further worsen the situation and return to the six party talks … under no circumstances should there be use or threat of the use of force" (Reuters 2009).

China depreciated the second nuclear test to a bargaining attempt to make a deal for security guarantee from the United States. Indeed, David Kang, a Sino-Korean specialist at the University of Southern California, quoted an analysis published in the *Beijing Zhongguo Jingji Shibao* on June 11, 2009:

> "If nothing unexpected happens in the third DPRK nuclear crisis triggered by the second DPRK nuclear test, there will again be a return to the negotiating table, as in the past...The DPRK is using nuclear weapons as a means to demand that the United States give it a security and development guarantee...the question of how China can preserve its national interests and at the same time truly take responsibility for regional security expresses a power's demeanor and responsibility" (Kang 2010, 127).

After eighteen days negotiations, the UN Security Council unanimously approved Resolution 1874 (S/RES/1874) on June 12, 2009, which condemned the nuclear test, and demanded that North Korea refrain from additional nuclear tests or launches using ballistic missile technology. It urged states to carry out inspections of vessels suspected of transporting proscribed items and outlined a procedure by which

cargo inspections would take place, but it did not stipulate the use of force to conduct inspections.[208]

As a reward, the U.S. forgave China for sales of light arms to North Korea, and in return, China agreed to a stronger tone in the sanction. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman voiced China's firm opposition to the nuclear test, but emphasized that China supported sanctions not for punishing the North, but for persuading it to reconsider its actions and return to negotiations. He said

> "Imposing sanctions is not the purpose of the UN Security Council's move…the resolution just adopted by the UN Security Council sends a positive signal to North Korea, leaving room for all parties to peacefully settle North Korean nuclear issue through dialogue" (Glaser 2009).

China negotiated for over two weeks to satisfy the two contradictory objectives simultaneously—those of blocking the United States to impose severe sanctions on North Korea, and minimizing political and economic costs in its relations with the United States.

China had weakened the terms of the resolution during the negotiation. The United States initially wanted the resolution framed broadly under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, but China was granted a specific reference to Article 41, which states that the use of force is not implied in the text. In terms of search of sea-borne cargoes, the United States, Britain, and France favored making it mandatory for all states to search North Korean ships suspected of carrying illicit cargo, but China and Russia opposed.[209]

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[208] The resolution also called on states to impose financial measures against firms connected with North Korea's WMD-related programs. It imposed the most draconian sanctions ever placed on North Korea.

[209] The Resolution 1874 stipulated if a suspect ship is on the high sea, UN member states are "called upon" to request the right to board and inspect. If the request is refused, the resolution obligates the flag state of the suspect ship to direct the vessel to a nearby port for inspection. Enforcement of this provision lies in

By opposing cargo inspection Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Yesui urged states to act prudently and refrain from any words or deeds that could exacerbate the conflict and argued that under no circumstances should force be used. The agreed upon language in the resolution only "calls upon" states to conduct inspections to ensure that North Korea is in compliance with all UN Security Council resolutions.

On July 4, 2009, North Korea launched seven ballistic missiles into waters off its east coast.[210] The launch was an act of defiance to the Security Council sanctions. On July 6, the Security Council met in private consultations to discuss the missile launches and the president conveyed Council members' condemnation of the North Korea's actions to the press. However, in the same month North Korea declared that it considered the Six Party Talks is dead (Security Council Report 2009c).

Amid the standoff Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited Pyongyang on October 4. It was the first visit to North Korea by a Chinese premier in eighteen years.[211] The visit was significant for both sides given North Korea's disappointment with China's acquiescence to the UN sanctions. His visit gave impetus to Chinese investment and infrastructure projects in North Korea, especially the two joint economic development

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part with the United States Navy, but it also will require the cooperation of China and Southeast Asian states such as Singapore because many North Korea ships stop at Chinese ports.

[210] Some analysts suggest the launches were timed to coincide with the United States Independence Day as a deliberate political message to the United States.

[211] The trip included all key players in China's DPRK policy, notably the minister of commerce (MOFCOM), Chen Deming, and National Development and Reform Commission minister, Zhang Ping. Wen promised to build a new bridge across the Yalu River (at an estimated cost of US$150 million)…" (Reilly 2014, 918).

zones between the two.[212] Kim and Wen signed a host of education, tourism, and economic development agreements. Wen said,

> "China's economic assistance was mainly used for developing the DPRK's economy and improving the people's livelihood. This is in line with the spirit of the resolution of the UN Security Council. All the efforts made by the Chinese side are to promote the Six-Party Talks process, promote the realization of the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and to help maintain lasting peace and stability in Northeast Asia" (Pollack 2011, 174).

In return, Kim Jong Il signaled North Korea's return to the Six Party Talks, but conditioned it on the result of "bilateral talks" with the United States.[213]

On January 5, 2010, Chinese Ambassador at the UN Zhang Yesui emphasized the importance of all parties taking steps to resume the Six Party Talks. Five days later North Korea showed its willingness to come to negotiate while insisting that the sanction be lifted and peace treaty. Two days later the United States responded that it is before Korea reengaged in talks (Security Council Report 2010a). On February 6, Wang Jiarui, the head of the International Department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, went to Pyongyang to convince the North to restart the Six Party Talks. Wang met with Kim Jong Il and delivered a letter from President Hu. Kim assured Wang that North Korea remained committed to a nuclear-free Korean peninsula.

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[212] They are at Sinuiju across Dandong, along the Tumen River at the far Northeastern part of the joint border, the Rason project between Rajin and Sonbong on North Korea's northeast coast, and along the approximately 250-kilometer stretch of the Yalu River between Dandong and Tonghua.

[213] Regardless of China's effort to bring North Korea back to the negotiation table, the North announced on November 3 that it had completed processing 8,000 nuclear fuel rods producing more plutonium for its nuclear weapons program. Stephen Bosworth, the United States Special Representative for North Korea Policy, visited North Korea on December 8 to deliver a Obama's personal letter to Kim Jong Il explaining the United States' sincere intent to improve relations (Security Council Report 2010a). Despite the Obama's overture, the North "did not allow Bosworth to deliver the letter to the leader" (Cha 2012).

North Korean senior envoy to the Six Party Talks, Kim Kye-gwan, came to Beijing with Wang for additional meetings (H. Kim 2010).[214]

The North Korean Communist Party official Kim Yong-il met with President Hu Jintao on February 23, to deliver a message from Kim Jong Il.[215] U.S. envoys Stephen Bosworth and Sung Kim also arrived at Beijing to meet with Wu Dawei the following day. When Wu met with diplomats from the United States and South Korea, China tabled a three-step proposal for the resumption of the Six Party Talks. It included a resumption of bilateral talks between North Korea and the United States, followed by a preparatory meeting of six parties, and ending with the formal resumption of the Six Party Talks. The United States accepted the plan to hold a preparatory meeting of the delegations, opening the way for bilateral talks between the United States and North Korea on March 21. By March 22 all parties except North Korea had agreed to hold a preparatory meeting.

Pouring cold water in this conciliatory mood was the torpedoing of the South Korean corvette, the *Cheonan,* on March 26, 2010, resulting in the loss of 46 sailors. This was attributed to a North Korean submarine attack. China insisted on remaining neutral about the cause of the sinking and blocked the United States and South Korean attempts in the UN to identify North Korea as the responsible party (Bader 2012, 86).

[214] Kim Kye-gwan met with China's chief nuclear negotiator Wu Dawei to discuss resuming the Six Party Talks. Former vice Foreign Minister Wu Dawei was appointed Special Representative for Korean Peninsula Affairs, including representing China in the Six Party Talks.

[215] The same day, Wi Sung-lac, South Korean delegate to the Six Party Talks, also arrived in Beijing to meet Wu Dawei.

Against appeals from the United States and South Korea, China resisted blaming North Korea for the sinking of the vessel in a UN Security Council statement.[216]

Because of China's opposition, the UN Security Council was unable to pass a resolution condemning North Korea. Instead, China agreed to the Presidential Statement condemning the attack on the *Cheonan* without naming North Korea as the guilty party (Swaine 2011; Bader 2012, 87). A statement from China on May 20 called for restraint by stressing that China would make its own assessment of the incident and refusing the United States' offer to send experts for briefing the investigation results (Security Council Report 2010d; Bader 2012, 86). Chinese leaders were afraid that such condemnation would corner North Korea, prompting it to resort to further provocations, or perhaps even a full-scale war.

China might have avoided a war by defending North Korea, but it faced increased tension with South Korea and the United States due to the joint naval exercise they planned to hold in the Yellow Sea in spite of objections of China. Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Qin Gang said China "resolutely opposes" foreign military warships and aircraft coming close to Chinese waters. China's critiques of the United States policy are not attempts to defend North Korea's actions, but efforts to preserve China's options and avoid a breakdown of Sino-DPRK relationship. Kim Jong Il met

[216] On April 27 South Korean President Lee Myung-bak tried to persuade President Hu Jintao that North Korea had sunk the destroyer. When Lee met with Hu on April 30, "Hu reportedly greeted him by offering condolences on the recent "accident." Lee looked puzzled. Hu went on to say that China had suffered, too, recently victimized by the Sichuan earthquake… this attempted act of commiseration infuriated Lee. Hu was equating the premeditated attack on the *Cheonan* with a natural disaster in order to protect the DPRK from blame" (Cha 2012).

with President Hu Jintao on May 5. Kim's visit came at the invitation of President Hu.[217] Kim requested additional economic aid, but there were no announcements of additional Chinese economic aid, because Kim offered tepid support for the September 2005 denuclearization accords (Pollack 2011, 175).[218]

About a month later since the Kim's visit, China agreed to pass the UN Security Council Resolution 1928 (S/RES/1928) on June 7, 2010.[219] President Obama told President Hu on June 24 that the latter's to acknowledge North Korean aggression would enable the regime to do more of the same. Hu gave a bland response by diverting the issue to China's evenhandedness in dealing with North and South Korea. Obama equated Hu's response to China's "willful blindness" and misguided evenhandedness (White House 2010). In late July the United States decided to deploy its aircraft carrier to the East Sea/Sea of Japan to show solidarity of alliance of three (the United States, South Korea, and Japan) against North Korea and China.

Amid the face-off, Kim Jong Il made his second trip to Changchun, China and met with President Hu on August 27. In this meeting,

> "the two countries committed to maintain high-level contacts, reinforce strategic cooperation, exchange views on domestic and diplomatic issues, increase people-to-people exchanges, and strengthen coordination in international and regional affairs. Premier Wen Jiabao told Kim that China would never abandon its

[217] The North Korean "delegation was huge in scale, and the scope of the party-to-party meetings was unprecedented. Kim was generously lauded in meetings with … all nine members of the Politburo standing committee" (Cha 2012).

[218] Kim said he is willing to provide favorable conditions for the resumption of the Six Party Talks, but no timetable for the return to the talks was made public.

[219] It extended the mandate of the Panel of Experts that assists the DPRK Sanctions Committee until June 12, 2011. It also requested the Panel "to provide to the Security Council a midterm report on its work no later than November 12, 2010, and a final report to the Security Council no later than 30 days prior to the termination of its mandate with its findings and recommendations."

traditional relationship with the DPRK and would always seek to improve the country's economic livelihood" (Cha 2012).

However, Kim retuned to home with no substantial additional promises of economic assistance from China.

A North Korean representative to the Six Party Talks met with Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi on October 12 and called for a resumption of the Six Party Talks, but the United States and Japan had rejected the Chinese proposal. The United States State Department spokesman said on October 25 that he could not speak about any proposals made by other countries, but the United States would continue high-level consultations with the six-party partners (Security Council Report 2010e).

The final report of the North Korea sanctions committee panel of experts was published on November 5, 2010.[220] Because sanction committees operate by consensus, the report had been held by the committee for six months since its submission on May 12 due to China's opposition (Security Council Report 2011a). China prevented the publication of the May 2010 report by arguing that the panel of experts should work within its mandate and that it must use credible sources. Others on the Committee asserted that the report should be published without further delay. These members said that all UN members pay for the panel of experts' work and are entitled to see its recommendations, but a Chinese expert in the Committee Xue Xiaodong never signed the final report.[221]

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[220] The report noted that while sanctions measures seem to be having an impact. North Korea has used shell companies in order to continue exporting proscribed items.

[221] The Panel of Experts that assists the DPRK sanctions committee submitted the final report to the Security Council on May 12. China has difficulties with the report because items prohibited by the sanction regime have been transferred between North Korea and Iran on aircraft that transit through a third

On November 12, 2010, North Korea revealed the existence of a large-scale uranium enrichment facility at Yongbyon, which was a sophisticated complex of centrifuges to enrich uranium. It was a program that was long denied, thus fueled concerns that Pyongyang was expanding its nuclear-weapons program.[222] It was in violation of all previous standing agreements. President Obama warned President Hu that the situation in Korea was moving in a dangerous direction and said that the U.S. preferred to work with China to defuse the North Korean threat. But if cooperation could not succeed, the United States would not hesitate to do what was necessary to protect the U.S. national security (Bader 2012, 88).

Twelve days later of the disclosure of nuclear facilities, North Korea launched an artillery barrage on the South Korean island, Yeonpyeong, in the Yellow Sea killing two Marines and two civilians and wounding several others (November 23). China did not condemn North Korea's shelling because it was in response to a South Korean live-fire exercise but called for the countries participating in the suspended the Six Party Talks. In the immediate aftermath of the Yeonpyeong shelling, South Korea began major live-fire exercises off its coast despite warnings from North Korea. When the U.S. aircraft carrier *George Washington* was deployed to the Yellow Sea Chinese Foreign Ministry warned that the deployment of the capital ship was contrary to the Law of the Sea Convention, but the United States blamed the situation on the DPRK, and further

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country (possibly China) (Security Council Report 2011b). On May 18, 2011 Chinese Assistant Foreign Minister, Hu Zhengyue, denied China was a transit point for banned North Korea missile components.

[222] Siegfried Hecker, John Lewis, and Robert Carlin of Stanford University visited the Yongbyon Nuclear Complex during their November 2010 trip to North Korea. They witnessed that an under construction experimental 25-30 megawatts light-water reactor (LWR) and a completed industrial-scale uranium enrichment facility. The scientists were told that the enrichment facility has 2,000 centrifuges and is already producing low-enriched uranium for the LWR.

criticized China for not restraining the North. China proposed for an emergency meeting of the six parties, but the United States rebuffed the proposal

Anxious not to disturb the planned January 2011 Obama-Hu summit in Washington DC, China reportedly held North Korea back from its threats of nuclear war in the event that South Korea proceeded with its live-fire exercises on December 6. Later, State Councilor Dai Bingguo visited Pyongyang on December 8 and met with Kim Jong Il. In the "frank and in-depth talks" Kim reportedly will agree to accept IAEA nuclear inspections should certain preconditions be met, but the preconditions were not released publicly. In a joint statement released by Hu and Obama on January 19, 2011 China and the United States expressed concern over heightened tensions on the Korean peninsula triggered by recent developments, including the North Korean uranium enrichment program.[223] On February 28, the United States and South Korean troops staged major annual land, sea and air drills, prompting North Korea to threaten an "all-out war" in the Korean peninsula. About three months later North Korea launched a KN-06 surface-to-air missile from its west coast on June 8.

On June 10, 2011, the Security Council passed the Resolution 1985 (S/RES/1985) to extend the mandate of expert panel monitoring sanctions against North Korea. On July 12, Kim Jong Il and his youngest son, Kim Jong Un, met with Chinese delegates, including vice Premier Zhang Dejiang. The United States Special Envoy Stephen Bosworth and North Korean Vice Foreign Minister Kim Kae-gwan held talks in New York on July 28. During the negotiation for resumption of the Six Party Talks in 2011

[223] For Kim Jong Il's 70th birthday in February 16 2011, China did not forget to send him a large porcelain peach, a symbol of longevity. It was delivered by Meng Jainzhu, state councilor and head of public security (Cha 2012).

the United States insisted that North Korea must halt its uranium enrichment program, freeze on ballistic missile tests, and permit international nuclear inspectors to return to North Korea as a prerequisite for resumption of the talks while China insisted that the parties must seize the opportunities created by positive interactions to resume the negotiating process (Security Council Report 2012a). There was a degree of optimism that the talks between China and North Korea and between the United States and North Korea might bring the parties together to reopen negotiations.

However, on December 19, 2011 Kim Jong Il died of heart attack. His youngest son, Kim Jong Un, was formally named supreme commander of North Korean military force.[224] China offered support for Kim Jong Un in an effort to legitimize and stabilize the new leader for preventing collapse of the regime.[225] China was nervous about the prospect of a failed state on its border (Bader 2012, 83), so it resisted imposing new sanctions or other penalties on the North. After the mourning period, the United States and North Korean officials met in Beijing on February 23, 2012. This was the first meeting between the two adversarial states since Kim Jong Il died.

The Leap Day Agreement between the United States and North Korea was later announced on February 29, 2012. They reached two broad agreements. First, that North

[224] On December 19, 2011North Korea reportedly tested a short-range missile hours after the announcement of the death of Kim. The missile was launched off the east coast of the peninsula landing in the East Sea (Sea of Japan).

[225] After the Kim's death, "Beijing reportedly called the senior envoys for South Korea, Japan, Russia, and other countries into the foreign ministry for an emergency meeting. In this meeting, senior Chinese officials called for all parties to show respect for the dearly departed Kim Jong Il and the leadership succession to his young son, to exercise restraint and not seek to exploit the situation, and to do nothing to undermine the autonomy of the DPRK … China was the first country to express condolences for the death of the DPRK leader, the first to recognize Kim Jong-un by name as the rightful successor, and the first to extend an invitation to the new leader to visit its capital" (Cha 2012).

Korea would abide by a moratorium on testing and allow international monitoring of key parts of its nuclear program. Second, that the United States would provide North Korea with 240,000 metric tons of food aid known as "nutritional assistance".[226] However, the diplomatic endeavor between them was stopped less than three weeks after the Leap Day deal was agreed. After North Korea launched a long-range rocket on April 13,[227] the United States suspended its portion of the Leap Day arrangement because it violated UN resolutions as well as the February missile moratorium. The North argued the launch was planned before the Leap Day agreement. On April 16, 2012 the UN Security Council issued the Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2012/13) condemning North Korea's rocket launch.

On June 12, 2012 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2050 (S/RES/2050) to extend mandate of expert panel monitoring sanctions against North Korea. In June, the year's final report of the Panel of Experts was made publicly available.[228] The publication of the report is notable because the equivalent report from 2011 remained an "internal document" of the Security Council due to concerns that China had at the Committee. China always emphasized that the Security Council's responses should be proportional and be mindful that the Committee and Panel of Experts not over-reach their mandates.

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[226] North Korea also agreed in principle to accept tougher conditions on monitoring and that the food assistance would take the form of food products (such as corn-soy blends) that are less likely to be diverted from their intended recipients, namely pregnant women and young children.

[227] On March 16, North Korea announced that it would launch an "earth observation satellite" in April to mark the 100th birthday of its late former President Kim Il Sung.

[228] The report had first been submitted to the Committee signed by all seven of the experts. It was submitted by the Panel of Experts to the Security Council on June 11 and circulated through a presidential note of June 14 (S/2012/422).

Despite of China's implicit support for North Korea in the UN, the North launched a three-stage rocket, Taepodong-2 missile[229] on December 12, 2012, and successfully put it into space.[230] North Korea rejected future denuclearization talks, arguing it would only denuclearize when all other nuclear powers do so. The UN Security Council prepared to discuss about the launch, but China signaled that it would likely to veto any bid to punish North Korea with tougher sanctions. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Hong Lei, told that China "expressed regret" and noted that North Korea was "obliged to abide by the relevant UN resolutions." But he refused to answer a reporter's question whether China regarded the launch as a violation of UN resolutions. Instead he made rote calls that China "believes UN Security Council reaction should be prudent, moderate, and conducive to maintaining stability and avoiding escalation of the situation." While the United States favored a resolution further sanctioning, China signaled clearly that it is not in favor of a move toward punishment of the North.

Following intense deliberations between China and the United States, a tentative agreement had been reached on January 18, 2013. The compromise was made agreeing that the Security Council pronouncement would be a resolution, as the United States had sought. However, rather than imposing another round of sanctions on North Korea, the two agreed that the text would simply strengthen the existing sanctions. Two days later the United States circulated the draft among all the Council members (Security Council Report 2013a). On January 22, 2013 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2087

[229] It is also called the Unha-3 rocket or Kwangmyongsong-3 satellite.

[230] It successfully lifted an estimated 100kg satellite payload into orbit.

(S/RES/2087) condemning the launch, noting that North Korea used ballistic missile technology and violated existing resolutions.[231] Two days later, in response to the Resolution 2087, North Korea accused the Security Council of having turned into a "defunct marionette international body on which no hope can be pinned" [232] (Security Council Report 2013a).

North Korea's third underground nuclear test was conducted on February 12, 2013. A statement on Chinese Foreign Ministry had expressed opposition to the test arguing that China strongly urged North Korea to keep their promises regarding being nuclear-free and not taking action to worsen the situation. The Chinese Foreign Minister, Yang Jiechi, summoned the North Korean ambassador, Ji Jae Ryong, to express China's opposition to the test. The Chinese Foreign Ministry made a rote call for all parties to respond in a cool-headed manner and persist in resolving the issue of denuclearization of the peninsula through dialogue and consultation within the context of the Six Party Talks.

The Security Council members were united in their support for a new resolution. Bolstered by the support from China, the United States introduced a resolution draft to strengthen sanctions against North Korea by targeting banking activities and illicit

[231] The resolution demanded that North Korea not proceed with further prohibited launches and that it suspends activities related to its ballistic missile program. The Security Council expressed its determination to take "significant action in the event of a further DPRK launch or nuclear test." The resolution also contained two annexes. The first listed four North Korea individuals to be subject to the existing travel ban and asset freeze; the second annex designated six entities (five in North Korea and one in Hong Kong) to be subject to an asset freeze. This included the Korean Committee for Space Technology, which orchestrated North Korea's launches on April and December 2012.

[232] It singled out the United States as the "sworn enemy of the Korean people" and said that it would launch further long-range rockets and conduct "a nuclear test of higher level" (Security Council Report 2013a).

activities by North Korean diplomats. In consultation to draft the resolution, there was general support of all members for the initial draft, and only very minor adjustments were expected in the final text. Although the United States did not get all of what it wanted to include in the resolution, the adopted text was seen as sending a strong message to North Korea with support of China (Security Council Report 2013a).

On March 7, 2013 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2094 (S/RES/2094) condemning the nuclear test.[233] There was a specific reference to the Chapter VII Article 41 that included sanctions and other non-military measures if the parties fail to comply with the resolution.[234] Two days after the resolution announced, North Korea denounced the resolution in a letter to the Security Council as "clear proof that the Security Council was abused into implementing the hostile policy of the United States." The annual joint U.S.-ROK military training exercise was launched on March 11, and thus, aggravated the situation further. North Korea announced on the same day that it considered the 1953 armistice agreement with South Korea was now considered nullified. It threatened on April 2 that it would restart Yongbyon nuclear operation, including a plutonium reactor that was partially dismantled in 2007.[235]

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[233] The resolution reiterated its previous demands that North Korea retracts its withdrawal from the NPT and abandons all programs of developing nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction or ballistic missiles.

[234] It also extended the mandate of the Panel of Experts until April 7, 2014 while increasing the number of experts from seven to eight.

[235] On March 27, North Korea cut a military hotline with South Korea, the last official direct link between the two countries. On April 3 North Korea blocked South Korean workers from entering the Kaesong industrial zone, which had been seen as a symbol of cooperation between two Koreas, and then a week later withdrew its own workers. The new South Korean President Park Geun-hye was watching the North young leader's aggressive drive and adjusting its policy.

On May 22, Kim Jong Un sent a special envoy to China, Vice Marshal Choi Hae-ryong, for mending the strained relationship after the third nuclear test. Choi delivered a hand-written letter of Kim to new President Xi Jinping stating that North Korea was willing to make joint efforts with all interested parties to resolve related issues through multilateral dialogue and consultations. President Xi made a token call that China hopes all sides would exercise restraint and restart the Six Party Talks.

Analysis

China was generally cooperative to the United States' sanction efforts, but it diluted the terms of resolutions during the negotiations. China made rote calls for a return to the Six Party Talks, but it showed its limits to convince the North. Tension around Korean peninsula was at the highest level as a series of provocations and counter measures (missile tests, nuclear tests, revealing uranium enrichment facility, sinking of the corvette*, Cheonan*, shelling on Yeonpyeong island, live-fire exercises, joint military drills, and deployment of U.S. aircraft carrier at the Yellow Sea) were mutually created crises. China showed lack of willingness and capability to manage the crises relying on token calls for patience and resumption of talks. This rhetoric was not sufficient to cope with impending threats by North Korea and counter-threats by the US-South Korea-Japan alliance.

Although China did not abet (Proposition-5), but its behavior confirmed Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*) since it supported international efforts for sanctioning its troublesome neighbor after North Korea shot missiles in the name of satellite (April 5 and December 12, 2012) and denoted nuclear bombs (May 25, 2009 and February 12,

2013).[236] After witnessing North Korea's repeated provocations, Chinese leaders found that supporting the United States to control its unruly ally is a reasonable option. It needed the United States more than its socialist ally to stabilize the region and prevent a war. Thus, its behavior can be located in the cell G or D in the figure-2.

Proposition-2 (*balancing*) has been falsified, because China has agreed to cooperate with the United States and international community to defuse threat against North Korea, rather than aligning with it. China voted for six UN Security Council Resolutions[237] and supported two Presidential Statements[238] in this period. After the United States Treasury had decided not to label China a currency manipulator it became more cooperative with the United States by offering side payments works to induce China's help for dealing international security problems.[239] However, after North Korea launched Taepodong-2 missile on December 12, 2012, China signaled that it would likely to veto any bid to punish North Korea with stiffer sanctions, but later China agreed to pass Resolution 2087 on January 22, 2013. After the North conducted the third nuclear test on February 12, 2013, China passed Resolution 2094 on March 7 in

[236] After North Korea launched a satellite on April 5, 2009, China agreed to issue a Security Council Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2009/7) on April 13. After the North conducted a second nuclear test on May 25, 2009, it agreed to issue the Resolution 1874 (S/RES/1874) on June 12. After the North launched seven ballistic missiles into its east sea on July 4, 2009, it did not oppose that the Security Council president conveyed condemnation of the DPRK's actions. After the North launched missiles on April 13, 2012, it agreed to issue the Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2012/13) on April 16.

[237] UNSCR1874 (June 12, 2009), 1928 (June 7, 2010), 1985 (June 10, 2011), 2050 (June 12, 2012), 2087 (January 22, 2013) and 2094 (March 7, 2013)

[238] S/PRST/2009/7 and S/PRST/2012/13

[239] There was even a rumor that Chinese lawyers are considering to eliminate the automaticity of the security and military commitments of the Treaty of Friendship Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the PRC and DPRK (International Crisis Group 2009, 11).

condemnation of the test. Those examples are mostly supporting the Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*), but there are some counter-evidences too.

China's behavior also disconfirmed Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*), because it has taken half measures. For example, when the South Korean corvette, *Cheonan,* was torpedoed on March 26, 2010, China resisted spotting North Korea as the guilty party in the UN Security Council statement (Swaine 2011; Bader 2012, 87). When North Korea shelled Yeonpyeong Island on November 24, 2010, China had not condemned North Korea's action but called for the countries to resume the suspended Six Party Talks. Chinese leaders judged if they corner North Korea too much, it would destabilize the region by either making the regime collapse or prodding desperate Kim to initiate a war. Appeasing Kim by offering diplomatic cover was deemed more necessary than punishing it with the United States and South Korea when the *Cheonan* and Yeonpyeong island incidents occurred. Thus, China's behavior can be placed in the cell C in figure-2 in that it needed the North to not act recklessly more than it needed collaboration with the United States to penalize the North after the unfortunate incidents broke out.

Even though China had diluted the terms of the resolutions and downgraded attempts for passing resolutions to issuing presidential statements (Proposition-6 *delaying*), it has consented to the basic messages that the UN Security Council intended to deliver. It opportunistically alternates between bandwagoning and delaying (soft-balancing) strategy depending on the situation at that moment. This flexible behavior based on practical calculations largely confirms Proposition-1 (*straddling*). It straddles

because Chinese leadership could not judge the relative weights of its interests relating to both the United States and North Korea (cell E in the figure-2). Being ambiguous first and then muddling through has been a common behavioral pattern in the crises. That proves my second hypothesis—straddling was the default strategy.

What China has clearly shown in this period was watering down strategy (Proposition-6). After spending a week for consultation with the Permanent five members and Japan, China approved a presidential statement (S/PRST/2009/7) on April 13, 2009. In the consultation process China preferred "concern" and "regret" of the North Korea's launch and when it references the Resolution 1718, it opposed the word "violation" that Japan proposed. The compromise was "contravention." The final statement drafted by China described the events as just a launch, without specifying whether it was a ballistic missile or not. It protected North Korea by demoting a binding resolution to a non-binding presidential statement and omitting the word such as "violation" or "threat" from the statement.

Until reaching the UN Security Council's approval of the Resolution 1874 on June 12, 2009, China protracted the negotiation for two weeks. It agreed for a strong tone, but wanted to insert the Article 41 in which does not imply the use of force. The United States, Britain, and France favored making cargo inspections mandatory to search North Korean ships suspected of carrying illicit cargo, but China opposed. The agreed language in the resolution was to "call upon" states to conduct inspections to ensure that North Korea was in compliance with all UN Security Council resolutions.

On May 17, 2010 the chair of the DPRK Sanctions Committee delivered a regular 90-day briefing to the Security Council in informal consultations. However, The Chinese expert in the Committee said that it required more time to analyze its contents. China had argued that the panel of experts should work within its mandate and its sources must be credible. China's concerns delayed publication of the report. The final report was published about six months later on November 5, 2010. Xue Xiaodong, the Chinese expert in the Committee, has not signed the final report. These records evince e Proposition-6 (*delaying*) and can be situated in cell F in figure-2.

China did not obviously instigate quarrels, but by repeatedly and blindly insisting resumption of dialogues it passively and indirectly let the tension develop between the United States and North Korea. It might not intend to foment discords, but tension has been elevated while it is passively watching. I could not confirm Proposition-5 (*abetting*), but Chinese leadership made some relevant strategic calculations on future development while calling for stability and calm.

Proposition-7 (*hiding prevents provocation*) could not be confirmed either since China's ambiguity has not been effective to moderate the other actor's behavior. China's policies to press or appease North Korea were successful in quelling provocations from both North Korea and the U.S.-South Korea alliance. After the North Korea's missile launch on April 5, 2009, China took a wait-and-see approach by arguing that the North launched a satellite, not a missile, and it had the right to use nuclear and rocket technologies peacefully (International Crisis Group 2009, 2). However, North Korea announced that it would weaponize its entire inventory of plutonium, resume operations

at its Yongbyon nuclear complex, and test intercontinental ballistic missiles (Bader 2012, 32).

North Korea detonated its nuclear device on May 25, 2009. China's defense of its ally did not pay off. Furthermore, China's food and energy aid could not moderate the regime's behavior. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited Pyongyang on October 4, 2009 and promised Chinese investment in North Korea (Pollack 2011, 174), but a month later North Korea announced that it had completed processing 8,000 nuclear fuel rods, and that it is producing more plutonium on November 3, 2009.

After North Korea's shelling on South Korean island Yeonpyeong in November 2010, China was reluctant to censure North Korea's blatant action but made hollow requests calling for countries come back to the suspended Six Party Talks. As a result, South Korea began major live-fire exercises off its coast and the United States aircraft carrier G*eorge Washington* came into the Yellow Sea. China's willy-nilly posture jeopardized not only the Korean peninsula but also its own security environment. These evidences falsify Proposition-7 that hiding prevents provocations. China's strategy of hiding from conflicts has restrained neither of them.

Consistent with Proposition-5 (*mediating*), China tried to offer a good office and to be a peace broker, but it was able to push neither North Korea nor the United States toward reconciliatory direction. When North Korea announced its satellite launch on February 24, 2009, China sent Wu Dawei to Pyongyang to express its concern about the planned launch, but failed to stop the launch. Wang Jiarui led a delegation to Pyongyang in an attempt to restart the Six Party Talks on February 6, 2010 (H. Kim 2010). After

Wang consulted with Kim, China proposed a three-step proposal on the resumption of the Six Party Talks. Five parties had agreed to hold a preparatory meeting by March 22, 2010, but North Korea did not agree to come to the table.[240]

China tried to hold the six countries together again to resolve the crisis "proportionally and prudently," but it was not able to coordinate the different parties who believe contradictory information. Mostly, China represented its stance by urging parties not to escalate tension with cool-headed attitude, but has failed to address the problems effectively. President Obama repeatedly criticized China's prudence as "willful blindness," but I argue that China has been crafting "strategic blindness" to find a breathing space not to situate itself in a double whammy situation between the conflicting two (White House 2010). China has shown tendency of autistic mind blindness that diluted some information rather than ignore all together to avoid hard choices between the United States and the noncompliant states (Bering 2011, 81; Luttwak 2012, 14).

Figure 15 Propositions Testing on Case-7

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	2009 - 2013	**Confirmed:** China opportunistically alternates bandwagoning, balancing, and delaying strategy depending on situation.
2	Balancing unless there is a compensation	2009 - 2013	**Disconfirmed:** China voted for six UNSC Resolutions: 1874, 1928, 1985, 2050, 2087, and 2094; and supported two Presidential Statements on April 13, 2009 and April 16, 2012.
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues	2009 - 2013	**Disconfirmed:** The United States' $6.4 billion arms deal with Taiwan and sale of F-16s to Taiwan in January 2010 → the deal did not influence on China's North Korea policy.

[240] Four days later, as South Korean ship was sunk and the relationship between two Koreas was seriously deteriorated, China's proposal had been faded away. Later the United States and Japan had rejected the China's proposal to resume the Six Party Talks on October 25, 2010 because it is a talk for the sake of talk.

4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	2009 - 2013	**Ambiguous:** **Confirmed:** North Korean missiles shooting (April 5, 2009) → UNSC Presidential Statement (April 13, 2009); North Korean nuclear test (May 25, 2009) → Resolution 1874 (June 12, 2009); North Korean ballistic missile launch (July 4, 2009) → UNSC president condemnation; North Korean missile launch (April 13, 2012) → UNSC Presidential Statement (April 16, 2012); North Korean missile launched (December 12, 2012) → Resolution 2087 (January 22, 2013); North Korean nuclear test (February 12, 2013) → Resolution 2094 (March 7, 2013) **Disconfirmed:** South Korean destroyer was torpedoed (March 26, 2010) → China rejected to spot North Korea as a culprit in a UNSC statement; North Korea shelled Yeonpyeong island (November 24, 2010) → China did not condemn North Korea's action.
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	2009 - 2013	**Ambiguous:** China has not instigated, but was it a calculated inaction? Did China passively let tension grow or did it calculate the consequences?
6	Delaying negotiation and water-down the terms	2009 - 2013	**Confirmed:** The US, France, Britain, and Japan were in favor of adoption of a resolution → China proposed a press statement → presidential statement was a compromise (April 13, 2009): spending a week for consultations → China preferred "concern" and "regret" of the North Korea's launch and when it is referencing Resolution 1718, China opposed the word "violation" preferring "contravention." → The final statement vaguely described the events as a launch without specifying whether it was a ballistic missile or not. Resolution 1874 (June 12, 2009): P5 negotiated for over two weeks → China agreed to a strong tone and sanctions, but it wanted to refer the Article 41, in which the use of force was not implied in the text. The US, Britain and France favored making it mandatory for all states to search North Korean ships suspected of carrying illicit cargo, but China and Russia opposed. → The agreed upon language in the resolution was "calls on" states to conduct inspections to ensure that North Korea is in compliance with all UNSC resolutions. China had prevented the publication of the Panel of Expert report on May 2010. The report was published on November 5, but the Chinese expert Xue Xiaodong in the Panel did not sign on the report.
7	Hiding to contain both	2009 2010	**Disconfirmed:** China's inaction → provocations from both North Korea and the US and South Korea alliance North Korea's missile launch (April 5, 2009) → China took wait-and-see approach → issuance of the presidential statement → North Korea conducted nuclear test on May 25, 2009. Wen Jiabao promised Chinese investment and infrastructure projects in North Korea (October 4, 2009) → North Korea had completed processing 8,000 nuclear fuel rods, producing more plutonium for its nuclear weapons program (November 3, 2009). North Korea's shelling on South Korean island, Yeonpyeong,

			(November 24, 2010) → China did not condemn North Korea's action → South Korea began major live-fire exercises off its coast and the US aircraft carrier was deployed in the Yellow Sea
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	2009 - 2013	**Confirmed: incapability** North Korea announced its satellite launch on February 24, 2009 → China dispatched Wu Dawei to North Korea to stop the planned launch → North Korea missiles shooting (April 5, 2009), China failed to stop it Wang Jiarui led a delegation to North Korea to restart the Six Party Talks on February 6, 2010 → China proposed a three-step proposal on the resumption of the Six Party Talks → Five parties (the US, South Korea, Russia, China, and Japan) had agreed to hold a preparatory meeting by March 22, 2010 → North Korea did not agreed to come to the table.
	Behavioral pattern in the Case-7	2009-2013	inability → straddling → hiding → balancing → bandwagoning → delaying → crisis → crisis → bandwagoning → side payment from the US → hiding → bandwagoning → straddling, delaying → balancing → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → side payment to NK → crisis → mediating → getting entreaties → mediating → mediating → crisis → balancing → crisis → balancing → getting entreaties → bandwagoning → hiding → getting entreaties → mediating failure → delaying → crisis → crisis → crisis → hiding → mediating → straddling → getting entreaties → delaying → bandwagoning → getting entreaties → crisis → balancing → settlement → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → hiding → bandwagoning → crisis → straddling → bandwagoning → crisis → getting entreaties

Case-8: Iran (From 2009 to 2013)

History

From 2009 to 2013, a tug-of-war between EU3+3 and Iran continued on. Iran did not forgo its uranium-enriching program and the United States ratcheted up its unilateral financial sanction on Iran. While Iran asserted its right of civilian nuclear technology, the United States did not believe that Iran's uranium enrichment was for peaceful purposes. China reiterated diplomatic resolution of the disputes through negotiation, but did not initiate any proposal to resolve the disagreements. Since China was helping Iran build new refineries and it had significant interests in cooperating with Iran, it showed little interest for new sanctions against Iran. Rather, it persistently put effort to maintain the middle ground. However, defending Iran in the international space has not been easy

since several IAEA reports stated that the agency could not verify Iranian nuclear activity as peaceful and speculated Iran carried out activities relevant to the development of a nuclear program.

The secret enrichment facilities in Fordow were revealed in September 2009, but Iran agreed to nuclear fuel swap deals with Russia and France under the IAEA supervision in October. However, after Iran missed the deadline of the deal on October 24, 2009, the IAEA Board of Governors reported the Iran issue to the UN Security Council. China favored for the three IAEA resolutions[241] and three UN Security Council Resolutions.[242] Historical review of Sino-Iranian relationship vis-à-vis the U.S. and proposition testing are found in the following pages.

In January 2009 the U.S. accused China of circumventing sanctions against Iran by selling dual-use metals that Iran could use to manufacture advanced long-range nuclear missiles.[243] The U.S. claimed that China had been caught selling tungsten copper (used in building weapons guidance systems) to Iran.[244] The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied these facts by saying that China has strictly adhered to UN limits on trade with Iran, but the United States has sanctioned Chinese companies unfairly for selling dual-use chemicals to Iran. On February 3, 2009 Iran launched its first satellite using technology that could employ for ballistic missiles.

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[241] GOV/2009/82 (November 27, 2009), GOV/2011/69 (November 18, 2011) and GOV/2012/50 (September 13, 2012)

[242] S/RES/1929 (June 9, 2010), S/RES/1984 (June 9, 2011), and S/RES/2049 (June 7, 2012)

[243] The United Arab Emirates (UAE) has intercepted shipments of aluminum and titanium sheets (which serve as raw materials for missile production) coming from China destined for Iran.

[244] Some analysts believe that China may have subverted sanctions by selling Iran metals in forms not under sanction. For example, China could legally provide Iran with tungsten copper in powder form, but not in ingot form.

The IAEA reports to the UN Security Council noted that Iran was making significant advances in developing and operating its nuclear centrifuges enriching uranium. The report (GOV/2009/8, February 19, 2009) revealed that Iran produced an additional 209 kilograms of low enriched uranium (LEU) (Security Council Report 2009a).[245] While EU3 and the U.S. were concerned about the findings of the IAEA, Russia and China continued to push for diplomatic negotiations. In June 4, 2009, President Obama called for a new beginning between the U.S. and Muslims, one based upon mutual interest and respect, adding that if Iran were willing to unclench their fist, they would find an extended hand from the United States (Limbert 2009). However, the reelected President Ahmadinejad was in a difficult situation in dealing with protestors on the streets who were clamming that the election had been rigged and that the actual winner was Mir Hossein Mousavi, a reformist candidate.[246]

China and Iran has enjoyed an extensive economic relationship despite sanctions. To date, more than 100 Chinese state companies are operating in Iran. Between 2005 and 2010, Chinese firms signed $120 billion worth of contracts in the Iranian hydrocarbon sector (Farrar-Wellman and Frasco 2010). In March 2009, Iran and China signed a $3.2 billion gas deal, in which Iran's LNG and a Chinese-led consortium agreed

[245] The total amount of LEU produced by Iran is estimated approximately 700 kilograms. Some experts in the Institute for Science and International Security estimate that this is sufficient for the production of enough weapon grade uranium for a single nuclear weapon, but other scientists' estimate that 900 kilograms or 1,000 kilograms is more realistic. The report also said Iran continued to resist efforts to substantively address its alleged nuclear weapons related work and refused to allow the IAEA to visit the Arak heavy-water reactor under construction (Security Council Report 2009a).

[246] Ahmadinejad sent a message offering Obama Iran's readiness "to engage in bilateral negotiations, without conditions, on the basis of mutual respect," but Obama, ignoring Ahmadinejad, wrote a letter to Ayatollah Khamenei in early May 2009. Obama sent a clear signal for rapprochement between Iran and the United States, but Ayatollah Khamenei's letter had disappointed Obama. In his second letter Obama expressed preparedness for discussion of all issues of interest to the two sides a Ayatollah Khamenei did not respond (Mousavian 2012, 338–9).

to construct a pipeline to extract 10 million tons of liquefied natural gas from phase 12 of Iran's South Pars gas field (Hong 2014, 414–7). In June 2009, the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) signed a $5 billion deal with the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) to help develop phase 11 of the South Pars field. The project was designed to produce roughly 2 billion cubic meters of gas and 70,000 barrels of gas condensates daily (Farrar-Wellman and Frasco 2010).[247]

In 2009, China imported $3.12 billion worth of Iranian non-oil goods, thus, making it Iran's second largest export market. In 2009, China became Iran's most significant trade partner with bilateral exchanges worth $21.2 billion compared to $14.4 billion three years earlier. The figures confirm the exponential growth in commercial ties between the two countries. China emerged as Iran's top economic partner during the sanction period by investing heavily in the energy sector and by filling in the gaps left by Western firms pulled out due to sanctions.[248]

However, the September 2009 revelation of the secret nuclear enrichment facilities in Fordow, located in the outskirts of Qom, caught China by surprise. Soon after the disclosure, Iran announced that it had successfully tested the Shahab-3 and

[247] The CNPC replaced the French energy company Total after it withdrew from the project. In 2008, the CNPC and the NIOC signed a $1.76 billion deal to develop Iran's North Azadegan oil field, which could produce upwards of 75,000 barrels of oil per day by 2012.

[248] During an August meeting with Chinese officials, the United States Congressman Howard Berman criticized recent agreements between Iran and state-owned Chinese firms to construct several refineries in Iran. According to the United States delegation, such agreements are "exactly the wrong signal to send to Iran at a time when Iran continues to enrich uranium in defiance of the international community." Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg said that China would work in its own way to convince Iran to abandon uranium enrichment and comply with the IAEA (International Crisis Group 2010).

Sejil-2 missiles (Fars News Agency 2009).[249] Iran agreed in principle to ship most of its uranium stock to Russia for enrichment, and allow IAEA staff to investigate the disclosed enrichment facility in Fordow.[250] China saw the nuclear fuel swap deal as the best way to solve the crisis, because it believed the deal would decrease the possibility of Security Council punitive action.[251] On October 23 Chinese Vice Foreign Minister He Yafei in IAEA stated that China was encouraging Iran to accept the nuclear fuel swap deal. "We hope that the IAEA can send a signal that Iran should indeed respond to the IAEA proposal as soon as possible. At the same time, we hope that this issue can be resolved through consultation" (International Crisis Group 2010, 13).

In the meantime, China had secured its economic interests. It accepted the United States-brokered deal in October 2009 to boost oil exports from the UAE from 50,000 barrels a day to 200,000 barrels a day by mid-2010. Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia have agreed to increase their oil exports to China in 2010 by 100 percent, 50 percent, and 12 percent respectively (International Crisis Group 2010, 14). In October 2009, Premier Wen Jiabao stated that the Sino-Iranian relations witnessed rapid development as the two countries' leaders enjoyed frequent exchanges, and cooperation in trade and energy became stronger Thus, China ensured its energy supply with other Gulf states and the

[249] The Shahab-3 is a medium-range missile with liquid fuel. Sejil-2 is a solid fuel missile with a range of 2,000 kilometers modeled on the previous Ashura missile.

[250] Under the terms of the arrangement, Iran would ship its uranium stock to Russia, which would then enrich it to a higher level (from about 4% to 19.75%). France would take the Russian-enriched uranium and convert it into fuel rods that would be used to power the Tehran Research Reactor, which is used to create isotopes for medical imaging. On the other hand, Ahmadinejad was trying to reach a grand bargaining with Obama in September 2009 showing his willingness to help the United States in Afghanistan, Obama did not respond (El Baradei 2011, 295; Mousavian 2012, 349).

[251] On October 15 Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao urged Iranian First Vice president, Mohammad Reza Rahimi, to cooperate with the multilateral effort.

U.S. on the one hand, and tried to strengthen ties with Iran on the other hand. However, once Iran missed the October 24 deadline, the IAEA's Board of Governors, including China and Russia, passed a resolution reporting the matter to the Security Council.[252]

On November 27, 2009 the Board of Governors of the IAEA adopted a resolution known as GOV/2009/82 to express concern over Iran's continued defiance.[253] The resolution adopted by a vote of 25-3-6.[254] China voted for the resolution (IAEA 2009). China knew the vote had few real consequences for Iran, because the resolution contained no sanctions. In December, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Qin Gang indicated that China's vote was emblematic of China's position on the Iran nuclear issue and its desire for Iran to resolve the issue through dialogue and negotiation. China expressed its hope that Iran would work with the IAEA to seek a "proper solution to the Iran nuclear issue" (Farrar-Wellman and Frasco 2010).[255] In the same month, an anonymous senior U.S. official said that a meeting of EU3+3 on Iran's nuclear program had been canceled due to China's opposition, although the remaining five still planned

[252] The United States reminded Iran of the deadline of December 31, 2009 that had been set earlier in the Obama administration to follow UN Security Council resolutions or face additional pressure.

[253] It concerns Iran's failure to notify the IAEA of the new enrichment facility at Fordow. The resolution urged Iran to comply with the UN Security Council resolutions that demand suspension of enrichment activities. It also called for "full cooperation" of Iran in clarifying its nuclear program. It urged Iran to implement modified Code 3.1 that requires declaration to the IAEA of a decision to construct nuclear facilities immediately after such decision is taken. The Board of Governors requested that IAEA Director General reports the resolution to the UN Security Council.

[254] The three states voting against are Cuba, Malaysia, and Venezuela. The six abstaining states are Afghanistan, Brazil, Egypt, Pakistan, South Africa, and Turkey.

[255] However, Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki sent a letter of protest to Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi saying "Undoubtedly, the illogical conduct of the countries voting against Iran will make the Islamic Republic of Iran more determined to continue the current path to develop peaceful nuclear technology" (Farrar-Wellman and Frasco 2010). Three days later the IAEA passed resolution (November 29), Iran said it had approved construction of ten additional uranium enrichment plants. President Ahmadinejad said on December 2 that Iran would enrich uranium to a higher level.

to talk by conference call. Representatives from China adjourned their telephone consultation regarding Iran's nuclear program.

After all, in mid-December, the Obama administration began calling for another round of sanctions after concluding that Iran did not respond adequately to the U.S. overtures over the previous ten months. China did not agree to begin discussing this matter until the end of March 2010. It took about three and a half months after the U.S. proposed the punitive action. China's lackluster attitude contributed to delay Security Council action for about six months. All together China's delaying tactics probably "gained several years of time for Iran" (Fite 2012, 17).

On January 2, 2010, Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki set a one-month deadline for Iran's international counterparts to make a decision on the provision of fuel to the Tehran Research Reactor and threatened to move forward with the production of nuclear fuel for the reactor on its own if the West did not reach an agreement with Iran on reactor fuel (Sanger 2009).[256] A week later, on January 10, the Secretary of States Hillary Clinton did not respond directly to the Iranian offer.[257] On January 16, EU3+3 met in New York to discuss next steps, but the Chinese political director did not attend. Nonetheless, China was represented by a diplomat from its UN mission. The chair of the meeting, EU's political director Robert Cooper, said that the

[256] It was the Iran's October 2009 offer in which could discard an agreement to ship more than three-quarters of its stockpile of nuclear fuel out of the country, unless the West acceded to provide Iran with new fuel (Sanger 2009).

[257] She just touted that Iran had resisted IAEA and EU3+3 requests and proposals, had defied prior UN Security Council resolutions and by doing so, posed a challenge both for regional stability and the credibility of international regimes.

six countries had concluded that Iran's response was "inadequate" in an agreed statement (Security Council Report 2010b).

In January 2010 the U.S.-China relations was beset by controversies surrounding the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, the visit of the Dalai Lama to the U.S., and alleged cyber-attacks on Google in China. China suspended military dialogue with the U.S. and threatened to impose sanctions on the U.S. defense contractors after the Obama administration confirmed a $6.4 billion arms deal with Taiwan including Patriot missiles (about $2.85 billion).[258] Chinese Vice Foreign Minister He Yafei issued a statement saying the arms deal was a "rude interference in China's internal affairs, severely endangering China's national security." He further added, "China expresses its strong indignation" (Keyes 2010). The *China Daily* also bluntly stated "From now on, the United States shall not expect cooperation from China on a wide range of major regional and international issues. If you don't care about our interests, why should we care about yours?" Thus, the Taiwan arms deal informed China's Iranian policy.[259]

During a UN meeting in January, China indeed blocked a new round of sanctions against Iran. The Chinese Counselor to the UN, Kang Yong, said that China was ready to agree to start talks on possible sanctions, but would not agree to any further measures at the time (Van Kemenade 2010, 106). On February 5, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi stated that "We believe Iran has not totally shut the door on the IAEA proposal on

[258] The sale includes 60 Black Hawk helicopters (totaling $3.1 billion), 114 advanced Patriot air defense missiles; a pair of Osprey mine-hunting ships; and dozens of advanced communications systems.

[259] The United States Ambassador to China, Jon Huntsman, encouraged China not to allow unrelated tensions to hinder cooperation on the Iranian nuclear issue, saying that "differences on Taiwan and Tibet cannot, must not, prevent us from working together to…prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapons capability" and added that the United States "look[s] to China to support strong sanctions should Iran continue to stall on the dialogue track" (Agence France Presse 2010).

nuclear fuel supply…We believe this issue should best be solved through diplomatic means so as to maintain peace and stability in the Gulf region." Five days later, on February 10, the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) finalized a US$4.7 billion contract to develop phase 11 of Iran's South Pars gas project (Hong 2014, 414–7).

President Ahmadinejad announced on February 11 that the Natanz facility already began to enrich uranium at a level of 20 percent. He also insisted that while Iran was nearly able to produce weapons-grade uranium, it was not making a bomb. China's reaction on the announcement was a routine call for "relevant parties should step up diplomatic efforts and promote dialogue and negotiations" (Foreign Minister Spokesman Qin Gang's statement on February 22).

However, as the tension between Iran and the U.S. began to ratchet up in early March, China and Russia sent envoys to Iran with the purpose of convincing Iran to agree to the fuel-swap plan and accept IAEA verification requests. The U.S. expected that new UN Security Council sanctions would be weak and ineffective because of Chinese and Russian objection. The U.S. worked with the Gulf Arab states and the Asian countries to set up alternative sanctions against Iran without China's agreement. The U.S. sanctions in concert with its allies were aimed at limiting the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps' access to the smaller banks operating in the Gulf and Asia.[260]

By the end of March, China finally agreed to participate in negotiations regarding sanction against Iran. China announced on April 2 that it would support

[260] On March 20, 2010, Obama interviewed with CBS "All the evidence indicates that the Iranians are trying to develop the capacity to develop nuclear weapons. They might decide that, once they have that capacity that they'd hold off right at the edge—in order not to incur more sanctions" (CBS 2010).

negotiations for new UN Security Council sanctions against Iran. In return for this cooperation, the U.S. deferred its decision on labeling China as a currency manipulator. After having secured this incentive, President Hu decided to participate in the Nuclear Security Summit in Washington DC. At the Nuclear Security Summit on April 12, 2010,[261] President Obama held bilateral talks with China to ensure support for new UN sanctions against Iran. Exchange occurred against the backdrop of the summit. In it, Obama sketched the details of a proposed resolution and assured Hu that China's oil supply would be secure in the event of a crisis in Iran. Hu responded that, while China preferred dialogue, it would maintain coordination with the U.S. in the Security Council. Immediately after the summit, the Chinese government issued a statement indicating its possible support for a new round of sanctions against Iran (Guardian 2010).

Regardless of the pressure from the West, Iran announced on April 19 that it was ready to construct a new uranium enrichment plant. On the following day, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson said that a negotiated solution was still possible but China also continued to participate actively in intensive talks among the Five Permanent members of Security Council on possible new sanctions (Security Council Report 2010c).

On May 19, the United States submitted a resolution draft that would tighten sanctions against Iran for its failure to cooperate with the IAEA, but Brazil declared that it would not engage in any draft resolution since there was still room for negotiations. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Jiang Yu also stated that the Foreign

[261] More than forty leaders of countries attended the summit, but neither Iran nor North Korea was invited.

Ministry supports efforts to solve the nuclear diplomatically, adding that China "value[s] and welcome[s] the agreement reached among Brazil, Turkey, and Iran on the Tehran Research Reactor." But the Secretary of State Clinton said on May 25, the fuel swap plan was a "transparent ploy" by Iran to avoid further UN Security Council action, whereas President Ahmadinejad claimed that the fuel swap deal might be the last opportunity to resolve the situation and urged the U.S. to accept it. China supported the fuel swap plan brokered by Brazil and Turkey.

The UN Security Council Resolution 1929 (S/RES/1929) was passed on June 9, 2010. China voted in favor of the resolution, which placed additional sanctions on Iran targeting its military and financial sectors.[262] China claimed that sanctions were targeted not to disrupt the normal life of the Iranian people, and that it actively worked to block any barriers that the resolution might place on normal commercial transactions, especially, in the energy sector. The Permanent Representative of China to the UN, Li Baodong, said China had been earnestly and constructively engaged in the consultations leading up to the vote, and had worked to promote measures that are appropriate, incremental, clearly targeted, and commensurate with the actual practices of Iran in the nuclear field. According to Foreign Ministry Spokesman Qin Gang, "the fact that the UN Security Council passed the resolution does not mean the door to diplomatic efforts

[262] The Resolution expanded previous sanctions by restricting arms sales, providing states with the ability to search vessels suspected of carrying contraband cargo, and by targeting Iranian firms linked with the Iranian nuclear development capability. It strengthened sanctions against Iran. It requested the Secretary-General to establish a Panel of Experts for a year to assist the 1737 Committee for carrying out its work. The IAEA was requested to report on Iran's compliance within ninety days. States were requested to report on their implementation of sanctions measures within sixty days. It also stressed the willingness of the EU3+3 to enhance diplomatic efforts and dialogue with Iran and affirmed that sanctions measures will be suspended if Iran complies with existing resolutions but further measures will be adopted if the IAEA reports incompliance of Iran. Brazil and Turkey voted against the resolution and Lebanon abstained.

is closed." Chen Qiufa, China's representative to the IAEA, urged Iran to abide by the resolution and to take steps to restore the confidence of the international community in the peaceful nature of its nuclear program.

China's vote drew heavy criticism from some Iranian officials. The head of Iranian Atomic Energy Organization, Ali-Akbar Salehi, chastised the decision, claiming that "Beijing might gradually lose its respectable status in the Islamic world and wake up when it is already too late" (Cowell and MacFarquhar 2010). However, during the visit to Shanghai days after the vote, President Ahmadinejad defended China by arguing that Security Council members had been subject to intimidation. He said that "we have very good relations with China and we have no reason to weaken our relations with China.... The problem is the United States" (Cowell and MacFarquhar 2010).

From July 1, additional measures by the U.S.—targeting Iran's energy and banking sectors—went into effect. The unilateral U.S. sanctions aimed at Iranian gasoline imports were criticized by China who argued that individual states should not widen sanctions imposed by the Security Council but implement them properly. Nonetheless, the Obama administration reportedly concluded that Chinese firms were assisting Iran's nuclear and missile programs in violation of Security Council sanctions. Robert Einhorn, the State Department's special adviser for nonproliferation, prepared a list of companies involved when he visited Beijing in October. He demanded that China cease aiding Iranian nuclear and missile program.[263]

[263] The involved items are high pressure gauges and carbon fiber, both for the production of centrifuges.

As 2011 ended, Congress passed an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act that mandates sanctions on any foreign company or country that dealt with the Central Bank of Iran, which served as a clearinghouse for Iran's oil sales.[264] This led to a reduction in oil exports from Iran destined for China by almost 40 percent (Mousavian 2012, 392). The impact of sanctions against the Iranian Central Bank and expulsion of Iran from the global financial system had a strong effect on China's economy.

Discussions were continued between EU3+3 and Iran on January 21, 2011 in Istanbul, Turkey. They discussed a modified fuel swap proposal, by which Iran would transfer most of its enriched uranium out of the country in exchange for fuel for the Tehran Research Reactor, but Iran required international recognition of its right to enrich uranium and the lifting of sanctions before discussing a fuel swap proposal. On June 9, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1984 (S/RES/1984) to extend mandate of the panel of experts of the 1737 Committee for one year (Security Council Report 2011c).[265] The IAEA's report (GOV/2011/65, November 8) catalogued evidence indicating that there was a "credible" case that Iran had "carried out activities relevant to

[264] In response of the sanctions Iran invited representatives from Venezuela, Syria, and the Arab League to visit Iran's uranium enrichment facility in Natanz and the heavy water reactor under construction in Arak on January 15, 2011. Iranian Ambassador to the IAEA Ali Asghar Soltanieh said that the tour would provide transparency. The European Union, Russia, and China had rejected Iran's invitation, while the United States was not invited.

[265] It requested that the panel submit a midterm report to the Security Council by December 9, 2011, with a final report upon termination of its mandate.

the development of a nuclear device." It had "serious concerns regarding possible military dimensions to Iran's nuclear program.[266]

In response to the IAEA's report, EU3 and the United States called for stronger sanctions by arguing that if Iran did not enter serious negotiations on its program then additional measures, including sanctions against Iran's financial and oil and gas sectors, should be considered. Contrary to this reaction, China opposed attempts to impose further sanctions when it argued that the IAEA should be more objective (Security Council Report 2011d). Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Hong Lei said,

> "We always believe that dialogue and cooperation is the right way to solve the Iranian nuclear issue and that sanctions cannot fundamentally resolve the case. We hope the IAEA will be fair and objective, and actively committed to clarifying the salient issues through cooperation with Iran" (Press TV 2011).

After ten days of consultation, at the IAEA Board of Governors meeting in Vienna, EU3+3 agreed on a resolution draft on November 17. The 35-member board adopted the resolution known as GOV/2011/69 on November 18, 2011.[267] It expressed "deep and increasing concern about the unresolved issues regarding the Iranian nuclear program" and urged Iran "once again to comply fully and without delay with its obligations under relevant resolutions" of the Security Council. The draft by the West preferred tougher language, but Russia and China balked. The compromised text was

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[266] It included conducting computer modeling studies of nuclear explosions in 2008 and 2009; building a large containment vessel at the Parchin military complex in which to conduct hydrodynamic experiments with high explosives and nuclear material, which are "strong indicators of possible weapons development"; working on a project to secure a source of uranium "suitable for use in an undisclosed enrichment program"; providing with nuclear explosive design information more advanced than previously identified; conducting computer modeling studies of designs for a missile warhead; and developing fast-acting detonators, an integral part of a program to develop an implosion-type nuclear device. The report also pointed Iran has started moving nuclear material to the underground Fordow nuclear site and installed two cascades of 174 centrifuges.

[267] Cuba and Ecuador voted against and Indonesia abstained.

toothless without mentioning referring Iran once again to the Security Council (Dahl and Westall 2011).

Since the IAEA resolution resulted in a weaker stance, the United States, Britain, and Canada announced on November 21 that they would impose extra sanctions on Iran by targeting its petrochemical, oil, and gas industries. On December 31, President Obama signed into law the National Defense Authorization Act for 2012, which imposed new economic sanctions on the Central Bank of Iran.[268] The United States also began to sanction a Chinese oil-importer, Zhuhai Zhenrong, for transacting with Iran in 2012.

China criticized this extra-UN sanction because it believed that imposing sanctions on a Chinese company based on domestic (the United States) law was unreasonable and did not conform to the content of the UN Security Council resolutions on the Iran nuclear issue. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Hong Lei said in January 2012 that "China opposes placing one's domestic law above international law and imposing unilateral sanction against other countries" (Y. Wang 2012). And "normal trade relations and energy cooperation between China and Iran have nothing to do with the nuclear issue, and they should not mix issues of different nature…China's legitimate concerns and demands should be respected" (People's Daily 2012).

[268] In announcing the new sanctions, President Obama said that the United States was also designating 11 individuals and entities for their role in assisting Iran's nuclear program. The United States also identified Iran as a jurisdiction of "primary money laundering concern."

Amid the tension between Israel and Iran,[269] the IAEA inspectors completed their visitation of Iran on February 22 and said in the statement that the team had requested access to the military site at Parchin, but Iran did not accepted this request. The IAEA report (GOV/2012/9, February 24) said that the IAEA "continues to have serious concerns regarding possible military dimensions to Iran's nuclear program." While the EU3 and the United States were considering sanctions, China was critical of measures to corner Iran through sanctions meant to coerce the resumption of the negotiations (Security Council Report 2012b).

On May 23, 2012, a second round of talks was held in Baghdad between Iran and the EU3+3. While a primary objective of EU3+3 was to ensure Iran to halt its higher-grade uranium enrichment program, Iran's main objective was to remove sanctions and to secure its own right to enrichment for civilian use (Security Council Report 2012c).[270] Because China's major concern was the U.S. sanctions that target foreign banks, including Chinese banks, it consistently reiterated that sanction should not to be an end in itself (Security Council Report 2012d). They could not narrow down differences, but extended the mandate of the panel Experts. On June 7, 2012 the Security Council

[269] Since 2012 There was growing speculation that Israel might strike Iran's nuclear facilities preemptively before Iran enters a "zone of immunity" (Landler and Sanger 2012). Iran's supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei counteracted on the Israeli assertion publicly on February 3, 2012 that they would "not have any impact on our determination to continue our nuclear course" (Security Council Report 2012b). On February 21, the deputy head of Iran's armed forces said that Iran would be prepared to take preemptive action "if we feel our enemies want to endanger Iran's national interests" (Security Council Report 2012b).

[270] The EU3+3 asked Iran to (1) halt all 20 percent uranium enrichment; (2) remove all stockpiles of 20-percent-enriched uranium through a swap deal; and (3) shut down the Fordow uranium-enrichment facility. However, Iran sought recognition of its "inalienable rights" to peaceful nuclear energy and the right to enrich uranium and a lifting of sanctions (Security Council Report 2012c).

adopted resolution 2049 (S/RES/2049) extending the mandate of the Panel of Experts assisting the 1737 Committee for thirteen months (until July 9, 2013).

On September 13, 2012, the IAEA's Board of Governors adopted the resolution known as GOV/2012/50, repeating its "serious concern that Iran continues to defy the requirements and obligations" contained in relevant IAEA and Security Council resolutions (Security Council Report 2012e).[271] In response to the report the United States announced on February 6, 2013 a further tightening of its unilateral sanctions.[272] On February 21, the IAEA Board of Governors reported Iranian issue to the Security Council (GOV/2013/27), arguing that no agreement had been reached and there had been no progress on clarification of outstanding issues (Security Council Report 2013b).[273]

On February 26, EU3+3 and Iran met in Almaty, Kazakhstan for a new round of high-level talks. EU3+3 offered an easing of restrictions if Iran would agree to significantly restrict its uranium enrichment. Iran said it needed more time to consider the offer. In the meeting on Yemen incident on March 6, 2013,[274] while the U.S. argued that the evidence against Iran was conclusive and called for immediate appropriate

[271] It noted that no agreement had been reached between Iran and the IAEA, but a "constructive diplomatic process" is the best means of achieving a "peaceful resolution." On November 5, the IAEA Director General Yukiya Amano gave a speech at the UN General Assembly. He said that Iran did not provide the necessary cooperation to enable the IAEA to conclude that all nuclear material in Iran is "in peaceful activities" (Security Council Report 2012e).

[272] Before tightening sanction the United States Vice President Joe Biden said that the United States would be willing to engage in direct bilateral talks with Iran on February 2, 2013, but supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei dismissed the offer five days later.

[273] The IAEA report noted that despite repeated requests the agency had not been granted access to Parchin, a military site southeast of Tehran that Iran is believed to have used for nuclear activities (Security Council Report 2013b).

[274] On February 6, 2013 Yemen intercepted a vessel believed to be carrying illicit weapons from Iran.

action, China warned against hasty conclusions and called for further investigations (Security Council Report 2013c).

The new Iranian President Hassan Rouhani who held office since June 2013 signaled a shift in negotiations. Six months after Rouhani's inauguration, on November 23, Iran and EU3+3 reached an agreement on a joint plan of action. Iran agreed to stop enriching uranium beyond five percent and not to install any new centrifuges (Gordon 2013). In return, EU3+3 will provide limited sanctions relief[275] and the UN Security Council will refrain from imposing any further sanctions for the duration of the interim phase, and the United States and the EU will also not impose new unilateral nuclear-related sanctions (CNN 2013).[276] However, Iran still insisted that its continued enrichment is a prerequisite for any agreement, but the United States does not accept Iran's claim it has a "right to enrich" under the NPT (Erdbrink 2013).

Since 2009 China has not been strongly against the sanctions on Iran, but it has delayed negotiations in pursuit of its economic benefits and energy supply line. It attempted to hide its contradictory goals by stressing peaceful resolution of Iranian

[275] The United States and the EU will suspend sanctions on Iran's petrochemicals exports and auto industry; license the supply of spare parts for Iran's civilian aviation, and establish a financial channel to facilitate humanitarian trade for Iran's domestic needs. The US agreed to provide up to $7 billion in sanctions relief. Of this, roughly $4.2 billion would be oil revenue that has been frozen in foreign banks.

[276] The interim phase places significant limitations on Iran's enrichment program: Iran agreed to suspend enrichment over 5 percent (the level is sufficient for energy production but that would require further enrichment for bomb-making); convert half of its current stock of 20 percent enriched material to fuel for Teheran Research Reactor and downblend the other half to 5 percent; keep the amount of 5 percent LEU stable by converting newly enriched material to oxide, and not install new centrifuges at any of the enrichment facilities. Iran also committed not to make any further advances at the IR-40 research reactor under construction at Arak: no fuel or heavy water is to be transferred to the reactor site, and the reactor will not be commissioned in the next six months. The interim agreement also contains enhanced verification measures, including early provision of information on nuclear sites and material; IAEA managed access to facilities where centrifuges and their components are produced, and daily IAEA access to surveillance records at Fordow and Natanz enrichment facilities. They agreed to establish a Joint Commission, which monitors the implementation of the interim steps (CNN 2013).

nuclear issue without mapping out practical steps. While the U.S. pressured China to stop purchasing oil from Iran, China only wanted to avert a crisis that would affect its commercial ties with Iran negatively. The easiest way to eschew this difficult choice was to insist that politics and economy should be separate and that nuclear issue should be solved through dialogue. Chinese leaders found that limited support for sanctions can be a viable option avoiding a serious strain on its image to both the United States and Iran (Hong 2014, 420).

Analysis

China's attitude relating to Iranian nuclear issue was somewhat contradictory since it sought to delay severe measures on Iran against the U.S. push, but at the same time, it was supportive to pass the resolutions containing punitive measures. On the one hand, the U.S. arms deal with Taiwan, Dalai Lama's U.S. visit, and petrochemical interests in Iran motivated Chinese leadership to balance against the U.S. by defending Iran's right to use nuclear technology peacefully. On the other hand, Obama's assurance for guaranteeing China's energy security in case of instability in the Middle East and his decision to defer to label China as a currency manipulator motivated China to support U.S. sanction initiative on Iran.

China vacillates between delaying and bandwagoning depending on how it perceives and weighs its interest between the United States and Iran. When its interests involved at stake are not clear, it tends to engage in the negotiation first insisting peaceful resolution and then delaying the process yet being supportive a diluted resolution. Delaying strategy is notable but its mediating efforts between the West and

Iran are not discernable. China has pursued a delay-and-weaken strategy emphasizing on the importance of diplomacy while staying at the periphery at the negotiation table.

Proposition-2 (*balancing*) is confirmed since China has downplayed effects of sanction proposed by the EU3 and the U.S., but it has cooperated to impose sanctions when there are energy assurances by the U.S. allies. China's balancing behaviors against the United States are abundant in this period. Iran and China signed a $3.2 billion gas deal to develop South Pars gas field in March 2009. The China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) signed a $5 billion deal with the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) to develop phase 11 of South Pars in June 2009. The U.S. was suspicious of China's dual-use metals sale to Iran.[277] In fact, in 2011 China's oil imports from Iran accounted for around 11 percent of China's total oil imports (Hong 2014, 414). Following the approval of unilateral U.S. sanctions aimed at Iranian gasoline imports and Dalai Lama's White House visit on February 18, 2010, China warned the United States not to expand sanctions arbitrarily.

According to the WikiLeaks cables on Iran,

> "the Chinese West Asia deputy director for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ni Ruchi, urged the United States side to make a clear statement abandoning the notion of regime change. He suggested seeking a cooperative partnership with Iran on shared concerns such as security in Iraq and Afghanistan, and in doing so, recognizing Iran as a major regional power. He recommended offering concrete and immediate benefits, especially economic incentives and a relaxation of existing sanctions, in response to positive overtures on the Iranian side" (Mousavian 2012, 33; WikiLeaks 2009).

[277] The United States suspected that Chinese firms are assisting Iran's nuclear and missile programs such as developing high pressure gauges and carbon fiber.

The Obama administration's arms deal with Taiwan aggravated the Sino-U.S. relationship rapidly and reinforced China's uncooperativeness. After the U.S. confirmed a $6.4 billion arms deal with Taiwan including Patriot missiles sale in January 2010, China resented and adopted a tit-for-tat response. It suspended military dialogues with the United States and threatened to impose sanctions on the U.S. defense contractors. The CNPC finalized a deal to develop phase 11 of South Pars gas project on February 10, 2010. China declined to support the proposal suggested by the EU3 and the U.S. to impose further sanctions on Iran on February 22, 2010.

These incidents support my Proposition-3 (*balancing on Taiwan matter*). Since China regards Taiwan as its territory, it reacted resolutely when the U.S. sold weapons to Taiwan. After the arms contracts has been revealed, China has ratcheted up its balancing behavior against the U.S. by rejecting the latter's entreaties to put the pressure on Iran, signing development deals with Iran, and suspending a military talks with the U.S. (Keyes 2010). As I suggested in Proposition-3, it used Iran as a bargaining chip to make a better deal with the U.S. on Taiwan. Its behavior falls into the cell C in the figure-2.

The IAEA's reports[278] indicated that Iran had carried out activities relevant to the development of a nuclear device. In response to the reports, the U.S. called for stronger sanctions on Iran, but China opposed the attempts to impose further sanctions by arguing that the IAEA should be more "objective." It has been critical of the United States and the EU's attempts to isolate Iran asserting that sanction is not an end in itself. China's

[278] GOV/2011/65 on November 8, 2011 and GOV/2012/9 on February 24, 2012

oft-used repertoire was that people in Iran should not be made to suffer from sanctions. "If pressed too hard, Iran may tend to beef up its security by developing nuclear weapons through means fair or foul, which would be more harmful to international peace" (Chu 2010). China's overall reaction to Iran's incompliance is reluctant cooperation with the international consensus while urging dialogue. It is one of typical delaying strategies.

However, if China can obtain benefits or secure its interests by cooperating with the United States, it agrees to impose more sanctions on Iran. Its materialistic motivation confirms my first hypothesis and Proposition-2 (*balancing unless there is compensation*) as well. China became more cooperative to restraining Iran after accepting the U.S.-brokered a deal to increase oil exports from the United Arab Emirate (UAE) from 50,000 barrels to 200,000 barrels a day by mid-2010.[279] The U.S. also decided to delay labeling China as a currency manipulator. After obtaining these incentives and assurance, China was more inclined to agree to punish Iran than before. It is more important for China to secure energy supply for its development than it is for China to defend Iran's legitimate demands for developing nuclear technology peacefully, because vibrant economy is the only legitimacy for Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to sustain its system since 1989. Its straddling/bandwagoning strategy can be place on the cell D in the figure-2.

Proposition-4 (*bandwagoning*) has been confirmed in this case study, because in facing Iran's incompliance China had agreed to pass three IAEA resolutions in the

[279] Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia had agreed to increase their oil exports to China by 100 percent, 50 percent, and 12 percent in 2010 respectively.

Board of Governors[280] and three UN Security Council resolutions[281] from 2009 to 2013. When Iran revealed the secret nuclear facilities in Fordow in September 2009 and it did not observe the October 24, 2009 deadline, China agreed that the IAEA Board of Governors should pass its resolution (GOV/2009/82) to report the matter to the UN Security Council. It voted in favor of the Resolution 1929 (S/RES/1929) on June 9, 2010, which placed additional sanctions on Iran to primarily target its military and financial sectors.[282]

China has been hedging or cooperative because its stakes in both the U.S. and Iran are equally important or unknown (cell E in the figure-2) or interests involving the U.S. is slightly greater than those related to Iran. China cooperated with U.S. partly because the U.S. promised to protect China's interest and partly because China could maneuver to maintain the lucrative relations with Iran even though it is participating sanctions by dividing commercial business and politics.

China agreed to pressure Iran first and then appeased Iran's dissatisfaction. In November, 2009, China voted for the IAEA resolution (GOV/2009/82) that urged Iran to suspend enrichment activities. Once it infuriated Iranian leaders, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Qin Gang said that China's vote was emblematic of its position on the Iranian nuclear issue (Farrar-Wellman and Frasco 2010). After it agreed to the new UN Security Council sanctions in April 2010, it had Supreme National Security Council

[280] GOV/2009/82, GOV/2011/69, and GOV/2012/50

[281] S/RES/1929, S/RES/1984, and S/RES/2049. Two resolutions are for extending the mandate of Panel of Experts: S/RES/1984 (June 9, 2011) and S/RES/2049 (June 7, 2012).

[282] The IAEA Board of Governors on November 18, 2011 adopted the resolution (GOV/2011/69) with China's consent. On September 13, 2012, the IAEA's Board of Governors including China adopted the resolution (GOV/2012/50).

secretary Saeed Jalili's visit the country. In the meeting, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, Dai Bingguo, stressed the strategic importance of Sino-Iranian ties, noting that leaders of both countries share a common interest in promoting bilateral relations. These China's contradictory behavior is typical straddling. It agreed to pass resolutions by international regimes, but it straddled between Iran and the United States not to lose its influence over both sides (Proposition-1).

When Iran announced that it was ready to construct a new uranium enrichment plant on April 19, 2010, China hinted that a negotiation was still possible but it also continued to participate in talks for possible new sanctions. After the United States submitted a resolution draft that would tighten sanctions for Iran's failure to cooperate with the IAEA on May 19, 2010. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Jiang Yu stated that China still supported efforts to solve the nuclear diplomatically. After China voted for Resolution 1929 (S/RES/1929) on June 9, 2010, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Qin Gang stated that since the sanctions were targeted, there would be no harm done to Iranian people and the fact that the UN Security Council passed the resolution did not mean the door to diplomatic efforts is closed. These historical records show that China attempted to find equilibrium between Iran and the West by walking on the tightrope (*Straddling*, cell E).

However, China failed to suppress provocations from both sides. A series of events escalated the tension between the U.S. and Iran when China sat on the fence and played the two states off against each other. China's strategic ambiguity could not stave off challenges from the two states, however. Iran launched missiles in February and May,

2009 and disclosed the nuclear facilities in Fordow in September 2009. The U.S. followed suit by pursuing sanctions by mobilizing its own allies. After President Ahmadinejad announced on February 11, 2010 that the Natanz facility had already begun to enrich uranium to the level of 20 percent, the United States began to working on an independent sanction with its Middle Eastern and Asian allies in March 2010.

Given the rumor that Israel had been planning for a preemptive strike against Iranian nuclear facilities in February 2011, Iran was also preparing to take preemptive action. The U.S., Britain, and Canada imposed new sanctions on Iran by targeting its petrochemical, oil and gas industries on November 21, 2011. The U.S. announced the further tightening of its unilateral sanctions in February 2013. These provocations and reactions for counter-provocation from both sides disprove my Proposition-7 (*hiding prevents provocations*).

Proposition-6 (*delaying*) is confirmed by China's "principled" position in peaceful resolution and dialogue. In December 2009 the Obama administration proposed a sanction because Iran did not respond adequately to the U.S. overtures over the previous ten months. China did not agree to discuss this matter until March 2010. It took about three and a half months to get a reaction from China. To get an approval from China for passage of the Resolution 1929 (June 9, 2010), it took more than five months (160 days) after Iran dismissed the deadline set by the U.S. (December 31, 2009) for complying with the previous resolutions and cooperating with IAEA inspection.

Still, China did not foment conflicts between Iran and the United States deliberately nor mediated for a settlement. Thus, Propositions 5 and 8 (*abetting* and

mediating) could not confirmed. However, in terms of abetting China must have calculated the conceivable outcomes of being reluctance. Chinese leaders know how Iran would act if China shows unenthusiastic attitude to cooperate with the United States. It might be a passive scheme for developing tensions to reap some benefits out of them. I will discuss delaying and passive abetting strategy in the subsequent sections.

Figure 16 Propositions Testing on Case-8

P	Focus of P	Where tested?	Confirmed, disconfirmed, ambiguous?
1	Straddling to get benefit from both	2009 2010	**Confirmed:** China agreed to press Iran and then soothed its dissatisfaction by reiterating importance of dialogue. In November 2009 China voted for the IAEA resolution → angers in Iran → China rationalized its vote as an emblematic position on the Iranian nuclear issue China agreed to support negotiations for new UNSC sanctions on Iran in April 2010 → Saeed Jalili's visit → Dai Bingguo stressed the strategic importance of Sino-Iranian ties Iran is ready to construct a new uranium enrichment plant on April 19, 2010 → China commented that a negotiated solution is still possible but it also continued to participate in talks for possible new sanctions. China voted for Resolution 1929 on June 9, 2010 → the sanctions were targeted, there is no harm on Iranian people and the fact that the UNSC passed the resolution does not mean the door to diplomatic efforts is closed.
2	Balancing unless there is a compensation	2009 - 2012	**Confirmed:** Iran and China signed a $3.2 billion gas deal to develop South Pars gas field in March 2009. The China National Petroleum Corporation signed a $5 billion deal with the National Iranian Oil Company to develop phase 11 of South Pars in June 2009. China criticized on July 6, 2010 saying that the US should not expand on sanctions unilaterally. The IAEA's reports (GOV/2011/65 and GOV/2012/9) indicated that Iran had carried out activities relevant to the development of a nuclear device. → The US called for stronger sanctions on Iran → China opposed further sanctions saying that the IAEA should be more objective. The United States brokered a deal to boost oil exports from the UAE from 50,000 to 200,000 barrels a day by mid-2010. Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia had agreed to increase their oil exports to China by 100, 50, and 12 percent respectively. The US decided to defer to label whether China is a currency manipulator. → China was inclined to agree to sanction on Iran
3	Balancing against the US relating Taiwan issues	2010	**Confirmed:** The US $6.4 billion arms deal with Taiwan in January 2010 → China suspended military dialogue with the US and threatened to

			impose sanctions on the US defense contractors. Chinese Counselor to the UN Kang Yong blocked a new round of sanctions on Iran in January 2010. The CNPC finalized a deal to develop phase 11 of South Pars gas project on February 10, 2010. China declined to support the EU3/US's further sanction plan on Iran on February 22, 2010
4	Bandwagoning if negotiations fail and secret nuclear facilities were found	2009 - 2013	**Confirmed:** Iran's incompliance → China agreed to refer the Iranian nuclear issue to the UNSC in October 2009 and February 2013; it approved three resolutions of IAEA Board of Governors (GOV/2009/82, GOV/2011/69, and GOV/2012/50); and consented to three UN resolutions (S/RES/1929, S/RES/1984, and S/RES/2049).
5	Abetting to take advantage of other's disputes	2009-2013	**Ambiguous:** No instigating effort can be found, but was it a passive abetting? Does China calculate the outcome of its reluctance to cooperating with the US?
6	Delaying negotiation and water-down the terms	2009 2010	**Confirmed:** In December 2009 the US proposed for another round of sanctions → China did not want to discuss it until March 2010, more than three months since the United States proposal. To get an approval from China for passage of the Resolution 1929 (June 9, 2010), it took more than five months after Iran dismissed the deadline (December 31, 2009) for complying with the previous resolutions and cooperating with IAEA inspection.
7	Hiding to contain both	2009 - 2013	**Disconfirmed:** China's distancing behavior → provocations from both sides. Iran launched missiles in February and May 2009 and revealed the secret facilities in Fardow in September 2009 → the US began for a fourth round of Security Council sanctions in mid-December 2009. Ahmadinejad announced on February 11, 2010 that the Natanz facility had already begun to enrich uranium to a level of 20% → the US began to working on a sanction package with its Arab and Asian allies in March 2010. The US, Britain, and Canada announced that they would impose new sanctions on Iran, targeting its petrochemical, oil and gas industries on November 21, 2011. Israel plans to strike Iranian nuclear facilities in February 2011 → Iran prepares to take preemptive action too. The US announced a further tightening of its unilateral sanctions against Iran in February 2013.
8	Mediating for stability and reputation	2009-2013	**Disconfirmed:** No mediating effort by China for settlement has been witnessed.
	Behavioral pattern in the Case-8	2009-2013	balancing → crisis → crisis → balancing → straddling → balancing → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → crisis → settlement → bandwagoning → side payment → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → hiding → crisis → delaying → crisis → bandwagoning → balancing, Taiwan → balancing → crisis → balancing → hiding → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → side payment → side payment → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → straddling → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → balancing → hiding → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → crisis → crisis → crisis → balancing → crisis → balancing →

			bandwagoning → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing

Comparison from 2009 to 2013

Between 2009 and 2013, President Hu Jintao (胡锦涛, 2002-2012), Premier Wen Jiabao (温家宝, 2002-2012), Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi (杨洁篪, 2007-2013) bequeathed their leadership to President Xi Jinping (习近平, 2012-), Premier Li Keqiang (李克强, 2012-), and Foreign Minister Wang Yi (王毅, 2013-). The dominant strategy that Chinese leadership has taken for North Korea and Iran in this period was delaying. While straddling between the United States and the noncompliant states, China delayed in order to adopt resolutions and diluted terms to adopt. It has repeated somewhat hollow peaceful resolution mantra all the time. China remained mum as it watched the problems around the noncompliant states deteriorated. However, this strategy could not contain provocations from Iran, North Korea, and the U.S.

My historical analysis on the noncompliant states shows mixed results on China's reaction, but also displays dominant tendency of straddling in North Korean case. Overall, faced with crises, China has been cooperative with the U.S. sanction efforts since 2006 with some variances. Observing China's reaction pattern in Iranian nuclear crisis for 24 years (1990-2013), it is notable that it resorts to "balancing" against the U.S. right after the crises break out and then "bandwagonning" or cooperating. It exhibited "crisis → balancing → bandwagonning" pattern ten times out of 28 Iranian crises (35.7%). In North Korean nuclear crises of the same period, China often adopted straddling and bandwagonning. It straddled seven times (36.8%) and bandwagonned

four times (21%) out of 19 crises. It was exhibiting either "crisis → straddling → bandwagoning" or "crisis → bandwagoning → straddling" pattern in dealing with North Korean crises.[283]

China has supported tougher sanctions on North Korea than it did on Iran. While it still harbors an offsetting-against-the U.S. mindset in dealing with Iran, it has been collaborating with the U.S. to pass the resolutions on North Korea. It has insisted on reviving the Six Party Talks for resolving the North Korean problem and emphasized peaceful resolution on Iranian issue, but China's assertion lack substantive initiative. China hosted the Six party Talks because having another nuclear power on its doorstep is a highly destabilizing factor that may tip the balance of power in East Asia against China's interest. North Korea is a more pressing problem than Iran for Chinese leadership.

It might be equally important to protect the interests of Chinese oil companies that invest multi-million dollars on Iran's economy. For China, the Middle Eastern and Iranian nuclear problems need to be stabilized, not necessarily resolved. Interestingly, the more China tries to stabilize the East Asian region and to restrain North Korea, the more it reveals its incapability to influence North Korea. Since showing its little control over North Korea has turned out to be embarrassing, it allowed North Korea to be nuclearized in 2013, but also tried to prevent regional turmoil.

Contrary to Shen Dingli's argument, I found that the U.S. arms deal with Taiwan had an impact on the Sino-Iranian relations in last two decades, but had little impact on

[283] See the Appendix H.

the Sino-North Korean relations (Shen 2009). Continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan have infuriated China. After the weapons deal between the United States and Taiwan was made, it cancelled military talks with the United States and signed a couple of billion dollars deals to develop Iranian gas field and transferred missiles to Pakistan. China attempted to extract maximum leverage from the United States by using the Iranian nuclear problem, asserting that the United States was undermining China's sovereign authority (Carlson 2005), whereas it did not link the Taiwan arms deal with North Korean issue. It has been more cooperative with the United States to restrain North Korea rather than Iran. North Korea is physically too close to use as a bargaining chip in dealing with the U.S.

Since 2009 China has been oscillating between bandwagoning with the United States sanction efforts (cell G) and balancing against the United States (cell C). This vacillation derived from the fundamental yet somewhat contradictory assessment that Taiwan is an inseparable Chinese territory and East Asian region must be free from wars. Chinese leadership evaluated the North Korean nuclear provocation may destabilize the region. Thus, it has been cooperating to pressure North Korea even though it failed to prevent the North from nuclearizing. By contrast, China assessed that even though Iranian nuclear enrichment program is dangerous, Iranian nuclear threat has strategic value in that it can pressure the U.S. to change its Taiwan policy. Therefore, its strategy since 2009 oscillated between bandwagoning and balancing, but most of time, China has sat on the fence (the cell E straddling and delaying).

In the following section, China's delaying-and-weakening strategy and passive abetting strategy are discussed. China's (in)capability to influence the noncompliant states is reassessed. I begin with the question on how and to what extent China has diluted and delayed international collective initiatives. Then, the cognitive map I drew in Chapter 2 is revised with uncovered strategic elements.

Why does China Delay?

Delaying in this study means not just postponing a decision. It is a strategy aimed at frustrating and undermining a hegemonic leader in the international regimes (Pape 2005, 10). It includes procrastinating negotiation process; asking reassessments of the facts; and diluting terms of agreements. Delaying the time of an agreement is not the only aspect of the strategy, but since in the historical analysis I have discussed how China had diluted the terms of agreements, in this section the focus is on how much time the parties have spent to reach an agreement regarding nuclear threats from Iran and North Korea.

The consultation time at the international regimes to take measures in dealing with noncompliance and provocations of North Korea and Iran has gotten longer. In North Korean case, Resolution 1695 (July 15, 2006) passed in eleven days since the DRPK launched the missile on July 5, 2006 and it took six days to approve Resolution 1718 (October 14, 2006) after the DPRK conducted the first nuclear test on October 9, 2006. However, the consultation time became longer in passing UN resolutions since 2009. The UN Security Council spent nineteen days to approve Resolution 1874 (June 12, 2009) since North Korea's second nuclear test on May 25, 2009. It took 42 days to

pass Resolution 2087 (January 22, 2013) after the DPRK launched Taepodong-2 missile on December 12, 2012. The members of UN Security Council spent 27 days total for consultation to approve Resolution 2094 (March 7, 2013) after the third nuclear test on February 12, 2013. The figures imply that a division of opinions in the UN Security Council delays the resolution approval.

Figure 17 Consultation Time on North Korean Issue

Date		Consultation time
July 5, 2006	North Korean missile launch	11 days
July 15, 2006	Resolution 1695 (S/RES/1695)	
October 9, 2006	The first North Korea nuclear test	6 days
October 14, 2006	Resolution 1718 (S/RES/1718)	
April 5, 2009	North Korean missile launch	9 days
April 13, 2009	Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2009/7)	
May 25, 2009	The second North Korean nuclear test	19 days
June 12, 2009	Resolution 1874 (S/RES/1874)	
July 4, 2009	North Korean ballistic missile launch	Blocked
July 6, 2009	The Security Council emergency meeting, China blocked adaptation of a resolution	
March 26, 2010	South Korean destroyer (*Cheonan*) was torpedoed	Blocked
	No action could be taken because of China's resistance	
March 16, 2012	North Korean missile launch	32 days
April 16, 2102	Presidential Statement (S/PRST/2012/13)	
December 12, 2012	North Korean missile launch	42 days
January 22, 2013	Resolution 2087 (S/RES/2087)	
February 12, 2013	The third North Korean nuclear test	27 days
March 7, 2013	Resolution 2094 (S/RES/2094)	

As for the Iranian case, China agreed to "report" (not "refer") Iran's incompliance to the UN Security Council (GOV/2006/14) on February 4, 2006, but it opposed a resolution draft proposed by France and Britain due to its citation of Chapter VII on March 3, 2006. About a month later, the IAEA report (GOV/2006/27, April 28, 2006) expressed difficulties to verify Iran's nuclear activities. On June 2, 2006, EU3+3

devised an incentive/disincentive package, but Iran rejected it on July because if it failed to observe the agreement, it might invite further sanctions.

Figure 18 Consultation Time on Iranian Issue

Date		Consultation time
April 28, 2006	IAEA said it was unable to monitor and verify Iran's nuclear activity (GOV/2006/27)	95 days
June 2, 2006	The EU3+3's Incentive/disincentive package proposed, but Iran rejected it in July	
July 31, 2006	Resolution (S/RES/1696), set the deadline of August 31 to suspend uranium enrichment	
August 31, 2006	IAEA said Iran has not suspended its uranium enrichment	115 days
December 23, 2006	Resolution 1737 (S/RES/1737), set the deadline of February 22, 2007 to stop uranium enrichment	
February 22, 2007	IAEA said Iran has continued to enrich uranium	31 days
March 24, 2007	Resolution 1747 (S/RES/1747)	
February 4, 2008	Iranian missile launch	29 days
March 3, 2008	Resolution 1803 (S/RES/1803)	
July 28, 2008	Ahmadinejad announced Iran possesses about 6,000 centrifuges	62 days
September 27, 2008	Resolution 1835 (S/RES/1835)	
October 24, 2009	Iran missed deadline for nuclear swap deal	35 days
November 27, 2009	IAEA Resolution (GOV/2009/82)	
December 31, 2009	Iran missed the US deadline to comply UN resolutions	160 days
June, 29, 2009	Resolution 1929 (S/RES/1929)	
November 8, 2011	IAEA Report (GOV/2011/65): Iran carried out activities relevant to the development of a nuclear program	10 days
November 18, 2011	IAEA Resolution (GOV/2011/69)	
February 24, 2012	IAEA Report (GOV/2012/19): Iran has not given up uranium enrichment	202 days
September 13, 2012	IAEA Resolution (GOV/2012/50)	
February 21, 2013	IAEA reports Iranian issue to UN Security Council (GOV/2013/27)	

Only after the rejection of incentive package did China agree to pass Resolution 1696 (S/RES/1696) on July 31, 2006. It took 95 days since the IAEA report was published. The resolution specified the deadline for suspending the uranium enrichment by August 31, but the IAEA report (GOV/2006/53, August 31, 2006) stated Iran did not suspended uranium enrichment. It took 115 days to pass the Resolution 1737 (S/RES/1737) on December 23, 2006. The Resolution 1737 assigned the 60 days

deadline for suspending nuclear suspicious activity in Iran, but 60 days later, the IAEA report (GOV/2007/8, February 22, 2007) said that Iran did not stop its enrichment activity. It took 31 days to pass the Resolution 1747 (S/RES/1747) on March 24, 2007. It took 62 days to adopt the Resolution 1835 (S/RES/1835) on September 27, 2008 since President Ahmadinejad announced that Iran now possessed about 6,000 nuclear centrifuges on July 28, 2008.

The IAEA report (GOV/2009/18, February 19, 2009) said that Iran was operating nuclear centrifuges to enrich uranium. Iran revealed enrichment facilities in Fordow on September 2009 and ignored the deadline (October, 24) for the nuclear swap deal with Russia and France. It took 35 days to adopt the IAEA resolution (GOV/2009/82) with China's affirmation. Iran also disregarded the deadline set by the U.S. (December 31, 2009) for suspending nuclear activity and began to construct additional ten uranium enrichment plants. Until the UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 1929 (S/RES/1929) on June 9, 2010, it took 160 days from the time Iran passed the U.S. deadline (December 31, 2009).

The IAEA report (GOV/2011/65, November 8, 2011) stated that Iran carried out activities relevant to the development of a nuclear program. After ten days consultation the IAEA Board of Governors passed the resolution (GOV/2011/69). However, it took about seven months (202 days) to adopt another IAEA resolution (GOV/2012/50) on September 13, 2012 since the IAEA report (GOV/2012/19, February 24, 2012) stated that Iran has not given up its uranium enrichment activities.

It is notable that consulting time to making an agreement for passing a resolution has gotten longer in recent years and it took more time on Iranian issue than North Korean. In the North Korean nuclear crisis, the average time to reach an agreement from 2006 to 2010 was 11 days, but after 2012 it took 33 days. In the Iranian case, the average time for consultation to issue a resolution is 66 days between 2006 and 2008, whereas 101 days since 2009. The average time taken to consult on the North Korean issue between 2006 and 2013 was 21 days, whereas on the Iranian issue in the same period was 82 days. The simple statistics confirms China's relative promptness on the North Korean issue.

Dealing with both the United States and the noncompliant states China managed to delay, deflect, and weaken the tough sanction measures first by opposing the submission of dossier to the Security Council and then by engaging in lengthy negotiations on the content of agreement. I argue that China has delayed and sought to weaken punitive terms because, first, it tried to escape from the difficult situation through procrastination and there is no time pressure to act and no immediate necessity for decision (George 1980a, 35; Macdonald 1992, 32), and second because maintaining stability outweighs pursuit of denuclearization (International Crisis Group 2009), and third, because it perceives the crises caused by the noncompliant states as less urgent problems than the United States does (Garver, Leverett, and Leverett 2009, 37).

Intended Procrastination or Trapped by Imperatives?

China has been reactive, circumspect, and highly risk-averse in dealing with both the United States and the noncompliant states. It eschews strong pressures on the

noncompliant states or risky counter-alliance against the U.S. By not involving itself in a coalition to check the U.S. hegemony, China can achieve its security better (Schweller 1998, 59; G. H. Snyder 2007). It waits to see for the other's stance on the issue first and continues behind-the-scenes efforts. In the situation of lack of clarity and no time limit to make a decision, it is rational for China to stay passive. It might anticipate that the situation may improve by itself or better options may become available for China (George 1980a, 36).

By bringing the noncompliant states nuclear issue to the multilateral negotiation mechanism for lengthy discussions China might expect to restrain aberrations from both sides and to suppress a moral hazard problem in the alliance dilemma (Benson 2012; G. H. Snyder 2007). Has the outcome turned out as China expected? Proposition-7 (*hiding prevents provocation*) has failed to confirm any of the cases in this study.[284] Then was China unable to steer the other states toward the direction it wanted to direct?

We have seen that the prevailing Chinese behavioral pattern has been to strike a balance between being supportive to sanction on the noncompliant states and accommodating grievances from them while protecting its key interests, but it is not fully under China's control. The main motivation for decision-making for Chinese leaders is avoiding risks that would emanate from turmoil from North Korea and Iran. Providing North Korea with aids is less costly in preventing the regime from collapsing. Keeping Iranian issue at the IAEA (not the UN Security Council) might be a cheaper alternative to secure oil supply route and Middle Eastern markets. China is helping them

[284] See the Appendix G.

subtly because Chinese leaders are trapped by their own imperatives, rather than pursuing their goals (Luttwak 2012, 7).

We can see many cases of straight defiance from North Korea against the Chinese authority. China has enticed North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapon program, but the North has directly challenged China's repeated calls for tranquility. Though many Chinese officials and experts remain deeply troubled by North Korean behavior, this disaffection has not produced definitive policy reassessment, even when North Korea has openly defied China. The Chinese leaders bide time and hope to minimize the potential risks of a larger crisis. But such covert and overt assistance has not provided China with meaningful influence over the DPRK (Pollack 2011, 199). Chen Jian also said,

> "Beijing's leaders are facing a major dilemma: if they do not apply the economic means, it is likely that their voice will go unheard by Pyongyang's ears; but if they do use economic means—such as cutting off China's aid to North Korea—this might backfire and, in the worst case scenario, might even cause North Korea's economic and societal collapse and thus result in a huge blow to China's own interests ... It seems that Beijing is yet to develop a satisfactory strategy to cope with this dilemma" (Chen 2003, 4–10).

For China, maintaining a good relationship with the noncompliant states is a necessary prerequisite for coaxing them, but North Korea and Iran know that such aid and support is for protecting China's own self-interest, not for fully sharing interests with them. Fear of arousing instability and stabilizing the region for maintain its economic performance are the two principal motives behind China's continued support to the noncompliant states and its opposition to sanctions. Food and energy supply can stabilize North Korea and siding with Iran in the multilateral talks can help Chinese companies thrive in the Middle East region.

However, it is possible that we can suspect China's malign ulterior motives for the long term. For Machiavellians, prolonging the crisis between the noncompliant states and the United States serves China's interests better than ending it. The selfish China, thus, prolongs the negotiating process going as long as possible regardless of the outcome. It might seek to sustain the nuclear crisis at a manageable level in order to reduce the likelihood that the United States devises a more confrontational policy toward China. An obstinate emphasis on a diplomatic solution may indicate China's willingness to let the nuclear issue simmer insofar as a crisis will not lead to full-scale conflicts between North Korea and the U.S. or between Iran and the United States (Israel).

China might not be an obvious tertius gaudens (the enjoying third), but by subtly perpetuating crises it can generate leverage on both actors, eschew constraints on its behavior, and gain more maneuverability. By keeping the United States engaged in the North Korean and Iranian problem China might be able to prevent the emergence of a more hostile U.S. policy and maintain bilateral cooperation with the United States at a relatively low cost. As we have seen, in the deliberations at the UN, China used its influence to water down some of the sanctions that could hurt the noncompliant states most. It is likely that Chinese leaders have understood all along that efforts to settle the noncompliant states nuclear issue via negotiations and dialogue alone would give time for them to move forward with its plans for nuclear weapons (Garver 2011, 81).

China's ulterior aim might not be to stop the noncompliant states from going nuclear, but to create a situation in which the United States has little choice but to accept the situation, while at the same time, feel grateful towards China for trying to prevent

the noncompliant states from nuclearizing (Friedberg 2011, 192). China has delayed the U.S. sanction initiatives because it desired the least price to protect its own interest; because it is trapped the immediate and concrete interests to pursue; and because it is beneficial to keep the crisis going. It is its parochial interests that drive Chinese foreign policy. China's core interest has been to maintain stability of international environment, not denuclearization.

Sanctions cause Instability

For China, deterring nuclear ambition of the noncompliant states is less important than maintaining the status quo in its spheres of interest. China has a vested interest in the survival of the noncompliant states rather than punishing them to collapse or changing the regime. Furthermore, Chinese leaders do not assume nuclear-armed noncompliant states necessarily to be harmful to China. The continued efforts to develop nuclear weapons by the noncompliant states do not pose an existential threat to China in short term, but an unstable North Korea and Iran that are crippled by the sanctions certainly will hurt China's security and economic interests.

As we have seen in the content analysis on Chinese Foreign Ministry press conferences in Chapter 2, since 2003, China has emphasized heavily the need of settlement via dialogues, peaceful resolution, and less coercive measures. China remains highly circumspect regarding the application of sanctions on North Korea and Iran. Chinese leaders might not think the U.S. can denuclearize the noncompliant states through sanctions. For China, sanctions are wrong and ineffective for three reasons. First, sanctions lead to instability because of adverse effects. Second, they are not only

violations of non-interference principle but also considered bullying. Third, the purpose of sanction is not punishing the noncompliant states, but bring them back to the negotiation table.

First, China has been consistent in its opposition to coercive policies. This position stems in part from its own experience as a target of sanction. China was sanctioned by the Soviet Union in the 1960s because of its nuclear program, by the West after the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident and missile sales to Pakistan in the 1990s. Sanctions can entail negative humanitarian consequences for innocent citizens, and may also backfire leading to hardened positions and loss of channels for communication (International Crisis Group 2010, 11). Sanctions not only radicalize and unite the Iranian and North Korean people but also consolidate power base of the noncompliant states leaders to resist external threats.

Second, China's longstanding foreign policy code of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence[285] clearly specifies mutual non-interference of internal affairs. China views sanctions as products of power politics to force countries to submit to the will of more powerful and the applications of rules based on Western values. China objects to sanctions on the ground that they are based solely on the U.S. law and not on international agreements. China has sought to prevent the U.S. from using the UN to justify military actions on Iran and North Korea.

[285] They are (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) Mutual non-aggression, (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (4) Equality and mutual benefit, and (5) Peaceful co-existence (和平共处五项原则:互相尊重主权和领土完整,互不侵犯,互不干涉内政,平等互利,和平共处).

Third, China argues that punitive sanctions could undercut the ongoing efforts to resolve nuclear issues peacefully since it is likely to lead to military confrontations. When China agreed to impose sanctions, it ensured that they were framed as a means to urge the noncompliant states to return to negotiations. It insisted on inclusion of conditions under which the UN Security Council would terminate sanctions. Since China had a different concept of sanction from the United States, the difference led to the rift in the UN Security Council and IAEA member states such as China and Russia on one side and France, Britain, and the United States on the other.

Since nuclear proliferation does not pose a direct threat to China's core interests, China tends to frame it as a bilateral issue between the United States and the noncompliant states by shifting the responsibility directly to them. This is because Chinese leaders have different policy priority and feel less urgent than the United States on the nuclear issue.

Different Priority between the United States and China

While both China and the United States oppose the noncompliant states develop nuclear weapons, this objective is less weighty for China than the United States. China does not feel compelled to act as forcefully as the United States to prevent the noncompliant states from acquiring nuclear weapons. For the United States, preventing the noncompliant states from making atomic bombs is a very important objective. For China, it is desirable, but less vital. China's interests in nonproliferation are considerably less important than the United States. The prospect of nuclear-armed noncompliant

states is simply not as frightening for China as it is for the United States. In other words, China does not share the United States' sense of urgency on nonproliferation.

President Bush also understood this difference. He said "China and the United States had different interests on the Korean Peninsula. The Chinese wanted stability; we wanted freedom. They were worried about refugees flowing across the border; we were worried about starvation and human rights" (Bush 2010, 424). The United States viewed nuclear ambition of the noncompliant states as a prime source of regional instability because the regimes fund terrorism and pursue WMD, but China does not necessarily share this view (Medeiros 2009).

While nuclear non-proliferation is one of important goals common to both, this objective is less essential to China than the United States. For China, sustaining economic growth is a top concern. Upholding legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is not much concern to the United States, but very much so to Chinese leaders. The United States wants to correct the deviant actions of the outlier states, even though the efforts would destabilize the target countries and the regions, whereas China strongly prefers not to jeopardize the pariah regimes and to preserve status quo in the region.

In my study, I narrowed down the six different but related goals in Chinese foreign policy. [286] They are nuclear non-proliferation, peace in East Asia and the Middle East, China's economic growth, maintaining legitimacy of CCP, stability in the noncompliant states, punishing the noncompliant states. Between China and the United

[286] See the Appendix I.

States, some of the aforementioned goals are not assigned equal priority with same intensity. China asserts that punishing the noncompliant states leads instability in the regions, whereas the United States argues that nuclear ambition of the noncompliant states is a destabilizing factor. While the United States thinks that the nuclear program in the pariah states should be deterred in order to stabilize the region, China argues that domestic stability of the noncompliant states and peace in the region are intertwined, and as such, coercion only leads to instability. China's continuous development is closely related to stability of Iran and North Korea, but severe sanctions cause adverse impact on Chinese economy, whereas for the United States Chinese economy, is of secondary issue when it is concerning nuclear threats from the noncompliant states.

For China, being either too tough or too loose on nonproliferation principle would be problematic, but an appropriate level of crisis evolving around nonproliferation norm would help to advance its interests by inducing both sides to court China for its support. Neither severe sanctions nor relaxed measures would increase China's strategic value on both actors. Intermediate value of sanction between harshness and leniency is the key to promote its interests between the two. There is a curvilinear downward relationship between China's interest and severity of sanction.[287] For Chinese leaders, punishing North Korea and Iran has lower priority than preserving stability of the regions. This difference of urgency between China and the United States leads to different approaches to handle the noncompliant states. Simply put, sanctioning the

[287] Curvilinear downward relationship means that intermediate values of x result in high values of y, and extreme values of x (either high or low) result in low values of y.

noncompliant states and preventing nuclearization do not improve China's strategic calculus. This becomes clearer in the revised cognitive map of the Chinese leaders.

China's Official Cognitive Maps Revisited

Does China practice what it preaches in public? There must be a discernible gap that separates public rhetoric from the actual conduct of Chinese foreign policy. It should be obvious to intelligent observers that China's words and deeds differ. It is not surprising the official Chinese Foreign Ministry statements are intended not to reveal China's ulterior motives clearly. What China has announced about Iran and North Korea in the Chinese Foreign Ministry briefings has analyzed in Chapter 2, but apart from what it said officially, there are more concerns Chinese leaders must address. Through historical analyses from Chapter 4 to 7, I found that it is necessary to consider concealed relations between different goals of foreign policy priority in China. Including China's official logic in the figure-3, I extracted additional thirteen core elements that Chinese leaders have taken into consideration in their foreign policy decision-making, including China's official logic in figure-3 (Axelrod 1976).[288]

Because socialism has not been effective in satisfying people's demands anymore since 1989, the most important goal for Chinese leaders was to maintain economic performance, it is imperative for China that East Asian region be stabilized

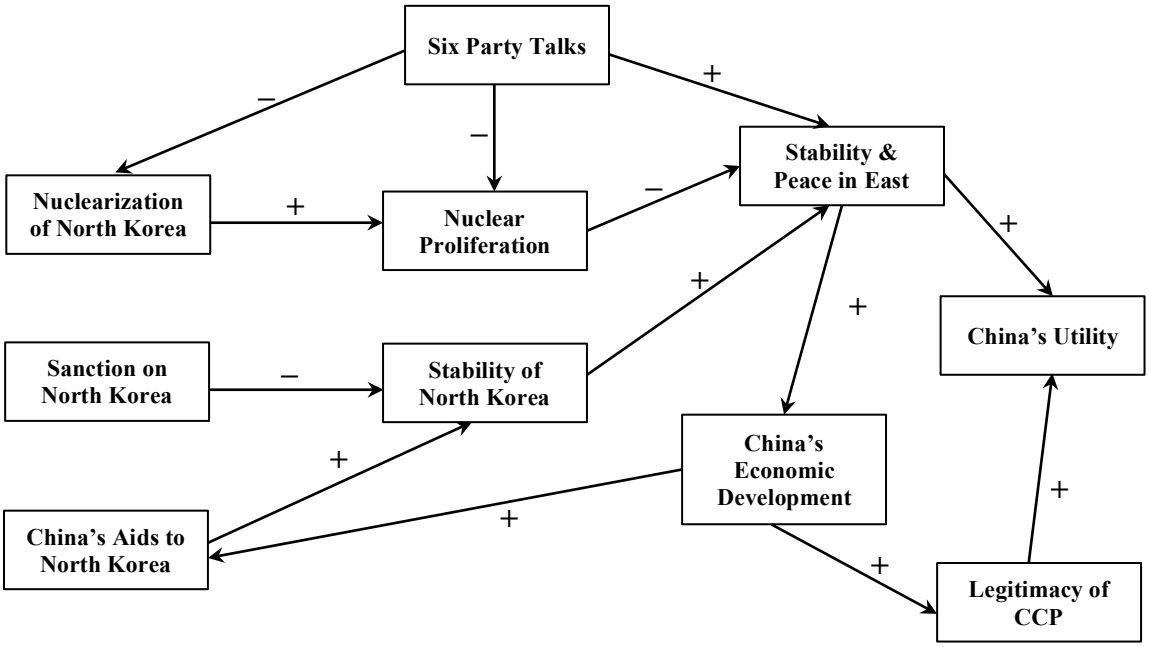
[288] They include (1) encouraging the Six Parties Talks (the EU3+3 talks), (2) stopping nuclearization of the noncompliant states, (3) preventing nuclear proliferation, (4) maintaining stability and peace in East Asia (Middle East), (5) sanctioning the noncompliant states, (6) preserving stability of the noncompliant states, (7) providing aids to North Korea, (8) enhancing economic cooperation with Iran, (9) ensuring China's energy security, (10) continuing China's economic development, (11) upholding legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), (12) obstructing arms deals between Taiwan and the United States, and (13) promoting China's utility (unspecified best interests of China).

and oil supply from the Middle East must not be disrupted. Chinese leaders are crafting policies on both the noncompliant states and the United States in this broad context.

North Korea

The United States wants North Korea abandon its nuclear program completely and irreversibly as a prerequisite for further negotiations. North Korea wants to be recognized as a normal state along with a formal diplomatic relation with the United States. However, the DPRK does not want a full denuclearization. The North has struggled with seeking protection for the Kim dynasty. Thus, opening up the country for survival could lead to the demise of the dynasty (Cha 2002; Cha 2012).

Figure 19 Chinese Leaders' Cognitive Map on North Korea



+ means promote, help, benefit, or support. − means hurt, prevent, harm, or oppose.

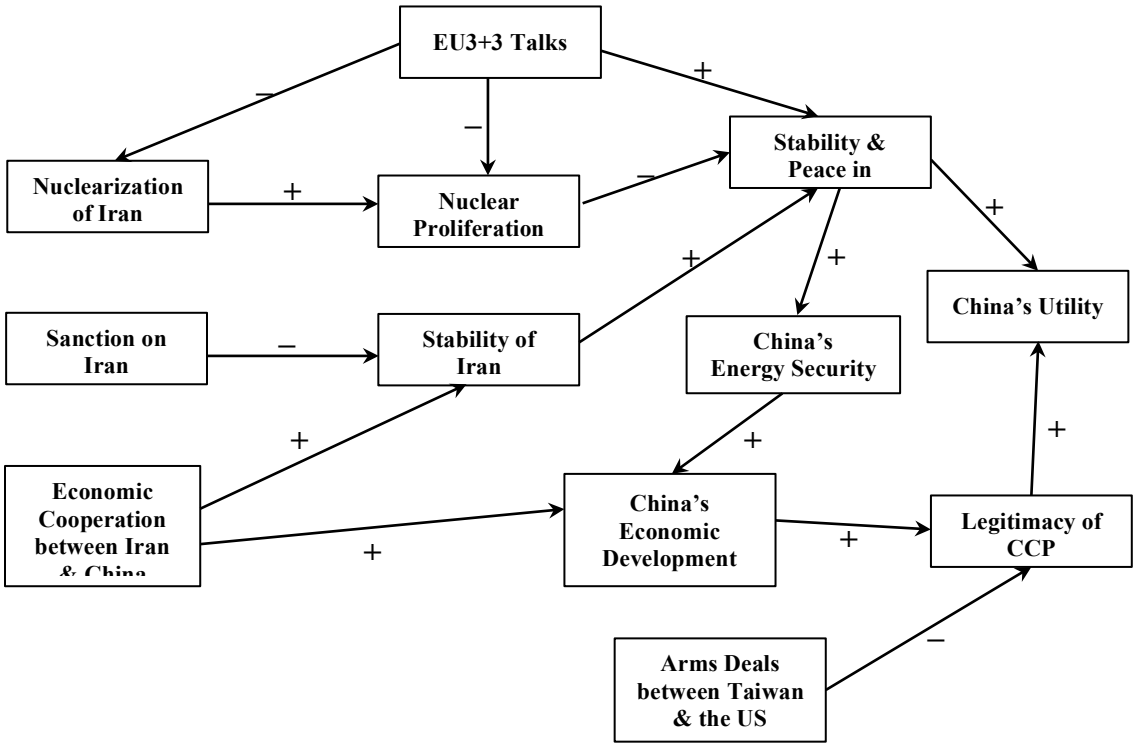
The China's calculation pertaining to the North Korean nuclear issue is as follows. Tough sanctions would destabilize the regime that has been in transition from Kim Jong Il to Kim Jong Un. The unstable regime would become more provocative and

jeopardize peace in East Asia. If instability caused by the North hinders China's economic development, then the CCP would lose its legitimacy necessary to govern the country. Since instability in the region would damage China's utility, aiding the North to survive is the only option to avert a catastrophe, such as flooding defectors into Northeastern province or a war in Korean peninsula. Thus, sanctions on North Korea related China's utility adversely, but assistance to North Korea has had a positive effect on China's utility because Chinese leaders think supporting the North will stabilize the Kim's kingdom and East Asian region and because they have not come up with a better alternative.

Iran

The United States wants to dismantle Iran's enrichment and reprocessing facilities and to permanently halt Iran's nuclear program, and even prevent the regime from building a nuclear power plant. Because Iran sponsors terrorism, threatens Israel, disrupts peace in the Middle East, and denies freedom of its own people, only regime change might resolve the these problems including nuclear development. Iran wants to be recognized as a regional power and intended to exercise its rights as stipulated in the NPT, but it has been denied to access to certain nuclear technology. Iran has construed this denial of access as clear bullying, humiliation, and discrimination. If Iran bows to American threats and sanction, it would lose not only its independence, but also its identity as the Islamic Republic (Jervis 2014; Mousavian 2014).

Figure 20 Chinese Leaders' Cognitive Map on Iran



+ means promote, help, benefit, or support. − means hurt, prevent, harm, or oppose.

China's main concerns regarding the Iranian issue are its energy security and investment opportunity. Economic cooperation between the two countries has risen dramatically over the past few years. Strategic cooperation between them is in China's economic interests. This also caters to Iran's immediate needs. Not only would it stabilize the Islamic regime as financial sanction has paralyzed its economy, but also would secure fuels for China's sustainable growth and, in turn, justify legitimacy of the CCP. Since both tough sanctions on Iran and nuclear-armed Iran are detrimental to China's utility, it should strike a balance between implementing tough sanctions and preventing the nuclearization of Iran. Arms deals between Taiwan and the United States and militarized Taiwan have both had negative impact on China's integrity.

Due to this rationale behind Chinese strategic thinking, Chinese incentive-oriented strategy and American coercion-based strategy have highlighted the fault lines between them in the international negotiation regimes. Washington has sought to limit the noncompliant states' room for maneuver and constrain their options, but Beijing's economic assistance to Pyongyang and an increasing political relationship between Beijing and Teheran undermined Washington's tough measures. Beijing attached a higher priority to stabilizing its immediate region and to securing its oil supply route than to coercing the noncompliant states (Pollack 2011, 174). The Chinese leaders need to balance the conflicting imperatives and the two hostile parties.

The latest history of Sino-North Korean and Sino-Iranian history show us that China has been straddling between the United States and the noncompliant states most of the time while opportunistically bandwagonning on sanctions. Delaying the process of negotiations in the IAEA and the UN Security Council and diluting the intensity of measures were notable characteristics of China's strategy in recent years. Contrary to its wishful thinking that hiding leads to deterrence, neither disputant has been restrained by China's opacity. China has been reactive to actions of other state actors because Chinese leaders found it difficult to hide its incapability to leverage the others while predicting future outcomes. Furthermore, Chinese leaders might have thought that nuclearized noncompliant states might not be as hazardous to its own interest as the U.S. believes them.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The controversy over Iran and North Korea's attempts to acquire nuclear weapons is both a blessing and a curse for the Sino-U.S. relationship (Rice 2011, 522). It could be both a chance to facilitate cooperation between the United States and China, and an apple of discord. Evolution of China's stance in the middle of the two hostile parties, which do not share worldviews, was the subject of the research. Why did Chinese decision makers agree to cooperate to punish the noncompliant states even though punishing them did not enhance its relative power, and might instead harm its relative leverage that it enjoys against the United States? Under what condition has China withheld support for the U.S. pressure against the noncompliant states and why has it constrained America's ability to steer the international security agenda? The results of test show that China has been supportive to the U.S. sanction efforts when it can secure its parochial interests. If the sanctions initiated by the West destabilize the regional status quo as the North Korean case or they threaten China's energy supply as the Iranian case, China has been straddling and delaying.

For twenty-four years Iran and North Korea dig in their heels and the United States has not backed down to them. Chinese reluctance to pursue closer cooperation with the United States has imposed significant limits on the United States prerogatives. Amid of nuclear standoffs, to what extent has China embraced supports to sanction

initiatives led by the United States? Various strategies between balancing and bandwagoning are employed by China to shift the balance of interest in its favor or to prevent other states from shifting it against China. The two main hypotheses were tested: (1) China was cooperative with the United States only when it is able to see potential concrete rewards for it. (2) Without material incentives China has been straddling or delaying to resolve nuclear threats from the noncompliant states.

Findings

There are some surprises against my expectation in the results of research and conformities as well. First, China's behavior between the United States and the non-compliant states does not conform with conventional extended deterrence theory, which emphasizes clear signaling to avoid miscommunications and thereby wars. In the research China's behavioral code mostly has been concealing its clear stances between the conflicting parties. Second, the balance of interest, which decides a country's foreign policy by weighing the stakes involving to each party, has better explanatory power for China's opportunistic behaviors than looking at international systemic structure or identity, ideology, and norm.

Third, China has mediated between the United States and North Korea since 2003 by taking "clear" position, because by doing so it could ensure its interests—regional tranquility. However, China has played insignificant role in Iranian nuclear threats because it was not serious threats to their vital interest. But things will be changed. Since China's energy supply route is not diversified yet, stable energy supply from the Middle East will be important for keeping up its economic growth. It is

surprising China tacitly allowed nuclearization of the North without resolute preventive actions, but it is no surprise in the context of pursuing immediate interests. China has been compromising with American hegemony after the Soviet Union collapsed and it is not surprising that China is acquiescent in nuclearization of North Korea. The research results told us that China is a practical interest maximizer in making its foreign policy.

Fourth, I expected to see there is a moral hazard problem between China and the noncompliant states. The more supports Iran or North Korea gets from China, the more they are likely to be emboldened by it and thereby the more they are likely to be aggressive against the United States. Therefore China is supposed be ambiguous in-between by straddling. However, contrary to the moral hazard thesis, my findings show that China's ambiguity has failed to prevent the noncompliant states or the United States from provoking each other.

Straddling as a Default Strategy

Conventional extended deterrence theory, which holds that being ambiguous increases the chances for conflict between states due to misperception and recommends for clear, credible, and costly signaling to deter threats and avoid undesirable wars (Jervis 1976; Stein 1990, 58; Lebow 1984, 85; Achen and Snidal 1989, 149; Huth 1988, 3). My study found otherwise. China's perpetuating ambiguity and minimum commitment for either side has contributed to managing status quo in East Asia and Middle East. It is because Chinese leaders perceive involved national interests, but do not have a clear recipe between coercion and persuasion. Under this circumstance, China cannot clearly signal its future move because it does not know what it should be clear. It

can only react on fluid environment. Therefore, looking at how much stake China has on either the United States or the noncompliant states is better to understand whether it would act as a responsible actor with a plan.

The best way to understand China's preferences is to consider them as products of rough calculation of risks and rewards. The two key findings of this study are that China prefers partial support between the two conflicting sides, and that China changed its reluctant position in the presence of an unambiguous incentive, but it does not support the United States against the non-compliant states more than its own interests dictate. This study confirms the Samuel Kim's "max-mini strategy" whereby China seeks the maximum rewards at the minimum risk (2002).

China's actions may have little regard for legitimacy or for ethical concerns. Instead, keeping threats under its control and letting others know it has some interest and the power to influence on issues is the overriding concern for Chinese leaders. They might not have a solution for nuclear threats from the noncompliant states. On the one hand, its rote calls for a resumption of the Six Party Talks and the EU3+3 negotiation imply there is no simple recipe for convincing the noncompliant states to abandon nuclear program. On the other hand, China sees some value in maintaining a certain level of crisis because that can promote China's strategic value to both the United States and the noncompliant states.

Chinese foreign policy towards noncompliant states did not follow a predetermined course but was determined by perception of its interests, by Chinese leaders' interpretations of how best to achieve their goals, and by how other countries

reach theirs (Foot 2006). Most of time China has been preoccupied by its relationship with the United States and reacting to what the United States is doing. It has been cooperative with the United States against the noncompliant states, but it has not offered the unwavering support that the United States demanded. It has offered different levels of support for sanctions on the noncompliant states contingent on how it perceives potential hazards and payoffs.[289] Limited support for the United States by straddling has been China's preferred default policy in dealing with nuclear threat from the noncompliant states. I found that the disagreements between the two superpowers are not a substantive one, but how they see each other's goals. As Robert Jervis observes, "Both to interpret others' behavior and to design one's own behavior so that others will draw the desired conclusions from it, the actor must try to see the world the way the other sees it" (Jervis 1976, 409).

Balance of Interest

China's interests—preserving the political regime led by the CCP; promoting economic growth; and ensuring territorial integrity—are not different from other countries across time (Loke 2009), but the perceived size of interest pertaining to the United States comparing to that of the noncompliant states is the most critical component to determine whether China would cooperate with the United States or not. As Jacky Fisher argues "all nations want peace, but they want a peace that suits them" (White 2013, 124). China has been seeking maximum chance of economic growth while

[289] See the Appendix J.

minimizing the price of obtaining supports for its development. Its immediate interests prevail over consideration for long-term interests or grand strategy.

When China wants to improve the relationship with the United States as seen through the cases of entry of WTO in 2001 and renewal of MFN status in 2004, and when China can reap immediate rewards as in the case of disinvestment in Iran in 1997, it cooperated with the United States to impose sanctions on the noncompliant states. China's interest in improving political relations with the United States after the Tiananmen incident led Chinese leadership to cancel nuclear cooperation with Iran in response to pressure from the United States in 1997. China's perceived stake in stable U.S.-China relations and the corresponding material benefits to be enjoyed from stable relations has been crucial to elicit cooperation for sanctions on the noncompliant states.

China has been silent on the nuclearization of North Korea and decided not to push forward for denuclearization of the DPRK more decisively even though there have been many discussions on internalization of international norms of nuclear nonproliferation in Constructivism (Johnston 2007). The study found that if there is no concrete reward for China, the United States has had limited ability to shape China's behavior. China often refused to commit fully to tough sanction against noncompliant states in an attempt to balance denuclearization with its other foreign policy priorities. The other two China's foreign policy priorities—cultivating Iran as a key partner in the Middle East and preventing North Korea's collapse—have been weighed against its stake in Sino-U.S. relations.

Contrary to Shen Dingli's argument (2009), I found that China used only Iran, not North Korea, as a bargaining chip to make a better deal with the United States on Taiwan. U.S.-Taiwan arms deals had brought an adverse effect to induce China's cooperation for deterring Iranian nuclear ambition, but not North Korean. After the arms contracts between the United States and Taiwan were revealed in 1992 and 2010, China has rejected the United States' entreaties to press Iran more, signed gas field development deals with Iran, and suspended military talks with the United States. However, the deals has not influenced on Sino-US-DPRK dynamics. This is because of proximity of North Korea and it confirms the simple truth that geographic location is an important factor in international politics.

Interest Maximizer

Many scholars presupposed that China had been strategically ambiguous on international security problems like nuclear proliferation. Evans Mederios and Wu Xinbo argued that China shows contradictory reluctance in which it wants the status and influence as a world leader but it fears the burdens of leadership at the same time (Medeiros 2007; Wu 2001). David Shambaugh also argued that China opts to abstain and often stands aside or remains passive in addressing global problems. It has been restrained, measured, and largely acquiescent to solve transnational issues (2013). These scholars argue that China keeps its head down and dodges international security challenges. However, by matching historical records and eight propositions I found that this is partly true and that there are some variations as it was the North Korean case since 2003.

In the North Korean case, China moved from hands-off approach, to mediating, to supporting U.S. sanction yet delaying pattern. In the Iranian case, it moved from balancing efforts, to bandwagoning with U.S. sanctions, to supporting-cum-delaying pattern. China's stance has shifted from refusing to support the United States, to take a role for deterring the noncompliant states' nuclear ambition, to agreeing for imposing sanctions. The year of 2006 was a watershed of China's cooperative shift.

From 1990 to 2005 China's stance on standoffs between the United States and the noncompliant states was by and large "balancing" against the United States. During this period, China had been strategically "clear" to both the United States and the noncompliant states. On the contrary, from 2006 to 2013, China has begun to cooperate (or bandwagon) with the United States efforts to restrain the noncompliant states, but it had delayed the negotiation process. The straddling hypothesis is mostly confirmed except the case-2 and 3 (Iran from 1990 to 1997 and North Korea from 1998 to 2005). The side payment hypothesis has not been proved in North Korean case, but it is confirmed in the case-2 (Iran from 1990 to 1997). All in all, China still has a potential to play a spoiler in containing nuclear threats, but it has been weighing options between cooperating with the United States and supporting the noncompliant states.

I argue that before 2006, China was still struggling between old-style Communist nonalignment movement mentality and capitalist growth-oriented mindset. This has manifested itself in inconsistency in foreign policy between North Korea and Iran. Since 2006, partly due to its solid achievements on world stage which burnished the legitimacy of the CCP as evident in its smooth leadership successions, and partly because Chinese

leadership do not perceive existential threats posed by nuclear-armed noncompliant states, it adopted straddling and delaying turn.

Reducing Moral Hazard Problem?

Applying the Glenn Snyder's entrapment and abandonment dilemma, China must be suffered from the double whammy situation between the recalcitrant noncompliant states and the overbearing super power (Snyder 2007; Snyder and Diesing 1978). To alleviate allies' over-empowered reckless behavior, it is rational to minimize its commitment for either side and be ambiguous between the United States, and Iran and North Korea (Benson 2012; Benson 2006). However, my finding shows that China's wish-washness in-between had not brought about desired effects to curb hostility and provocations from both sides as Propostion-7 (*hiding prevents provocation*) is disconfirmed in all eight cases. In short, the study also showed that China's strategic ambiguity has not reduced the moral hazard problem.

As for North Korea, China abstained from UNSC resolution vote in May 1993, but tension escalated to the level of war between the North and the United States. Since the Agreed Framework was broken down in 2002, spiteful verbal attacks between Washington and Pyongyang continued while China is hiding. North Korea withdrew from the NPT in 2003 and denoted nuclear device three times in 2006, 2009 and 2013. China's inaction on suppressing the North's provocations after the *Cheonan* sinking and the Yeonpyeong Island shelling in 2011 destabilized the region by inviting U.S. aircraft carrier *George Washington* in the Yellow Sea between China and Korean Peninsula. China's nonchalant attitude escalated tension in the region and strengthened the U.S.-

South Korea-Japan alliance. The United States sanction on the North has been getting tougher throughout different administrations. China's straddling and hiding could not curb provocations from the both.

As for Iran, even though Russia and China favored softer measures on Iran's incompliance since 2006, but Iranian President Ahmadinejad announced the increase of enrichment capacity to 60,000 centrifuges and revealed the secret nuclear facilities in Fardow in 2009. On the other hand, the United States devised sanction measures with its Arab and Asian allies since 2010 outside of the UN. Israel also planed for preemptive strike on Iranian nuclear facilities since 2011. China's deliberate peripheral role at the negotiation table for Iranian nuclear problem has not been conducive to reduce the moral hazard problem. It is interesting to see that China has stepped into the Iranian industries where Western companies have left due to the U.S. sanctions. This Chinese opportunism shows another conceivable behavior type of "fishing" in the troubled water.

Contributions of the Study

The study confirms three key assumptions on Chinese foreign policy in post-Cold War era. First, China is reluctant to assume the global leadership and policies on the noncompliant states are largely reactive. Second, China needs peace and stability for its growth and Chinese leaders have considered policies on the noncompliant states in this context. Third, even though it is largely reactive, China still has veto power to direct global security issues in favor of its interests and its influence to shape discourses on international security will be clearer in the future. However, confirming these assumptions should come with caveats.

First, China has been reluctant to play a significant role in pursuit of nuclear nonproliferation and implicitly leaves the responsibilities to the United States. However, this does not necessarily mean China would be reluctant to pursue its own agenda in the future considering domestic pressure and desire to be recognized as a great power. It is hard to assess whether China's straddling strategy is a measure of guile or Chinese leadership is trapped by the imperatives. However, I could say, through the analysis on policies of the noncompliant states, China has been strategically patient toward both the United States and the noncompliant states because straddling is in China's interest. China would not be ambiguous if it is directly related to its core interests such as Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang and South China Sea.

Second, China's straddling behavior largely stems from practical calculation that China needs access to the global economy for capital, technology, and markets for its own economy to grow. China prefers maintaining the status quo to overthrowing it partly because challenging American hegemony does not improve its economic interests and partly because continuous economic growth makes Chinese people happy and the CCP in power. However, this is the case when we consider economy is the only most important aspect of Chinese foreign policy. There are other aspects of foreign policy such as pursuing great power status and registering an image of non-hegemonic power against the United States. If impatient Chinese domestic politics press Chinese foreign policy toward more assertive direction to differentiate its identity from America, China would not always go for straddling as its interest and power changes.

Third, China has showed its power to veto decisions it does not agree with by delaying sanctions on the noncompliant states. After the Cold War is over we found that the United States obviously retains strong soft power embodied in attractiveness of its culture, ideas, and institutions. American soft power has been considered better than Chinese since few have emulated Chinese culture outside of Asia even though it is growing fast economically in recent years. However, China found its power to resist and negate the discourse forged by the United States on global security issues. The Chinese veto power against the West in the international fora should be investigated as much as soft power. The major contribution of the study is that I have suggested straddling and delaying as a form of veto power. And a qualified assessment of Chinese straddling behavior is needed too. Maintaining economic growth and securing legitimacy of the CCP is the most important concern to make Chinese foreign policy for now, but this way of weighing interests will be changed in the future.

My research also contributes to add new values in IR field both methodologically and theoretically. The study of noncompliant states might not be original, but the comparative research design between the two noncompliant states (Iran and North Korea) from the perspective of the third party (China) against the hegemon (the United States) has not been developed. By taking two cases—Iran, and North Korea—from China's viewpoint, the study is rigorously devised both intra-case and cross-case comparisons to see whether the same Chinese foreign policy makers had acted similarly or differently to the noncompliant states. And I have found that they have reacted differently to the

noncompliant states depending on their assessment of interests. My comparative research design makes us to detect changes of Chinese foreign policy over time.

Four different methods are employed. They are historical comparisons of Chinese policies on North Korea and Iran by process-tracing, testing two broad hypotheses and eight propositions[290] by employing seven types of strategies deduced from various IR theories,[291] the content analysis of Chinese Foreign Ministry press conference, and the cognitive maps of Chinese foreign policy decision makers.[292] I coded 138 events in North Korea and 129 in Iran to find a pattern of Chinese reaction from 1990 to 2013.[293] By using multiple methods and triangulating the test results we can have a more complete picture of Chinese foreign policy making. The results of combing four different methods show that there are both consistency and inconsistency in China's policy between different time periods and between the noncompliant states, but overall Chinese leaders have tried to find a balance between its immediate material interests and long-term international reputation by engaging in straddling and delaying haphazardly.[294]

Theoretically, the outcome of research shows a mixed picture in the debate of between Constructivists and Realists when explaining China's strategic choices. In some sense, my research negates Constructivist arguments because China was more motivated by material interests than by the nonproliferation norm. My findings also fly in the face

[290] See the figure-5.

[291] See the figure-6.

[292] See Chapter 2 and 7.

[293] See the Appendix H.

[294] See the Appendix G.

of the Realists because China has not made any form of anti-hegemony alliance and sometimes it had cooperated with the United States without incentives. While China's reaction aligns closer to the Structural Realism's prediction when explaining its choices before 2006, Classical Realism and Defensive Realism fare well in the period of between 2006 and 2013. Offensive Realism does little to explain what transpired while Liberalism/English School (i.e. mediating thesis) only partially explains the North Korean cases. The results confirm the utility of eclectic approach in IR.

Another contribution of this study is creating typologies of the third party reaction between pure balancing and pure supporting based on perception of stakes (figure-6). China's general foreign policy orientation on nuclear threats from the noncompliant states was seeking a least objectionable course of action. I argue that there is a gradation between the two extreme options of sheer objection and complete cooperation. The range includes abetting, balancing, delaying, hiding, straddling, bandwagoning, and pure supporting depending on how the Chinese leaders weigh national interests in both the United States and the noncompliant states simultaneously. As the perception of its interests varies, the two colliding forces tending to helping or balancing the United States varies.[295]

Limitations and Future Research

I have created the different types of reaction of the third party and crosschecked the validity of IR theories against Chinese diplomatic history of the two noncompliant states. It is a modest step toward understanding China's strategic behavior in-between as

[295] See the figure-6.

part of Chinese foreign policy. However, there are limitations too. First, in analyzing China's behaviors, I assume China is a unitary actor in making its foreign policy, but Chinese leadership might not be monolithic. Even though China is an authoritarian regime, but there are some different voices in scholarly communities on Iranian and North Korean policy. In the future research various different opinions and debates in the Chinese epistemic community must be investigated and detailed studies on Chinese sources are necessary to find direct evidence of straddling and other types of strategy.

Second, in exploring strategic options for China in conflicts of others I primarily used secondary resources and journalistic accounts for evidence. The biggest obstacle for foreign policy study is that it is hard to know decision makers' ulterior motivation and difficult to take what diplomats have said at face value. Since it is difficult to interview top Chinese decision makers, relying on journalism and Chinese scholarly works is inevitable in foreign policy analysis. However, we can minimize the chance of faulty interpretation of sources by triangulating the results of tests of different methods.

Much more remains to be done in the future. There are more noncompliant states with which the United States has been dealing. We can expand the research on Syria, Sudan, Pakistan, Israel, and Zimbabwe. There are more issues with which China and the United States disagree such as favored world order, human rights, intellectual property right, terrorism, and trade. As the case of nuclear nonproliferation, for the United States, China's role could be essential to pursue its agenda. The expanding comparative studies on other states and other issues from China's perspective will reinforce or weaken validity of my argument on straddling and the balance of interest model.

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Appendix A

Chronology of North Korean Issue

Date	Type	Document	Subject/concern	Vote
July 7, 1950	Resolution	S/RES/84	Assistance to South Korea, determining DPRK broke the peace	7-0-3 (abstentions: Egypt, India, Yugoslavia; absent: USSR)
August 8, 1991	Resolution	S/RES/702	Admission of DPRK and South Korea to the United Nations	Adopted without vote
May 11, 1993	Resolution	S/RES/825	DPRK's decision to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty	13-0-2 (abstentions: China, Pakistan)
March 23, 1994	Presidential Statement	S/PRST/1994/13	DPRK	
May 26, 1994	Presidential Statement	S/PRST/1994/28	DPRK	
November 4, 1994	Presidential Statement	S/PRST/1994/64	DPRK	
October 15, 1996	Presidential Statement	S/PRST/1996/42	Korean Armistice Agreement	
October 12, 1998	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/1998/940	IAEA report on the DPRK (DPRK)	
December 20, 1999	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/1999/1268	DPRK/ IAEA	
February 28, 2002	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2002/211	IAEA - Implementation of the Agreement between the Agency and the DPRK for the application of safeguards in connection with the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons	
July 15, 2006	Resolution	S/RES/1695	Condemns missile tests by DPRK	15–0–0
October 14, 2006	Resolution	S/RES/1718	Imposes sanctions on DPRK following a claimed nuclear test	15–0–0
October 20, 2006	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2006/833	Election of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006) concerning the DPRK	
April 13, 2009	Presidential Statement	S/PRST/2009/7	Non-proliferation/DPRK	
June 12, 2009	Resolution	S/RES/1874	Imposes further sanctions on DPRK following a recent nuclear test	15–0–0
June 7, 2010	Resolution	S/RES/1928	Extends mandate of expert panel monitoring sanctions against DPRK	15–0–0
June 10, 2011	Resolution	S/RES/1985	Extends mandate of expert panel monitoring sanctions against DPRK	15–0–0
April 16, 2012	Presidential Statement	S/PRST/2012/13	Non-proliferation/DPRK	
June 12, 2012	Resolution	S/RES/2050	Extends mandate of expert panel monitoring sanctions against DPRK	15–0–0
June 27, 2012	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2012/493	DPRK (DPRK)	
August 13, 2012	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2012/619	DPRK (DPRK)	

September 10, 2012	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2012/693	DPRK (DPRK)	
December 7, 2012	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2012/912	Experts - DPRK (DPRK)	
January 22, 2013	Resolution	S/RES/2087	The situation in DPRK	15–0–0
February 12, 2013	Press statement	SC/10912	Non-Proliferation/DPRK	
February 22, 2013	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2013/108	Non-Proliferation/DPRK	
March 7, 2013	Resolution	S/RES/2094	Sanctions to limit luxurious imports to DPRK	15–0–0

Chronology of Iranian Issue

Date	Type	Document	Subject/concern	Vote
March 29, 1990	Resolution	S/RES/651	Extends mandate of the United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group	15-0-0
September 27, 1990	Resolution	S/RES/671	Extends mandate of the United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group	15-0-0
November 28, 1990	Resolution	S/RES/676	Extends mandate of the United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group	15-0-0
January 31, 1991	Resolution	S/RES/685	Extends mandate of the United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group	15-0-0
October 28, 2005	Press statements	SC/8542	Iran	
December 9, 2005	Press statements	SC/8576	On remarks by Iran 's President	
February 7, 2006	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2006/80	Implementation of the Safeguards Agreement between the Iran and the IAEA in connection with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons	
March 9, 2006	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2006/150	Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement in the Iran: Report by the Director General of the IAEA	
April 28, 2006	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2006/270	Letter dated 28 April 2006 from the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to the President of the Security Council - Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement in the Iran - Report by the Director General	
July 31, 2006	Resolution	S/RES/1696	Demands Iran end uranium enrichment activities	14–1–0 (against: Qatar)
August 31, 2006	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2006/702	Letter dated 31 August 2006 from the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency addressed to the President of the Security Council - Implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons safeguards agreement in the Iran - Report of the Director General	
December 23, 2006	Resolution	S/RES/1737	Sanctions Iran over its nuclear program	15–0–0
February 15, 2007	Press statements	SC/8957	Iran	

February 22, 2007	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2007/100	Report of the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency on the implementation of the safeguards agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolution 1737 (2006) in the Iran	
March 24, 2007	Resolution	S/RES/1747	Further sanctions Iran over its nuclear program	15–0–0
March 29, 2007	Press statements	SC/8989	Iran	
May 23, 2007	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2007/303	Report of the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency on the implementation of the safeguards agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolution 1737 (2006) in the Iran	
March 3, 2008	Resolution	S/RES/1803	Non-proliferation	14–0–1 with one abstention from Indonesia
May 27, 2008	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2008/338	Report from the Director General of the IAEA on whether the Iran has established full and sustained suspension of all activities mentioned in resolution 1737 (2006)	
September 27, 2008	Resolution	S/RES/1835	Non-proliferation	15–0–0
October 20, 2009	Press statements	SC/9770	On terrorist attack in Iran	
June 9, 2010	Resolution	S/RES/1929	Sanctions Iran over its nuclear program	12–2–1 (against: Brazil, Turkey; abstention: Lebanon)
July 16, 2010	Press statements	SC/9986	Terrorist attack in Iran	
September 7, 2010	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2010/465	Non-proliferation/Iran, IAEA report	
November 23, 2010	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2010/595	Report of the IAEA on Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Iran	
January 7, 2011	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2011/4	Non-proliferation/Iran, Panel of Experts	
February 25, 2011	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2011/94	Report of the IAEA on Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Iran	
May 24, 2011	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2011/327	Report of the IAEA on Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Iran	
June 9, 2011	Resolution	S/RES/1984	Extends mandate of expert panel monitoring sanctions against Iran	14–0–1 (abstention: Lebanon)
July 1, 2011	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2011/405	Panel of Experts, Iran	
November 29, 2011	Press statements	SC/10463	Attacks against United Kingdom diplomatic premises in Iran	
February 27, 2012	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2012/114	Report of the IAEA on Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Iran	

June 7, 2012	Resolution	S/RES/2049	Extends mandate of expert panel monitoring sanctions against Iran	15–0–0
July 6, 2012	Letter from the Secretary-General	S/2012/521	Iran	
February 21, 2013	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2013/103	Report of the IAEA on Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Iran	
May 22, 2013	Notes by the President of the Security Council	S/2013/307	Report of the IAEA on Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Iran	

Appendix B

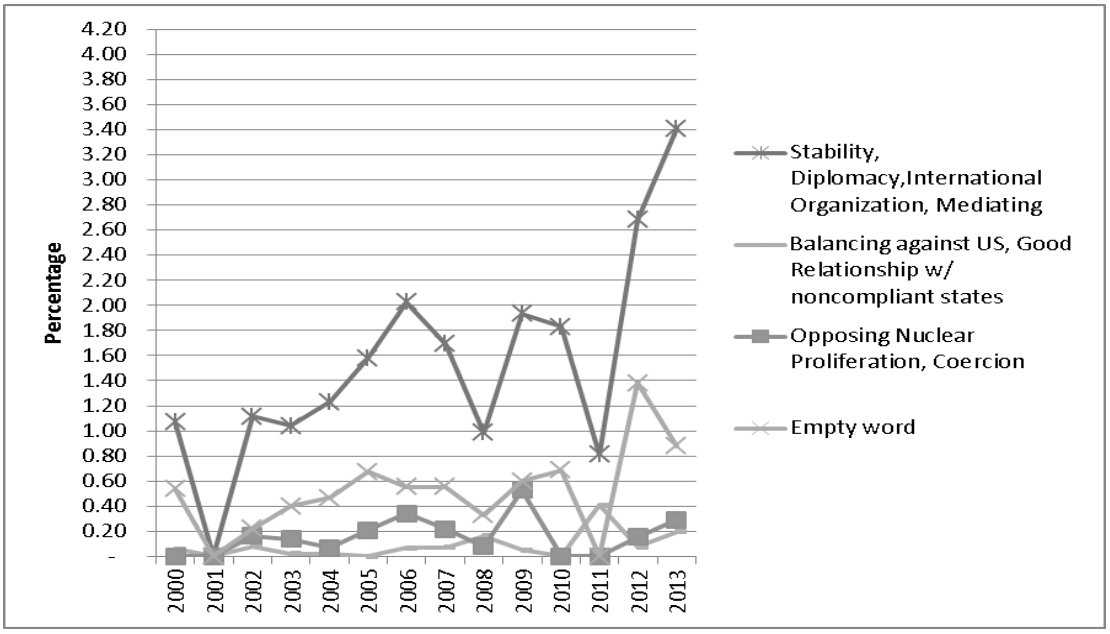
Content Analysis on Chinese Foreign Ministry Press Conference

North Korea				**Iran**			
Vocabulary		Frequency	Percentage	Vocabulary		Frequency	Percentage
六方会谈	The Six Party Talks	818	0.55	谈判	negotiation	133	0.54
稳定	stability	262	0.18	国际原子能机构	IAEA	75	0.3
对话	dialogue	221	0.15	妥善	properly	63	0.26
无核化	denuclearization	228	0.15	合作	cooperation	62	0.25
合作	cooperation	187	0.13	对话	dialogue	54	0.22
安理会	UN Security Council	160	0.11	安理会	UN Security Council	37	0.15
共识	common recognition	141	0.09	和平解决	peaceful resolution	32	0.13
和平解决	peaceful resolution	123	0.08	欧盟	EU3	31	0.13
协商	negotiation	116	0.08	制裁	sanction	33	0.13
磋商	discuss	124	0.08	外交努力	diplomatic efforts	27	0.11
关切	concern	92	0.06	建设性	constructive	27	0.11
沟通	communication	75	0.05	稳定	stability	22	0.09
制裁	sanction	79	0.05	磋商	discuss	19	0.08
妥善	properly	75	0.05	一贯	consistently	20	0.08
谈判	negotiation	55	0.04	沟通	communication	16	0.06
灵活	flexible	65	0.04	灵活	flexible	14	0.06
复杂	complicate	62	0.04	僵局	stalemate	14	0.06
困难	hardship	67	0.04	耐心	patience	13	0.05
冷静	cool-headed	58	0.04	关切	concern	12	0.05

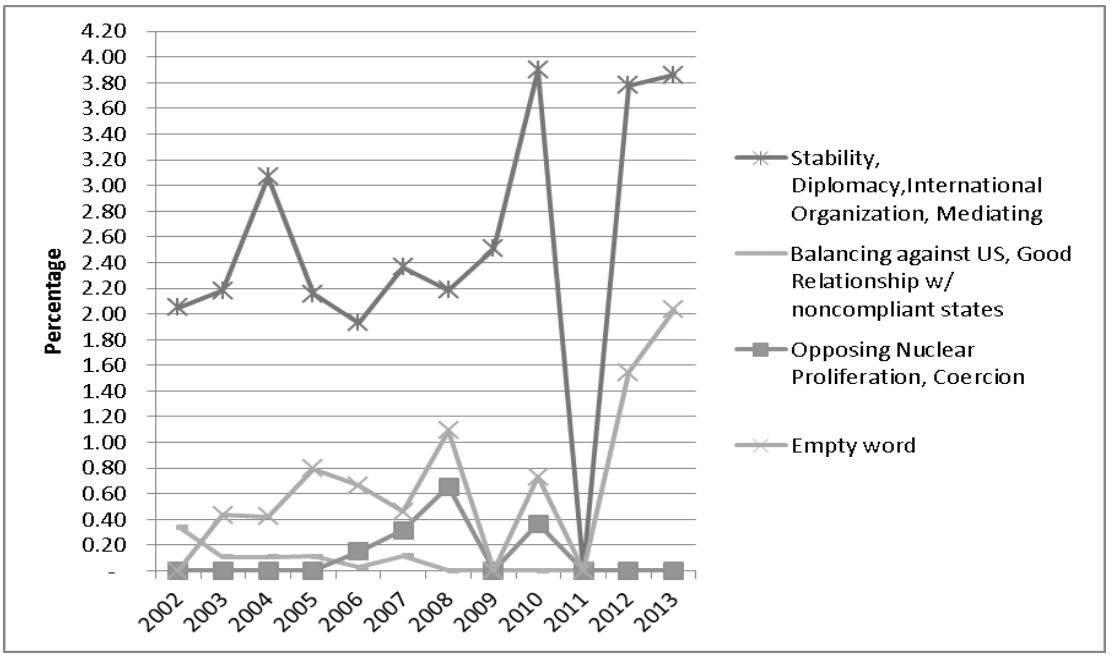
Categories of Content Analysis

	Category	Words [number of word]
1 [31]	Emphasizing peace and stability	稳定(stability), 和平解决(peaceful resolution), 合作(cooperation), 东北亚地区和平与稳定 (peace & stability in the East Asia), 中东地区和平与稳定(peace & stability in the Middle East), 缓解(alleviate tension), 平等互利(mutually beneficial on equal basis), 求同存异 (seek common ground while retaining independence), 动荡 (turbulence) [9]
	Emphasizing dialogue, diplomacy and negotiation	对话 (dialogue), 协商 (negotiation), 磋商 (discuss), 谈判 (negotiation), 沟通 (communication), 劝和促谈 (encouraging talks by reconciliation), 桌上 (table), 外交方式 (diplomacy), 外交努力 (diplomatic efforts), 外交渠道 (diplomatic channel), 外交手段 (diplomatic measures), 多边会谈 (multilateral talks), 双边对话 (bilateral talks), 直接对话 (direct talk), 六方会谈 (the six party talks), 欧盟 (EU) [16]
	Emphasizing international organization	安理会 (UN Security Council), 国际原子能机构 (IAEA), 在机构框架内 (under the framework of institution) [3]
	Mediating	斡旋 (mediate), 东道主 (host), 负责任 (responsible) [3]
2 [8]	Balancing against the West	和平利用核能 (peaceful use of nuclear technology), 和平共处五项原则 (Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence), 均衡 (balanced) [3]
	Emphasizing good relationship between China and the noncompliant states	睦邻友好合作 (cooperation with friendly neighbors), 中朝友好合作 (Sino-North Korean cooperation), 中伊友好合作 (Sino-Iran cooperation), 近邻 (close neighbor), 友好邻邦 (friendly ally) [5]
3 [7]	Opposing nuclear proliferation	反对核武器扩散 (opposing proliferation of nuclear weapon), 无核化 (denuclearization), 支持国际核不扩散体系 (supporting NPT) [3]
	Coercion	制裁 (sanction), 压力 (coerce), 单方 (unilateral), 动辄 (frequently) [4]
4 [15]	Empty word	灵活 (flexible), 弹性 (flexibility), 复杂 (complicate), 困难 (hardship), 克制 (restrained), 冷静 (cool-headed), 耐心 (patience), 不懈努力 (persistent effort), 诚意 (sincerity), 善意 (goodwill), 共识 (common recognition), 妥善 (properly), 关切 (concern), 建设性 (constructive), 务实 (pragmatic) [15]
5 [4]	Insisting consistency	一贯 (consistently), 明确 (clear) [2]
	Etc.	假设性 (hypothetical), 僵局 (stalemate) [2]

Content Analysis on North Korea



Content Analysis on Iran



Numbers of Character in the Press Conference of MFA

Year	Iran		North Korea	
	Number of Press Conference	Number of Character	Number of Press Conference	Number of Character
2000		-	10	1,681
2001		-	0	-
2002	2	293	23	4,924
2003	4	917	23	28,962
2004	3	945	13	21,140
2005	3	881	17	33,110
2006	20	14,653	20	35,806
2007	6	3,467	14	13,893
2008	4	1,374	2	1,218
2009	1	279	9	5,684
2010	3	821	2	437
2011	0	-	1	246
2012	2	582	5	1,305
2013	1	492	3	1,026
Total	49	24,704	142	149,432

Percentage of the Word in Press Conference

Category	North Korea		Iran	
	Frequency of word	% of total characters	Frequency of word	% of total characters
Stability	598	0.40	126	0.51
Diplomacy	1,498	1.00	302	1.22
International Organization	175	0.12	119	0.48
Mediating	48	0.03	2	0.01
Balancing the West	20	0.01	9	0.04
Good Relationship w/ noncompliant states	40	0.03	3	0.01
Opposing Nuclear Proliferation	230	0.15	7	0.03
Coercion	90	0.06	38	0.15
Empty word	802	0.54	168	0.68
Insisting consistency	109	0.07	24	0.10
Etc.	14	0.01	15	0.06
Frequency Total	3,624		813	
Total Characters	149,432		24,704	

Appendix C

Composite Index of National Capability (CINC) Score (June 2010)

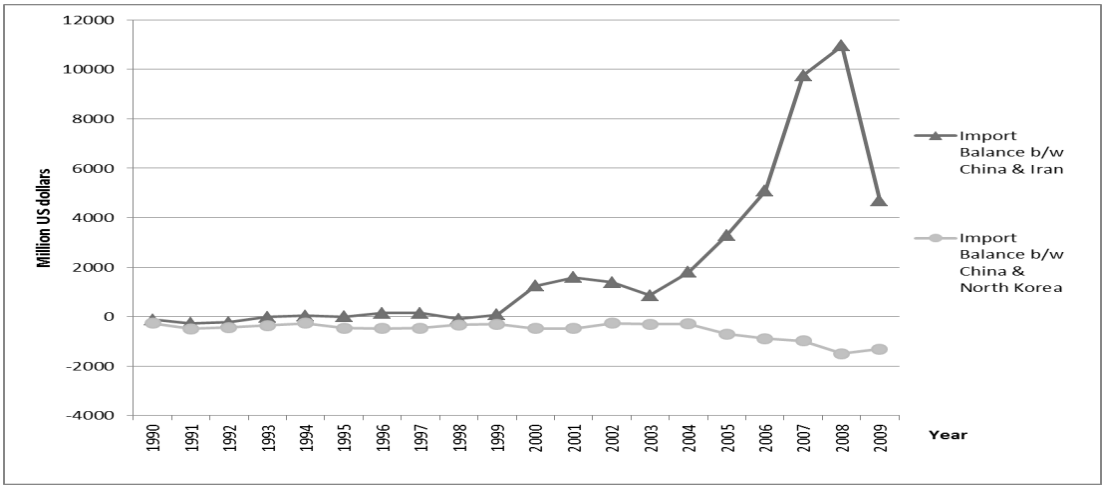
Year	United States	China	Iran	North Korea
1990	0.139376	0.105929	0.009073	0.0121306
1991	0.135599	0.112396	0.010411	0.0130769
1992	0.146081	0.117286	0.010515	0.0135808
1993	0.15271	0.124984	0.010706	0.0131064
1994	0.144825	0.130149	0.011503	0.0117042
1995	0.140641	0.13559	0.01184	0.0114064
1996	0.138339	0.139115	0.011984	0.0115945
1997	0.13966	0.142013	0.012515	0.0109432
1998	0.141734	0.147196	0.012163	0.0098528
1999	0.142888	0.150672	0.01231	0.0098148
2000	0.142951	0.155714	0.012411	0.0101909
2001	0.142012	0.158539	0.012638	0.0108616
2002	0.14346	0.167359	0.012399	0.01134
2003	0.142094	0.169247	0.012507	0.0112629
2004	0.143169	0.18257	0.012478	0.01275
2005	0.14829	0.183922	0.012437	0.0129875
2006	0.146377	0.190264	0.013648	0.0128682
2007	0.142149	0.198578	0.01345	0.0129246
Average	0.142909	0.15064	0.011944	0.0117998

Source: http:// www.correlatesofwar.org/COW2%20Data/Capabilities/nmc4.htm (National Material Capabilities Data Documentation Version 4.0)

The Composite Index of National Capability (CINC) score is generally computed by summing all observations on each of the six capability components for a given year, converting each state's absolute component to a share of the international system, and then averaging across the six components. Six components are iron and steel production (thousands of tons), primary energy consumption (thousands of coal-ton equivalents), military personnel (thousands), military expenditures (thousands of current year US dollars), urban population (population living in cities with population greater than 100,000; in thousands), and total population (thousands). It is a statistical measure of national power created by J. David Singer for the Correlates of War project in 1963 (Singer 1988; Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey 1972).

Appendix D

Imports Balance between China and the Noncompliant states



Source: http://correlatesofwar.org

Import Balance between China and the Noncompliant states

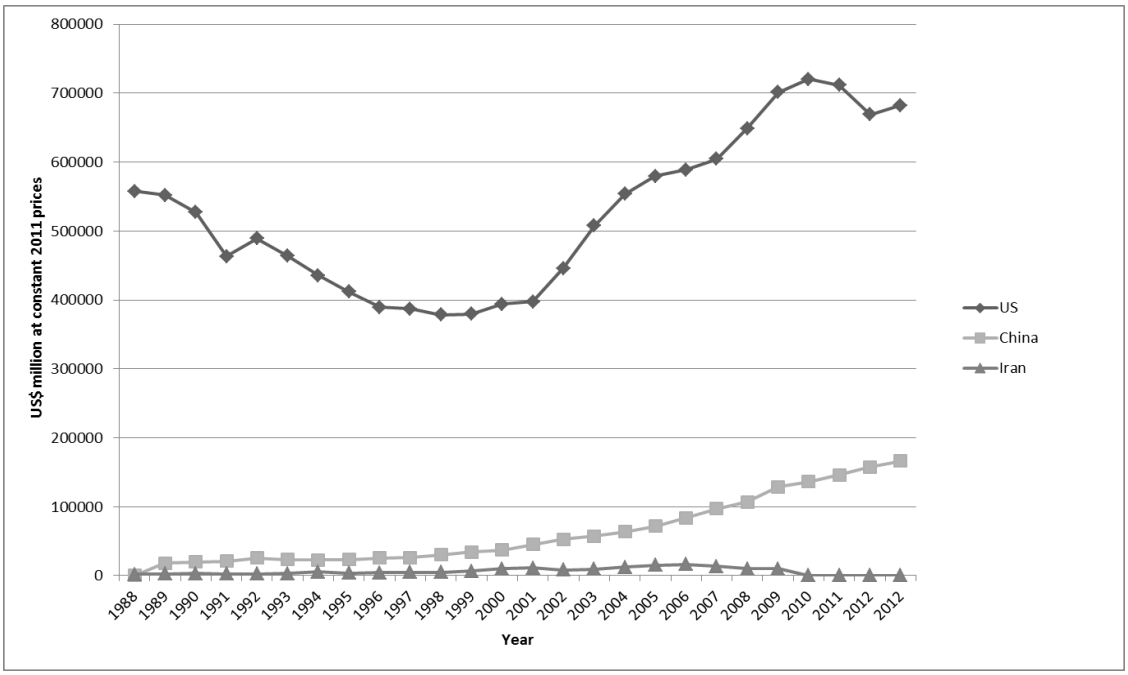
Unit: million US dollars

Year	China ↔ Iran			China ↔ North Korea		
	Imports of China from Iran	Imports of Iran from China	Imports Balance b/w China & Iran	Imports of China from North Korea	Imports of North Korea from China	Imports Balance b/w China & North Korea
	A	B	A-B	C	D	C-D
1990	43.22	172	-128.78	129.42	397.88	-268.46
1991	20.52	285	-264.48	85.67	577.26	-491.59
1992	100.98	335	-234.02	153.53	594.04	-440.51
1993	310.02	326	-15.98	295.66	662.59	-366.93
1994	181.54	147	34.54	199.22	467.03	-267.81
1995	226.56	232.4	-5.84	63.6	534.8	-471.2
1996	386.15	241.8	144.35	68.63	546.92	-478.29
1997	535.8	395	140.8	121.61	587.81	-466.2
1998	558.32	655	-96.68	51.09	392.33	-341.24
1999	684.72	613	71.72	116.18	429.88	-313.7
2000	1813.23	574.1	1239.13	81.76	567.05	-485.29
2001	2475.42	896.93	1578.49	196.99	674.85	-477.86
2002	2441	1059.09	1381.91	283.19	546.94	-263.75
2003	3453.92	2591.45	862.47	401.44	704.41	-302.97
2004	4607	2817.17	1789.83	590.98	888.74	-297.76
2005	6968.94	3695.61	3273.33	501.36	1204.04	-702.68
2006	10098.67	5020.41	5078.26	470.33	1363.47	-893.14
2007	13691.96	3949.74	9742.22	585.74	1564.31	-978.57
2008	19923.54	8970.27	10953.27	757.87	2254.62	-1496.75
2009	13520.84	8827.09	4693.75	793.15	2108.76	-1315.61
Average	4102.1175	2090.203	2011.9145	297.371	853.3865	-556.0155

Source: http://correlatesofwar.org (Barbieri and Keshk 2012; Barbieri, Keshk, and Pollins 2009)

Appendix E

SIPRI Military Expenditure (1990-2012)



Figures are in US$ million, at constant 2011 prices and exchange rates, except for the last figure, which is in US$ million at 2012 prices and exchange rates. For information on the sources and methods for SIPRI data, see http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/resultoutput/sources_methods

Appendix F

Affinity between States at the UN General Assembly Voting

S3un value / Year	US-China	China-NK	China-Iran	US-NK	US-Iran
1990	-0.470		0.940		-0.536
1991	-0.515	0.941	0.955	-0.564	-0.537
1992	-0.521	0.968	0.914	-0.591	-0.493
1993	-0.500	0.965	0.914	-0.576	-0.483
1994	-0.348	0.877	0.810	-0.492	-0.354
1995	-0.500	0.871	0.853	-0.585	-0.442
1996	-0.368	0.903	0.829	-0.581	-0.371
1997	-0.406	0.925	0.896	-0.604	-0.418
1998	-0.383	0.898	0.789	-0.680	-0.397
1999	-0.441	0.912	0.833	-0.667	-0.439
2000	-0.388	0.962	0.937	-0.660	-0.365
2001	-0.507	0.931	0.937	-0.707	-0.524
2002	-0.556	0.937	0.954	-0.703	-0.591
2003	-0.613	0.924	0.945	-0.672	-0.635
2004	-0.662	0.951	0.929	-0.774	-0.671
2005	-0.708	0.919	0.900	-0.836	-0.743
2006	-0.682	0.870	0.963	-0.732	-0.707
2007	-0.697	0.889	0.929	-0.726	-0.803
2008	-0.648	0.906	0.901	-0.677	-0.712
2009	-0.565	0.846	0.938	-0.692	-0.641
2010	-0.538	0.825	0.935	-0.635	-0.661
2011	-0.477	0.759	0.836	-0.759	-0.639
2012	-0.500	0.794	0.862	-0.708	-0.597
Average	-0.522	0.899	0.900	-0.665	-0.555

S3un: Values for the Affinity data range from –1 (least similar interests) to 1 (most similar interests). The Affinity data are coded with the "S" indicator ("S" is calculated as 1 – 2*(d)/dmax, where d is the sum of metric distances between votes by dyad members in a given year and dmax is the largest possible metric distance for those votes, see Signorino and Ritter 1999) from three categories UN General Assembly voting data (1 = "yes" or approval for an issue; 2 = abstain; 3 = "no" or disapproval for an issue).

Source: Gartzke and Jo 2002; Strezhnev and Erik 2013; Signorino and Ritter 1999

Appendix G

China's Behavior on North Korea (1990-2013)

		North Korea	North Korea	North Korea	North Korea
		1990-1997	1998-2005	2006-2008	2009-2013
		Case1	**Case3**	**Case5**	**Case7**
P1	Constant pressure from the United States to cooperate in its efforts to deter nuclear threats from Iran and North Korea would cause China to straddle because it wants to hold on to the two actors in its sphere of interest at a low cost, and at the same time, keep them at bay (*straddling*). Classical Realism	*Confirmed*	Disconfirmed → mediating	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*
P2	Demands from the United States to contain threats of the noncompliant states will lead China to stand up for the noncompliant states (*balancing*), unless the United States promises to offer some form of compensations. Structural Realism	*Confirmed*	Ambiguous	Disconfirmed → bandwagoning	Disconfirmed → bandwagoning straddling
P3	If the United States supports Taiwan by signing arms deals, then China will not cooperate with the United States to restrain the noncompliant states (*balancing on Taiwan matter*). Structural Realism	Disconfirmed	Disconfirmed	N/A	Disconfirmed
P4	Continuous failures of multinational negotiation or sudden disclosures of secret nuclear program in the noncompliant states move China to collaborate with the United States (*bandwagoning*). Structural Realism	Disconfirmed → balancing	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*	Ambiguous → bandwagoning straddling
P5	China is likely to instigate conflicts between the noncompliant states and the United States because it can extort benefits from the dissension (*abetting*). Offensive Realism	Ambiguous	Disconfirmed → mediating	Disconfirmed → mediating	Ambiguous
P6	After China shows its willingness to cooperate with the United States to punish the noncompliant states, China hinders the implementation of tough sanctions against them in the negotiations, and then, waters down the terms of resolution (*delaying*). Defensive Realism	*Confirmed*	Ambiguous	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*
P7	China's ambiguous position prevents provocations from both the United States and the noncompliant states (*hiding prevents provocation*). Defensive Realism	Disconfirmed	Disconfirmed → mediating	Disconfirmed	Disconfirmed → mediating
P8	China takes a mediator's role to maintain stability in the region and gain a reputation as a peacemaker (*mediating*). Liberalism, English School, Constructivism	Disconfirmed → balancing	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*	Confirmed → incapability

China's Behavior on Iran (1990-2013)

		Iran	Iran	Iran	Iran
		1990-1997	1998-2005	2006-2008	2009-2013
		Case2	**Case4**	**Case6**	**Case8**
P1	Constant pressure from the United States to cooperate in its efforts to deter nuclear threats from Iran and North Korea would cause China to straddle because it wants to hold on to the two actors in its sphere of interest at a low cost, and at the same time, keep them at bay (*straddling*). Classical Realism	Ambiguous → balancing, straddling	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*
P2	Demands from the United States to contain threats of the noncompliant states will lead China to stand up for the noncompliant states (*balancing*), unless the United States promises to offer some form of compensations. Structural Realism	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*	Disconfirmed → bandwagoning	*Confirmed*
P3	If the United States supports Taiwan by signing arms deals, then China will not cooperate with the United States to restrain the noncompliant states (*balancing on Taiwan matter*). Structural Realism	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*	N/A	*Confirmed*
P4	Continuous failures of multinational negotiation or sudden disclosures of secret nuclear program in the noncompliant states move China to collaborate with the United States (*bandwagoning*). Structural Realism	Disconfirmed → balancing	Disconfirmed → balancing	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed*
P5	China is likely to instigate conflicts between the noncompliant states and the United States because it can extort benefits from the dissension (*abetting*). Offensive Realism	Disconfirmed	Ambiguous → fishing	Disconfirmed → bandwagoning	Ambiguous
P6	After China shows its willingness to cooperate with the United States to punish the noncompliant states, China hinders the implementation of tough sanctions against them in the negotiations, and then, waters down the terms of resolution (*delaying*). Defensive Realism	Disconfirmed → balancing	*Confirmed*	*Confirmed* → watering down	*Confirmed*
P7	China's ambiguous position prevents provocations from both the United States and the noncompliant states (*hiding prevents provocation*). Defensive Realism	Disconfirmed → balancing, bandwagoning	Disconfirmed → delaying	Disconfirmed	Disconfirmed → bandwagoning straddling balancing
P8	China takes a mediator's role to maintain stability in the region and gain a reputation as a peacemaker (*mediating*). Liberalism, English School, Constructivism	Disconfirmed → balancing bandwagoning	Disconfirmed → balancing	Disconfirmed → bandwagoning	Disconfirmed → bandwagoning straddling balancing

Appendix H

China's Behavioral Patterns in the Cases

	Year	Case	Pattern
North Korea	1990-1997	1	bandwagoning → bandwagoning → balancing → crisis → hiding → crisis → balancing → balancing → balancing → hiding → balancing → straddling → crisis → straddling → hiding → settlement → crisis
Iran	1990-1997	2	balancing → bandwagoning with compensation → balancing → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → balancing → bandwagoning → balancing → balancing → balancing → balancing → balancing → Crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → settlement → bandwagoning
North Korea	1998-2005	3	Crisis → crisis → straddling → settlement → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → getting entreaties → crisis → straddling → inability → crisis → inability → straddling → crisis → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → bandwagoning → bandwagoning → straddling → hiding → mediating → balancing → mediating → mediating → settlement → mediating → compensation for NK → mediating → mediating → incapability → mediating → mediating → getting entreaties → mediating → crisis → crisis → straddling → getting entreaties → mediating → straddling → straddling → mediating → settlement → crisis → bandwagoning → straddling, compensation for NK → crisis
Iran	1998-2005	4	bandwagoning → crisis → crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → fishing → balancing → crisis → balancing → fishing → crisis → crisis → balancing → straddling → crisis → balancing → balancing → hiding
North Korea	2006-2008	5	inability → crisis → mediating → inability → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → inability → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → mediating → bandwagoning → straddling → settlement → crisis
Iran	2006-2008	6	crisis → straddling → settlement → bandwagoning → straddling → delaying → crisis → balancing → settlement → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → delaying → crisis → delaying → straddling → crisis → delaying → crisis → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → settlement → delaying → straddling → mediating → getting entreaties → straddling → getting entreaties → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → delaying → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis
North Korea	2009-2013	7	inability → straddling → hiding → balancing → bandwagoning → delaying → crisis → crisis → bandwagoning → side payment from the US → hiding → bandwagoning → straddling, delaying → balancing → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → side payment to NK → crisis → mediating → getting entreaties → mediating → mediating → crisis → balancing → crisis → balancing → getting entreaties → bandwagoning → hiding → getting entreaties → mediating failure → delaying → crisis → crisis → crisis → hiding → mediating → straddling → getting entreaties → delaying → bandwagoning → getting entreaties → crisis → balancing → settlement → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → hiding → bandwagoning → crisis → straddling → bandwagoning → crisis → getting entreaties
Iran	2009-2013	8	balancing → crisis → crisis → balancing → straddling → balancing → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → crisis → settlement → bandwagoning → side payment → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → hiding → crisis → delaying → crisis → bandwagoning → balancing, Taiwan → balancing → crisis → balancing → hiding → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → side payment → side payment → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → straddling → straddling → bandwagoning → straddling → crisis → balancing → hiding → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → crisis → crisis → crisis → balancing → crisis → balancing → bandwagoning → bandwagoning → crisis → bandwagoning → crisis → balancing

China's Behavioral Patterns after Crisis

IRN	1	C	BL	BW	BL	C						
IRN	2	C	BL	BW	S	BW						
IRN	3	C	BL	BW	F	BL						
IRN	4	C	BL	F	C							
IRN	5	C	BL	ST	C							
IRN	6	C	BL	H	C							
IRN	2006											
IRN	7	C	ST	S	BW	ST	D					
IRN	8	C	BL	S	BW	C						
IRN	9	C	BW	D	C							
IRN	10	C	D	ST	C							
IRN	11	C	D	C								
IRN	12	C	ST	BW	ST							
IRN	13	C	S	D	ST	M	E	ST	E	BW		
IRN	14	C	BL	BW	D	C						
IRN	15	C	BW	C								
IRN	16	C	BL	C								
IRN	17	C	BL	ST	BL	BW	C					
IRN	18	C	BL	C	S	BW	SP	ST	BW	ST	C	
IRN	19	C	H	C								
IRN	20	C	D	C								
IRN	21	C	BW	BL	C							
IRN	22	C	BL	H	BW	C	BW	SP	BW	ST	C	
IRN	23	C	ST	BW	ST	C						
IRN	24	C	BL	H	BW	C						
IRN	25	C	BL	BW	C							
IRN	26	C	BL	C								
IRN	27	C	BL	BW	C							
IRN	28	C	BW	C	BL							

C crisis
BL balancing
BW bandwagoning
S settlement
ST straddling
D delaying
H hiding
E getting entreaties
I incapability
SP side payment

NK	1	C	BL	H	BL	ST	C					
NK	2	C	ST	H	S							
NK	3	C	ST	S								
NK	4	C	BL	E	C							
NK	5	C	ST	I	C	I	ST	C				
NK	6	C	ST	BW	ST	C						
NK	7	C	BW	ST	H	M	BL	M	S			
NK	8	C	ST	M	ST	M	S					
NK	9	C	BW	ST								
NK	2006											
NK	10	C	I	C	M	I	BW					
NK	11	C	I	BW	C	BW	M	BW	ST	S		
NK	12	C	I	ST	H	BL	BW	D	C			
NK	13	C	BW	H	BW	ST	BL	C				
NK	14	C	M	E	M	C						
NK	15	C	BL	C	BL	E	BW	H	E	M	D	C
NK	16	C	H	M	ST	E	D	BW	E	C		
NK	17	C	BL	S								
NK	18	C	BW	C	BL	H	BW	C				
NK	19	C	ST	BW	C	E						

C crisis
BL balancing
BW bandwagoning
S settlement
ST straddling
D delaying
H hiding
E getting entreaties
I incapability
SP side payment

China's Immediate Reaction after Crisis

North Korea			Iran		
Reaction	Frequency	Percentage	Reaction	Frequency	Percentage
Crisis → balancing	6	4.23	Crisis → balancing	17	**12.88**
Crisis → bandwagoning	7	**4.93**	Crisis → bandwagoning	4	3.03
Crisis → straddling	6	4.23	Crisis → straddling	3	2.27
Crisis → hiding	2	1.41	Crisis → hiding	1	0.76
Crisis → mediating	2	1.41	Crisis → delaying	3	2.27
Crisis → inability	4	2.82	Crisis → settlement	2	1.52
	142	100.00		132	100.00

Appendix I

Differences of Goals between the U.S. and China

Goals	China		U.S.	
	Position	Salience	Position	Salience
Nuclear non-proliferation	+	M	+	H
Stability & Peace in East Asia and Middle East	+	H	+	H
China's continuous development	+	H	+	M
Legitimacy of CCP	+	H	0	A
Stability in North Korea (Iran)	+	H (M)	−	H
Punishing North Korea (Iran)	−	H (M)	+	H

+ means positive position on a goal. – means negative position on a goal. A means ambiguous position on a goal. 0 means does not matter for, has no effect on, or has no relation to a goal. L means low salience, M means medium salience, H means high salience. On Iran is in the parenthesis.

The Results of Hypotheses Testing on China's Reactions

North Korea			**Iran**		
Case-1	1990-1997	**Hiding** - Straddling H confirmed	Case-2	1990-1997	**Balancing → Bandwagoning** - Side payment H confirmed
Case-3	1998-2005	**Mediating** - Side payment H disconfirmed - Straddling H confirmed	Case-4	1998-2005	**Delaying, Straddling** - Straddling H confirmed
Case-5	2006-2008	**Bandwagoning → Delaying** - Side payment H disconfirmed - Straddling H confirmed	Case-6	2006-2008	**Bandwagoning → Delaying** - Side payment H disconfirmed - Straddling H confirmed
Case-7	2009-2013	**Bandwagoning → Delaying** - Side payment H disconfirmed - Straddling H confirmed	Case-8	2009-2013	**Bandwagoning → Delaying** - Side payment H disconfirmed - Straddling H confirmed

Appendix J

Balance of Interest between China, the US, and the Noncompliant states

		China (α) ↔ US (β)		
		α > β China needs the US more	**α ≈ β** they are equally important or indeterminate	**α < β** the US needs China more
China(γ) ↔ noncompliant states (δ)	**γ > δ** China needs the noncompliant states more	**A** **Case-3** (6PT) - *Hiding* - *Mediating* - *Delaying*	**B** - *Appeasing the noncompliant states*	**C** **Case-2** (Taiwan Strait Crisis in1996) **Case-7** (defending NK in the *Cheonan* sinking, Yeonpyong island shelling) **Case-8** (Taiwan arms deal) - *Balancing against the US* - *Appeasing the noncompliant states*
	γ ≈ δ they are equally important or indeterminate	**D** **Case-3** (Join WTO in 2001) **Case-6** (commercial interest motivates China to cooperate with the US)Bandwagoning the US - *Straddling*	**E** **Case-1** **Case-6** (get Iran commercial interests and US advanced technology) **Case-7** (vacillating between NK and US) - *Straddling* - *Hiding* - *Delaying*	**F** **Case-1** (abstention in the UN Resolution 678 on the Gulf War in 1991 and the Resolution 825 on North Korea in 1993) **Case-4** (denying to refer Iranian issue to the UNSC in 2002, 2005) **Case-6** (delaying negotiation process) - *Balancing against the US* - *Straddling* - *Hiding* - *Delaying*
	γ < δ the noncompliant states needs China more	**G** **Case-2** (Disengagement with Iran in 1997) **Case-3** (helping US to restrain NK) **Case-5** (NK missile & nuke test 2006) **Case-6** (US pushes Iran and China helps US not to develop the risk fully) **Case-7** (pass resolutions) **Case-8** (cooperation after the US assurance of energy supply) - *Bandwagoning the US* - *Controlling the noncompliant states*	**H** - *Controlling the noncompliant states* - *Straddling* - *Hiding*	**I** **Case-4** (taking over Iranian missile Shehab-4 project after Russia left, occupying Iranian market after sanction imposed) - *Straddling* - *Abetting* - *Fishing*

China's interests involving to the United States (α), the United States' interests relating to China (β), China's interests involving to the noncompliant states (γ), and the noncompliant states' interests relating to China (δ).